Congressional Record

APPENDIX AND INDEX

TO PARTS 1 TO 9

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES

OF THE

SECOND SESSION OF THE SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

OF

THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

VOLUME LIX—PART 9





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APPENDIX.

The Tariff After the War—What the United States Is Up Against.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. IRA G. HERSEY.

OF MAINE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 9, 1919,

On bill (H. R. 10918) to provide revenue and encourage domestic industries by the elimination, through the assessment of special duties, of unfair foreign competition, and for other purposes.

Mr. HERSEY. Mr. Speaker, this is a bill to prevent, if possible, unfair competition from abroad when goods are sold here in competition with the products of this country, and is called "the antidumping measure."

"Dumping" is defined to be—

the practice of flooding an area of trade with a commodity to be sold at prices far below the cost of production, for the purpose of driving competitors out of business. When competition has been thus destroyed, the prices are raised to a point which will take care of all past losses.

The Knickerbocker Press, of Albany, N. Y., says:

The United States ought not to be simple-minded enough to allow this game to go on. It can be halted effectively, so far as our home markets are concerned, by a prohibitive tariff upon goods sent here for the purpose of breaking down American industries. This will bar nothing which is offered in our markets with an honest purpose.

When the Underwood free-trade bill was enacted in 1913 the Nation was greatly alarmed by the fact that all tariff barriers by that bill were taken down between us and other nations, so that the United States would become a dumping ground for the surplus of all foreign nations, and to meet this objection and quiet the people the Democratic Party enacted what was known as the antidumping bill, which they claimed would prevent any nation from dumping its goods onto us, so as to destroy American industries.

We all remember in the presidential campaign of 1916, when the serious results of free trade were before the people and it was shown that the free-trade nations would use us as a dumping ground to destroy American industries, that the Democratic Party answered this by saying that they had enacted an effective piece of legislation called the "antidumping" measure, which would protect our Nation from any such dire results, and this statement on too many occasions satisfied the people.

The World War came after 10 months of free trade, and that war effectively closed the gates and erected barriers against all foreign importations, and down to the present time it has saved the interests of the United States from an influx of the products of cheap labor.

Now, for the first time we have discovered that there was a joker in the antidumping legislation of the Democratic Party, and that the law was no good, ineffective, and unworkable. The able leader of the Democratic Party in the House, Mr. KITCHIN, of North Carolina, in speaking to-day on the pending bill, said:

An antidumping proposition is not a new one. The Democrats were the first to introduce and to pass an antidumping proposition.

* * * * * * *

The Tariff Commission declare that it is not workable, for the reason that it is almost impossible to show the intent on the part of the importer to injure or destroy business in the United States by such importation and sale.

That is the trouble with this antidumping act of 1916, which is now the law. You have to show the intent of the foreigner, the intent of the importer, to injure or destroy some particular industry in the United States.

This Democratic antidumping law was never intended to work. It was not enacted for that purpose; it is a subterfuge, and no attempt has ever been made to enforce it, and none would have been made to correct it had the Democrats in Congress continued in power. Now the Republicans offer a real antidumping measure that will effectively prevent any dumping of foreign goods upon our shores to destroy American industries, although I must admit I have very little faith in the enforcement of this law at the present time through a Democratic free-trade Secretary of the Treasury.

The President in his late annual message serves notice upon Congress that we must not revise the tariff, and we understand that if we attempt to do so we will meet his veto. His position is well understood. Among his 14 conditions of peace and in his subsequent speeches he says that we should provide for the "removal of all economic barriers and the establishment of equality of trade conditions," the "freedom from economic serfdom," and "any form of economic exclusion," and "the prevention of all economic rivalries in definite and binding terms."

The Worcester (Mass.) Telegram, speaking of the tariff arrangement of the League of Nations, says:

If Americans do not watch out, the League of Nations will be founded on free trade. The United States will lose its legs if not its head. Its billion-dollar ships will be fine junk. Instead of being able to feed the world it will be the receiving committee of charity to feed its people. Labor will be paid on the Chinese basis. The bundle tying and the bungling will be done at Versailles. How many business Americans will be there? Not one who has ever made a tariff protective law or a dollar under any other kind of law.

The late Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Redfield, in a recent speech said:

When the war shall close, the public control of railroads in foreign lands, the semiofficial chambers of commerce, the publicly fostered organizations which control great industries will all exist and will be used in an effort to recover lost commerce. The outreach of American industries—nay, their very existence in our land in some cases—will be resisted to the full, and every strategem of industrial war will be excited against them.

It becomes, therefore, vitally necessary that Congress should at once close the gates against the dumping of foreign goods into our markets at the present time. The President can not object to a correction of this Democratic legislation so as to make it workable, so we do not expect any veto of this measure. This, however, is as far as we can go, for in his recent message the President said in substance that the only way the foreign nations that owe us can pay their bills is by sending to us goods. In other words, we must increase our imports from Europe in order that she can pay us her great indebtedness. The bars must come down; the gates must be opened; protection must be swept away, so that Europe may enrich herself and pay her indebtedness at the further expense of the United States. This is the future policy of the Democratic Party as set forth by the President.

The New York Evening Post recently said:

Of course this Nation resists interference with its protected industries when such opposition pulls down the barriers between the high-wage scale of America and Europe. If the policy of protection is a handicap to the people, why are we the only country that has no emigrants? Why is American labor better paid, better clad, better educated, and more contented than any on the face of the earth? Well-paid labor can not compete with cheap labor. In the contest the former will go to the wall.

Let it be plainly understood that the policy of the present administration in the matter of our trade with foreign nations is the "removal of all economic barriers," unlimited opportunities for all nations to use us as the dumping ground of cheap pauper labor-made goods that they may recover from the effects of the war and return to prosperity at the expense of American industries and American labor.

The Republican floor leader, Mr. MONDELL, a few days ago said:

Shall the Nation do its own work, or shall the work of the Nation be done by the underpaid peoples of the Orient? Shall we make these products in America, or shall they be made by Japanese? When you state that question you state the whole tariff question. Shall America do its work, or shall we allow the oriental, with his low rate of pay and his low standard of living, do it? In that event, who is going to furnish employment for the people of America, and how shall we maintain the American wage and the American standard of living? The gentleman from North Carolina pettifogged a lot when he referred to the relative costs of the production of buttons in Japan and America. After all is said and done, one does not need to split hairs when it comes to the question of competition between American labor and oriental labor.

Our foreign trade for 1916 and 1917 amounted to a total of $17,000,000,000. Our loss of revenue during the first 10 months of the Underwood free-trade bill, prior to the war, amounted to over $62,000,000. As we are approaching a time of peace, shall we forget the lessons of the past and allow Europe to fatten

on the industries of America under the plea of the President that this is the only way they can pay their indebtedness to us? I indorse the sentiments of the New York Sun, in a recent issue. When speaking of the President's message upon this point, it said:

Better—a thousand times better—that our debtors should never pay us, that we should cancel the obligations, that we should forget them and go on our way, with the most precious of all things preserved for our own people and for their children after them—the chance for every willing man to earn an honest living in the most blessed land under the skies.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MASON,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 2, 1919.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, I can not understand why this mistaken policy of the Government should be continued, of discriminating against the National Guard and others who went in to fight and risk their lives for their country, and in favor of those who enlisted in times of peace. As an illustration of the discrimination against the enlisted man I called attention before to the case of Lieut. Barlow, who, upon the loss of his foot, receives compensation of $7.50 a month. This is all the money he received from the Government except the $60 bonus. This young man earned his decorations in active service, where he lost his foot, while his friend and comrade enlisted at the same time and was made a first lieutenant in the Regular Army. He was overtaken by flat feet here in Washington, is returned as a first lieutenant with pay amounting to more than $120 a month for life.

In answer to my letter the Secretary of War stated that it was the policy of the Government to encourage the people to enlist in times of peace and for that reason they give to the Regular Army this advantage, which is not given to the National Guard or the National Army. By some law or ruling, I am informed, that the Marine Corps service and in the Navy, the temporary officers have been retired at three-fourths pay for disability, and why in the name of common honesty this discrimination against the National Guard should continue I can not understand. Is the General Staff, which is made up of the Regular Army, in control of the legislative branch of this Government? To be perfectly frank, I think it is, for the bill I introduced to treat the National Guard the same as the Regular Army in cases of disability, is sleeping in the Committee on Military Affairs, and all that I ask of that committee is to report the bill either favorably or unfavorably, and not to continue this smothering process by which they refuse the Congress the chance to vote on the bill. I do not ask that my bill be reported, so long as any bill by anyone be reported which gives us the chance to get a vote on this proposition of the policy announced by Secretary Baker and the General Staff, which continues to discriminate against the volunteer soldier.

No one wants to take anything away that is now given the Regular Army officer or marine officers or officers of the Navy who get the benefit of retirement by reason of disability. We do not ask to take anything from them, and yet you would think, to hear some of them talk here, that it was going to be a hardship upon the Regular Establishment to deal justly with the volunteer.

Using the language of the War Department, which seems to be adopted by the Military Affairs Committee, that because officers of the Civil War outside of the Regular Army were not accorded the right to be retired, that therefore "it is improper." In other words, because for 50 years we have discriminated against the volunteer soldier of the Civil War, we must continue to discriminate against all volunteer soldiers. The sum and substance of the whole rule is: The Government says to the young man to go to West Point or Annapolis, be educated at the expense of the Government, and be given steady employment all your life, with all the dangers incident to peace, and if anything happens to you in the way of disability or upon reaching a certain age, you shall be retired in comfort and provided for as long as you live. At the same time, we say to the young man who, when he hears his country call, drops all his ambitions, throws aside all his prospects, throws his life into the balance for his country's sake, we say to him, "Young man, if you get to be a lieutenant and are promoted for bravery in action, you must understand that in case of disability you will take your 25 or 50 per cent of $30 a month, and you can, if your health permits, stand on the street corner and solicit alms from the passers-by." This is the most inhuman proposition ever made by this country, and sooner or later it may be well for you statesmen to know that the volunteer will be heard in this Chamber, and it is to be hoped that he will have influence enough at least to pry the bill for justice out of the clutches of the committee, now dominated by the General Staff.

Mr. Speaker, another bill which I shall speak briefly about: What has become of the bonus which we have talked so much about for the returned soldier? Talking with some of the leaders on both sides of this House, I was informed that we must wait before passing the bill until the American Legion shall meet. In other words, they want us to become hand washers and "pass the buck"; that is, dodge our responsibility and let some one in Minneapolis tell us what to do.

And when they adjourned in Minneapolis, I am informed that they took no action on the question of bonus. I can understand why the soldiers making up the American Legion do not want to ask for the bonus, for they might have some delicacy in asking, and for that reason I think we should be more prompt in giving it. Others who are shrieking for economy say it would be too much like charity. Let it be understood once for all that anything the Government can do for the soldier carries with it the badge of honor and not the badge of charity. Was it charity when we made new generals and new admirals? Not one of your cheeseparing committees called it charity. Is it charity to pay pensions to the men of the Grand Army of the Republic and the Spanish War veterans? The man who says so has not the least conception of patriotism. When we made a bonus here for our Government employees of $240 a year so that they could take care of the high cost of living, no one called that charity. We all agreed that it was an act of justice.

Our boys came home from service and were discharged with that magnificent bonus which was nearly enough to buy them a suit of clothes. They were suddenly thrown back into civil life, many of them to find their positions gone. But wherever they are and whatever they are doing, the high cost of living is on them the same as on the rest of us. Thousands of them have fulfilled their engagements to marry, have bought a little furniture on time; thousands of them are still unemployed, and a sandwich this winter is worth more to them than a banquet two or three years from now in the shape of lands which they can not cultivate.

While I have proposed the issue of a bond of $500 to be called the honor service bond, I am free to say that I have no pride of opinion and am willing to vote for any of the half dozen bills which have been introduced by my colleagues upon this subject. If there is any soldier who thinks that it is charity and that he does not want charity there is nothing to compel him to take it, but he ought not to stand in the way of the thousands of our good, hard-working boys who were taken away from their business, used as long as we wanted them for German targets, and then turned back into the whirlpool of labor and commerce, and then told that a few years from now we are going to pass some land legislation that may possibly be of benefit to 5 per cent of the American soldiers.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I want to give respectful notice to those gentlemen who prevent us from having a vote on this subject, the gentlemen who are in control of the committees of this House are taking a grave responsibility upon themselves in refusing to give us a chance to consider such a measure in the Committee of the Whole. I am familiar with the old method of killing legislation by preventing a vote upon it, but that time is passing, and the gentlemen who prevent us from having a vote upon that measure will have to account to their constituents.

There is another bill pending which gives to the private soldier and sailor the right to form a legion. This takes in privates and noncommissioned officers. Why can not this be done as cheerfully as we gave to the American Legion a charter. This could not injure the American Legion. Suppose all of the lieutenants wanted to form an organization, or all of the cooks or the nurses, why not give them all an even chance. These organizations in the past, the Grand Army, the Spanish War Veterans, and affiliated organizations have been a very fountainhead for teaching patriotism and loyalty. The Sons of the American Revolution and the Daughters of the same, the Grand Army of the Republic, the women of the Grand Army of the Republic, the Sons and the Daughters of the Grand Army of the Republic, the Spanish War Veterans and their affiliated organizations, and now the American Legion are all the promoters of the doctrine of our Americanism, and the more we have the better, and I wish very earnestly to indorse the statement of the great soldier and statesman, Gen. SHERWOOD, of Ohio, that

the private soldiers and sailors and noncommissioned officers may be given the advantage of having an organization.

I am by request of that organization printing here as a part of my remarks their declaration of principles:

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE
PRIVATE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS LEGION,
810 F Street, Washington, D. C.

(Incorporated March, 1919, under the act of Congress for the District of Columbia.)

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

The Private (the word "Private" as used in this document intends to cover those enlisted men in the Army and Navy who are not commissioned officers) Soldiers and Sailors Legion is an organization of and for the private soldiers, sailors, and marines only.

The purpose of the legion is to unite all privates of the United States Army and Navy who served in the World War into one fraternal union for the mutual protection of their rights, the advancement of their interests, the promotion of their welfare, and the fostering and aiding of cordial, social, and fraternal relations among those who served as privates in the United States forces during the World War in the years from 1917 to 1919, inclusive, and to secure forever the blessings of liberty and peace to ourselves and all our fellow citizens of the United States of America.

These benefits of organization can only be accomplished by definite practical steps taken by the united action of the great body of the private soldiers and sailors themselves.

The successful achievement of the demands of the Private Soldiers and Sailors Legion will not only be immediately and permanently helpful to those who wore the uniform, but will be of the greatest benefit to the prosperity, security, and welfare of all the people of the United States. It was by the laws and action of the United States Government that upon the private soldier, sailor, and marine were placed the burdens, hazards, and losses of the World War. Only by the laws and action of the United States Government can these burdens be removed and those hazards and losses to some extent be compensated.

To this end we demand that the United States Government shall promptly enact legislation to provide employment at once for all demobilized soldiers, sailors, and marines who are unable to find employment in private business. The first demand of the demobilized men of the United States service is the opportunity for employment for all.

To tide over the change from military to civil life we shall ask Congress to appropriate $500 to be paid to each private upon his discharge from the service. This payment to be made to those who are already discharged upon the passage of the law.

Thousands of soldiers were subject to needless hardships and privations by the unjustly heavy fines and penalties imposed on soldiers by the incompetent and unfit officers in courts-martial for insignificant, petty infractions of military regulations. Congress should at once take the necessary action to see that these fines for petty offenses should be promptly repaid to the honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines, and all court-martial sentences should be reviewed, that justice may be done.

We demand prompt action by Congress to open up for demobilized soldiers, sailors, and marines the opportunity to employ their labor on the unused lands and natural resources of our country. And we don't want to be confined to swamp lands, cut-over stump lands, and desert lands, either. We hold that the hundreds of millions of idle acres of good agricultural, mineral, and timber lands and vacant city lots are none too good for the use of the soldiers who are conceded to have saved civilization at $30 per month minus large reductions for fines, insurance, etc.

We seek no crumbs of private charity; we accept no dole of public alms; we know our rights and we demand them like men.

We do not purpose to be used as crowbars to pry some other man or woman out of a job. Nor do we intend to be recruited into an army of unemployed to be used as a lever to force down the wages of other citizens. Nor do we intend to starve or beg. Nature's bounty has provided Uncle Sam and all his nephews with ample opportunity for all to work if the Government will only let down the bars of monopoly and privilege.

We reaffirm the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States of America and the reestablishment of the rights of free speech, free press, and peaceable assemblage guaranteed by that Constitution. And we recognize the duty of the men and women of our times in this Republic to carry on to full completion the work begun by our forefathers by establishing on a sure foundation the last and greatest of the rights of man—economic liberty—without which all the other forms of freedom fail.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROYAL C. JOHNSON,

OF SOUTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 18, 1919.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a copy of the resolutions adopted at the First National Convention of the American Legion held at Minneapolis, Minn., November 10, 11, and 12, 1919.

The matter above referred to is as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

PREAMBLE.

For God and country we associate ourselves together for the following purposes:

To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; to maintain law and order; to foster and perpetuate a 100 per cent Americanism; to preserve the memories and incidents of our association in the Great War; to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, State, and Nation; to combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses; to make right the master of might; to promote peace and good will on earth; to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy; to consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness.

ARTICLE I.

NAME.

SECTION 1. The name of this organization shall be the American Legion.

ARTICLE II.

NATURE.

SECTION 1. The American Legion is a civilian organization; membership therein does not affect or increase liability for military or police service. Rank does not exist in the legion; no member shall be addressed by his military or naval title in any convention or meeting of the legion.

SEC. 2. The American Legion shall be absolutely nonpolitical and shall not be used for the dissemination of partisan principles or for the promotion of the candidacy of any person seeking public office or preferment. No candidate for or incumbent of a salaried elective public office shall hold any office in the American Legion or in any department or post thereof.

SEC. 3. Each member shall perform his full duty as a citizen according to his own conscience and understanding.

ARTICLE III.

ORGANIZATION.

SECTION 1. The American Legion shall be organized in departments and these in turn in posts. There shall be one department in each State, in the District of Columbia, and in each Territory of the United States. The national executive committee may establish additional departments in Territorial possessions of the United States and in foreign countries.

ARTICLE IV.

ELIGIBILITY.

SECTION 1. Any person shall be eligible for membership in the American Legion who was regularly enlisted, drafted, inducted, or commissioned, and who served on active duty in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States at some time during the period between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, both dates inclusive, or who, being a citizen of the United States at the time of his entry therein, served on active duty in the naval, military, or air forces of any of the Governments associated with the United States during the Great War: *Provided*, That no person shall be entitled to membership (a) who, being in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during said period, refused on conscientious, political, or other grounds to subject himself to military discipline or unqualified service, or (b) who, being in such service, was separated therefrom under circumstances amounting to dishonorable discharge and has not subsequently been officially restored to an honorable status.

SEC. 2. There shall be no form or class of membership except an active membership as hereinabove provided.

ARTICLE V.

SECTION 1. The legislative body of the legion shall be the national convention, to be held annually at a time and place to be fixed by the preceding national convention.

SEC. 2. In the national convention each department shall be entitled to five delegates and one additional delegate for each thousand members whose current dues have been received by the national treasurer 30 days prior to the meeting of said convention, and one alternate for each delegate. The delegates shall be chosen at department conventions, to be held not less than two weeks before the national convention.

SEC. 3. Each delegate shall be entitled to one vote. The vote of any delegate absent and not represented by an alternate shall be cast by the majority of the delegates present from his department. Alternates shall have all the privileges of delegates except that of voting.

SEC. 4. A quorum shall exist at a national convention when 60 per cent of the departments are represented as provided above.

ARTICLE VI.

NATIONAL OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The national convention shall elect a national commander and five national vice commanders. No two vice commanders shall be chosen from the same department, and no more than three from those who served in the Army. These officers shall be members of the national convention and of the national executive committee, and the chairman and vice chairmen, respectively, of both bodies. A vice commander shall, on request of the national commander, act as chairman of either of said bodies.

SEC. 2. The national convention shall also elect a national chaplain.

SEC. 3. Such officers shall serve until the adjournment of the succeeding national convention and thereafter until their successors are chosen. Vacancies in these offices occurring between national conventions shall be filled by the national executive committee.

SEC. 4. The national commander shall appoint a national adjutant. The executive committee shall appoint a national treasurer and such officials and standing committees as may be necessary, and shall authorize or approve all expenditures. All appointed officers shall hold office at the pleasure of the appointing power, and all persons having the custody of funds shall give adequate bonds.

ARTICLE VII.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

SECTION 1. Between national conventions the administrative power shall be vested in the national executive committee, which shall be composed of the national commander and vice commanders in office and of one representative and one alternate from each department, to be elected as such department shall determine: *Provided*, That in 1919 the delegates to the national convention shall elect the executive committeeman and alternate from their respective departments.

SEC. 2. The executive committee shall meet at the place of the national convention within 24 hours after the final adjournment of the national convention, and thereafter at the call of the national commander. The national commander shall call a meeting upon the written request of 15 or more members of said executive committee.

SEC. 3. Seven members shall constitute a quorum of the executive committee.

ARTICLE VIII.

DEPARTMENT ORGANIZATION.

SECTION 1. Departments shall be chartered by the national executive committee and shall be composed of the posts within their respective areas. Each department charter shall be signed by the national commander and national adjutant.

SEC. 2. Each department shall have a department commander, a department adjutant, a department executive committee, and such other officers as the department shall determine.

ARTICLE IX.

SECTION 1. Those who desire to form a post shall make application for a charter to the commander of the department in which they reside. The charter shall be issued by the national commander and national adjutant upon receipt of the application properly executed by the charter members of the projected post, but only when such application is approved by the commander of the department or by the department executive committee. Post charters shall be countersigned by the commander and the adjutant of the department.

SEC. 2. The minimum membership of a post shall be determined by the executive committee of the department in whose area it lies.

SEC. 3. Each department may prescribe the constitution of its posts. Post charters may be revoked by the department executive committee with the approval of the national executive committee.

SEC. 4. No post shall be named after any living person.

ARTICLE X.

FINANCE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the American Legion shall be derived from annual membership dues and from such other sources as may be approved by the national executive committee.

SEC. 2. The amount of such annual dues shall be determined by each national convention for the ensuing year.

SEC. 3. The annual dues shall be collected by each post and transmitted through the department to the national treasurer.

ARTICLE XI.

DISCIPLINE.

SECTION 1. The national executive committee, after notice and a hearing, may suspend or revoke the charter of a department which violates this constitution or which fails adequately to discipline any of its posts for any such violation, and may provide for the government and administration of such department during such suspension or upon such revocation.

ARTICLE XII.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE.

SECTION 1. Any member in good standing in a post removing from his department shall be entitled to a certificate from his post stating his membership and the duration thereof.

ARTICLE XIII.

AUXILIARIES.

SECTION 1. The American Legion recognizes an auxiliary organization to be known as the Women's Auxiliary of the American Legion.

SEC. 2. Membership in the auxiliary shall be limited to the mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters of the members of the American Legion, and to the mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters of all men and women who were in the military or naval service of the United States between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, and died in line of duty or after honorable discharge and prior to November 11, 1920.

SEC. 3. The auxiliary shall be governed in each department of the American Legion by such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the national executive committee and thereafter approved by such department of the American Legion.

ARTICLE XIV.

RATIFICATION.

SECTION 1. All acts performed and charters heretofore granted by the temporary organization of the American Legion are hereby ratified and confirmed.

ARTICLE XV.

AMENDMENTS.

SECTION 1. This constitution may be amended at any national convention by the vote of two-thirds of the total authorized representation thereat, provided that the proposed amendment shall have been read at such convention at least 24 hours before the vote thereon.

NATIONAL INCORPORATION.

This constitution is adopted conformably to the act of the Congress of the United States of America of date September 16, 1919.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION.

Your committee submits the following report, embodying recommendations of the committee covering the method by which the national organization shall carry into effect the decisions of the national convention affecting national legislation as well as recommendations to the States covering the promotion of appropriate legislation in several States:

1. Your committee recommends that the national commander appoint a committee on legislation, whose duty it shall be to represent the American Legion in Washington, and that such committee be authorized to establish a Washington bureau, rent offices, and employ such personnel as it deems necessary for the furtherance of the legislative program of the American Legion.

2. Your committee further recommends that the national adjutant or secretary be instructed to send copies of all resolutions adopted by this convention on the subject of national legislation to each State adjutant or secretary; that each State adjutant or secretary be directed to send copies of such resolutions to each local post; and that each local post be directed to use its best efforts to facilitate the enactment of such proposed legislation through contact with the Member of Congress from their district or the United States Senators.

3. Your committee recommends that each State organization be directed to appoint a legislative committee in such manner as the State organization may elect, with such powers as may be necessary to facilitate the enactment of legislation before its State legislators.

Your committee ratifies and approves the work conducted by the national legislative committee of the American Legion at Washington and directs that the following statement be included as a part of this report:

The national legislative committee of the American Legion, consisting of Luke Lea, of Tennessee, and Thomas W. Miller, of Delaware, joint chairmen, was authorized in June, 1919. The first work of this committee was to obtain from Congress an act incorporating the American Legion as a national corporation. Such a measure was introduced on June 27, 1919, and became a law on September 16, 1919. The rapid passage of this measure through both Houses of Congress is significant of the strength of the American Legion among our national legislators.

To carry out the recommendation of the St. Louis caucus on the subject of alien slackers proper measures were introduced and pushed by your committee. A bill providing for the deportation of naturalized citizens or aliens convicted under the espionage act has already passed the House and favorably reported by a Senate committee. Concerning those slackers who withdrew their first citizenship papers when called upon to serve the country, a measure was introduced and properly advocated through public hearings, but due to purporting infringement of treaty rights the State Department has opposed the enactment of it.

The bill amending the war-risk insurance act in the manner advocated by the legion has passed the House and is now pending before the Senate Committee on Finance.

The legion's interest in the treatment of disabled soldiers and the deplorable conditions existing in connection with this matter has received attention of the national legislative committee, with a view to an early bettering of the conditions of disabled men.

Your committee has cooperated with the congressional committee investigating the conduct of the war with a view to bringing speedy justice to officers and men who were responsible for the diabolical treatment meted out to our soldiers in prison camps abroad and in this country, and for future investigation in connection therewith.

The American Legion has obtained amendments to the proper bills which provide that civil-service preference be given to honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines in Federal position throughout the country.

The American Legion desires that the officers and enlisted personnel who served in this war and who were disabled retire under the same conditions as the men under the Regular Establishment, and have been advocating, through the legislative committee, appropriate legislation of this character.

There has been close cooperation between the legion representatives and the War Department in the matter of reemployment of ex-service men.

There are numerous other matters with which the legislative committee has dealt in Washington, but in whatever work the committee is engaged it has only reflected the will of the individual members of the American Legion as expressed through the temporary National and State organizations.

Respectfully submitted.

THOMAS W. MILLER, of Delaware, *Chairman.*
NEWTON JENKINS, of Illinois, *Secretary.*

REPORT OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON POST ACTIVITIES AND MEMORIALS.

NATIONAL CONVENTION AMERICAN LEGION.

1. Keep the preamble before the members. It tells them what the American Legion stands for.

2. The matter of post activities should be left entirely to the local post, with the proviso that matters of policy affecting the American Legion be passed on by the State or National organization.

3. Each State organization shall appoint a committee on post activities and welfare, whose duty it shall be to recommend to local posts stimulating influences for membership such as entertainment, athletics, social events, interpost competitions, etc.

4. We recommend that space be devoted in the American Legion Weekly to the publication of post activities, setting forth what the different posts accomplish throughout the country in making their post activities attractive.

5. We recommend that the national executive committee fix a national American Legion week at which time the National, State, and local organizations shall concentrate through all mediums of publicity to further by personal solicitation an enrollment membership campaign to be carried on by each local post in the country.

6. We recommend that May 30 be designated as the American Legion Memorial Day and that the American foreign legations in countries where our dead comrades rest be instructed through the proper departments at Washington to cause fitting memorial services to be held.

7. We recommend the consideration of a memorial to our soldier dead in France to the national executive committee, to be reported upon at the next annual convention.

8. We recommend that each State individually determine for itself the nature, form, and construction to be used in memorials erected to their fallen comrades.

9. The American Legion is to take decisive measures against the illegal use of the American uniform, and to prevent all misuses of the said uniforms.

FRANK A. SULLIVAN,
Massachusetts, Chairman.
WILBUR BRUCKER,
Michigan, Secretary.

REPORT OF EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE.

NOVEMBER 11, 1919.

Your committee on employment offers for your consideration the following resolutions:

Resolution 1.

Whereas considerable numbers of discharged service men are not placed in employment suitable to their abilities or needs and large numbers of service men are in need of help and information regarding many matters other than employment: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Legion in national convention assembled does hereby urge that the efforts that are now being made by the service and information branch, or such other agency as may be established, be continued under its present arrangement until the situation as to unemployed service men shall have been corrected and the number reduced to normal condition; and further be it

Resolved, That the American Legion, each State organization, each local post, and each individual member be urged to cooperate in every way possible with the service and information branch in the office and agency they maintain to provide for the adequate handling of employment for discharged service men; and further be it

Resolved, That funds to maintain and to develop these agencies under the service and information branch of this office of the Assistant Secretary of War, were it not otherwise already provided for, be so provided for by appropriation of Congress as an emergency measure; and further be it

Resolved, That all civilian clerks or employees required for the work be ex-service men who have secured an honorable discharge; and further be it

Resolved, That National, State, and local welfare agencies maintaining service of any nature for the benefit of the former ex-service men be urged to continue activities during the present period of uncertainty and unrest; and further be it

Resolved, That the question of employment, as regards the American Legion, will become after the period of organization of the legion, a matter concerned among members of the legion only, and that after such period of organization it shall become a matter of responsibility for each post to assure itself that no member of such post is unemployed.

Resolution 2.

Whereas the Government, even more than private employers, owes an obligation toward its discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines to afford them an opportunity to earn a proper living, particularly in the case of those who have suffered any permanent disability; and

Whereas military experience and training have made the veterans of the World War better able to render loyal and efficient service in public employment; and

Whereas the American Legion desires to uphold high standards of governmental service and to avoid fostering the claim of the unfit and the undeserving under color of patriotism: Be it

Resolved, That the American Legion, in national convention assembled, declares its belief that in making or providing for appointments to position in the civil service, National and State Governments, by legislative or other appropriate action, should allow a preference over candidates otherwise equally qualified to veterans of the World War and to the widows of those who laid down their lives in the service; and be it further

Resolved, That the several civil service commissions should be authorized and directed to provide in the regulations governing all civil service tests that special recognition be given to patriotism, discipline, and similar military virtues, and that, in the rating of candidates under those headings, a certain percentage must be allowed to all the veterans of the World War; and be it further

Resolved, That the veterans of the World War who, through wounds or otherwise, have been permanently incapacitated by their military service should have absolute preference for appointment to any civil service position for which their physical disability does not otherwise disqualify them.

Resolution 3.

Whereas the American Legion in all of its branches has occasion to employ the services of various clerks, typists, and stenographers; and

Whereas these organizations of the American Legion have heretofore employed assistants who were not members of the legion; and

Whereas all concerns throughout the country have been asked by the American Legion to employ ex-service men and women wherever possible, and the American Legion in some instances has not as yet set the example to this end: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Legion in all its branches employ, wherever possible, the services of American Legion members in good standing; and be it it further

Resolved, That the present staffs of the National, State, and county organizations be so altered as to conform to this resolution.

It having come to the attention of the American Legion that there are now being employed in the various quartermaster depots and Navy commissary stores of our country men who are not ex-service men: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Legion condemns the hiring or continuance in service in said quartermaster depots and Navy commissary stores of said men, and insist that ex-service men be employed exclusively in these positions.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be furnished to the War and Navy Departments, to the various welfare agencies concerned, and to the public press.

EDWARD W. RUDOLPH (Missouri), *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAR-RISK INSURANCE.

NOVEMBER 12, 1919.

To the American Legion National Convention:

Your committee on war-risk insurance reports as follows:

This committee has taken as its charter the following mandate of the convention:

"To recommend how ex-service persons may receive the most efficient assistance from the American Legion, the National, State, and post organization, and also to recommend what improvements in legislation and administration, if any, should be urged upon the Government."

War risk is a good name with a bad history. But under your mandate we have conceived that it was our duty not to condemn the past, but to build the future.

To accomplish this end, and realize all possible benefits from the war-risk insurance act, your committee submits three classes of recommendations:

First. What Congress shall do.
Second. What the American Legion shall do.
Third. What the War Risk Bureau shall do.

I. WHAT CONGRESS SHALL DO.

1. Pass the Sweet bill (H. R. 8778).

This bill, passed by the House and pending in the Senate, provides increased compensation for disabled men; extends the classes of persons to whom insurance may be payable, including the insured's estate; provides payment of converted insurance in a lump sum or installments covering three years or more, at the option of the insured.

2. Pass the Wason bill (H. R. 10365).

This bill gives the Bureau of War Risk Insurance authority (a) to establish 14 regional offices; (b) to advertise in newspapers and periodicals, in order to acquaint all with their rights under the war-risk act; (c) to receive payment of premiums through post offices, and appropriates $2,000,000 for these purposes.

3. We recommend that Congress do not pass the Harding-McCulloch bill.

This bill provides that for two years after discharge ex-service men be not required to pay insurance premiums.

Your committee deems this bill in effect a bonus, which, if it is to be given by Congress, should be done directly and not indirectly, and not in a manner destructive of one of the purposes of the war-risk act.

4. As new legislation we recommend that Congress pass laws to attain the following objects:

(a) To extend the principles of the Sweet bill so that term insurance as well as converted insurance shall be payable at option in a lump sum.

(b) To eliminate all restrictions as to the class of permitted beneficiaries.

(c) Relieve from payment of premiums on term insurance those persons who are receiving hospital care under the Bureau of War Risk Insurance; those persons in vocational training during the period of their training; and those persons temporarily totally disabled, retroactive to October 6, 1917; also to provide without charge hospital and medical care for all honorably discharged service men for one year from the date of their discharge.

(d) To combine the Federal Board for Vocational Training with the Compensation Division of the War Risk Insurance Bureau.

5. Your committee has given full consideration to the suggestion already heard upon the floor of this convention that war-risk premium rates be reduced. In considering this subject we have had the benefit of arguments by the honored chairman of this convention, former Director of the War Risk Insurance Bureau, the arguments of Judge Vance and Prof. Dowling, former counsel of the bureau; of R. G. Cholmeley-Jones, the present director; and William McFarlane, actuary of the bureau; and after full hearing and discussion we recommend the following resolution:

"Whereas there appears just basis for a belief that dividends accruing from converted war-risk insurance will be sufficient to warrant an eventual reduction in rates: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the Congress and the Secretary of the Treasury be requested to make an actuarial ascertainment of the true cost of war-risk insurance as determined by experience, to the end that rates be revised to actual mortality cost."

II. WHAT THE AMERICAN LEGION SHALL DO.

Launch an active campaign to obtain at once for ex-service men and their dependent relatives the benefits of the war-risk act, and to that end that there be provided by each State organization of the legion a war-risk officer, paid if possible, who shall immediately organize his State through the local posts in order to bring about prompt adjustments and settlements with the War Risk Bureau, and that this campaign be given active cooperation by the American Legion publication; and, further, that there be furnished to these officers and each of the legion posts, the addresses of which shall be furnished the bureau, copies of all publications, informative literature, rulings, and instructions issued by the War Risk Bureau.

III. WHAT THE BUREAU OF WAR RISK SHALL DO.

Employ more ex-service men at the bureau, give prompter attention to inquiries directed to the bureau, and get busy!

Respectfully submitted.

GILBERT BETTMAN, *Chairman.*
FLOYD WINGO, *Secretary.*

REPORT ON BENEFICIAL LEGISLATION ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND COMPENSATION FOR THE WOUNDED AND DISABLED SERVICE PERSONS.

NOVEMBER 12, 1919.

Your committee on beneficial legislation met and organized Monday afternoon at 4 p. m., and after several sessions of many hours' duration submits the following unanimous report:

First. That we memoralize Congress and urge that the appropriation of all necessary funds to properly carry on the work of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, as needed by the board, be made promptly.

Second. The committee recommends that the immediate passage of bill H. R. 8778, known as the Sweet bill, be urged upon Congress, amending, however, the compensation features so as to include the same family allowances as authorized in section 204 of the war-risk act.

Third. Request that Congress be urged to grant authority to the Bureau of War Risk Insurance to establish 14 regional offices, and to urge upon all Government agencies having to do with discharged ex-service men the necessity for having all of their offices under one roof.

Fourth. Recommend to Congress the enactment of legislation making sufficient appropriation to provide adequate hospital and sanitarium facilities for the care and treatment of all persons discharged from the military and naval service of the United States, and to provide medical and surgical treatment to any of the persons mentioned above, irrespective of the service origin or aggravation of their disability for one year subsequent to the passage of the act, this in addition to the medical and surgical treatment now provided by law.

Fifth. Request that all disabled ex-service men and women of the military and naval service of the United States be permitted to go to the best hospitals, that they may be treated by their own physicians if they so desire.

Sixth. Recommend that the following bill or some similar bill looking to the reimbursement by the Government of all disabled ex-service men and women for the loans which they necessarily obtain from the Red Cross and other welfare organizations for their support while waiting for their assignment for vocational training or education.

RESOLUTION FOR AN ACT OF CONGRESS TO PROVIDE FOR DISABLED EX-SERVICE MEN AND WOMEN BETWEEN THE TIME OF DISCHARGE AND ENTRANCE UPON TRAINING.

Whereas the immensity of this task, the large number of individuals to be provided for, the detail and consideration of manifold problems involved in the proper performance thereof renders it physically impossible to consummate the duties imposed by statute and a high devotion to the disabled ex-service men and women at a rate of speed sufficient to provide a compensation or rehabilitation for them without unavoidable delays and an interval between the time of discharge and the time of receipt of first pay check for a course of training for rehabilitation; and

Whereas this has necessitated and will necessitate for some time to come the borrowing of money from private or semipublic cooperating organizations or becoming dependent on family or other relatives for such period as is necessitated for the care of and provision for those entitled by priority of discharge to the prior services of the several governmental agencies: So therefore be it unanimously

Resolved by the American Legion in convention assembled, That it is the duty of Congress to provide, and Congress is hereby respectfully requested and urged to provide by law with the least possible delay, the following:

A special payment of $75 per month to be paid to ex-service men and women disabled by tuberculosis, and a special payment of $50 per month to be paid to other disabled ex-service men and women of the United States Army and Navy who served during the period specified in the war-risk insurance act and the vocational rehabilitation act, and who have been or may be discharged from the United States military or naval hospitals with an honorable discharge showing a disability, or

who shall develop a disability traceable to their service and apply for compensation within three months.

Said bonus of $75 and $50 per month, respectively, is to be automatically due from date of discharge and shall be paid by the War Department or Navy Department out of special funds which Congress is asked to appropriate for that purpose, and shall be paid continuously from time of discharge until award of compensation or entrance upon a course of training for rehabilitation.

Provided, however, That when an award of compensation shall have been made, as provided in H. R. 8778, commonly known as the Sweet bill, the sums so paid shall be deducted from the amount of arrears of compensation awarded, unless the compensation awarded be less than the sum so paid, in which case no refund shall be required of the amount in excess of said arrears of compensation awarded: *And provided further,* That if no award of compensation be made before the disabled ex-service men and women enter upon a course of training only such sum of arrears of compensation shall be paid to said ex-service men and women as such award may be in excess of the bonus paid for the period between discharge and entrance upon his course of training.

Seventh. Recommend that the American Legion continue its cooperation with the Federal Board for Vocational Education, Bureau of War Risk Insurance, and Public Health Service in informing and educating all members of the legion, and other ex-service men and women in their rights under the provisions of the various acts administered by said agencies, thereby dispelling, so far as possible, any bad impressions that may have resulted from unwarranted newspaper criticisms.

Eighth. Recommend that the provisions of section 3 of the vocational rehabilitation act be extended so as to include all disabled persons.

Ninth. That paragraph 2, section 2, of Senate resolution No. 4557, the vocational rehabilitation act, as amended by Senate resolution No. 1213, approved July 11, 1919, be amended to read as follows:

"The board shall have the power, and it shall be its duty, to furnish the persons included in this section suitable courses of vocational rehabilitation, to be prescribed and provided by the board; and every person electing to follow such a course of vocational rehabilitation shall, while following the same, be paid monthly by the said board, from the appropriation hereinafter provided, such sum as in the judgment of the said board is necessary for his maintenance and support of persons depending upon him, if any: *Provided, however,* That in no event shall the sum so paid such person while pursuing such course be less than $100 per month for a single man without dependents, for a man with dependents $120 per month, plus the several sums prescribed as family allowances under section 204 of article 2 of the war-risk insurance act.

"*Be it further provided,* That we recommend the enactment of legislation which will permit or enable the Federal Board for Vocational Education to pay the necessary traveling expenses of an applicant and his dependents while he may be performing necessary travel in connection with his course of training, and while traveling under orders of the said Federal board."

Tenth. That a resolution regarding equality of disability pay to all officers and enlisted personnel of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, where the disability was occasioned incident to service in the war with the central powers of Europe, be enacted, to wit:

Whereas the officers and enlisted personnel entering the Army from civil life during the recent war bore the same risks, the same responsibilities and burdens under identical conditions with officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army; and

Whereas National Guard, National Army, and Reserve Corps officers have been discharged on disabilities ranging from 10 per cent to total, which means that they receive after discharge only from $3 to $30 per month, while a Regular Army officer, if he is unfit for active duty, is retired on three-fourths of his pay with additional amounts for commutation of heat, light, and quarters; and

Whereas the present laws and regulations constitute an unjust discrimination in favor of a certain class of our military forces, viz, the Regular Army, and this discrimination being in principle un-American and unworthy the practice of a great democracy: Be it

Resolved by this national convention of the American Legion, That the existing laws and regulations do unjustly and unwisely discriminate in favor of persons whose interests were no greater and whose service was of no greater benefit to the Nation, and that such discrimination has a tendency to place the several branches of our military system on a different status, thereby causing friction and injustice; and be it further

Resolved, That this national convention of the American Legion heartily indorses the resolution on this subject adopted by the St. Louis caucus of the legion, and we again request the Congress of the United States to amend the present laws so as to place all disabled officers and enlisted personnel on the same basis as to retirement for their disability, whether they happened to serve in the Regular Army, the National Guard, the National Army, or the Reserve Corps.

Eleventh. That it is the opinion of the American Legion that in the administration of the compensation features of the war-risk insurance act that the greatest liberality be shown in determining the ratings, and that in case of question as to the rights to compensation or as to the amount of compensation the disabled person be given the benefit of any doubt that may arise.

Twelfth. That legislation be enacted providing that any person who has been eligible and who has received the benefits of the war-risk or vocational-rehabilitation acts or any other act for the relief of disabled service men or women shall suffer the recurrence of the disease or other disability resulting from military or naval service such persons shall again become automatically eligible to all the provisions of such acts without the formalities now required, to the end that speedy relief may be extended to such person, and that all tubercular persons shall be considered totally and permanently disabled while undergoing treatment.

Thirteenth. That the following legislation affecting former service persons securing educational courses be enacted, such legislation known as the Kahn resolution (H. J. Res. 78):

"That in the interpretation and execution of section 42 of the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, and section 50 of said act, as amended by joint resolution of Congress of September 8, 1916, credit shall be given as for service in the junior or senior division of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps to any member of those divisions for any period or periods of training during which such members shall have been in active service in the Army of the United States or shall have received intensive training under the supervision of the War Department or shall have pursued a course of military training in any organization authorized by any law of the United States, the amount of such credit to be determined by regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of War."

Fourteenth. That the national legislative committee of the American Legion be empowered and directed to investigate all complaints of irregularities and injustices suffered by disabled service men and women in the administration of the war-risk, vocational-rehabilitation, and other beneficial acts and to urge legislation to remedy the same in so far as such legislation may not be covered in this report and is not inconsistent with anything herein contained.

LAND-DEVELOPMENT AND HOME-AID LEGISLATION.

Fifteenth.

Whereas the American Legion, in national convention assembled, has before it a number of bills purporting to be of benefit to those persons who served honorably in the military and naval forces of the United States; and

Whereas none of the proposed bills make adequate provision for the needs of the proposed beneficiaries; and

Whereas delay would be most disastrous: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we request the immediate enactment of a law, to be known as the American Legion home-founding act, embodying the following features:

1. Reclamation of unproductive lands by direct Government operation for settlement by service men and women.

2. Reclamation and development of rural communities by loans of Government credit for settlement of such communities by service men and women.

3. Direct loans to service men and women for the purchase and development of farms.

4. Direct loans to service men and women for the purchase of city homes; and be it further

Resolved:

1. That the administration of the same be decentralized.

2. That no heavy financial restriction be imposed.

3. That the right of eminent domain be incorporated to prevent speculation.

4. That the provision of such act shall be administered by former service men and women; and be it further

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the national executive committee to be known as the committee on land and home aid to secure this needed legislation.

ADJUSTED COMPENSATION.

Sixteenth.

Whereas the question of adjustment of compensation or extra pay for service men and women is now pending before the Congress, and before acting thereon the Congress has shown the disposition to await the view of this convention upon the subject: Therefore be it

Resolved, That while the American Legion was not founded for the purpose of promoting legislation in its selfish interest, yet it recognizes that our Government has an obligation to all service men and women to relieve the financial disadvantages incidental to their military service—an obligation second only to that of caring for the disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who sacrificed their lives and one already acknowledged by our allies—but the American Legion feels that it can not ask for legislation in its selfish interest, and leaves with confidence to the Congress the discharge of this obligation.

Seventeenth. The committee desires to record its thanks to the disabled service men and the representatives of various organizations who have given the committee the benefit of their advice and information upon the subjects before it.

LUKE LEA, *Chairman.*
CUMMINS, *Secretary.*

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MILITARY POLICY.

Your committee on military policy met at the Minneapolis Club at 3.30 p. m. Monday, November 10, 1919, and chose as its chairman Mr. L. V. Patch, of Idaho, and as its secretary Mr. B. W. Eddy, of Louisiana.

It was agreed to confine the committee's thought and action to statements of policy rather than statements of detail. The following resolutions were adopted:

1. That a large standing army is uneconomic and un-American. National safety with freedom from militarism is best assured by a national citizen army and navy based on the democratic and American principles of the equality of obligation and opportunity for all.

2. We favor a policy of universal military training, and that the administration of such policy shall be removed from the complete control of any exclusively military organization or caste.

3. We are strongly opposed to compulsory military service in time of peace.

4. We have had a bitter experience in the cost of unpreparedness for national defense and the lack of proper training on the part of officers and men, and we realize the necessity of an immediate revision of our military and naval system and a thorough house cleaning of the inefficient officers and methods of our entire Military Establishment.

We favor a national military and naval system based on universal military obligation, to include a relatively small Regular Army and Navy, and a citizen army and navy capable of rapid expansion sufficient to meet any national emergency, on a plan which will provide competitive and progressive training for all officers, both of the Regular Army and Navy and of the citizen forces.

We believe that such military system should be subject to civil authority.

Any legislation tending toward an enlarged and stronger military and naval caste we unqualifiedly condemn.

5. The national citizen army, which should and must be the chief reliance of this country in time of war, should be officered by men from its own ranks and administered by a general staff on which citizen soldier officers and Regular Army officers shall serve in equal number.

We recommend that military training in high schools and colleges be encouraged.

6. We favor the continuance of training camps for the training and education of officers to serve in case of national requirement.

We recommend that Congress pass such legislation as will make the United States Air Service a separate and distinct department of our system of national defenses under control of a member of the President's Cabinet appointed for that purpose alone.

7. The national citizen army and navy should be organized into corps, divisions, and smaller units composed in each case of officers and men who come from the same State or locality and preserving local designations as far as practicable.

8. The national citizen army and navy should be trained, equipped, officered, and assigned to definite units, before rather than after the commencement of hostilities.

9. The selection and training of men for the national citizen army and navy should be under the local control and administration of its own officers, subject to general national regulations.

10. That a committee of seven be appointed by the executive committee of the American Legion to consult with and advise the Military and Naval Committees of both Houses of Congress as to the working out of the details of organization and training of the future Army and Navy of the United States, using as its basis the resolutions accepted and adopted by this convention.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE ADMISSION OF ALIENS TO AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP BY COMMITTEE ON ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA.

I.

The American Legion believes that the privilege of American citizenship should be granted solely upon the basis of fitness for that status, such fitness to include adaptability to American ideals, social and political, American civilization, form of Government, and standard of living. Therefore be it

Resolved, by the American Legion, in convention assembled, That we urge upon Congress a revision of the immigration policy of the United States based upon the revelations of the war as to the adaptability of alien races for American citizenship, and particularly in view of the fact that a policy of peaceful penetration is being carried on by alien races in certain sections of the United States.

Upholding the right of this Nation to determine its own citizenship without any alien race having cause for grievance over its exclusion from unrestricted immigration, the American Legion calls the especial attention of Congress to the conditions regarding alien penetration prevailing on the Pacific slope, in the Territory of Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands.

To meet these conditions:

1. The American Legion demands immediate action for the abrogation of the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan, now being continually violated, especially by the admission of the so-called "picture brides," and the exclusion of Japanese from the United States on the same principle already adopted in the case of other oriental races.

2. The American Legion demands confirmation and legalization of the policy that foreign-born Japanese shall be forever barred from American citizenship.

3. The American Legion demands that Congress propose an amendment to section 1 of Amendment XIV of the Federal Constitution that no child born in the United States after the date such amendment becomes effective, of foreign parentage, shall be eligible to citizenship of the United States unless both parents were so eligible at that time.

4. The American Legion requests Congress to send subcommittees of the committees on immigration of both Houses to the Pacific slope, the Territory of Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands in order that they may study conditions and be able to intelligently report legislation along the lines named.

A RESOLUTION FORMING A COMMISSION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION TO FOSTER AND PERPETUATE A 100 PER CENT AMERICANISM.

II.

We recommend the establishment of a national Americanism commission of the American Legion, whose duty shall be the endeavor to realize in the United States the basic ideal of this legion of 100 per cent Americanism through the planning, establishment, and conduct of a continuous, constructive educational system designed to (1) combat all anti-American tendencies, activities, and propaganda; (2) work for the education of immigrants, prospective American citizens and alien residents in the principles of Americanism; (3) inculcate the ideals of Americanism in the citizen population, particularly the basic American principle that the interests of all the people are above those of any special interest or any so-called class or section of the people; (4) spread throughout the people of the Nation information as to the real nature and principles of American government; (5) foster the teaching of Americanism in all schools.

For the purpose stated the commission shall submit to the national executive committee a plan, and from time to time supplementary plans, which may include a national advertising campaign, the publication of literature, the organization of lecture courses, cooperation with schools and other agencies, and such other means of carrying out the purpose outlined as may be appropriate.

Upon approval by the national executive committee the commission shall proceed upon the approved activities.

But no funds shall be used for this purpose except those specifically appropriated by the legion or its properly constituted authorities for the appropriation of funds, or which shall be raised with the approval of the national executive committee from members of the legion only.

The commission may recommend a system of cooperating committees or officers in State branches or posts.

The commission shall be elected by the national executive committee immediately after this convention and shall consist of not over 15 members, who shall hold office for one year, or until the next national convention. It may be authorized by the national executive committee to employ such officers or staff as shall be approved by that committee.

That, as the preliminary organization and planning of the commission will take time, that meanwhile the local posts of the American Legion be urged to organize immediately for the purpose of meeting the insidious propaganda of bolshevism, I. W. W.ism, radicalism, and all other anti-Americanisms by taking up the problems of—

1. Detecting anti-American activities everywhere and seizing every opportunity everywhere to speak plainly and openly for 100 per cent Americanism, and for nothing less.

2. Making direct appeals to legal authority to take such lawful steps as may be necessary to correct local conditions everywhere.

3. Making every member of each local post a constructive force for the upbuilding of a vital knowledge of the principles of the Constitution of the United States and of the processes of law and order obtaining under that Constitution.

4. Showing to every person contaminated by un-American prejudice that the welfare of all the people is really the best interest of any class and that government must be conceived in terms of all the people and not for the benefit of relatively small classes.

Whereas one of the primary purposes of the American Legion is to disseminate the principles of true Americanism and to that end to advise and encourage everything that will tend to secure a positive nationalism and a love and respect of flag and country: Be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of this organization now assembled in convention and legislation to that effect is recommended, that every public and private school in the United States be required to devote at least 10 minutes of each school day to patriotic exercises and that the American flag be kept raised over every such school during every school day, weather permitting; and that the American flag be displayed at all political meetings and public gatherings.

III.

Whereas the Territory of Hawaii is a vital outpost of American civilization in the Pacific; and

Whereas the citizens of that Territory have always been pioneers in the furthering of the ideals of civilization upon which the American Government is founded and have more than met every call in men, service, and money made upon them in the defense of Americanism and civilization; and

Whereas they are now carrying the almost staggering burden of Americanizing a population of which a great proportion is alien; and

Whereas the American Legion of Hawaii is dedicating its energies, with other agencies, to this task: Therefore be it

Resolved by the American Legion in convention assembled, That the legion pledges itself to give all possible aid to the Hawaii branch in this work;

And that the Congress of the United States is urged to extend every assistance possible to the citizens of Hawaii in meeting this Americanization problem by educational and other means and by the encouragement of the settlement in Hawaii of Americans or of peoples whose loyalty to the United States and whose assimilability in an American community is certain.

IV.

Resolved, That we, the American Legion in convention assembled, demand that the Government of the United States proceed forthwith and immediately to deport all aliens who have already been tried, convicted, or interned as enemies of our Government, and that all other aliens who are advocating the overthrow of our Government by force and violence be tried, and, if possible, convicted and deported; that in the event the present laws of the United States are not sufficient to cover this situation, that Congress pass such laws as will enable our law-enforcing officials to rid our country of this scum who hate our God, our country, our flag, and who prate of their privileges and refuse to perform their duties; be it further

Resolved, That Congress pass such laws which will effectually punish Americans who have become so lost to common decency and patriotism that they are actually assisting aliens to bring about disorder and revolution in our country, and if such Americans be naturalized citizens that their citizenship be revoked and they be deported; be it further

Resolved, That we recommend a course in citizenship constitute a part of the curriculum of every school in this country and that all our schools be thrown open to aliens for night courses, and all other persons who care to take advantage of same.

The spirit of this resolution is the Americanization of America, and we feel if the above demands and recommendations are followed the next generation will see this country rid of the undesirable element now present in its citizenship, foreign colonies a thing of the past, the spirit of true Americanism prevailing throughout the length and breadth of our country, and our ideals of Government secure.

V.

Whereas there exists in this country at the present time various organizations and isms whose ultimate aim is the destruction of the principles of law, order, and true democracy; and

Whereas these organizations are all known and closely watched by the Department of Justice, and it is said that this department has at the present time in their possession a great mass of facts and evidence regarding these activities, especially those of the so-called parlor socialist and Bolsheviki, which our organization considers by far the most dangerous, for they, under a mask of respectability, insidiously inject infamous teachings into the minds and thoughts of our citizens: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the President of these United States is respectfully petitioned to take such steps as are necessary to change the Department of Justice from a passive evidence-collecting organization to a militant and active group of workers, whose findings shall be forcefully acted upon by this, our American Government.

Submitted by

R. C. SAUER, *Wisconsin.*

ENFORCEMENT OF SENTENCES OF PERSONS CONVICTED OF VIOLATIONS OF THIS DRAFT LAW AND OTHER LAWS RELATING TO THE MILITARY AND NAVAL PREPARATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

VI.

Whereas there has been an appeal of considerable strength brought to bear upon the authorities of this country by a seditious element, which is prejudicial to the best interests of true Americanism and of our established customs and institutions, that certain prisoners of a political character be released; and

Whereas these prisoners strove to defeat the draft law, the mobilization of American forces, the successful prosecution of the war, and other measures contributing to our national defense: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Legion, in annual convention assembled, does hereby urge upon Congress that adequate measures be taken to prevent the release of this class of prisoners from confinement, that there be no mitigation of their sentences, that where possible they be deported upon expiration of their sentences, and that most stringent steps be taken in every dealing with them to show to this and future generations that there is no home in America for sedition, and that the United States is a land of honor that can brook neither treachery nor traitors.

PROVIDING FOR THE DEPORTATION OF THE ALIEN SLACKER.

VII.

Whereas during the period of the participation by the United States in the Great War many aliens who had already taken steps to become United States citizens experienced a change of heart and renounced their intention of becoming citizens; and

Whereas this action on the part of said aliens proves that they had no sincere intention in the first instance of becoming citizens, and in their application for their first papers were guided by improper motives, and were guilty of imposition and fraud upon our naturalization laws: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the American Legion in national convention assembled, That we demand of Congress the passage of laws providing for the deportation of aliens guilty of the fraud and imposition aforesaid to the countries of their origin.

PROVIDING FOR PUBLISHING NAMES OF ALIEN SLACKERS.

VIII.

Whereas during the period of the participation by the United States in the Great War many aliens who had already taken steps to become citizens of the United States experienced a change of heart and renounced their intention of becoming citizens and expressed a desire to remain citizens or subjects of the lands of their origin; and

Whereas it is vital to our welfare that these men who deserted the country which gave them refuge in their hour of need should never again have the opportunity of imposing upon our naturalization laws by expressing intentions which they have no sincere purpose to fulfill: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the American Legion in national convention assembled, That we demand of Congress the passage of laws requiring the Bureau of Naturalization to compile a list of such aliens, giving their names and addresses, to print a sufficient number of such lists, to file a copy of such lists as a public court record in every court in the United States authorized by law to grant naturalization, and requiring every such alien, under suitable penalties, to notify the Bureau of Naturalization and the court of the county in which he resides of every change in his place of residence, which change the bureau shall transmit to all courts in the United States aforesaid for their information and guidance in preventing imposition.

LEGISLATION DEMANDED TO PREVENT ALIENS WHO WERE EXEMPTED FROM MILITARY SERVICE FROM BECOMING CITIZENS.

IX.

Whereas during the period of the participation by the United States in the Great War, many aliens resident among us claimed and were granted exemption from the selective-service law on the ground of alienage; and

Whereas these aliens thereby sought and did obtain the benefits of our laws and institutions while renouncing any obligation to defend the same, thereby proving themselves undesirable and unworthy to become citizens of the country for which we fought and for which our comrades gave their lives: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we demand of the Congress the passage of laws which shall effectively and forever make it impossible for these aliens to acquire citizenship; and further be it

Resolved, That we demand of Congress the passage of laws requiring the Bureau of Naturalization to compile a list of said aliens with the assistance of the War Department, that said list be published and that a copy thereof be deposited as a public document with the clerk of every United States court in this country.

A RESOLUTION DEMANDING THAT THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES ADOPT ADEQUATE LEGISLATION TO PREVENT ANY ALIENS OR ORGANIZATION TO CARRY ON PROPAGANDA INIMICAL TO THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

X.

Whereas there are in the United States a large number of men and women who are endeavoring to overthrow the Government of the United States by illegal means or by force; and

Whereas there is apparently not now in the statutes of the United States, adequate legislation to prevent any person, organization, association, or society, foreign or domestic, from carrying on meetings and issuing printed and verbal propaganda, inimical to the interests of the United States and organized government: Therefore be it

Resolved by the American Legion in national convention assembled, That Congress take immediate action to enact legislation to prevent any person or persons, organizations or societies within the United States from carrying on any verbal, written or printed intercourse, or correspondence with any other person or persons either citizens or aliens with the intent either peaceably or by violence to overthrow the Government of the United States; be it further

Resolved, That the American Legion urges upon Congress the necessity for severe penalities for violation of any act or acts which may be enacted in connection with these matters; and that aliens found guilty of violation of any act or acts of this character may be summarily deported after sentence expires.

RESOLUTION ON EDUCATION.

XI.

Whereas it is the belief of the American Legion that a speaking and reading knowledge of the American language is essential to the proper conception of the principles of our Government and of American institutions, and that much of the dangerous radicalism now existent in this country has originated and is fostered by persons of our non-American speaking population: It is

Resolved, 1. That all the youth of this country should have an elementary education in the fundamentals necessary for citizenship and particularly in the language of the United States and that Congress be requested, during the present session, to pass such acts as will require the basis of all instruction in elementary public and private schools to be the American language.

2. That the Congress of the United States be urged to enact such laws as will require aliens resident in this country to acquire a knowledge of the American language.

RESOLUTION REGARDING THE ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA AIDED AND ABETTED BY ACTIONS OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT IN ITS HANDLING OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS.

XII.

Whereas the War Department, ignoring the resolutions passed by the national caucus of the American Legion, has permitted conscientious objectors who had been legally tried and convicted for disobedience of all orders and of treachery by a court of competent jurisdiction to be pardoned, restored to duty, and honorably discharged, with all back pay and allowance and a new outfit; and

Whereas this conduct on the part of the War Department not only has brought shame and discredit to the men who fought to protect this Government but has served to aid and abet and encourage the marked growth of anti-American propaganda from radicals, Bolshevists, and anarchists, who are the avowed enemies of our Government; and

Whereas the members of the War Department, though manifesting great diligence in punishing the defenders of our country for the slightest infraction of military discipline, yet persist in showing such anxiety for the safety and welfare of conscientious objectors, many of whom were naught but enemies of this country hiding behind the cloak of religion: Be it therefore

Resolved, That we, the American Legion, in national convention assembled, do hereby request that Congress shall speedily and thoroughly investigate the release and the aforesaid conscientious objectors and direct the War Department to recall honorable discharges granted this class of men; and be it further

Resolved, That we demand that Congress shall at once enact such laws as may be necessary to prevent ever again enemies of this country hiding behind a religious cloak to be honored by this country when deserving nothing but disgrace; and be it further

Resolved, That we request of Congress the enactment at once of such laws as may be necessary to promptly punish the conscientious objectors of the past World War who are American citizens, and speedily deport from this country conscientious objectors who are aliens, and that the officials of the War Department responsible for such tender treatment accorded the conscientious objectors be summarily dealt with, be those officials high or low; and be it further

Resolved, That we hereby announce to the world that the American Legion considers the action of the War Department in this matter as one of the first counts in spreading and encouraging anti-American propaganda.

RESOLUTION IN OPPOSITION TO THE PROMISCUOUS ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETIES OSTENSIBLY FOR THE RELIEF OF THE CIVIL POPULATION OF ENEMY COUNTRIES.

XIII.

Whereas the American Legion views with apprehension the tendency of enemy sympathizers to organize societies ostensibly for the purpose of affording relief to the civilian population of enemy countries: It is therefore

Resolved, That such relief as may be furnished to the civilian population of countries now or lately our enemies be extended solely through the media of agencies incorporated by the Congress of the United States or through agencies incorporated by the Congress of the United States or through agencies authorized for such purpose by Congress.

XIV.

Whereas certain publications in foreign languages published or distributed in the United States are used by anarchists and revolutionists to preach destruction of American institutions and the Government of the United States: Be it

Resolved, That it is the consensus of opinion of the American Legion in convention assembled that all foreign language newspapers, magazines, periodicals, and pamphlets published or distributed in the United States be required to furnish a true and correct translation, properly sworn to, of all articles, together with the true name and correct address of the author of every article so published which tend to condemn our form of government and which are of a political nature, and that five copies of said translation be left with the postmaster in the place of publication, and if published abroad with the Postmaster General of the United States, such copies to be open to public inspection, and that suitable penalties be provided by law for violation of the requirement.

Amended, that the translation of any such article be published in parallel column under oath as to its accuracy, with severe penalty. (Passed as amended.)

JOHN J. SULLIVAN,
Chairman of Anti-American Propaganda.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

I.

(1) *Be it resolved,* That the American Legion records its appreciation of the loyal, intelligent, and disinterested services rendered the legion by its retiring chairman, Col. Henry D. Lindsley; and be it further

(2) *Resolved,* That the title of past national commander, as provided for in the constitution, be, and is hereby, conferred upon the present chairman on and after the adjournment of this convention; and be it further

(3) *Resolved,* That the executive committee be, and is hereby, instructed to select and present annually to each retiring national commander a suitable insignia symbolic of the ideals and purposes of the American Legion.

II.

(1) The following resolution was passed by the American Legion convention in appreciation of the memorial certificates to be issued by the French Government to all survivors of those men who died in the service of the United States during the World War:

(2) *Resolved,* That the American Legion accepts with sincerest appreciation the touching task given it by the Republic of France, and that this convention directs its president to convey its thanks in behalf of the American people for this most appealing tribute.

III.

Be it resolved, That the chairman of the executive committee of the American Legion be instructed to write a suitable letter of appreciation to the mother of the boy who carried the first American flag over the top (Mrs. Thompson, Westfield, N. J.). Be it

IV.

Resolved by the American Legion in convention assembled, That we extend the most deep appreciation and loyal thanks to the press and all papers, magazines, and publicity committees who have so graciously assisted the American Legion.

V.

(1) *Resolved,* That it be the sense of the American Legion that the bodies of the American dead be not returned from France, except in cases where the parents or next of kin desire that the Government return them, and that the United States of America, in cooperation with the Government and the people of France, establish and maintain cemeteries for the American dead that remain in France or other foreign countries, to the end that the graves of those who made the supreme sacrifice may be maintained as permanent memorials of America's unselfish service to humanity.

(2) *Resolved,* That the national executive committee be authorized to take the subject of a memorial in France under consideration, with full powers, after due study, to determine the most appropriate and fitting form of the memorial, to select a site with the sanction of the foreign authorities, and to organize a movement to raise by popular subscription, at a fitting time, the funds needed to build a memorial worthy of our dead comrades.

VI.

(1) *Resolved*, That the American Legion pledges its members heartily to support the Government's thrift savings and investment campaign and urges its local posts to provide a Government savings committee to promote savings among members, and directs the national officers of the American Legion to take such action as is necessary to promote Government savings throughout the organization; and

(2) *Resolved further*, That the American Legion calls upon the American people to support the after-war financial program of the Government as unanimously and effectively as they did the war loans which proved to the world the financial power of organized democracy.

VII.

Resolved, That the American Legion heartily commends the principles and achievements of the Boy Scouts and recommends that each post assist the scout troops in its community in whatever manner practicable.

VIII.

Resolved, That the national executive committee be directed to urge emphatic legislation upon the subject of slackers as follows:

First, the finding and punishment of the slacker.

Second, the withholding of naturalization papers from all those who canceled their first papers to evade military service, and their deportation.

Third, the punishment of those who aided and abetted slackers.

IX.

(1) Whereas during the Great War members of the Reserve Nurse Army Corps worked hand in hand with those of the medical profession, assuming full responsibility for their particular duties in cooperation with them, sharing equally in danger and discomfort:

(2) *Resolved*, That the American Legion use its efforts to further the passage of a bill for absolute rank for nurses with opportunity for promotion; and that similar provision be made for the nurses of the United States Navy.

X.

Resolved, That the national executive committee is empowered to make suitable provisions for the collection of war photographs, equipment, and such other paraphernalia of war as would preserve our knowledge of the Great War for all time.

XI.

Resolved, That the national executive committee be instructed to lend their efforts to secure the approval of congressional action which will provide the necessary rifles, cartridges, bayonets, and scabbards and other equipment necessary for use at military funerals by the various posts of the American Legion.

XII.

(1) Whereas the constitution of the American Legion, adopted at St. Louis, in its preamble declares that the legion's purpose among other things is "to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, State, and the Nation"; and

(2) Whereas the need of a constructive peace-time program in every American community lays upon all members of the legion a genuine responsibility: Therefore be it

(3) *Resolved*, That a special committee of five be appointed by the national executive committee to draw up a report on the purposes and methods of social organization and community service proposed by noncommercial, nonpolitical, and nonsectarian organizations, said report to serve as the basis for recommendations covering local and State-wide activities which may legitimately come within the purpose of the American Legion, make the legion a power in every community, and serve to "foster and perpetuate a 100 per cent Americanism," to which, as an organization, we are pledged.

XIII.

(1) Whereas an incorporated association, known as Carry-On Association, has been formed to furnish additional aid to that furnished by the Government to such crippled and disabled soldiers, sailors, and marines, and such association is now furnishing such aid with the indorsement of the United States officials in charge of such matters, as the exclusive agency for the housing of men during their vocational training, by means of "Carry-On Clubs," which have been established or will be established, throughout the country, in which said crippled and disabled soldiers, sailors, and marines are given lodging, food, such medical and dental service as are not supplied by the Government, and, if necessary, clothing, transportation, etc., at considerably less than cost.

(2) *Resolved*, The American Legion indorses and thanks the "Carry-On Association," encourages the local posts to cooperate with this association in its efforts to aid the crippled and wounded until the United States Government can properly take care of them.

(3) *Resolved further*, That a department of the Government be immediately instituted to care for injured disabled service men, inasmuch as work of this nature should not be left indefinitely in the hands of private individuals or charitable organizations.

XIV.

(1) Whereas the women of the United States who gave their sons and husbands to the great cause of humanity and were left with a gold star as their only recognition for sacrifice: Therefore be it

(2) *Resolved*, That the American Legion, in convention assembled, offer their sympathy and service wherever called upon by a gold-star woman.

(3) *Resolved*, That the American Legion, in convention assembled, offer their sympathy and service whenever called upon by a gold-star woman.

XV.

Resolved, That the American Legion request the honor and privilege of participating in the memorial services of the Grand Army of the Republic and Confederate Veterans while they still live, and, after death, to be the agency which shall continue these services, so that their graves and the graves of all other American soldiers shall be fittingly preserved and the memory of their deeds be perpetuated upon the tablets of love and memory, and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the commanders of the Grand Army of the Republic and Confederate Veterans.

XVI.

Resolved, That this convention place on the records of its proceedings an expression of its appreciation of the very cordial and warm reception given to it by the State of Minnesota and the city of Minneapolis, and that it extend a rising vote of gratitude to the Minneapolis convention committee, the American Legion of Minnesota, and the mothers, wives, and daughters who have left a lasting impression upon the visiting delegates for their warm hospitality.

XVII.

Resolved, That the American Legion condemn any attempt at this time to resume relationship with German activities, and lends its influences against the resumption of German opera, instruction of German in the schools, public performances of German and Austrian performers, and any other act which tends to minimize the German guilt.

XVIII.

(1) Whereas the welfare of the widows and children of our deceased comrades should be a matter of concern to every member of the American Legion: Therefore be it

(2) *Resolved by the American Legion in convention assembled*, That the posts and all members of the American Legion charge themselves with the duty of searching for such persons in their community and extending to them such care and assistance as may be within their power.

XIX.

(1) Whereas the American Legion as an organization of veterans of the World War may best serve its purpose and most efficiently and practically pursue its policies through community or geographic units: Therefore be it

(2) *Resolved*, That a ruling be made eliminating in the future posts of any other class and confining organization to community posts; and

(3) *Resolved further*, That the State organization be requested to endeavor, in so far as possible, to effect combinations or unions of already established unit posts with others organized on the present regular and recommended basis.

XX.

Resolved, That the American Legion, in convention assembled, calls upon the Congress and the Secretaries of War, Navy, and Treasury to see to it that the business of the Finance Office be dispatched with reasonable promptness, and that clerical force of such number and efficiency be granted that office immediately to remedy the present deplorable condition.

XXI.

(1) *Resolved*, That the American Legion, in national convention assembled, hereby denounces the so-called liberty of action which permits aliens in this country to publicly denounce or unfavorably criticize our principles or our form of government without restraint, and favors such State and National legislation as will prohibit such conduct; and be it further

(2) *Resolved*, That the copies of these resolutions be furnished individual members of the State legislatures throughout the Union and individual Members of Congress through the State and National organizations of the American Legion.

XXII.

Resolved, That the chief executive of the American Legion be paid a salary of $6,000 per year and his actual traveling and living expenses while away from home in the discharge of his duties.

XXIII.

Be it resolved, That the American Legion, in convention assembled, deplores and condemns strikes on the part of policemen, firemen, and all employees of the Nation, State, and municipalities to whom are committed the protection of life, order, and law, and who have taken a solemn oath to maintain and uphold law and order for the whole people. We condemn all forms of anarchy and Bolshevism and will attack the red flag wherever it may be raised as the symbol of disorder, riot, and anarchy.

XXIV.

(1) Whereas disturbed conditions growing out of the World War are apparent in various countries, and these conditions have appeared in the United States through the activities of persons of undemocratic tendencies; and

(2) Whereas the manufacturing, business, labor, and social interests of our country have been disorganized thereby:

(3) *Resolved*, That the American Legion calls the attention of all parties to these controversies to the rights of the people as a whole to demand a lasting settlement of all disputes now interrupting the peaceful pursuits of the Nation: And be it further

(4) *Resolved*, That the American Legion calls on men of all classes who have their country and its interests at heart to bury their troubles, get together for humanity's sake, and put their shoulders to the wheel of production for the betterment of the interest of our whole people.

This is the earnest appeal of your patriotic sons to all Americans who truly represent the American spirit and seek universal happiness and prosperity. We represent potentially 4,800,000 men who were in the service in this Great War, therefore this is no light resolution, but a first appeal of great hearts for fair and square dealing on the part of all concerned. If they do not act fairly, squarely, and sensibly, the same spirit that led us to take up the fight for righteousness and humanity on the battle field will lead us to exercise all the powers within us to solve the situation and to save our country.

XXV.

(1) Whereas the present widespread disorder among our large alien population is largely the result of seditious conduct of paid and skilled alien agitators, unmindful of the hospitality of the country in which they are temporarily sojourning: Therefore be it

(2) *Resolved by the American Legion in convention assembled*, That it heartily approves the action of the President of the United States in directing the arrest and deportation of alien agitators.

XXVI.

Resolved, That the American Legion recommend that American Indians who honorably served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the World War be given the full rights of citizenship, provided they did not evade or attempt to evade full and complete performance of such service because of conscientious objections or otherwise.

XXVII.

Resolved, That those alien enemies who were interned and died during the World War and who were interred in national cemeteries be removed from such cemeteries and be given proper burial elsewhere.

XXVIII.

Resolved, In order to expedite the business of the next annual convention that the national secretary is instructed to request in the call for the convention that all delegates thereto whose State conventions have adopted resolutions to be presented to the next annual convention, or who intend to present resolutions for themselves, to prepare the same in triplicate, each resolution to be on a separate sheet of paper and dealing with but one subject, and to be in typewriting, if possible, and to mail such resolutions to the national secretary at least two weeks before the date of the convention, so that the national secretary may attach appropriate titles thereto and classify them for the prompt consideration of the appropriate committees of the next annual convention.

XXIX.

Resolved, That the American Legion urges immediate revision of the Articles of War and court-martial laws of the United States.

XXX.

(1) Whereas anarchistic and un-American groups in the United States have incited riots and disorder in many of our communities and have already wantonly murdered our comrades and fellow citizens: Be it

(2) *Resolved*, That the American Legion, fully recognizing its obligation to the community, State, and Nation, urges its members as individual citizens to promptly, fearlessly, and effectively assist the constituted legal authorities in the maintenance of law and order and the suppression of riots and mob violence.

JOHN W. INZER, of Tennessee,
Chairman.
MARK T. MCKEE, of Michigan,
Secretary.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. McKINLEY,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 16, 1919.

Mr. McKINLEY. Mr. Speaker, the history of the sugar legislation is as follows: War was declared April 6, 1917. There was a great shortage of food in Europe. The Allies begged the United States to supply them with sugar, wheat, and fats. Congress passed the food-control act August 10, 1917. Under that act and the war powers the President has absolute control of the manufacture, sale, distribution, and price of sugar. In order to provide suitable machinery to buy and sell sugar a corporation was organized under the laws of New Jersey, for which the United States provided $5,000,000 cash capital. The stock was all subscribed for in the name of the President of the United States, and he appointed eight directors, called the Sugar Equalization Board. Since that time this board has told the American people how much sugar they can use and the price they must pay. The United States is the largest sugar consumer in the world, eating about 90 pounds per person per year, or a total of about 5,000,000 tons. The total sugar production of the world per year is about 17,000,000 tons. Cuba produces four and one-half million tons and only consumes one-thirtieth what she raises. She has four and one-third million tons to sell to other countries. The United States and her possessions—Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands—produce nearly 2,000,000 tons, leaving about 3,000,000 to buy outside. Cuba is only 80 miles from the United States, with four and one-third million tons of sugar to sell. The Sugar Board, under control of the President, has had since August, 1917, full power to buy. They bought all of last year's crop from the Cuban Planters' Association under an agreement to resell one-third of it to our allies.

In July of this year this same Cuban Planters' Association offered to sell again to the United States at a price of about 6¼ cents per pound. Early last August seven of the eight members of the Sugar Board asked the President to give them authority to accept this offer in order that the people of the United States might have sufficient sugar. The President did not act, possibly because his mind was taken up with matters which he considered more important.

In September the board again asked the President to give them the authority to buy. Still no action; and on September 22 the Cubans withdrew their offer and began to sell abroad.

There is still a considerable portion of the Cuban crop unsold. Some will be ready for the market by January next; and, while it is not considered that this legislation is legally necessary, nevertheless, as the gentleman from Michigan has so clearly stated, it is thought best to pass this bill in order to encourage the President to buy sufficient sugar so that the people will not suffer, even if he does have to pay twice as much per pound in January as he would have had to pay last August.

Many Members feel, as I do, that the way to resume is to resume; that the way to get back to normal business ways is to just go back and drop these war powers and Government interference with private business. But the difficulty is that so long as the President retains these powers, and may interfere at any time, the private business men are afraid to buy this Cuban sugar in large quantities for fear that they may get many millions of dollars worth on hand and then the Government step in and order them to sell at a great loss.

The committee hearings on this bill brought out the fact that this present administration required the producers of Michigan, Colorado, and Nebraska to sell their sugar crop at 10 cents a pound and permitted the Louisiana producers to market their crop at 17 cents a pound. Under the present rulings of the board the country is cut into zones, and you can only buy sugar in that zone in which you live. This bill repeals that order and gives the dealer the right to buy where he can get it cheapest.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WHITMELL P. MARTIN,
OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 19, 1919.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me by the House to revise and extend my remarks on the McNary sugar bill, which was railroaded through the House on last Tuesday, I wish to now most emphatically protest that this bill did not receive the consideration to which it was entitled.

To begin with, the bill was not voted on in the House Committee on Agriculture until after 11 o'clock on Tuesday, and at 4 o'clock on the same day it was called up in the House for consideration under a suspension of the rules. The bill was never printed, but was presented to the House in typewritten form, and thus the Members of the House had no opportunity to read the bill or to hear it read until it was suddenly called up for consideration.

Furthermore, there was no opportunity to amend the bill, because when the rules are suspended no motion to amend is in order and the bill must be passed as reported or not at all.

The time allotted for debate under the rules is only 40 minutes, and while by unanimous consent this time was extended for 40 additional minutes, yet the time was controlled by two gentlemen from the committee which reported the bill, both of whom favored the bill.

True it is that 18 minutes of this time was allotted to me, but the balance of the 80 minutes was given to Members who favored the bill just as it was written and presented to the House.

But this is not all; there were many Members on the floor who were most anxious to understand the provisions of this bill before they were called on to vote upon it, and to this end they were asking me questions when the Speaker's gavel reminded me that my time had expired. I was prepared to answer any and all questions that would throw any light on the subject, as the sugar producers have nothing to conceal, and full, free, and fair debate would have disclosed the fact that this legislation is not only iniquitous and unnecessary but sets a precedent that will yet return to haunt those who so insistently clamored for the passage of this bill.

During the course of the debate I asked the gentleman from Mississippi this question:

Mr. MARTIN. Would the gentleman favor an equalization board for the purpose of holding down the price and distribution of the cotton crop?

Mr. CANDLER. When an emergency exists as it is here, it will be time enough to consider that question; but it does not exist now and it has not existed in the past. The farmers are not getting full value for their cotton now. There is a world shortage of cotton and a small crop in this country, of course, has advanced the price.

There is a world shortage of sugar and, like cotton, this is the cause of the advance in the price of sugar, and the same reason which the gentleman from Mississippi assigns for the control of sugar exists as to cotton.

But I am much more charitably inclined toward cotton than the gentleman is toward sugar.

The cotton planter, like the sugar planter, has a short crop this year, and I am glad to see him receive a price that will save him from loss, and I shall never cast my vote to subject the cotton planter to the hardship which must necessarily follow control and license.

Bill (H. R. 9755) to Establish Standard of Weights and Measures.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARVILLE D. BENSON,

OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, December 8, 1919.

Mr. BENSON. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to vote for this bill, and would do so if certain amendments had been passed that would bring it under the interstate-commerce law; but being thoroughly convinced that there is no fixing of the standard either of weights or measures under this bill and that the passage of the bill as written, under the pretense that it is designed to fix a standard of weights and measures, will bring about litigation which will possibly be carried to the Supreme Court, and when it goes there that it will be declared unconstitutional, and believing that such a law would simply tend to interfere with business, put additional burdens on the people, and waste the time of the courts, I shall vote against the bill.

I believe it would interfere largely with the small millers throughout the United States, where there is no occasion or necessity for having packages that are stamped with a certain amount of weight on them, because those millers grind for the local trade, grind by the pound, and the farmers who buy of them have intelligence enough to know what 25 pounds or 50 pounds are.

If the amendment suggested by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. STEVENSON] had been passed it would have put this bill under the interstate-commerce law, where I believe it belongs, and where it would not interfere with small millers serving their local trade. It will in its present form, I believe, be unconstitutional, and its passage will be an unnecessary and annoying attempt to burden the small millers throughout the country. There is not sufficient value in it to justify the inconvenience it will cause.

I withdraw my pro forma amendment.

Deportation of Anarchist Aliens.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM N. VAILE,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Saturday, December 20, 1919.

Mr. VAILE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend the remarks spoken by me December 20, when the House was considering H. R. 11224, I have thought it might be of interest to the House if I should publish the story of the actual deportation of the first large group of anarchists, including Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman.

As there were no newspaper men present, this story of the deportation of these people to their beloved soviet Russia may possess some historical interest as the version of an eyewitness of that departure.

The night was clear and starry and rather cold, though the air did not have a real cutting edge and there was no wind to sharpen it.

At midnight at the barge office there were a good many people, mostly men. Mr. Hoover, that slender bundle of high-charged electric wire, the prosecutor of the Department of Justice, told us that these were mostly agents of his department, brought here for this particular job. There were perhaps 30 of them at the barge office waiting for the boat that was to take them on the first stage, the 18-minute stage, of their 18-day journey across the Atlantic and through the Baltic. The others were people who worked and lived at Ellis Island, who had been spending the evening in town and were availing themselves of the unusual opportunity of a late boat back.

That boat shortly drew up at the pier and was seen to be transformed by the snow and frost from the dingy, grimy, little tug of a month ago into a beautiful dream boat. Viewed thus, she might have represented, according to the mood or the age of the observer, a fairy ship from a child's picture book, or the frosted cake of a bride's confection. To me she seemed more emblematic of the cold, sharp cleanliness of the undertaking on which we were engaged and suggested the spotless apron of the surgeon.

A keen-eyed special agent of the Department of Justice and an immigration inspector looked sharply at each of us as we boarded. There were to be "none but Americans on guard" this night.

Just as the boat had suggested the surgeon's apron, so Ellis Island, white in the moonlight with her light covering of fresh snow, suggested the operating table. A little later we inspected the cancerous growth about to be cut out of the American body politic.

Two hundred and forty-six anarchists were gathered in the great wardroom. Alexander Berkman, the obvious leader, dressed as for a sporting trip, in soldier's puttees, a soldier's khaki flannel shirt, a flowing cravat, and a pair of gray breeches of military cut, was writing letters and conferring with his three principal associates—Peter Bianky, president of the Russian Workers' Union, who had attempted to blow up Ohio factories, and Oredowsky and Schnebel, lately officers of the Seattle I. W. W. These were organizers and promoters of the general strike, described by I. W. W. literature as "a social revolution of the world; an entire new organization; a demolition of the entire old system of all governments."

We call this general strike—

Says their textbook—

to distinguish it from general strikes for higher wages or for political privileges, "The social general strike." * * * It is to completely interrupt production in the whole country and stop communication and consumption for the ruling classes, and that for a time long enough to totally disorganize the capitalistic society, so that after the complete annihilation of the old system, the working people can take possession, through its labor unions, of all the means of production, mines, houses, the land; in short, of all the economic factors. * * * With a free society, without class rule and exploitation, a society of free cooperation, we have that which corresponds with the absence of government—"anarchism."

Most of the 246 seemed to me to have rather stupid faces. I tried to make allowance for the fact that the hour was long after midnight, that the men were tired and naturally anxious and worried, that they were seen under such circumstances as to create the least favorable impression in the beholder. And yet, with the exception of the leaders mentioned and a very few others, the faces did not look to me like those of intellectual men, but like those of degraded and brutalized men.

One exception was a lean-faced, rather crafty faced, young Jew, who told me he had not had a chance to get cashed his last pay check from the silk mills, and that consequently he had been unable to buy tobacco. I gave him a package of cigarettes, for which he very courteously thanked me. This man said that he had a mother and sisters here and that as he had lived in this country for nearly 20 years and had come here in his teens, he did not know anyone in Russia, nor had he, as far as he knew, any relatives there. He did not contend that his mother and sister needed his support. I asked him if he had not considered deportation as among the probable consequences of his conduct before he was arrested. He contended very bitterly that he had done nothing which would justify deportation from a "free country." He believed in "free speech" and "free press," and capitalism had suppressed them. The Government was merely run in the interests of capitalism and should be abolished, by force if necessary.

I might refer here to a popular misunderstanding of the deportation law. Deportation is not a punishment for crime, though certain kinds of criminal aliens may be deported following conviction. Deportation is merely the act of ridding ourselves of foreigners who are not eligible for residence here under our laws and who would be excluded if they were subject to, and were known to be subject to, the disqualification of the law when they first sought admission. It must, I think, be conceded that a nation has the right to refuse its privileges and protection to any class of aliens whom it may consider undesirable residents. For this reason we refuse admission to certain classes who are not criminals but who are deemed detrimental to us for economic or social reasons, as, for instance, illiterates, persons suffering from certain diseases, persons likely to become a public charge, and Chinese. Now, if you are an American citizen, you can not be deprived of the right of residence in the United States, even though you may be illiterate or a public charge. We have many—too many—of both classes, but deportation is not the way in which the country deals with Americans who fall in these categories. And so, if you are an American, you may still advocate the overthrow of the Government by

force and violence, and so long as you do not yourself commit an overt act you may do this without yourself being thrown in jail—for a short time only, because there will soon be a law to fit your case. But for reasons which have appeared sufficient to us we have exercised our national prerogative to declare that just as we will not admit aliens who are illiterate or likely to become a public charge or who are suffering from a contagious disease, so we will not admit or keep "aliens who are anarchists, aliens who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States; * * * aliens who are opposed to all organized government; aliens who advocate or teach the assassination of public officials; aliens who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property," and so forth.

And the House of Representatives has amended this by passing a bill prepared by our committee so as to catch aliens who "advise" or who belong to or are affiliated with or contribute money to any organization which advises, advocates, or teaches these things or which publishes or circulates literature which does so.

In other words, the alien who comes here or who stays here must do so on our terms, and it is not a question of whether he actually commits a crime. It is a question of whether he is qualified to be here under our rules. Personally, I think those rules are about the minimum that we can impose for our own protection and safety and that they furnish no ground of complaint whatsoever to a person who comes here because he did not like the conditions in the land which produced him.

One remarkable youth—Bukhanob, I believe his name is—was looking forward to the trip as a great lark. This lad is only 17 years old, but has been a teacher for two years in an anarchist school in New York. He said that he had started in at 10 as a socialist, but had become an anarchist through reading anarchist literature at the New York public libraries. Investigation by reporters disclosed that there was plenty of such to be found there, Kropotkin's "Memoirs of a Revolutionist," for example, being kept there in nine different languages. It was difficult to get a copy of this work because all copies were generally "out." However, the young man told us that he was a nephew of Peter Bianky, so we can hardly lay all blame for his perverted education to the free public fountain of knowledge. He told us he was going to write two books, and when we asked him what he was going to say in the second one he replied, "All that I didn't say in the first."

And there were quite a number of others who were not stupid—one a young giant with flaming red hair. He got another package of cigarettes from me. I had a dozen packs in my pocket. I feel a smoker's sympathy for another smoker who may be without tobacco and had intended to distribute these small offerings of good will to individuals. I had come to the island with a firm determination to be charitable and to distinguish between the individual and his views. I found it impossible to do so. As I listened to the conversation of these men and noticed their bitter sneers I became filled with loathing for them and decided that the rest of my tobacco should go to Americans.

Altogether, try as I might in the interest of fairness, to avoid first-hand impressions, these men seemed, on the average, though with the exceptions noted, to be a very poor lot, both as to physique and mentality. They certainly would compare unfavorably with any equal number of American workingmen.

Berkman went out of the room once, by permission of the guards, to get a package which he had overlooked and on his return the others all arose and remained standing until he had taken his seat, a curious demonstration of the fact that even in an anarchist society there is some authority or leadership which is respected.

Of course, no such personal respect would be paid to individual representatives of the hated "capitalistic" Government of America, though some confidence seemed to be imposed in its stability, notwithstanding the necessity of its immediate overthrow. This was shown by the fact that a great many thousands of dollars of their money was in postal-savings certificates. Altogether they had about $200,000. The major part of it was in cash. Some of it was in uncertified checks of former employers. Of course, to have had Liberty bonds would have been unspeakable and none were discovered. In respect to this large sum of money, they enjoyed a privilege not granted to the rest of us, for no effort was made by the internal-revenue office to collect the tax paid by other people on money taken out of the country.

The complaint as to inability to cash their checks was not well founded, as the immigration authorities had offered to cash such checks for them during the banking hours of the day, and also to procure foreign exchange in drafts on any foreign country having exchange rates with us, but they were unwilling to trust the Government with their checks. Possibly the real reason was that they had intended to place the money in the hands of their associates here for the spread of anarchistic propaganda. There may have been a few instances where they had intended to leave it for the assistance of relatives left behind; but, so far as I know, no cases of dependent relatives were reported to the immigration officials. The Secretary of Labor a day or two before the sailing had canceled the deportation orders of most of those who had wives here. Bianky and perhaps one or two others were exceptions.

Nobody seemed to know what the value of American money was in the rubles of the much-vaunted soviet republic, but all agreed that the purchasing power of the American dollar was not less than nine times as high in Russia as it is here, even in these days of the reign of old King H. C. L. We are told, though I have not yet seen the actual proof of it, that some of these men have recently been selling in New York $1 bonds of "the American soviet republic," payable "one day after the revolution."

Some 70 of the 248 had been detained for some time at Ellis Island and had participated in a hunger strike as a protest against being allowed to see their relatives only through a screen. The screen had been erected on account of one or two attempts to pass weapons. We had seen the men during this hunger strike, and they didn't seem to be suffering much, though they were accumulating plenty of venom. Bianky had told Chairman JOHNSON, of the Immigration Committee, in my presence, that they were going to stop destroying buildings. Hereafter they were going to break heads and use the buildings. "Meaning my head, I suppose," said Chairman JOHNSON. "Yes," replied Bianky, "your head and other heads like it." Possibly some of them may yet reach the conclusion that even heads are worth preserving. I hope so.

As a matter of fact, however, the hunger strike was not real. It only lasted until they had consumed the supply of food which they had cached in preparation for it.

On the night of the departure there were certainly no faces lined with hunger and privation, and during that day and the preceding day they had been rather defiant and had entertained themselves and the Ellis Island force by singing their Internationale and the Red Flag song of the I. W. W.'s.

This night, with some exceptions, they were gloomy and morose.

At 3.30 a. m., of the 21st of December, they were marched out of the building in single file, between two rows of guards, to the gangplank of the tug. A coast guard at the shore end of the gangplank counted them off by tens, making a little pause between each 10. A frank-faced American youth, Lieut. Cunningham, of the Thirteenth Infantry, with an automatic pistol on his hip, stood at one side of the ship end of the gangplank. Opposite him was a soldier of his company with a rifle lying in his elbow. Two other soldiers stood, rifles in hand, on the upper deck of the tug, immediately over the gangplank deck. Nothing was said during the boarding except Lieut. Cunningham's occasional warning to "mind your head" on account of the low-hanging upper deck.

The women came separately—Emma Goldman in a gray and black fur coat reaching below her knees, the two young women, Dora Lipkin and Ethel Bernstein, in heavy woolen coats. They were sent immediately into the kitchen of the tug, which served as their cabin for the two hours' journey out to the transport lying beyond the "Narrows" at Gravesend. A soldier stood at the door of the kitchen, but paid no particular attention to the women, who conversed freely but not eagerly with us. Miss Goldman took off her fur coat and sat with her gray sweater unbuttoned, morose and bitter, occasionally heaving a silent sigh. Dora Lipkin was sad and very quiet. I confess that her pale intellectual face, with her black hair falling in great gulfs over her ears, inspired me with sympathy for her sorrow, for her common-law husband had just been sent to Atlanta to commence a 20-year sentence, and he was doubtless occupying her thoughts. The separation of criminals from their families is one of the sad necessities of civilization, perhaps less sad here than in Russia, where we understand that shortly preceding this deportation some 300 persons, criminal in the sight of the Bolsheviki because they had been stirring up a revolution against the soviets, were permanently parted from their friends by execution.

Ethel Bernstein had a single rose, which she held to her lips occasionally. It was sent to her, she said, by one of her "good friends." Miss Goldman had a few sprigs of holly, which lay beside her Corona typewriter case on the tug's kitchen table. That typewriter case was rather worn from hard usage, but I am sure that the keys are in perfect working order.

All of the deportees were allowed to have their baggage taken on board by the Ellis Island employees, and at least a hundred trunks and large bags were so loaded, including two trunks

belonging to Miss Goldman. Many, however, preferred to carry their own baggage, and some carried a trunk on the shoulder and a satchel in the free hand. All wore overcoats, for the Immigration Bureau had provided those who lacked warm clothing with Army mackinaws and with underwear, shoes, and caps. Two large paper cartons of caps were loaded. I noticed these particularly, because one of the packages got broken in the process of transfer from the tug to the transport, and the contents became exposed and had to be handled with some care by the tug crew. These were not the Army caps, but were of the kind worn by farmers and woodsmen, woolen caps with a flap to be turned down over the ears. They were the personal property of one of the deportees, and were possibly intended for free distribution or for sale in Russia.

A dozen or more carried mandolins, guitars, or other musical instruments, and two or three bore large boxes of books.

The little tug was pretty crowded, though the officers told us she had often carried as many as a hundred more than were then aboard. This necessitated some of the passengers remaining on deck for the two hours' trip down the bay and resulted in a curious incident. Just after passing the Liberty Statue the tug met an incoming immigrant vessel. Some of the newly arriving ones were crowding to the rail of the inbound steamship, eager for the first glimpse of the promised land. They cheered us, not knowing who we were, but because we were a small boat of the new country evidently engaged on its local business and, I believe, because the Star Spangled Banner floating over us was just "catching the gleam of the morning's first beam." It was a brave little cheer, just a bit quavery, a sort of timid, inquiring little cheer like the cry of children hoping for a welcome from the grown-ups. The answer was an obscene throaty "yah-ah-ah" from our upper deck, a jeering, raucous, sarcastic, bitter yell, scalding with hatred, spite, and bitter jest, long-drawn out, venomous. As it died away the tug gave a couple of reassuring little friendly toots, and some one from the upper deck—I believe it was one of the Arizona rangers of the border patrol—shouted, "Mornin', folks."

In company with Mr. Hoover, I talked a little with Miss Goldman on the trip across the bay. This, she said, was the beginning of the end of the United States. Time was when this country had professed to welcome the downtrodden of other lands. At that time Russia was deporting men and women to Siberia for their political beliefs. Now it was reversed. A free Russia had arisen. As the old Russia had fallen, so the new United States would fall, and for the same reasons. Oh, yes; she would be back and give us another job, though it would not be an official job. Our days of official authority would be over before her return, early though that would be. Our days of official authority were numbered and the number was getting low.

She was quite bitter against Mr. Hoover because he had not given notice to her counsel, Mr. Weinberger, of the time of the departure. The world knows, of course, that she had had her day in court, and many such days, and that every possible recourse had finally been tried in vain, but apparently she still had some hope that the courts would have protected her. Mr. Hoover asked: "Haven't I given you a square deal, Miss Goldman?" "Oh, I suppose you've given me as square a deal as you could," she answered. "We shouldn't expect from any person something beyond his capacity."

She asked us whether the departments were still "passing the buck to each other," blaming each other for failure to effect her deportation before. It seemed ungenerous to gloat over a fallen foe, and that foe a woman, but I thought it not improper to suggest that whatever disagreement there might have been between different authorities of our Government was due to extreme solicitude that no injustice be done her. "Oh, have it your own way," she answered, and relapsed into morose silence.

Shortly thereafter we were lashed to the *Buford*, an old Spanish War transport, an excellent and comfortable boat, according to all who have traveled in her; and we of the congressional party, being certain that the country will some day be flooded with horrible stories of the shocking brutalities attendant upon this forced exodus, were very particular to observe the accommodations provided for the unwilling passengers.

The women were to travel substantially first class. There was one large stateroom of four beds provided for the three of them, with a bathroom for their exclusive use. They are to eat in the same cabin as the ship's officers, though, of course, at a separate table.

The men have the same quarters as those used by our soldiers during the Spanish War. These were much more commodious than those of the transports used by our men during the recent war, and on the *Buford* they are certainly ample. The beds are in double tiers, three high, but the top tier of each set is reserved for baggage. There are 50 or more lavatories, and there are a number of shower baths. The beds are all provided with plenty of warm blankets and with white linen. The anarchists eat in a large dining hall at tables with clean linen, not as our soldiers did, standing, and out of their mess kits.

Our soldiers on the transport—there are 50 picked men from the Thirteenth Infantry—told us that the anarchists' quarters were much better in every way than those which they themselves had had in their recent trips to and from the war zone. They are, in fact, somewhat better than the quarters now used by our guards on this vessel, and the soldiers use their own blankets, without bed linen.

Several days before the *Buford* was to sail Mr. Caminetti, the Commissioner General of Immigration, discovered that under the arrangements which had been made the food of the anarchists would be considerably better than the food of the soldiers, inasmuch as he had provided on the basis of a dollar a day for subsistence for the former, while the subsistence of the latter was on the Army basis of 60 cents per day. He remedied this inequality, not by cutting down the allowance for the anarchists but by increasing the allowance for the soldiers out of the funds of his department. Incidentally, I may say that I gave the rest of my cigarettes and a pocketful of cigars to the soldiers. I was certainly proud of the appearance of these fine, upstanding lads. It would be impossible to find a better lot.

In addition to the soldiers, there are about an equal number of coast guards and border-patrol men, old, experienced, hawk-eyed chaps, like Milton, of Arizona, and Webb, of California, he with the 10-inch Gatling gun in one hip pocket and the Bible in the other. These chaps are in charge of a certain Mr. Berkshire, a quiet, soft-voiced, firm-handed, gray-eyed man, who has been in charge of immigrant inspection on the Mexican border for the last 12 years. You know as soon as you look at him that he can neither be fooled nor cowed.

At half past 6 in the morning we left the *Buford*, a black body outlined in red against the rising sun. Some one might say it was the "rising sun of the East," the red fire of bolshevism coming up to welcome her offspring. But that would be a great mistake. The reassurance was ours a few minutes later, for, rising out of the blackness of the night at her feet, there stood our own mother, illuminated by the same glorious rays, the Goddess of Liberty—of precious liberty under the law—bathed from her feet to the tip of her torch in the new light of a cleaner and better day, her calm and noble face looking upon us in the confidence that the Republic shall be kept clean and in its cleanliness shall endure.

The Pension Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, this bill appeals to me. It is in no proper sense an increase of pensions. It barely equalizes the pensions, comparing the purchasing power of the dollar with the purchasing power of the dollar in 1912, at the time the so-called Sherwood dollar-a-day pension act passed Congress. The purchasing power of the dollar to-day is a trifle below 40 cents, and it will never be materially greater as long as our currency is so largely inflated. Money measures value. Every inflation of our currency lessens that much the value of the dollar and increases in the same proportion all property. In 1912 the money circulation per capita was $19.50; now it is over $52. Certain officials are now in action to curb the profiteers, so called, and reduce the profits of the middlemen in order to reduce the present high cost of living. This movement has been in action for over two months, but the statistics as gathered officially by the Department of Labor show that during the month of December, 1919, the average cost of living increased 5 per cent. This bill is not only a measure of justice to the few surviving veterans of the Armies of the Union, but it is a humane measure that every patriotic American citizen will approve.

The average age of the surviving soldiers of the Civil War is a trifle over 72 years. They are fast passing away. We have been busy in Congress during the past six months in increasing

the salaries of the civilians in the employ of the Government; the increases running about an equal per cent with the increase provided in this bill. And these increases have been given to officials largely in the prime of life. How much more need to do justice to the men now tottering to a near-by grave, who in their young manhood offered up their lives for the integrity and perpetuity of this Union of States.

Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Atlanta, Franklin, and Nashville can speak to us no more with tongues of lurid flame. They are silent for all the coming ages, but their silence is more eloquent of national destiny than all the orators of the past from Thermopylae to Appomattox.

We are living in a sordid commercial time. We are fast parting with the old ideals, when justice was glorified in the simple home life and applause was showered on the soldiers of patriotism. Let us make a heroic effort to revive the old spirit and show by righteous legislation that this Nation has not forgotten her vows. Let us give substantial recognition to the greatest soldiers of humanity the world has ever known and make their last days on earth comfortable and fill their hearts with an all-absorbing sense of the Nation's gratitude.

We can not recall the valiant dead who sleep in 70 national cemeteries and in every village graveyard and rehabilitate them in the robes of flesh. We can not pour out our long withheld bounty, kept in closed coffers all the weary years in the face of bitter needs. But we can do justice to the living and give to the fast-fading remnant of the men behind the guns, who did the hardest work of war, a small portion of what is theirs by right of inheritance and place their names on the honor roll of the Republic.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. SINCLAIR,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, December 20, 1919.

Mr. SINCLAIR. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement by the Public Ownership League of America, accompanying the petition for public ownership of the railroads. The matter above referred to is as follows:

STATEMENT OF THE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP LEAGUE OF AMERICA, ACCOMPANYING THE PETITION FOR PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF THE RAILROADS, PRESENTED BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES H. SINCLAIR, OF NORTH DAKOTA.

To the Members of the Congress:

The Public Ownership League of America is presenting to your honorable body, through Congressman JAMES H. SINCLAIR, of North Dakota, a petition for the permanent public ownership of the railroads. This petition has been circulated by the members and friends of this league in 38 different States, representing, as you must know, a widespread and rapidly growing sentiment among the great masses of the common people of America.

In this connection permit us to draw the attention of your honorable body to the fact that this petition expresses an earnest sentiment and a deep conviction among our people that is vastly greater than is generally known or appreciated. Fourteen railway brotherhoods, representing over two millions of organized labor; organized farmers representing at least a half million more of our citizenry; organized miners representing hundreds of thousands of men employed in mining; besides numerous civic and commercial bodies, are already definitely and officially urging the retention and permanent public ownership of the railroads.

Besides these bodies which are nonpolitical in form, there are, as you know, several bodies of a distinctly political nature which represent the political expression of the same demand, viz, the so-called committee of forty-eight, the recently formed Labor Party, the National Nonpartisan League, and others. The aggregate number of American citizens in these various political bodies is also very large. And, finally, besides these bodies of organized citizens, there is perhaps an even greater number of unorganized citizens who represent the general public who desire and demand the public ownership of the railroads.

Thus there is behind this petition a great host of earnest, sincere citizens of our country, who believe that the future welfare of the Nation, the normal development of its commerce and industry, the opening of new territory, and the general prosperity of our people demand the permanent public ownership of the transportation system.

We would further point out to you that the passage of either the Cummins or the Esch bill now pending before your body, both of which provide for the return of the railroads to private ownership, would inevitably involve the Nation and its people in difficulties and burdens so serious that they threaten the peace and prosperity of the people.

It is well known by all that the return of the railroads at this time under the terms proposed by the bills now pending would mean a sharp increase in transportation rates. A 25 per cent increase of rates would mean $875,000,000 additional cost of transportation annually; and, assuming that Director General Hines's estimates are substantially correct, that would mean an increase of $4,375,000,000 a year in the cost of living—a burden which the American people, already nearly crushed with the high cost of living, can hardly carry.

On the other hand, if the Government retains the roads under public control for two to five years longer as proposed by the minority of the Senate committee, by the Farmers' National Council, the American Federation of Labor, and originally by Director General of Railways W. G. McAdoo, and later by his successor, Walker D. Hines; and if, as urged by this petition and the Public Ownership League of America, the Government shall meanwhile proceed to establish the permanent public ownership of the railroads, we may by this means secure a reduction of transportation charges, and thereby a reduction in the cost of living, to the infinite relief of the people and the immeasurable advantage of the Nation in every way.

We therefore urge upon your honorable body most earnest consideration of our petition, to the end that the permanent public ownership of railways may be accomplished at the earliest possible date.

Most respectfully,

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP LEAGUE OF AMERICA,
CARL D. THOMPSON, *Secretary*,
1439 Unity Building, Chicago, Ill.

CHICAGO, *December 15, 1919.*

Bill (H. R. 11224) to Exclude from the United States Aliens Who Are Members of the Anarchistic and Similar Classes.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES V. GANLY,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, December 20, 1919.

Mr. GANLY. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I am heartily in favor of this bill, and while I think that it should go a great deal further and not alone deport from our shores those aliens who have violated our Constitution and laws but also should take away from those of the same class who have been admitted to citizenship in this country their citizenship by naturalization, and they also should be deported.

I have received many letters from the people of my district demanding that some action be taken by Congress to rid us of this revolutionary and anarchistic element. We have come to a pretty pass when the men who fought for our country and who attempted to parade in the streets in uniform are shot down and murdered by these assassins. Therefore, it is no wonder that the people of this country are demanding that their Representatives in Congress pass laws which will forever prohibit from entering our shores men who are sent here for the sole purpose of destruction.

This bill is a step in that direction, but I sincerely hope that the committee will continue this good work and that they will not stop until they have perfected a bill which forever protects this country from this damnable evil.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. LARSEN,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 18, 1919.

Mr. LARSEN. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of November 14, 1919, contains remarks made by me on agricultural and live-stock advancement in Georgia.

In view of recent developments, which further substantiate my statements and conclusions at that time, I feel inclined to bring to the attention of the House an editorial appearing in the Cochran (Ga.) Journal, under date of December 11. It is as follows:

At the International Swine Show at Chicago last week Quality Orion King, jr., a son of the famous Orion Cherry King, jr., won the grand championship of the world against all Durocs shown. This hog was raised in Bleckley County by Peacock & Hodge. They had just sold Orion Cherry King, jr., for $16,500 and carried his son to the greatest show on record and won the grand championship of the world, making him the ranking hog of the entire Duroc breed.

Mr. W. H. Peacock, a member of the firm who own this boar, was elected president of the American Duroc Jersey Association at its last meeting in Chicago. He is only 35 years of age and the youngest man who has ever held this important position. The association has between four and five thousand members—they hail from nearly every State in the Union. This is an honor not only for Mr. Peacock, but for our county, the State of Georgia, and, for that matter, the entire South, as our section has been recognized only for a few years as a hog-growing section.

In this connection it gives us pleasure to state that Mullis & Patrick, of our county, own Carter's choice grand champion Hampshire boar of the world, who won his laurels at the international show at Chicago in 1918. This gives Bleckley County two grand champion hogs, representing both the Duroc and Hampshire breeds, and is a distinction, as far as we can learn, held by no other county in the Southeast. Both of these hogs were bred and raised in Georgia, which places our State "right on top."

The article not only shows the live-stock activities in Georgia, but its financial potentialities as well, and should be an inspiration not only to the citizens of that State but to the entire South.

Making Gold Certificates Legal Tender.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDMUND PLATT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 19, 1919.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Speaker, this bill, S. 3458, which has passed the Senate, making gold certificates legal tender, is a bill of only seven lines, and when understood I am sure will pass without objection. Nine hundred and ninety-nine people out of every thousand believe gold certificates are legal tender now, but once in a while there is a smart lawyer who knows they are not, and when taken into court to make a tender of "lawful money" on a contract which somebody may be wanting to squeal out of that occasional smart lawyer makes trouble. Hence the banks find it necessary to keep on hand considerable amounts of high-value greenbacks, or United States notes, to satisfy occasional demands for legal tender.

The bill is advocated as a means of relieving the present shortage of $1 and $2 bills, and some explanation is due the House as to how it can accomplish such a result. There are no gold certificates in existence of a less denomination than $10, and the great bulk of them are larger—up to $10,000 bills. Evidently, these gold certificates can not be directly used to increase the supply of small bills. But, indirectly, making them legal tender will accomplish just that result, because it will enable the banks to use them for the occasional purpose I have described above and they can then safely send in their high-value greenbacks to the Treasury, which can at once replace them with small bills.

Your committee is informed that the Treasury has already printed a good supply of $1 and $2 United States notes, but they can only be issued in place of worn-out United States notes sent in for replacement or in place of higher value bills—$5, $10, $50, $100, and $1,000 bills. As soon as this bill passes enough of these high value bills can be obtained from the Federal reserve banks to enable the Treasury to put out a sufficient supply of small bills to afford considerable relief.

The shortage of small bills has been increased considerably because of the fact that silver certificates in considerable amounts have been withdrawn from circulation, and the silver dollars which were held to redeem them have been melted and sold for bullion. So far as this was done by the Government itself the silver certificates were replaced by Federal reserve bank notes in small denominations, but the advancing price of silver—now above $1.2929 an ounce, which is the coinage value of the dollars at the established ratio—has caused a continuance of the withdrawal of silver certificates since operations under the Pittman act of April 23, 1918, were discontinued. We shall be fortunate if the advance in the price of silver does not go far enough to menace our subsidiary silver coins, the bullion value of which is $1.38. Already silver has once been to $1.37½, but for the past few weeks it has fluctuated between $1.30 and $1.33, and the weight of our outstanding silver dollars, some $300,000,000, inside and outside of the Treasury, seems likely to keep it there for some time to come.

Monthly statements were issued by the Treasurer of the United States showing paper currency of each denomination outstanding down to April 30, 1919, but since then have not been published, though compiled for the Treasurer each month, with the exception of Federal reserve notes. According to these statements, silver certificates were decreasing slowly even before the Pittman Act was passed, in April, 1918. There were outstanding November 30, 1917, $484,680,000 in silver certificates, of which $10,000 were held in the Treasury. On January 31, 1918, the amount outstanding had fallen to $476,640,000, and on March 30, $464,904,000. On April 30, after the passage of the Pittman Act, the amount of silver certificates outstanding was $455,888,000, of which $281,776,362 was in $1 and $2 bills. Silver certificates up to that time furnished the great bulk of the ones and twos, as there were outstanding only $505,469 in $1 and $2 national-bank notes and only $51,777,668 in United States notes of those denominations.

On January 31, 1919, outstanding silver certificates had fallen to $283,083,000, of which $196,925,852 was in $1 and $2 bills, while small United States notes of the same denomination had risen to $128,110,353 and Federal reserve bank notes, which were issued specifically to take the place of the silver certificates called in under the Pittman Act, had risen from $11,742,955 April 30, 1918, to $138,250,180, of which $89,020,600 were ones and twos.

On October 31, 1919, when the last available statement was compiled, outstanding silver certificates had fallen to $180,265,400, of which $95,981,177 were $1 bills and $25,888,740 $2 bills, while Federal reserve bank notes to the amount of $269,642,800 had been issued, of which $174,241,436 were ones and $46,624,384 were twos. Greenback $1 bills to the amount of $111,905,415 were then outstanding, and $40,655,103 of greenback $2 bills.

The demand for small bills seems to be constantly increasing, and according to the monthly statements above quoted there are $131,518,964 more of $1 bills outstanding now—that is October 31—than on April 30, 1918.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD E. BROWNE,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 9369) to revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, to certain widows, former widows, dependent parents, and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases.

Mr. BROWNE. Mr. Speaker, under the suspension of the rules the time limited for discussing this bill is one hour, to be divided between those in favor and those opposed to the bill. This limitation on the time prevents anything but a brief statement. I wish to go on record in favor of this bill.

I have favored all pension legislation that has passed Congress during my membership. Conceding that our Government has been fairly liberal with its Civil War veterans in the past, this increase should nevertheless be made. Pensions that were adequate a few years ago are grossly inadequate now. The cost of living has more than doubled since the last pension bill became a law.

VETERANS GROWING OLD.

Fifty years have passed since Lee's surrender at Appomattox. Boys that were 16 years of age then are men 70 years of age now. Many of these veterans are in very feeble health. Their wounds and disabilities have become more serious and burdensome each year. The chairman of the Pension Committee has informed us that between sunrise and sunset each day 130 Civil War veterans are passing away. It will not be many years that the Government will have an opportunity to do for the veterans of the Civil War. Each year exacts a heavier toll. I therefore hope that this bill will be enacted into law at the very earliest possible time. This bill provides for the widows of soldiers, as well as their dependents, and also the Civil War nurses. Let it not be said that Republics are ungrateful.

George Rogers Clark, the great soldier and explorer whose discovery of the Northwest Territory gave this country an empire of land which would have gone to Great Britain, died in poverty. As a recognition of his valuable services an early Congress passed a resolution commending his work and presenting him with a sword. The committee that made the presentation found the old gentleman living in a little cottage in the West. After their presentation speeches the old man sat unmoved and, when asked if he wished to reply, said to the committee: "Take back the trinket and tell Congress that when I needed a sword in the defense of my country I found one, but now I need bread."

ECONOMY.

The opposition to this bill use the argument of economy. I believe in economy and have opposed many appropriations on

the ground that we could not afford it at this time. When economy is invoked to defeat this bill, that deals in thousands of cases with the very necessities of life, with men in feeble health, men more than threescore years and ten, men who offered their lives in the defense of their flag and their country, the argument of economy should not be considered.

The last Congress appropriated $100,000,000 to feed the people of foreign lands. Let us not neglect the Civil War veteran, his widow, and his dependents, of whom Lincoln pledged this Government in the following words:

To care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphans.

I urge the immediate passage of this bill, a copy of which I make a part of these remarks.

A bill to revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, to certain widows, former widows, dependent parents, and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases.

Be it enacted, etc., That every person who served 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War, and who has been honorably discharged therefrom, or who, having so served less than 90 days, was discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, and who is now in receipt of, or entitled to receive under existing law, a pension of less than $50 per month, shall, from and after the passage of this act, be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $50 per month.

SEC. 2. That every person who served 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War, and who has been honorably discharged therefrom, or who, having so served less than 90 days, was discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, and who is now, or hereafter may become, by reason of age and physical disabilities, helpless or blind, or so nearly helpless or blind as to require the constant or regular aid and attendance of another person, shall be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $72 per month.

SEC. 3. That from and after the approval of this act all persons whose names are on the pension roll, and who, while in the service of the United States in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps during the Civil War, and in the line of duty, shall have lost one hand or one foot, or been totally disabled in the same, or shall have sustained a disability equivalent thereto, shall receive a pension at the rate of $60 per month; that all persons who, in such service and in like manner, shall have lost an arm at or above the elbow, or a leg at or above the knee, or been totally disabled in the same, or shall have sustained a disability equivalent thereto, shall receive a pension at the rate of $65 per month; that all persons who, in such service and in like manner, shall have lost an arm at the shoulder joint or a leg at the hip joint, or so near the shoulder or hip joint, or where the same is in such condition as to prevent the use of an artificial limb, or shall have sustained a disability equivalent thereto, shall receive a pension at the rate of $72 per month; and that all persons who, in such service and in like manner, shall have lost one hand and one foot, or been totally disabled in the same, or shall have sustained a disability equivalent thereto, shall receive a pension at the rate of $90 per month.

SEC. 4. That the widow of any person who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War for 90 days or more, and was honorably discharged from such service, or, regardless of the length of service, was discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, such widow having been married to such soldier, sailor, or marine prior to the 27th day of June, A. D. 1915, shall be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month. And this section shall apply to all former widows of persons who served for 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War and were honorably discharged from such service, or who, having so served for less than 90 days, were discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, such widow having remarried, either once or more than once, after the death of the soldier, sailor, or marine, if it be shown that such subsequent or successive marriage has or have been dissolved, either by the death of the husband or husbands, or by divorce without fault on the part of the wife, and any such former widow shall be entitled to and be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month; and any widow as mentioned in this section shall also be paid $6 per month for each child of such officer or enlisted man under the age of 16 years, and in case of the death or remarriage of the widow, having a child or children of such officer or enlisted man under the age of 16 years, such pension shall be paid such child or children until the age of 16 years: *Provided*, That in case a minor child is insane, idiotic, or otherwise permanently helpless, the pension shall continue during the life of such child, or during the period of such disability, and this proviso shall apply to all pensions heretofore granted or hereafter to be granted under this or any former statute: *And provided further*, That in case of any widow whose name has been dropped from the pension roll because of her remarriage, if the pension has been granted to an insane, idiotic, or otherwise helpless child, or to a child or children under the age of 16 years, she shall not be entitled to renewal of pension under this act until that pension to such child or children terminates, unless such child or children be a member or members of her family and cared for by her, and upon the renewal of pension to such widow payment of pension to such child or children shall cease.

SEC. 5. That all Army nurses of the Civil War, and all dependent parents of any officer or enlisted man who served in the Civil War whose names are now on the pension roll, or who are now entitled to pension under any existing law, shall be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

SEC. 6. That the pension or increase of pension herein provided for, as to all persons whose names are now on the pension roll, or who are now in receipt of a pension under existing law, shall commence at the rates herein provided, from the date of the approval of this act, or under section 2 hereof when the requisite condition is shown to exist after the approval of this act; and as to persons whose names are not now on the pension roll, or who are not now in receipt of a pension under existing law, but who may be entitled to pension under the provisions of this act, such pensions shall commence from the date of filing application therefor in the Bureau of Pensions, in such form as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior: *Provided*, That as to any former widow as mentioned in section 4 hereof who, since the death of her soldier, sailor, or marine husband, has remarried either once or more than once, and such subsequent or successive marriage has been dissolved, either by the death of the husband or husbands or by divorce without fault on the part of the wife, and who filed her application for pension under the act of September 8, 1916, her pension shall commence from the date when her original application was filed under that act in the Bureau of Pensions, and shall be at the rate in that act provided, with increase at the rate or rates subsequently provided for the widows of Civil War soldiers, sailors, and marines, and by this act, from the date or dates when any such subsequent act or acts took effect or may hereafter take effect, it being the intent and purpose to give to any such widow the same status as other widows of Civil War soldiers, sailors, and marines who have not remarried and from the date of said act of September 8, 1916.

SEC. 7. That nothing in this act contained shall be held to affect or diminish the additional pension to those on the roll designated as "The Army and Navy medal of honor roll," as provided in the act of April 27, 1906, but any increase herein provided for shall be in addition thereto; and no pension heretofore granted under any act, public or private, shall be reduced by anything contained in this act.

SEC. 8. That no claim agent or attorney or other person shall be recognized in the adjustment of claims under this act, except in claims for original pension, and in such cases no more than the sum of $10 shall be allowed for services in preparing, presenting, or prosecuting any such claim, which sum shall be payable only on the order of the Commissioner of Pensions; and any person who shall violate any of the provisions of this section, or shall wrongfully withhold from the pensioner or claimant the whole or any part of a pension allowed or due to such pensioner or claimant under this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall, for each and every offense, be fined not exceeding $500, or be imprisoned not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. McKINLEY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920.

Mr. McKINLEY. Mr. Speaker, it seems very fitting that the first bill to pass the House of Representatives after returning from our Christmas holiday should be this one increasing the monthly payments to the soldiers of the Civil War and to their widows.

During this two weeks' vacation we have had the leisure to enjoy the comforts of home, appreciate the luxuries of our advanced civilization, and recognize more than ever the feeling of safety and stability coming to us because of the fact that we are a united and powerful Nation, made so by the sacrifices of this rapidly disappearing band of heroes whose rights we in a small way recognize to-day. I am sure the Members of Congress are one with me in the feeling of regret that on account of the multitude of demands of this great Nation it is impossible for us at this time to make this monthly payment a larger amount.

I know I voice the mind of my colleagues when I say that we are also alive to the just claims upon a willing people of the young men who are now resuming their places in civil life after two or more years spent in the service of their country in bringing this World War to a successful conclusion. Those of us who are not members of the committees having the welfare of these returning millions of soldiers in charge stand ready with our votes to enact into laws such legislation as will properly benefit these young men who unselfishly risked their lives for humanity and for the just rights of man all over the world.

I have frequently heard rural mail carriers bitterly complain of what they designate as the bureaucrats of Washington sitting down in Washington at a desk and laying out rural routes from a map that was perfectly flat and smooth, regardless of the fact that one route might be over the level prairies upon a hard road and another route in the clay hills with nothing but mud to plow through.

So, also, when we take a map of the United States the swamps of Florida, the cut-over sand barrens of northern Wisconsin, and the bad lands of Montana have the same satisfactory appearance as the fertile prairies of Iowa and Kansas. I have frequently visited all these regions. I know the difference. I know that I can not satisfy my conscience by voting a law that would wish so-called benefits of this kind upon the brave youth, just starting in life with the hope of bringing up a family among the comforts of civilization.

It seems to me some feasible plan must be worked out, and I can not help but feel that the recommendations of the soldiers' organizations, especially the American Legion, should be given careful consideration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MOSES P. KINKAID,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, December 20, 1919,

On the bill (H. R. 11224) to amend the act entitled "An act to exclude and expel from the United States aliens who are members of the anarchistic and similar classes," approved October 16, 1918.

Mr. KINKAID. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the pending bill is to supplement and to duplicate in part existing law, because of the difference in the interpretation given the statute by the administrative and executive officials from that intended by the Congress when the measure was enacted. Because of the very restrictive interpretation placed upon the statute by these administrative officers the consensus of opinion of the members of the Committee on Immigration is that some aliens, who are in fact anarchists, and as such should have been ordered deported, have been found entitled to remain in the United States. The provisions of this bill will make more specific and certain the meaning intended by the Congress. However, it is the general understanding of the membership that with the bill enacted the statutes will still be inadequate to meet the demands of the present situation, but the Committee on Immigration, reporting the bill, had not jurisdiction to report a more comprehensive measure. But several bills designed to complete legislation for the purpose in question are pending and have been referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. It is promised that a bill containing ample provisions for the purpose in view shall be reported to the House at an early date.

I shall not go into the details of the pending measure but shall print it at the end of my remarks.

Mr. Speaker, I would be doing an injustice to my feelings and conscience to let the present opportunity pass without giving my unqualified sanction to the purpose of the pending bill, and what I shall say I desire to be so construed. But what I deem more important is to emphasize that, in my judgment, neither the Congress nor the country has become sufficiently awakened to the impending menace of anarchy.

Times have been so eventful since the commencement of the war that threats of anarchy, even including the attempts made at assassination of public officials, have not duly impressed the public with the gravity of the situation. Other problems of a momentous character have also been exacting attention of the Congress and the people. The result has been that even a case so conspicuous as that of the attempt to assassinate the Attorney General of the United States was mentioned in the leading papers and talked of but a few days, until new sensations were afforded to divide the attention of the public. But, while passing, it is proper to observe that this instance may ever be remembered as a remarkable case of simultaneous, retributive justice, as the would-be assassin was himself annihilated by the bomb he threw, or was about to throw, for the destruction of the Attorney General.

The success—I might say triumph—of anarchy in a part of Russia ought to be a sufficient warning of the danger to the whole world which is actually impending; and it is a fact that that ascendency has given anarchy a great impetus throughout Europe, at the same time affecting the United States. The rapid growth of anarchy has become marked in parts of Spain, Italy, and, in a less degree, in France. But even in France, in the campaign preceding the recent election, the patriotic people found it expedient to act with diplomacy until the election had been won. Fortunately, a decisive victory was secured under the virile leadership of the preeminent Clemenceau.

We are being daily admonished by the press concerning the propaganda and growing activities of this element in different large cities throughout the United States, and it is made clear that their numbers have been rapidly increasing and that their leaders, having been somewhat restrained and repressed by war measures while hostilities lasted, have become more bold and defiant since the signing of the armistice. One of their number publicly announced only a few days ago, "The revolution is now on, but conservatives can not read the handwriting on the wall." Additional warning should not be required, but preparation should be made to meet the enemy.

A few years back—say, 10 years ago—it was officially estimated that anarchists numbered about 1,000,000 throughout the world. How many times this number has since been multiplied no one can definitely state, but it is undoubtedly true that since the Czar of Russia was dethroned their numbers have increased in great proportions. While conditions have been more favorable to its spread in Europe than in the United States, the investigations instigated by our Department of Justice during the month of June of this year disclose the likelihood of the existence of many more thousands of anarchists in our large cities than previous to that time the public had had any reason to expect. This makes plain that it is imperative and exigent that steps be immediately taken by our Government not only to preclude the further expansion of anarchy but to exterminate such as may be found now to exist in our country.

Anarchy is defined in Everybody's Cyclopedia as follows:

A revolutionary sect or body setting forth as the social ideal the extreme form of individual freedom, and holding that all government is injurious and immoral; that the destruction of every social form now existing must be the first step to the creation of a new world. Their recognition as an independent sect may be dated from the secession of Bakunin and his followers from the Social Democrats at the Congress of The Hague in 1872, since which they have maintained an active propaganda.

See Webster's Dictionary:

Want of government; a state of society in which there is no law or supreme power; general confusion; lawless disorder; a disorganized state of affairs; chaos.

Synonyms are "lawlessness, disorder, tumult, rebellion, riot, insubordination." Anarchy "looks upon all law and government as the source of all the evils existing in society," therefore advocates the abolition of all government. Anarchists regard mankind as gregarious. "Our object is to live without government and without law," said Reclus, a leading anarchist of France. "Governments are the scourge of God," said Joseph Proudhon, born in France in 1809, with whom the philosophy of modern anarchy may be said to have begun.

There are two general divisions of anarchists, the evolutionary and the revolutionary. The evolutionary branch does not advocate the overthrow of government, law, and order by violence, but strives to accomplish this by propaganda. The number of this branch is comparatively small. On the other hand, the revolutionaries employ all the means of destruction required to dethrone government and law and order established thereunder, and this class is now in the ascendancy and increasing rapidly. Berkman and Goldman are of this class.

All branches of anarchy are opposed to the individual ownership of property. Brissot announced the philosophy, "Property is robbery," meaning that the ownership of property by an individual is robbery of the people at large. The revolutionaries would appropriate private property to their own use by employing such destructive means as need be. Different from bank robbers and train robbers, who appear suddenly and depart quickly after plundering the few, for fear of apprehension by officers of the law, revolutionary anarchists come as an invading and devastating army, making a clean sweep as they go of all banks, factories, mines, farms, live stock, and every other kind of property, and then establish anarchy as a substitute for government and law.

Present-day revolutionary anarchists condemn the State and church as stumbling blocks to progress, and define patriotism as a "superstition" and "disease." Altogether the essence of anarchy is a degeneracy of civilized life. If truth, justice, and civilization are fallacious, even vicious, then we may turn to anarchy for perfection. All endeavor for true progress under constitutions, State and National, and the forms of law established thereunder are legitimate and deserve encouragement, but any movement to overthrow Government ,with the present standards of civilization, by destructive methods should be immediately met with sufficient governmental power to exterminate it. But anarchy defines itself by concrete examples. Here are some: The assassinations by anarchists of President Carnot, of France, in 1894; of Empress Elizabeth, of Austria, in 1898; of King Humbert, of Italy, in 1900; and of President McKinley by Czolgosz in the fall of 1901. During the period covered by these assassinations attempts were made to assassinate different members of royal families in Europe.

What would I recommend as a remedy?

I would have continue the deportation of all alien anarchists beyond the seas until no more such can be found in the United States. Then I would establish an ironclad embargo against the admission into the United States of actual anarchists and all possessed of such proclivities. I would provide for an effective quarantine of citizens of the United States, native born or naturalized, found to espouse or teach the overthrow of this Government by the destructive methods employed by revolutionary anarchists; I would so quarantine until permanent remedies could be provided. I would safeguard our citizenship for the future by proper immigration laws.

As showing the importance of instituting immediate preventative measures, I may properly mention that a publicist has recently called attention to what he deems to be fact, that if the

Congress had not enacted the Chinese exclusion law the result of Chinese immigration into the United States would have been so great that Mongolians would have by this time outnumbered the whites in all the Pacific Coast States. If anarchists are to be permitted to immigrate into the United States from European countries, and at the same time allowed to develop, increase, and multiply here, it may be only a question of time until their numbers will equal the number of citizens loyal to our Government.

I would look well to the education of American youth from the primary schools up to and including the colleges and universities, for it is lamentably the fact that in high schools in some of the large cities, and here and there in colleges and universities, teachers and professors have heretofore been found who abused the privileges of their positions by planting the germs of anarchistic ideas in the minds of those whom they are employed to teach. While it is true that more and more attention is being given by schools and colleges to the fitting of students for the responsibilities of good citizenship, I am of the opinion that the efforts in this direction should be materially increased. However, I acknowledge that I do not possess up-to-date information on the progress that is now being made in schools and colleges to inculcate love and loyalty for our governmental institutions.

The George Junior Republic, at Freeville, N. Y., is one of the most prominent educational enterprises of this character. There children from 12 to 18 years make their own laws and enforce them in their own courts; have their own judicial and administrative officers; punish their own criminals by placing them in actual cells, with hard labor imposed when deserved. It is claimed by some who are acquainted with this school that boy and girl public opinion has been found to be more frank and positive than with adults. Unfortunately it is likely to prove true that the ideals formed by the time education is completed are not improved upon in later years.

It is the opinion of some publicists that one of the chief provinces of the State is to build up citizenship, while another scholar has propounded the question, "What makes a State?" and answered, "Men, high-minded men." And we may find verification of the truth of this answer in the fact that the history of a State consists principally of the biographies of the factors who have builded it. I agree with Emerson that "The true test of civilization is not the census, nor the size of cities, nor the crops—no, but the kind of men the country turns out."

The Fuller Civil War Pension Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY Z. OSBORNE,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920.

On the bill (H. R. 9369) to revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, to certain widows, former widows, dependent parents and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases.

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Speaker, it affords me great and peculiar pleasure to speak and vote for this bill as it has been reported from the Committee on Invalid Pensions through its distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FULLER]. While no bill dealing with a great purpose, like this bill, was ever absolutely perfect, it is evident that the committee having the matter in charge has given this proposed enactment most thorough, intelligent, and patriotic consideration, and they have evolved a pension measure the fairest and most equitable that has ever been presented to Congress through a favorable committee report.

It is well, Mr. Speaker, that we have Members on this floor who carefully guard the Treasury of the Nation from undue drafts upon its resources. They often apply a much-needed brake, and limit appropriations, or deny them, to possible worthy objects that the conditions of the country can not afford. They perform a useful and often not overpopular duty. I sometimes think, however, that in their zeal for economy they are not sufficiently discriminating, and fail to see the difference between an expenditure dictated by the highest considerations of national honor and interest and others of downright extravagance.

I maintain that this pension bill and all of its predecessors from the Revolutionary War to the present time have been based upon regard for the Nation's honor and interest. It is the history of all our wars that when a war is on some men go to war and others do not. Those who remain at home go on about their business, live comfortably, and have all the opportunity to increase their means and their position in life. Some succeed and make money or improve themselves by experience or education. The man who goes to war drops everything, cuts himself off from all the activities of life during his term of service. If he is in process of gaining an education, of learning a business or a trade, that ambition is halted at the date of his enlistment, and he is fortunate if he ever resumes where he left off. If he is gone a year or two or three years, and is fortunate enough to return home, more often than otherwise he finds conditions entirely changed, so that he resumes civil life under the most serious disadvantages.

We are here considering the situation of the most fortunate soldiers—those who have not contracted chronic or permanent disease in and as a result of service, who have not been maimed or deprived of a limb or eyesight, who have not been killed in battle or died of wounds. The condition of such wounded and diseased veterans is vastly worse than is that of their sound comrades. How greatly has their chance for success in life been reduced! No thoughtful mind can contemplate their situation without the conviction that they have all sacrified much of that which is most valuable in life—some of life itself—for their country. For their country; that is, for you and me, for our children, for our civilization and society and institutions.

I do not think that most old soldiers claim service pensions as a right. They do claim that those who were disabled in service have a right to compensatory consideration. But those Civil War veterans who were not actually disabled realize that they received $13 per month during their term of service, the pay as then fixed by law, and that legally they had no further claim upon the Government. The question is not what the old soldiers themselves think about it, however, but what the people of the United States, as represented by their Congress and Government, think about it. Are the people satisfied to settle down to the conclusion that, as the Civil War soldiers received the $13 per month agreed upon, there is nothing more to be done about it? Rigid economy and a strict construction of obligations as fixed by "the letter of the bond" might reach that conclusion.

But there is a much higher, more lofty, and far more practical idea of national obligation and policy. Theodore Roosevelt had a clear conception of that more exalted policy when as President he practically directed the Bureau of Pensions to assume the age of 62 years, when reached by a veteran of the Civil War, to be prima facie evidence of disability. Afterwards Congress embodied that assumption into law, and created service pensions dependent upon age, commencing at 62 years.

The high, lofty, and practical ideal is that no great nation will permit the men who have served it in war, and who have undergone the sacrifices inevitably incident to such service, and which have not been suffered by other men who have not been soldiers, to go unrecognized, or be subjected to utter deprivation when helpless from wounds, disease, or old age. No nation is great which would permit such things. No nation would survive that so neglected its warriors and saviors as to discourage entry into military service in time of war.

Thank God, no such niggardly record mars the history of the United States! We have from the beginning of our Government honored the soldiers who have sacrificed the comforts of life and its treasured advances in the paths of peace and bared their breasts to the blasts of battle. Thus the soldiers of the Revolutionary War were pensioned down to the time of the Mexican War. In turn, the veterans of the Mexican War were pensioned. This policy of broad statesmanship undoubtedly left its impress on the public mind. And, although during the Civil War I do not remember hearing mention of a pension, except possibly for severe wounds and loss of a member, and while I do not believe that one soldier in a hundred thousand ever thought of a pension as a possibility or in any way, the general impression prevailed that the United States Government—the best Government on the face of the earth—would always do the right thing by its soldiers under any and all circumstances. The Government has justified that impression, and it will continue to do so as long as it is a great government, until the last soldier of the Civil War, honored to the end of his life by his fellow countrymen, has passed to his final reward. It will continue to do so until every young soldier of the late World War, fair-haired and in the flush of early youth, has passed along the stream of years so that the fair hair has grown white, and, when they have reached old age, if fortune

shall have withheld from them the competence which smooths declining years, the United States Government will not desert them, but will provide them with food and shelter to the end of their days. No soldier of the Civil War has ever been compelled to live upon charity. The Soldiers' Homes, which are homes in fact as well as in theory, are always open to all, and any soldier whose circumstances make it desirable for him to enter. He becomes a "member" of the home, not an "inmate." It is actually his home, so established by law, although for short periods that fact has not been fully recognized by some Soldiers' Home officers. Generally, however, the homes are humanely and beneficently managed, and upon the theory that they are really homes for the soldiers and not "institutions."

The admirable bill under discussion, known as the Fuller Civil War pension bill, in full, is as follows:

A bill to revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, to certain widows, former widows, dependent parents, and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases.

Be it enacted, etc., That every person who served 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War, and who has been honorably discharged therefrom, or who, having so served less than 90 days, was discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty and who is now in receipt of, or entitled to receive under existing law, a pension of less than $50 per month, shall, from and after the passage of this act, be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $50 per month.

SEC. 2. That every person who served 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War, and who has been honorably discharged therefrom, or who, having so served less than 90 days, was discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, and who is now, or hereafter may become, by reason of age and physical disabilities, helpless or blind, or so nearly helpless or blind as to require the constant or regular aid and attendance of another person, shall be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $72 per month.

SEC. 3. That from and after the approval of this act all persons whose names are on the pension roll, and who, while in the service of the United States in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps during the Civil War, and in the line of duty, shall have lost one hand or one foot, or been totally disabled in the same or shall have sustained a disability equivalent thereto, shall receive a pension at the rate of $60 per month; that all persons who, in such serivce and in like manner shall have lost an arm at or above the elbow, or a leg at or above the knee, or been totally disabled in the same, or shall have sustained a disability equivalent thereto, shall receive a pension at the rate of $65 per month; that all persons who, in such service and in like manner, shall have lost an arm at the shoulder joint or a leg at the hip joint, or so near the shoulder or hip joint, or where the same is in such condition as to prevent the use of an artificial limb, or shall have sustained a disability equivalent thereto, shall receive a pension at the rate of $72 per month; and that all persons who, in such service and in like manner shall have lost one hand and one foot, or been totally disabled in the same, or shall have sustained a disability equivalent thereto, shall receive a pension at the rate of $90 per month.

SEC. 4. That the widow of any person who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War for 90 days or more, and was honorably discharged from such service, or regardless of the length of service was discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, such widow having been married to such soldier, sailor, or marine prior to the 27th day of June, Anno Domini 1915, shall be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month. And this section shall apply to all former widows of persons who served for 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War and were honorably discharged from such service, or who, having so served for less than 90 days, were discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, such widow having remarried, either once or more than once after the death of the soldier, sailor, or marine, if it be shown that such subsequent or successive marriage has, or have been dissolved, either by the death of the husband or husbands, or by divorce without fault on the part of the wife; and any such former widow shall be entitled to and be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month; and any widow as mentioned in this section shall also be paid $6 per month for each child of such officer or enlisted man under the age of 16 years, and in case of the death or remarriage of the widow, having a child or children of such officer or enlisted man under the age of 16 years, such pension shall be paid such child or children until the age of 16 years: *Provided*, That in case a minor child is insane, idiotic, or otherwise permanently helpless, the pension shall continue during the life of such child, or during the period of such disability, and this proviso shall apply to all pensions heretofore granted or hereafter to be granted under this or any former statute: *And provided further*, That in case of any widow whose name has been dropped from the pension roll because of her remarriage, if the pension has been granted to an insane, idiotic, or otherwise helpless child, or to a child or children under the age of 16 years, she shall not be entitled to renewal of pension under this act until that pension to such child or children terminates, unless such child or children be a member or members of her family and cared for by her, and upon the renewal of pension to such widow, payment of pension to such child or children shall cease.

SEC. 5. That all Army nurses of the Civil War and all dependent parents of any officer or enlisted man who served in the Civil War whose names are now on the pension roll, or who are now entitled to pension under any existing law, shall be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

SEC. 6. That the pension or increase of pension herein provided for, as to all persons whose names are now on the pension roll, or who are now in receipt of a pension under existing law, shall commence at the rates herein provided, from the date of the approval of this act, or under section 2 hereof when the requisite condition is shown to exist after the approval of this act; and as to persons whose names are not now on the pension roll, or who are not now in receipt of a pension under existing law, but who may be entitled to pension under the provisions of this act, such pensions shall commence from the date of filing application therefor in the Bureau of Pensions, in such form as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior: *Provided*, That as to any former widow as mentioned in section 4 hereof, who since the death of her soldier, sailor, or marine husband has remarried either once or more than once, and such subsequent or successive marriage has been dissolved either by the death of the husband or husbands, or by divorce without fault on the part of the wife, and who filed her application for pension under the act of September 8, 1916, her pension shall commence from the date when her original application was filed, under that act in the Bureau of Pensions, and shall be at the rate in that act provided, with increase at the rate or rates subsequently provided for the widows of Civil War soldiers, sailors, and marines, and by this act, from the date or dates when any such subsequent act or acts took effect or may hereafter take effect, it being the intent and purpose to give to any such widow the same status as other widows of Civil War soldiers, sailors, and marines, who have not remarried and from the date of said act of September 8, 1916.

SEC. 7. That nothing in this act contained shall be held to affect or diminish the additional pension to those on the roll designated as "The Army and Navy medal of honor roll" as provided in the act of April 27, 1906, but any increase herein provided for shall be in addition thereto; and no pension heretofore granted under any act, public or private, shall be reduced by anything contained in this act.

SEC. 8. That no claim agent or attorney or other person shall be recognized in the adjustment of claims under this act, except in claims for original pension, and in such cases no more than the sum of $10 shall be allowed for services in preparing, presenting, or prosecuting any such claim, which sum shall be payable only on the order of the Commissioner of Pensions; and any person who shall violate any of the provisions of this section, or shall wrongfully withhold from the pensioner or claimant the whole or any part of a pension allowed or due to such pensioner or claimant under this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall, for each and every offense, be fined not exceeding $500 or be imprisoned not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court.

It will be noted that this bill raises the rate of all existing pensions of honorably discharged soldiers who served 90 days or more in the Civil War to $50 per month.

It raises the various rates for disability incurred in service, whether for more or less than 90 days.

It increases widows' and Army nurses' pensions to $30 per month, and those of orphans under 16 years of age from $2 to $6 per month.

It extends the limit of time within which widows come within the provisions of the bill for 10 years—from June 27, 1905, to June 27, 1915—so that widows of deceased soldiers married prior to June 27, 1915, are entitled to $30 per month.

A further provision is that widows of deceased soldiers who have remarried "either once or more than once after the death of the soldier," and whose subsequent successive marriages have been dissolved by death of the husband or husbands or by divorce without fault on the part of the wife, shall be paid a pension of $30 per month. Under former laws a widow who was remarried more than once was cut off from all pension, even after the death of the subsequent husbands.

If there be those who feel that $50 per month is too liberal a pension, I respectfully offer these suggestions:

Most of the recipients of these pensions are now very old persons and generally poor. There are some exceptions as to poverty. There are practically none under 70 years of age, and the average age is 77 or 78. They are passing away at the rate of 136 each 24 hours, and this ratio must necessarily increase month by month and year by year, thus rapidly decreasing the pension roll.

I am not complaining of what the Nation has done for the old soldiers in the past. I think that it has done well and with that high appreciation of their service that first found voice in the immortal address of Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg. But now they are in advanced old age. They are to be with us but a few years. Ought we not to make those final years on earth of our honored veterans and of the venerable widows of those who have already passed as free from the fear of cold and hunger that are prone to afflict the aged as it is possible for the Nation to make them? I believe that this House, when the vote shall be finally taken on the bill, will decide by an overwhelming majority that such is the duty and the pleasure of the Nation, and that in so doing they will but reflect the prevailing overwhelming sentiment of America.

The report of the Committee on Invalid Pensions, submitted by its chairman, Judge FULLER, sums up the reasons for the passage of the bill in the following succinct and eloquent terms, which I sincerely and heartily indorse:

We have appropriated many millions to feed the people of foreign lands, a hundred millions at one time. Let us not forget our duty at home, especially to those to whom it was said that "The only national debt we can never pay is the debt we owe to our victorious Union soldiers, sailors, and marines." Also let us heed the admonition of Abraham Lincoln "To care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphans." While we have done, are doing, and will do all possible for the young soldiers, sailors, and marines of the late World War, let us not forget nor neglect the survivors of that great struggle of more than half a century ago, the benefits of which have been a rich inheritance to every person whose privilege it has been to live under the protecting folds of the flag of the Union they saved and perpetuated. It is a surprising fact that so many of those old veterans are alive and with us yet. On the 30th day of June last there were on the pension roll 271,391 survivors of that war; 293,244 widows of those who had died; 206 dependent parents of Union soldiers; 129 Civil War nurses; and 6,836

minor children. That this bill if enacted into law will cost the Government a large sum of money goes without saying, but in comparison with some other expenses the amount seems almost negligible.

The best estimates your committee have been able to obtain is that it will cost for the first year of its operation around $65,000,000, but this estimate is based on the number on the pension roll on the 30th of June last, and that number is much less now and is being reduced by deaths by several thousands every month, besides which it does not take into consideration the very large number of special cases which are being introduced and referred to the committee by the thousands, and which in the future will in most cases be unnecessary if this bill is passed. These old veterans are leaving us in rapidly increasing numbers, and very soon they and their deeds will be only a memory. What a grateful Government does for them must be done soon in order that they may receive the benefit while they live. It is perhaps proper to say that the provisions of this bill were unanimously indorsed with great enthusiasm by the members of the Grand Army of the Republic at their national encampment at Columbus this year, and have been indorsed by many of the local camps throughout the country.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. KING,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 8, 1920.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a resolution passed by representatives of several counties of Illinois, consisting of county superintendents of highways, chairmen of county boards, and chairmen of committees on State aid roads, assembled in convention at Quincy, Ill., December 6, 1919, on the subject of Federal distribution of autotrucks.

There was no objection.

The resolution is as follows:

Whereas the Department of Agriculture has recently, under and by virtue of the provisions of an act of Congress, allotted 964 autotrucks to the State of Illinois for the use of the people of the several counties in the construction of roads; and

Whereas these autotrucks have been received by, and for some time last past have been and are now in the custody and control of the division of highways of the department of public works and buildings of Illinois, and are not to any considerable extent used or useful to the State department for actual work, but are being rented out to contractors and used in the construction and maintenance of the State-aid roads, and the income therefrom added to the receipts of the division of highways; and

Whereas it was the intention of Congress in enacting the law above referred to that these autotrucks should be allotted by the several States to the several counties within the States to be used for road purposes in the several counties; and

Whereas all of the counties in the State of Illinois are now engaged in the construction and maintenance of roads by county aid, and many of the counties in the State are constructing and maintaining roads on extensive and elaborate plans wholly by county aid; and use of these trucks by the several counties is absolutely necessary and essential to the carrying out of their road work and would result not only in a great saving to the counties, but also in greatly extending and expediting the work of road construction and maintenance; and

Whereas the division of highways has up to this time refused to allot these autotrucks to the several counties of the State of Illinois and persists in withholding the same from the several counties, contrary to the spirit of the act of Congress above mentioned: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the representatives of the several counties of this State, consisting of county superintendents of highways, chairmen of county boards, and chairmen of committees on State-aid roads, in convention assembled, in Quincy, Ill., this 6th day of December, A. D. 1919, That the withholding from the counties of this State by the division of highways of the allotment of autotrucks allotted by the Department of Agriculture to the State of Illinois is contrary to the spirit of the act of Congress in such behalf; that the action of the division of highways in such behalf is arbitrary, unwarranted, unjust, and unfair to the counties of this State; and further

Resolved, That demand be, and the same hereby is, made upon the division of highways of the State of Illinois to allot to the several counties of the State of Illinois the autotrucks allotted by the Department of Agriculture for the use of the people of the State of Illinois; and be it further

Resolved, That request be, and the same hereby is, made of the governor of the State of Illinois and of the Senators and Representatives of the State of Illinois in Congress that they immediately take action and use all honorable means to secure a proper construction of the act of Congress by the division of highways to the end that the proper allotment of such autotrucks among the several counties of this State may be made; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent by the Secretary of this convention to the governor of this State and the Senators from Illinois and the Representatives in Congress from the State of Illinois, and to the department of public works and buildings of Illinois, division of highways, and to the several county boards of supervisors of this State.

Wm. S. Henderson, chairman; Gilbert Lyons, secretary; Albert A. Schultze, chairman county board, Calhoun County; E. J. Grubb, chairman Adams County board of supervisors; Chas. H. Snyder, supervisor from Brown County; C. F. Mills, member Scott County board; John Goodell, county superintendent of highways, Cass County; Fred Twesten, superintendent Hancock County.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THETUS W. SIMS,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 9, 1920.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address of Walker D. Hines, Director General of Railroads, before the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, New York City, Wednesday, January 7, 1920.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF WALKER D. HINES, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF RAILROADS, BEFORE THE ASSOCIATION OF THE BAR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, NEW YORK CITY, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 7, 1920.

"I wish, first, to summarize my thoughts on the solution of the railroad problem.

"For 26 years I have studied the development of railroad regulation. For most of this period I studied it from the standpoint of the railroad companies, and for the last two years I have studied it from the standpoint of the general public.

"As a preliminary to considering the solution, it is well to consider the condition of regulation in 1917, just prior to Federal control.

"While there were many different railroad companies, the service on the different railroads was inseparably linked in a common transportation system. Freight cars were interchangeable, rates were necessarily the same on different railroads in the same part of the country, wages of some classes of railroad labor were largely standardized, and others were to become so. Movements for either the increase or reduction of rates were joint and affected all the railroads in the particular territory, and movements for the increase of wages were likewise joint to a considerable extent and affected many railroads.

"Despite these elements of interrelation affecting service, rates, and wages, there were probably more than 100 distinct railroad interests, at least 50 of which could be regarded as important. It was almost impossible to secure joint action by these interests and almost impossible to accomplish results without joint action.

"Railroad labor was completely organized as to the train and engine men and was largely organized as to some of the other classes, and there was a steady movement toward further organization on the railroads throughout the country. Railroad labor had become violently opposed to arbitration and no means existed for satisfactory dealing with labor problems. Common action on the part of railroad labor was much easier than common action on the part of the railroad managements.

"Public regulation of the railroads was far reaching, both as to service and as to rates. Congress and the State legislatures and some State commissions were constantly making regulations affecting service and increasing the cost. The movement was steadily in the direction of greater and more costly regulation of railroad service. The regulation of rates was almost universal. The Interstate Commerce Commission had practically complete control over interstate rates, and nearly all the State commissions had control over the intrastate rates, and from time to time State legislatures directly fixed the rates. The railroad executives frequently complained that they had no substantial control over the management of the properties.

"The term private management had become largely figurative because important factors vitally affecting the control were largely prescribed by Congress and the Interstate Commerce Commission, by the State legislatures and the State commission, and by the various labor organizations.

"And yet while the public and labor through all these different agencies was directly dealing with the problems of railroad management there was no basis for securing common understanding by any two of these three interests. Each public agency worked by itself without reference to the railroad managements or labor, except through the medium of legal proceedings. The labor organizations formulated their policies and carried them out without reference either to the public or to the managements except in the course of arms-length negotiations. Each railroad management decided upon its own course as well as it could without the cooperation of either public representatives or labor representatives. The general result was a serious lack of understanding on the part of each of these three interests as to the point of view of the others.

"While there was so much public regulation there was no definiteness whatever as to the basis of regulation. There was

the general idea that rates ought to be enough to enable the companies to earn a fair return upon the fair value, but neither a fair return nor the fair value was subject of ascertainment.

"Some of the railroads were prosperous and showed large earnings and large rates of return upon their investment and upon their stock, so large in fact as to be a constant invitation to attacks on the part of elements of the public and of political life seeking rate reductions, and so large also as to stimulate discontent on the part of railroad labor. Other railroads had such poor returns that they found it impossible to raise the money necessary for needed improvements. Yet the rates had to be the same and the wages had to be substantially the same on these railroads so differently circumstanced.

"On account of the great number of different railroad companies it was exceedingly difficult for them to concur in any affirmative program, either as to rates or as to wages, and it has become strikingly noticeable that the railroad companies had not succeeded in carrying out a satisfactory program for the interchange of freight cars. In times of car shortage it was impossible for a company to get its own cars back on its line, and hence it was unwilling to give up the cars of other companies when it obtained them, and at times a condition of practical anarchy existed in dealing with freight cars owned by other companies.

"The situation which I have depicted was frequently regarded as almost impossible by the railroad people. A joint congressional committee, known as the Newlands committee, was appointed to study the difficulties, but before it reported the war conditions came and Federal control began.

"There was widespread pessimism as to the railroad situation. Expenses were increasing and it seemed impossible to obtain increases in rates to reflect the increases in expenses. While there was much criticism of individuals in public authority, I wish to emphasize that it is my opinion that it was the system which was at fault and not the public authorities who administered the system. I do not believe any set of men could have been put in public office who could have made the system a success.

"I do not believe we will ever obtain an effective solution without removing the fundamental difficulties which I have suggested.

"First. I believe that there will not be a prompt and liberal treatment of rate questions until profits clearly in excess of a fair return are appropriated in part to the public interest.

"An an illustration, I have in mind one important railroad company whose railroad, even in this difficult year, will earn over 140 per cent of the standard return, and this company has in the past paid high dividends and in addition has had a large annual surplus. When the railroad companies apply for an increase in rates, it will inevitably be urged that an increase ought not to be granted which would still further increase the large profits of this company. For example, an increase of 20 per cent in the freight rates of this company would give it a net operating income more than twice the standard return, assuming that it continued to enjoy the same business. I have no doubt that such a prospect would stimulate the most persistent opposition to the increase, and the result might be that an increase seriously needed by other companies would be defeated simply because the giving of the increase would yield what would be regarded as a grossly excessive profit for this favored company. I see no way to meet such a situation except to provide for a division of the excess over a clearly reasonable return. Of course, enough of the excess should be given to the company to stimulate efficiency in operation, but beyond that point the fact that the company would get the excess would be a serious obstruction to the railroads in general getting an increase to which on the average they might be entitled. The excess thus appropriated for the public interest should be largely placed in reserves, so as to protect the general railroad situation in unfavorable years. Such a course would quiet agitation, would stabilize the situation, and without it I believe it would be impossible to get prompt and liberal treatment of any rate-increase question.

"I believe there must be a definite standard by which the reasonableness of the general rate level can be measured. In the past there has been no appreciable standard. Plausible arguments could be made against any increase that was sought under any conditions. The rate-making body had to take all the responsibility and odium of creating a standard as well as applying it. In my opinion Congress itself should establish a general but workable standard and leave to the rate-making body the application of this standard according to the facts.

"I do not believe that there can be successful regulation of the railroad industry without a basis for mutual understanding between those representing the public, labor, and the owners, respectively. In the past there has been no basis for understanding except at the end of dispute and controversy. Each of the three great interests has worked, to a large extent, entirely aloof from the other two.

"Yet the railroad enterprise is a great common enterprise. It can not be conducted without the exercise of the most vital public franchises; nor can it be conducted without the participation of a large body of skilled labor which makes a life career out of railroad employment; nor can it be conducted without the physical property which has been created by the investment of capital. We make a grave mistake in assuming that the representatives of capital can alone manage the situation. The scheme of the past has been on that false theory and the result has been that the public has injected itself into the management through all sorts of agencies and labor has injected itself into the management through its own organizations, not only through direct demands upon railroad companies but through demands on Congress and on State legislatures and public commissions for legislation and regulations affecting management. We have all three interests participating in the management in all sorts of ways and yet there is no common ground on which these three elements can meet and exchange views and endeavor to reach conclusions. I believe the only sort of management which can be permanently effective is one which provides for an orderly participation at the outset of all three of these interests instead of the past scheme which leaves each interest to pursue its own methods irrespective of the others until an eventual contact is established in some form of controversy.

"The fact is that in the past these two essential elements of the public and of labor have asserted their participation only through some form of controversy. The public side of it is asserted through hearings by legislative bodies or by commissions and these hearings nearly always take on a controversial aspect and the result is that the railroad business is largely conducted through a series of lawsuits.

"The labor side of the matter generally manifests itself in an even more controversial spirit.

"In my opinion there must be a form of participation in the management from the outset which will give each interest to start with an understanding of the reasonable needs and expectations of the other two interests. Out of this community of understanding I believe there will be evolved a much more successful disposition than will otherwise be possible.

"But beyond the mere matter of understanding it will be of vast importance to put on the public representatives and on the labor representatives a direct sense of responsibility for the rendition of the public service. This can not possibly satisfactorily or completely arise out of the old system and I do not see how it can be attained, except by participation in management which I suggest.

"When Federal control began there had come to be a vivid realization of the great embarrassments to which a railroad company was subjected by reason of having to engage in the paradoxical practice of running down its credit in order to sustain it. A railroad company could not secure consideration for what it regarded as a necessary rate increase without painting an alarming picture of the critical situation which confronted it unless it got a rate increase. This was necessary because the rate-making tribunal had no first-hand information derived from immediate contact and a direct sense of responsibility for railroad management. The rate-making body approached the matter entirely in an attitude of skepticism. In order to overcome this attitude the railroad company had to stress all the difficulties of its situation and frequently was rebuked by the rate-making body for discrediting its credit at the very time it was trying to improve it. Yet I believe this result was inevitable under the old system and we will soon see precisely the same condition repeated if this feature of the old system shall remain in operation. The only way to avoid it is through some radical reconstruction of the management which will bring the public representatives into a direct understanding and also into a direct and original responsibility for the conduct of the business. Unless this can be done I believe it is only a question of time when the remaining vestiges of private management will come to be recognized as altogether impracticable.

"I do not believe that any form of railroad operation can permanently succeed in this country when conducted through so many different railroad managements as at present. The public interest involved is almost completely homogeneous because from one end of the country to the other the public wants adequate service and a complete interchange of equipment in order to obtain that service and, of course, enjoy uniform rates regardless of the railroad on which the traffic is carried. The labor interest involved was largely homogeneous before the war and is almost completely so at present. We can not therefore hope to

succeed with a heterogeneous lot of railroad managements, over 100 in number with perhaps at least 50 of a dominant character. These numerous managements will constantly embarrass each other in many ways. The great variations of prosperity and adversity will completely baffle people trying to understand the real facts as to the needs of the railroads. I believe that it will be essential to consolidate the railroads through some compulsory process into a few great corporations upon the managements of which the public and labor will be adequately represented.

"I know the argument is urged that this will be difficult to accomplish but I have not the slightest doubt that it can be accomplished if the public realizes the necessity for it, and I am convinced that it is an absolutely necessary step if Government ownership is to be permanently avoided.

"I am also aware that the suggestion has been made that these consolidations should come about gradually by voluntary action, but my observation of the unsatisfactory results of the old scheme of public regulation and private management are that this situation will not wait for a gradual process of voluntary consolidation. I believe that either this matter must be dealt with in a comprehensive and effective compulsory way or that any scheme of legislation adopted will prove itself a disappointment and a failure long before voluntary consolidations can be worked out.

"To recapitulate my views on a permanent solution of the railroad problem, I believe that there must be fundamental changes which will consolidate the railroads into a few great systems. I believe that the public and labor, as well as capital, must be represented upon the managements of these systems. I believe that a definite standard for rates must be established and that earnings clearly in excess of a reasonable return must be divided and must go largely to providing adequate reserves to take care of years of depression, and at the same time enough of the excess must be left with the company earning it to provide adequate stimulus for efficiency. In my opinion, if any effort be made to return the railroads to private control without the fundamental reconstruction which I advise, the result will be progressively disappointing, and in a few years the dissatisfaction of the public will manifest itself through an insistent demand for a radically different plan which is not likely then to stop short of outright Government ownership.

"The argument has been urged in response to such fundamental changes that we ought not to adopt an untried system but ought to retain the system of the past with which we are familiar, but it is the very fact of our familiarity with the system of the past which compels me to believe that there must be complete departure from that system. I believe our past experience has demonstrated that the old system will not succeed. It certainly is a poor argument to insist that we should adhere to a failure as a permanent policy simply because we are familiar with it.

"Turning to another highly important aspect of this general problem, I wish to point out the unusual difficulties which attend the immediate establishment of any plan of private management with adequate credit to provide the necessary capital needed for railroad development. These obstacles are not only embarrassing to railroad credit, but they also involve serious elements of injury to the public transportation service.

"I believe there will be general agreement that this is one of the most difficult financial periods in the history of the country or the world. Obviously it will be more difficult to establish satisfactorily the credit of a large number of railroad companies at the present moment than it would be to do this at a later date when financial conditions generally have become better stabilized.

"Railroad credit is dependent, of course, upon the conclusion which the investing public reach as to the earning capacity of the railroads. Necessarily these conclusions must be based upon past experience. The war and the conditions of unrest growing out of the war have created conditions which greatly impair the value of recent experience in railroad operations as a basis for forming conclusions as to actual earning capacity. No one would seriously contend that the year 1918 furnished a satisfactory basis for concluding what the railroads could earn on the basis of a given rate level, but as a matter of fact the year 1919 is going to be equally unreliable and probably more so. In the first six months of 1919 there was a sudden, abnormally heavy, and abnormally prolonged slump in freight traffic, at a time when the railroad operating machinery was just being readjusted from the war basis. The heavy deficits incurred during the first six months were due largely, if not almost wholly, to this condition. The next four months, from July to October, 1919, represented fairly normal conditions of reasonably heavy business, and in those months under unified operation the results were such that a very small increase in rates would have avoided any deficit. The months of November and December will be useless for comparative purposes, because they will be exceedingly costly by reason of the coal strike, which created an industrial condition unprecedented in this country and which imposed enormous unavoidable costs on railroad operation.

"With such conditions, it is evident that those opposed to rate increases can find innumerable plausible arguments in favor of small increases, and those in favor of large increases can support them by correspondingly numerous and plausible arguments. It is also evident that railroad investors will view with alarm the heavy deficits of the past and probably will not be reassured without substantial increases. There probably could not be a more difficult time in which to readjust rates so as to reassure the railroad investor and at the same time reasonably protect the public.

"By reason of this condition, the public interest is confronted with a serious dilemma. How can it at the present moment make rates high enough to constitute adequate reassurance to railroad credit without at the same time making them much higher than would likely turn out to be necessary if the period of readjustment could be postponed until a time of more stable conditions. Undoubtedly if the policy be adopted of establishing independent railroad credit instantly at all hazards it would be only logical to make the rate increases large enough to do so.

"There may easily arise out of these perplexities a situation which will fall short of what the railroad investor has been led to expect, and which consequently will not stimulate sufficient confidence in railroad credit.

"On one point I believe there must be agreement, and that is that any rate increase which will at all establish an adequate credit for the various railroad companies operating independently on their own responsibility must be substantially greater than a rate increase which would protect the situation temporarily if unified control were continued until more stable conditions appear. This means that the public must pay a very substantial price in an additional increase in rates for the privilege of the immediate resumption of private management.

"Again it is clear that it will not be possible for the railroad companies to make satisfactory financial plans on the basis of the legislation now in prospect in time to commit themselves definitely to large orders for necessary equipment so as to meet the heavy requirements of next fall. For months I have been pointing out that under existing conditions the Railroad Administration could not order and agree to pay for this equipment, and that therefore it could only be provided soon enough by immediately enabling the railroad companies to do so, so the prospects for getting it in time for next fall have largely disappeared. I believe it will be generally conceded that under Federal control the unification of control has made the existing equipment go further and produce a greater volume of transportation than would be possible under the old form of private managements. If, therefore, private management is resumed at a time when it will be impossible to secure the additional equipment necessary to admit of the numerous private managements giving a corresponding total of transportation service, it is evident that the public will pay an additional price through increased shortages in transportation in the next period of heavy business.

"When I appeared before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce last February, I pointed out the difficulties in the way of a transfer back to private management during the period of readjustment and expressed the opinion that the public would be better served and with less cost, and railroad investors would be better protected, to continue the present Federal operation long enough to tide over the readjustment period, and also to admit of legislation with greater deliberation after the beginning of the next presidential term. The Congress, however, has from the time of the first proposal of this plan appeared to be averse to any procedure other than the adoption at the earliest possible moment of general legislation and the turning back of the railroads to private management under such legislation. Since it would be out of the question for Federal control to be successful without the support of Congress, the necessary steps have been taken in accordance with the sentiment and purpose of Congress for the turning back of the railroads on March 1.

"In this connection let me say that despite the widespread fashion of criticizing Federal control of railroads and attributing to it practically every condition that grew out of the war, my deliberate judgment is that Federal control has rendered some very important public services which far outweigh any defects with which it may be chargeable. For one thing, it protected railroad credit through a period of most critical financial difficulty. When we consider on the one hand the

precarious situation of public utilities in many parts of the country, and on the other hand the results which the railroad properties have enjoyed during Federal control, it must be clear that a highly important service has been rendered in the protection of investment in railroad property and of the due returns therefrom. Equally important results have been obtained from the standpoint of the general public. In a time of great difficulty and with an amount of equipment which was inadequate even before Federal control began, the unified operation of the railroads has produced a total transportation service greater than ever before in the history of the country, and has done it with far less congestion and delay than was characteristic of conditions of heavy business under private control. Generally speaking, the period of heaviest business is in the fall months. In these months both in 1918 and in 1919 the business was heavier than in any corresponding periods prior to the war. A greater volume of traffic was moved and with far less congestion than was characteristic of the conditions of private management. I know on several occasions in the fall months prior to Federal control the state of traffic congestion in some parts of the country reached such a state as to constitute a transportation crisis, but these conditions were obviated through the use of the opportunities which came from unified control. I attribute the achievement entirely to the opportunities which unified control gave and not to any superior wisdom which I claim was possessed by the Railroad Administration.

"I want to emphasize the point that the railroads were placed under Government control during the war, and that the predominant motive during the war was the prompt movement of troops and war supplies. From January 1, 1918, to November 1, 1919, there were 13,446,859 soldiers, sailors, and marines moved on the railroads in the United States, and this was equivalent to transporting one passenger 5,917,658,719 miles, thus necessitating the use of 213,749 railroad coaches and Pullmans and the movement of over 18,000 special trains. The civilian inconveniences which have been dwelt upon so consistently resulted in a very large measure from the primacy which had to be given to this war object.

"The fact that there has been a deficit from railroad operations under Federal control has been regarded by many as conclusive evidence of the necessity for a precipitate return to private control, but the fact is that the deficit has not been due to excessive costs. The costs have not been relatively greater than in other lines of enterprise. The real reason for the deficit is due to the fact that the prices charged for railroad transportation have not been increased in keeping with the increases in prices of commodities. For the first six months of Federal control there was no increase initiated by the director general in the rates of transportation. If the increases in rates which were put into effect by him in the latter part of June, 1918, had been put into effect on January 1, 1918, at the very beginning of Federal control, the class 1 railroads would have shown a profit of about $14,000,000 at the end of October, 1919, at the expiration of 22 months of Federal control, instead of a deficit of nearly $500,000,000. In other words, the deficit can fairly be said to have been due to the fact that the increase in rates was necessarily deferred six months. The entire deficit for the period from January, 1918, to October, 1919, both inclusive, for class 1 railroads and large terminal companies in Federal operation was $480,000,000, but if the rate increases made in June, 1918, had been effective January 1, 1918, from which time, of course, the increased expenses were largely effective, the additional revenue without any increase in operating expenses would have been $494,000,000, thus more than offsetting the deficit and leaving a profit of $14,000,000.

"If the Railroad Administration had increased its rates 50 or 60 per cent, which was less than the increase in prices by private industries throughout the country, and which, by the way, appears to be in line with the increases in rates now being proposed for railroads in England and in other European countries, handsome profits would have been shown instead of a deficit.

"The indications are that despite all the increases in cost which have been incurred by the Railroad Administration, a continuance of unified control could be made self-supporting upon a very small increase in rates, whereas a return to private management with the necessity of establishing the credit of a great number of independent railroad companies, would undoubtedly call for a much greater increase in rates if the railroad credit is in fact to be successfully established.

"While on the subject of results of the Railroad Administration, I wish to correct the radically erroneous impression as to the treatment of labor. The increase in the rates of pay to railroad labor have by no means been out of line with the increases to labor in private enterprises, and in both instances the increases have been due to the conditions created by the war. It is a curious illustration of the aberration of the times that the increase in wages made by the Railroad Administration is regarded as a proof of politics and inefficiency, while an even greater increase in some of the important industrial enterprises of the country is regarded as a perfectly natural response to business necessities.

"Special stress has been laid by some of the critics of the Railroad Administration upon the increase in the number of employees. This increase is principally accounted for by the establishment of the 8-hour day and involves no increase in the number of hours of labor paid for. Obviously if 80 hours of labor are to be done 10 employees will be required on the basis of an 8-hour day as compared with only 8 on the basis of a 10-hour day, and yet only 80 hours will be paid for in either case. To a considerable extent it is undoubtedly true that the larger number of employees has been due to the loss of experienced employees on account of the war and to the exceptional turnover of employees, which has been a natural characteristic of the industrial change and unrest. In these respects the Railroad Administration does not differ from other industrial enterprises. It is important to bear in mind that the number of hours of work paid for is in the control of the experienced railroad officers as far as it can be controlled in view of general industrial conditions. The central administration is constantly checking up this situation and bringing to the attention of local officers any cases which arise and which indicate the payment for unnecessary hours of work. The influence of the central administration, therefore, is consistently exercised in favor of a reduction in the hours of work paid for rather than in favor of an increase in the hours of work paid for.

"Let me at this point digress to say that there has never been any selection of either officers or employees in the Railroad Administration for political reasons, and that the assumption which is sometimes indulged that governmental activities create unnecessary positions for political reasons is absolutely without any foundation as far as the Railroad Administration is concerned. I do not believe there is a single officer of the Railroad Administration who has sought his position. It is strikingly an institution where the office has sought the man. There has never been any inquiry into the politics of an officer, and, as a rule, I am not advised as to the politics of the members of my staff or their subordinates or as to the politics of the officers on the various railroads or their subordinates. Let me emphasize also that throughout Federal control railroad operation has been in the hands of skilled railroad officers who have spent their lives in railroad service, and, generally speaking, has been in the hands of the very same officers who conducted the same operations prior to Federal control and will continue to conduct them after Federal control.

"Returning to the results of railroad operation under Federal control, let me emphasize that the striking respect in which private enterprise has been more effective than the Railroad Administration is that the private enterprise has been so much more efficient in raising the prices which have been imposed upon the public, while the Railroad Administration has endeavored to protect the public and the business of the country from any unnecessary increases in the level of the railroad rate structure. Conditions in the early part of 1919 were so abnormal and unprecedented as to preclude any satisfactory and reliable readjustment of rates. It is thoroughly appreciated that the unfavorable return in the early months of 1919 was very largely, if not almost wholly, due to the abnormal slump in business. If an increase had then been made to produce the profits on the abnormally small business, I am satisfied the step would have been exceedingly unjust to the public. The result in the fairly normal months of July to October clearly justified this prudent policy, because they indicated that in any normal volume of business the rate increase necessary under unified control would have been very much less than was indicated by the abnormal months preceding. The entire increase in rates since 1914 has been on an average for the country only about 33 per cent. In that time the increase in prices of the articles transported has varied from 60 per cent and 80 per cent up to 150 per cent.

"Let me in conclusion again remind you of the conditions which prevailed in 1917. We get no clearer or more striking picture of these conditions than that which was presented by the executives of the eastern railroads to the Interstate Commerce Commission in the late fall of 1917 in behalf of the effort then made to secure an increase in rates. The conditions were then summed up on behalf of the railroad interests as follows:

"(a) Continuous increases in the cost of labor, fuel, supplies, taxes, and of obtaining new capital.

"(b) Inability to secure and retain efficient labor.

"(c) Curtailment of maintenance expenses, which curtailment is due in part to inability to secure necessary labor and materials.

"(d) Decrease in net operating income, notwithstanding large increase in operating revenues, in property investment, in carload, and in trainload.

"(e) Reduction in surplus with consequent effect upon the credit of the carriers.

"(f) Inability to secure new capital by the issue of stock, with the consequent weakening effect upon the financial structure.

"(g) Inability to provide improvements and facilities, not only essential for the traffic of to-day, but equally essential for the traffic of the future.

"Let us not forget that conditions of this character were the outgrowth of the imperfect system of management and regulation which existed at that time, and let us take the lesson to heart in considering whether there must not be a fundamental reconstruction of the scheme of management and regulation if any of the useful features of private control are to be reestablished with any reasonable hope of their being permanently successful."

The Fuller Civil War Pension Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ERNEST R. ACKERMAN,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 9369) to revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, to certain widows, former widows, dependent parents and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me peculiarly fitting at this time, when another year has dawned, that we should look around us and, while considering the budget for the year to come, to give more than a passing thought to those who when the country's life was in danger a half century ago sprang into the breach and saved the Union from being dismembered.

On every side we hear the plea for economy, and it must not be disregarded. War is frightful, and its aftermath a thing too horrible for calm consideration. Prodigality and excesses of every sort follow in war's train, and saneness, efficiency, and economy seem to have left the reason of those who survive. Pledged as we are to be economical, we would be equally recreant to our trust if we became parsimonious.

The pension bill now before us is to alleviate—unfortunately it can do so in part only—the wants, the sufferings, and the privations of those who in the Nation's hour of trial responded to the call of duty in its behalf.

Of course, we must economize where waste can be shown to exist. There is no excuse for waste, no matter what is the amount of the revenue, but this country would not have been in the position it was in 1917 if the soldier boys who fought at Antietam, Gettysburg, and at other points too numerous to mention had not preserved the Union to posterity "an undivided and indissoluble Nation," stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

The Bible says, "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty."

Reduced to cold and unsympathetic figures, what does this additional pension bill mean? It means a tax of less than 2 cents a week for the next fiscal year upon all those residing in the continental United States. That is all it means. A postage stamp from each of us weekly to allay the want of those who bore the heat and burden of the day. A little calculation will convince you of the soundness of my reasoning.

Where is the man, or the woman either, who would not give a year's contribution many times over if one of these deserving individuals should make a personal appeal for assistance? How long would the consideration of such an expenditure deter one from going to the "movies" or some other form of entertainment? Not a minute.

The collective wealth of the Nation, not less than $350,000,000,000, and probably exceeding that by some 50 per cent, according to some calculations I have seen, is a warrant that we have not yielded to anything beyond our resources.

True, the number affected by this pension increase is less than 1 per cent of our population, but, in my opinion, this country would never have become the mighty beehive of activity that it is, and which it promises to remain, if those who are the recipients of this just provision had not left the plowshare and the countingroom in the early sixties and successfully braved the fire and the tempest then raging.

Mr. Speaker, as a business man for 40 years and covering a wide range of competitive activities, I am not unmindful of the provisions that are being made in all lines of business to provide for those who have not even reached the Psalmist span of threescore and ten. Why, therefore, is it not fitting and proper that these defenders of the Nation, whose ages are nearly all in excess of that figure, receive just consideration at our hands?

Those who fought in the War of the Rebellion were not so fortunate as those of our countrymen who fought for civilization in the late terrific conflict. In the Civil War no adequate system of insurance had been devised. The times were not ripe for that advanced thought in their behalf. Nor had the Red Cross begun to function so effectively. Welfare work was undreamed of. The boys of 1861 generally endured privations which not many of our khaki-clad youths of yesterday had to face.

No training camps to adequately drill them were projected and medical science had not progressed to the point where the knife and saw were not supreme when the wounded were brought in.

No Vocational Board of Education stood ready to hold out a helping hand when the maimed and crippled soldier received his honorable discharge, saying to him, "We will pay you a liberal weekly sum even while you are learning the trade of your own choosing, which in the near future will bring you in an adequate income."

The march to the grave for the remnant that is left is being accelerated with lightning speed. Since the bill was considered in the committee competent judges tell us that over 10,000 of these veterans have passed to their reward.

Every 10 minutes of the day and night one of these recipients of the Government's care passes over "the great divide." Before to-morrow's sun shall shine a half hundred more will be where no pension can do anything for them. If two months' time elapses before the measure becomes law several thousand will be beyond the pale. None of us want them to pass their remaining days, which to the entire number can not be many, like "galley slaves scourged to a dungeon," but would prefer that their last hours be soothed by the thought that a great Nation, now the repository of the world's treasures, had lightened their burdens so that when the "summons comes to join that great caravan" they can "wrap the draperies of their couch about them and lie down to pleasant dreams."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN F. WELTY,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 9367) to revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, to certain widows, former widows, dependent parents and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases.

Mr. WELTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted I beg to say that when the chairman of the Committee on Invalid Pensions notified me, during the holidays, that the bill now pending would be called up for consideration to-day I made a special effort to be here for the purpose of supporting this bill, providing for an increase of pension to our soldiers. I am in favor of this bill because a great many of the veterans of the Civil War, with their widows and children, are needy and deserve this additional compensation. Objections have been made because this will mean an additional drain on the Public Treasury of some $65,000,000, but when I think of the increased cost of living and remember the many letters from these old veterans, many dependent upon friends and charity for support, I concluded to support this bill granting an additional increase in order that they might be able to pay for the necessaries of life during their declining days without depending upon charity.

I have been interested in these veterans from the time I was able to read the history that they had written in blood, and it was they who inspired me to join a military company the first opportunity I had after entering school. It was they who in-

spired me to leave my position as city solicitor and volunteer my services as private during the Spanish-American War. It was the glorious history that these boys made during the Civil War that made me chafe during the Sixty-fifth Congress because my services were thrice denied in a military capacity because I was a Member of Congress.

I am not going to vote for this bill as a matter of charity, but because these veterans created a national obligation through their services, which obligation the Nation will never be able to pay. I am not going to support this bill with a hope that this pension, or any other pension that we might grant, will be able to pay for the sacrifices that these soldiers made. I would not for one minute take any of their glory away by attempting to pay for their services. Sacrifices can never be paid for without destroying the pleasure of making them. These boys made the sacrifice without any hope of reward in dollars and cents. The reward that is theirs must be a deep satisfaction to them for having done their duty at a time when this country was in danger. They did not then ask the cost, but were willing to do their full duty, even though it cost their life. What a glorious heritage these brave lads have in the memory of their declining days, and what satisfaction must come to them when they think that there was a time in their life when opportunity knocked at their door giving them permission to make the sacrifice to preserve the Union. This sacrifice can neither be purchased nor compensated.

A few days ago we made provisions for the disabled soldiers of the World War, which will be an additional drain on the Treasury of approximately $80,000,000. When these boys gave their services they did not know what provisions would be made if they should become disabled, but they had reasons to believe that they were fighting for a grateful people and that this country would take care of them in the event they were disabled.

I was hoping that the bill providing for pension of disabled soldiers of the Spanish-American War would receive consideration at the same time this bill was called up. These boys of the Spanish-American War seemingly have been overlooked. Their widows never received any consideration until the Sixty-fifth Congress. All these years they were required to depend upon their own efforts and charity to provide the necessaries of life for themselves and children. I do hope that Congress will grant some relief to the disabled soldiers of the Spanish-American War, for a nation can not live long unless it is willing to make provisions for the support of those who were injured in order to preserve that nation.

There are those who believe that these heavy drains should not be made on the Treasury at this time because of the indebtedness incurred during the war, but some one must care for those who became disabled while fighting to preserve us a Nation.

Silver Star Awards for Gallantry.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. SUMMERS,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, the Army bill of 1918 not only appropriated funds for the Army but provided suitable decorations for our distinguished soldiers both in America and overseas.

MEDAL OF HONOR.

The law provided—

That the President is authorized to present, in the name of the Congress, a medal of honor only to each person who, while an officer or enlisted man of the Army, shall hereafter, in action involving actual conflict with an enemy, distingush himself conspicuously by gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty.

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CROSS.

That—

The President be, and he is hereby, further authorized to present, but not in the name of Congress, a distinguished service cross of appropriate design and a ribbon, together with a rosette or other device, to be worn in lieu thereof, to any person who, while serving in any capacity with the Army of the United States since the 6th day of April, 1917, has distinguished, or who shall hereafter distinguish himself or herself by extraordinary heroism in connection with military operations against an armed enemy.

DISTINGUISHED-SERVICE MEDAL.

That—

The President be, and he is hereby, further authorized to present, but not in the name of Congress, a distinguished-service medal of appropriate design and a ribbon, together with a rosette or other device, to be worn in lieu thereof, to any person who, while serving in any capacity with the Army of the United States since the 6th day of April, 1917, has distinguished, or who hereafter shall distinguish, himself or herself by exceptionally meritorious service to the Government in a duty of great responsibility; and said distinguished-service medal shall also be issued to all enlisted men of the Army to whom the certificate of merit has been granted up to and including the date of the passage of this act under the provisions of previously existing law, in lieu of such certificate of merit, and after the passage of this act the award of the certificate of merit for distinguished service shall cease; and additional pay heretofore authorized by law for holders of the certificate of merit shall not be paid to them beyond the date of the award of the distinguished-service medal in lieu theref as aforesaid.

SILVER STAR.

When it came to other citations of an officer or of an enlisted man not warranting the award of the medal of honor the distinguished-service cross, or the distinguished-service medal, the law provided that a silver star should be awarded on a citation "published in orders issued from the headquarters of a force commanded by a general officer."

Under this law many men cited for bravery and heroism would be deprived of an honor which they earned in most cases in the face of the enemy, merely because their brigade was not commanded by a brigadier general or some other officer of higher rank.

I cite the case of the Sixty-sixth Field Artillery Brigade, composed of the One hundred and forty-sixth and the One hundred and forty-eighth Field Artillery Regiments, which was always commanded while in action by a colonel.

One battalion of this brigade was recruited by Col. Paul H. Weyrauch from my district, in southeastern Washington. They were my friends and neighbors, and no braver, more loyal, or more patriotic sons of America ever faced the enemy on Flanders field than were these sons of the great Northwest.

Others in the brigade came from Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming, New Mexico, and Colorado, and brave men were they all.

No greater pleasure has come to me as a Member of Congress than the preparation and the fathering of the bill now under consideration, which authorizes the bestowal of the silver star and the honor and distinction attendant therewith upon some 50 or more of these gallant heroes of the late war.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

It is a matter of personal regret that I have not the records before me from which to quote the citations of them all. However, among the many recommendations for citations I am now able to quote several. Some of these have been recommended for the distinguished-service cross. All are recommended for the silver star. Whether or not the citations will finally be made in all cases I can not say.

Some of the bravest now sleep in far-away France, but the honor is theirs and the decoration should go to their loved ones.

I invite your attention to these recommendations:

CAPT. WILLIAM S. PETTIT, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

Capt. Pettit was in command of the Second Battalion of this regiment from July 9, 1918, until he was evacuated to a hospital on November 3, 1918.

He was a most excellent battalion commander. He was always ready for any service, however arduous. During his last few days in command of the battalion his battalion P. C., near Romagne, France, was daily subjected to heavy enemy fire. During the night of November 2–3, 1918, it became necessary for him to twice change the location of his P. C. owing to heavy shelling. Although sick and worn out, he stuck to his post until directed by the regimental commander to go to a hospital for examination.

He died on November 8, 1918.

FIRST LIEUT. WALTER C. LEE, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

Lieut. Lee was on duty as orienteur officer of the Second Battalion during the four campaigns in which the regiment was engaged. Although very much run down and quite ill during the early days of November, he remained on duty with his battalion, performing most valuable service as adjutant, orienteur officer, and operations officer. He remained at his post until his illness compelled the surgeon to send him to a hospital in the rear.

He died on November 16, 1918.

FIRST LIEUT. WADE G. WAILES, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

About 6.30 p. m. on the night of October 26, 1918, near Cunel, France, during a very intense and severe artillery concentration by the enemy, Lieut. Wailes went to the rescue of Corp. Clarence F. Holland, Battery C, One hundred and forty-sixth Field Artillery, who had been mortally wounded, and remained with and attended to this wounded man throughout the entire concentration.

Lieut. Wailes showed indifference to all danger, disregarding all thought of personal safety, although shells were bursting within 25 feet on all sides.

SECOND CLASS MUSICIAN ASHER S. BRADLEY, HEADQUARTERS COMPANY, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

On August 12, 1918, at Chery-Chartreuse, France, Musician Bradley aided in establishing and maintaining liaison between aviators and brigade headquarters radio station during an adjustment of fire, by moving the radio truck, after the truck had been hit, to a new position, and while still under fire aided in putting up the antennae and manning the panels.

PVT. CLAUDE E. WAGNER, MEDICAL DETACHMENT, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

At about 6.30 p. m., October 26, 1918, near Cunel, France, during a very intense and severe artillery concentration by the enemy, Pvt. Wagner went to the rescue of Corpl. Clarence F. Holland, who had been mortally wounded, and remained and cared for Corpl. Holland during the entire concentration.

Pvt. Wagner showed indifference to all danger, disregarding all thought of personal safety, although shells were bursting all around him and as close as 25 feet.

PVT. HOWARD L. HUNT, BATTERY C, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

At about 6.30 p. m., October 26, 1918, near Cunel, France, during a very intense and severe artillery concentration by the enemy, Pvt. Hunt went to the rescue of Corpl. Clarence F. Holland, who had been mortally wounded, and remained and cared for Corpl. Holland during the entire concentration.

Pvt. Hunt showed indifference to all danger, disregarding all thought of personal safety, although shells were bursting all around him and as close as 25 feet.

PVT. CLARENCE O. HARBERT, BATTERY C, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

At about 6.30 p. m., October 26, 1918, near Cunel, France, during a very intense and severe artillery concentration by the enemy, Pvt. Harbert went to the rescue of Corpl. Clarence F. Holland, who had been mortally wounded, and remained and cared for Corpl. Holland during the entire concentration.

Pvt. Harbert showed indifference to all danger, disregarding all thought of personal safety, although shells were bursting all around him and as close as 25 feet.

CORPL. JOHN M. LIEDTKE, BATTERY F, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

While his battery was in position at Cuisy, France, on October 5, 1918, Corpl. Liedtke extinguished a fire in a large ammunition dump located near the battery. The dump was under heavy enemy shell fire and was set on fire. Disregarding all personal danger, Corpl. Liedtke went into the dump and extinguished the fire, which was rapidly spreading among the camouflage and powder boxes. The dump was on fire at several places, caused by powder boxes and boxes of 75-mm. shells exploding.

CORPL. PETER A. BERGQUIST, BATTERY F, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

While his battery was in position at Cuisy, France, on October 5, 1918, Corpl. Bergquist, at the risk of his own life, extinguished a fire which was destroying powder at the battery ammunition dump. This fire was caused by enemy shell fire, and during the whole performance the dump was under heavy fire by the enemy.

SERGT. FLOYD C. LINDER, HEADQUARTERS COMPANY, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

On November 8, 1918, at Montigny, France, Sergt. Linder kept up the telephone communication between the different units of the regiment while the city of Montigny was under heavy shell fire until this became impossible.

Sergt. Linder also voluntarily remained at the switchboard at the regimental post of command at Montigny during heavy shell fire. During all this time he exhibited great coolness and courage.

PVT. RAY BROWN, HEADQUARTERS COMPANY, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

Pvt. Brown on numerous occasions, while on duty as courier at the regimental post of command, displayed remarkable courage and coolness under fire while delivering messages to the different units of the regiment. On many occasions he volunteered for this service.

This soldier was evacuated to the hospital, returned to the United States, and has since been discharged from the service.

FIRST-CLASS PVT. JACQUES M. SILK-DOWNS, HEADQUARTERS COMPANY, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

On September 26, 1918, at Germanville, Pvt. Silk-Downs assisted in caring for a number of wounded infantrymen during heavy enemy shelling. During the shelling 15 men were killed and about 40 wounded. Although these men did not belong to his own organization, Pvt. Silk-Downs voluntarily left his dugout and carried a number of the wounded men to safety under fire and assisted in caring for them.

This soldier was later evacuated to a hospital, returned to the United States, and has since been discharged from the service.

REGIMENTAL SUPPLY SERGT. JOHN H. PENNINGTON, SUPPLY COMPANY, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

Sergt. Pennington performed most meritorious service supplying the batteries of the First Battalion, One hundred and forty-sixth Field Artillery, with rations during the time the batteries of that battalion were under fire.

Sergt. Pennington is also deserving of mention because of his unfailing energy and endeavor to perform his duties as regimental supply sergeant under the most varied and trying circumstances.

PVT. FRANK J. STARR, MEDICAL DETACHMENT, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

On October 31, 1918, at Romagne, France, Pvt. Starr assisted in the care of men wounded by heavy enemy shelling. While so engaged he was instantly killed by a shell fragment. On the preceding day he had also assisted in the dressing of a severely wounded soldier injured by shell fire.

CORPL. WILLIAM H. BRIGGS, BATTERY A, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

While his battery was in position at Lhuys, France, July 30 to August 6, 1918, telephone communication was frequently destroyed by enemy shelling. Disregarding his personal safety, and on several occasions in spite of extreme darkness, Corpl. Briggs repeatedly went out alone through heavy shelling in order to reestablish communication.

PVT. MARVIN C. SHAHA, BATTERY A, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

On several occasions, while his battery was in position at Villeneuve, France, and at Lhuys, France, from July 30 to August 6, 1918, telephone communications were frequently destroyed during the night. Pvt. Shaha repeatedly went out alone under heavy shell fire, searching for wire trouble, in spite of extreme darkness, and disregarding his personal safety he continued this work until he had succeeded in reestablishing communication.

CORPL. WENDELL W. MORRISON, BATTERY E, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

While his battery was in action near Natillois, France, on October 30–31, 1918, Corpl. Morrison, under continued shell fire, kept communication lines repaired which were being repeatedly cut, thus making possible efficient fire of the battery.

Corpl. Morrison was in charge of the telephone detail, of which detail three men were wounded. Corpl. Morrison carried one of these wounded men, Pvt. Waters, to a dressing station under heavy shell fire and returned to his post.

PVT. ALEX LUCAS, BATTERY E, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

Pvt. Lucas, while a member of a telephone detail on duty with his battery near Nantillois, France, on October 30 and 31, 1918, assisted in keeping communication lines repaired which were being repeatedly cut. Although wounded in two places, Pvt. Lucas refused to be sent to the rear and remained on duty through the night, almost constantly under fire.

MAJ. JAMES C. HAMILTON, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

On the morning of November 8, 1918, while the First and Second Battalions of this regiment were stationed at Montigny, France, the place was heavily shelled. The regimental commander directed Maj. Hamilton to get the men into a place of safety. Maj. Hamilton performed his duty regardless of personal danger, and afterwards voluntarily remained with the regimental commander at the regimental post of command until our own artillery fire had opened on the enemy batteries. During all this time Montigny was being heavily shelled with 77 mm., 150 mm., and 210 mm.

FIRST LIEUT. A. C. LANGDON, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

On the night of August 11, 1918, while the First Battalion was preparing to move from its position at Lhuys, France, hostile fire was adjusted on the town by enemy planes. At 11.30 p. m. one of the shells struck in front of the battalion post of command, injuring Wagoner Flynn and Regimental Supply Sergt. Pennington, also destroying a Ford car and setting fire to two trucks. Lieut. Langdon personally put out the fire and directed the removal of the injured, disregarding his personal safety during the shelling.

On November 9, 1918, while the battalion was stationed at Montigny, France, Lieut. Langdon volunteered to examine a dam placed across the Meuse at Stenay by the enemy, in order to inundate the surrounding country. While examining this dam he braved intense artillery and machine-gun fire, but he carried out his mission and returned with the required information.

CAPT. FRANK R. JEFFREY, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY, REGIMENTAL ADJUTANT (NOW MAJOR, FIELD ARTILLERY).

While on duty as supply officer, Third Battalion, of this regiment, Capt. Jeffrey distinguished himself by performing most meritorious service through his watchfulness in keeping his battalion well supplied at all times.

While in temporary command of the Third Battalion, near Cuisy, France, on the night of October 4, 1918, when ordered to report to the regimental post of command, he did so report, although he had to pass through a heavy fire doing so.

During the entire Meuse-Argonne campaign he acted as chief of operations for the regiment and was indefatigable in the performance of his duties.

SERGT. GEORGE L. COX, BATTERY B, ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH FIELD ARTILLERY.

On November 8, 1918, at Montigny, France, Sergt. George L. Cox went, under shell fire, to the aid of five men from an Engineer regiment near by who were wounded by the explosion of an enemy shell. Finding two of them beyond need for help, he got the remaining three under shelter and saw that they were taken care of by first-aid men.

Sergt. Cox then went a distance of about 200 yards, under shell fire, to the aid of Pvt. Clarence Grant, Battery B, One hundred and forty-sixth Field Artillery, who was then wounded, and was instrumental in getting Pvt. Grant to the first-aid station, which was at this time under heavy enemy shell fire.

These recommendations were all made by the colonel in command of the brigade.

H. R. 10331, which I prepared and introduced on November 1, 1919, amends the old law and reads as follows:

That no more than one medal of honor or one distinguished-service cross or one distinguished-service medal shall be issued to any one person; but for each succeeding deed or act sufficient to justify the award of a medal of honor or a distinguished-service cross or a distinguished-service medal, respectively, the President may award a suitable bar or other suitable device, to be worn as he shall direct. And for each citation of an officer or enlisted man for gallantry in action, published in orders issued from the headquarters of a force commanded by, or which is the appropriate command of, a general officer, not warranting the award of a medal of honor or distinguished-service cross, he shall be permitted to wear, as the President shall direct, a silver star three-sixteenths of an inch in diameter.

The law as amended by this bill will permit the award of the silver star for gallantry in action, whether the citation was made by a brigadier general or by a colonel.

Such deeds of valor, as I have recited, should be properly recognized. No technicality of law shall stand in their way. Honor to whom honor is due. When the vote is taken, let no voice be raised against this just measure.

"A Government that Will Not Protect its Protectors and Defend its Defenders is Unworthy of the Name."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILL TAYLOR,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I shall cast my vote for this very meritorious measure with more than ordinary pride and pleasure, feeling as I do so that I am performing a patriotic duty and service not only to my country, but a patriotic duty and service to the rapidly decreasing remnant of that once great army of heroes that saved this Nation from the heresies of secession and preserved it for its great mission in the world's affairs.

A HISTORIC DISTRICT.

I rejoice in the fact that I represent a district that contributed more soldiers to the Union cause than any other district south of the Mason and Dixon line. One of the counties of this Gibraltar of unionism achieved the remarkable distinction of furnishing more volunteers to the Federal Army than it had voters, and this was practically true of every county in this historic district. Although environed by Confederate territory and beset by rebel influences on all sides, intrenched in their mountains as in a great fortress of freedom, they challenged the enemy with true Spartan chivalry and signally defeated every attempt to subjugate them. Situated as they were in the very heart of the Confederacy, they were forced to undergo every possible form and phase of warfare, from the savage and cowardly attack of the guerilla to the open battle field. But they endured it all with typical American bravery and devotion, and to-day no more thrilling pages are to be found in the history of our country than those which record the brilliant exploits and heroic sacrifices of the Union men of East Tennessee. If there is one thing of which I am peculiarly and preeminently proud, it is the fact that I am a son of one of these venerable old veterans. Disregarding the predilections and importunities of a father who was a staunch rebel sympathizer, my father with four of his brothers enlisted in the Union Army at the outbreak of the war and fought throughout that sanguinary struggle. And while they all came home, with one exception, unscathed, only two of them survive to-day to receive the benefits of this long-delayed recompense.

TARDY JUSTICE.

We are just beginning to do something like substantial justice by our Civil War veterans. True, it is tardy justice, because we have postponed, procrastinated, and delayed until their line has become short, thin, and wan. From a vast army of 2,128,948 sturdy, stalwart men they have dwindled and disintegrated until they now number less than 300,000 souls, old, decrepit, and emaciated. In addition to the patriotic and sentimental considerations back of this measure, an examination of the table embodied in the committee's report illustrating the advance in the cost of the necessaries of life ought to suffice to convince the most stony-hearted "watchdog" of the absolute necessity for the passage of this bill.

		1913	1919
Bacon:			
Ham	per pound	$0.15	$0.55
Shoulders	do	.11	.45
Sides	do	.08	.35
Round steak	do	.10	.35
Loin steak	do	.12½	.40
Chuck steak	do	.10	.30
Stew beef	do	.08	.30
Lard compound	do	.08	.30
Lard, pure	do	.12½	.50
Corn meal	per peck	.25	.70
Grits	do	.30	.85
Rice	per pound	.05	.15
Sugar	do	.05	.15
Pork	do	.08	.40
Liver	do	.05	.25
Best S. R. flour	per 24-pound bag	.50	1.90
Coffee	per pound	.11	.40

Other necessities in proportionate increase.

My friends, in my opinion, there is nothing too good for these old veterans of the sixties, their widows, and dependents. Under the inspired leadership of the illustrious and immortal Lincoln, they preserved the institutions of our country, and vindicated the wisdom of our fathers who laid deep and wide and eternal the foundations of this great Republic.

LIBERAL PENSION POLICY.

We can not afford to be niggard, paltry, or parsimonious in our pension policy. If our Government is long to endure, we must not show a lack of appreciation of those who suffered and sacrificed for its maintenance and perpetuity. A government that will not protect its protectors and defend its defenders is unworthy of the name, and its flag is a dirty rag that contaminates the very air in which it waves. Whenever we forget the sacrifices our soldiers have made and the suffering which they have endured; whenever we shall cease to weave garlands of glory for the living and scatter roses and lilies over the graves of those that are dead; whenever we shall fail to canonize them and provide every possible comfort for them and their dependents, then the glory will fade from our flag and liberty will perish from among us.

The fact that Uncle Sam has been liberal with his soldiers; the fact that he has always provided for those who lost their health, or otherwise became disabled, in the cause of Old Glory, and has cared for the widows and orphans of those who made the supreme sacrifice, has been the one great inspiration to the American soldier distinguishing him in point of valor and self-sacrifice in every war in our history. The certain consciousness that the Government will take care of his dependents in the event of his death or disability has inspired him to perform feats of bravery and heroism that have compelled the envy and admiration of the nations of the earth. For this Nation to take a backward step in this particular would not only be the basest sort of ingratitude but suicidal as well.

I not only favor liberal provisions for those who saw Civil War service, but the same sort of a policy should be applied to those who saw service in the Spanish-American and the World War.

AMERICAN SOLDIER.

Take the record of the American soldier, and where in the annals of any country that has lived in the "tides of time" will you find a parallel? The American soldier—how eloquent the very mention of his name! What could I say that would render his record more wonderful or unique, or that would add one leaf to the laurel that adorns his brow? The history of all of our wars is admirably illumed by the brilliancy of his bravery and by the splendor of his achievements. On more than a thousand battle fields has he gloriously demonstrated his alacrity to vindicate the cause of "Old Glory" and promote the peace, happiness, and prosperity of his country. He came from the country, from the city, from the farm, and from the factory, the flower of the land; willing, yes, glad to lay down his life for the honor and glory of his country. Whether fighting under Washington, leading the liberty-allied troops at Trenton, or under Scott, following the Eagles of France at Lundys Lane; whether under Sam Houston, crushing the armies of Santa Anna at San Jacinto, or under David Crockett, embracing death at the Alamo; whether under Lee, that great military genius of the South, valiantly struggling to stem the overwhelming tide of inexorable defeat around Richmond, or under Sherman, that great thunderbolt of war, on his renowned tour to the sea; whether storming the heights of San Juan under Roosevelt and Shafter, or bursting through the ramparts at Manila under Meritt; whether grappling with the treacherous Boxer beneath the torrid sun of China, under Chaffee, or under Fred Funston, fighting the enemies of the flag in the Philippines; whether under Admiral Fletcher charging through the streets of Vera Cruz, with their breasts bared to the shot and shell of the cowardly Mexican snipers; or whether it be our brave boys in khaki routing the bloodthirsty Hun along the Aisne and the Marne, and knocking the Hindenburg line into a "cocked hat"; wheresoever and whensoever they have fought they have exemplified to the world the fact that their enthusiasm is irresistible, their determination indomitable, and their valor sublime. Through the energy and intrepidity of our soldiers, we wrenched the scepter of tyrannical dominion from the autocratic grasp of our mother country; we achieved a free sea; we gave liberty to the Texans; we made a citizen of the black man; we disenthralled the people of Porto Rico and Cuba; we ejected the cruel Spaniard from the Philippines; and our brave sons have just returned from foreign soil where they added new chapters to the grand volume of human freedom and enriched by their brilliant achievements the military archives of the world.

FIVE TOASTS.

A story is told that some time ago in New York five gentlemen of foreign birth chanced to meet. One was a Russian, one a Turk, one a Frenchman, one an American, and the other an English-

man. These gentlemen soon became bosom friends, and finally a champagne supper was proposed, at which each gentleman, to be in keeping with the ceremonies of such an occasion, was to propose a toast to his native country, the one giving the best toast to be at no expense for the wine.

The Russian said: "Here's to the stars and bars of Russia, that were never pulled down."

The Turk: "Here's to the bird of Turkey, whose wings were never clipped."

The Frenchman: "Here's to the cock of France, whose feathers were never picked."

The American: "Here's to the Stars and Stripes of the United States of America, never trailed in defeat."

The Englishman: "Here's to the roarin', rampin' lion of Great Britain, that tore down the stars and bars of Russia, clipped the wings of Turkey, picked the feathers off the cock of France, and ran like h—— from the Stars and Stripes of the United States of America."

It is unnecessary to say that the Englishman paid for no wine.

A REUNITED COUNTRY.

I consider it a splendid omen, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, that during the debate on this bill there has been no effort to resurrect the "bloody shirt," to reopen the sores of sectionalism, or to revive its prejudices. It demonstrates that our country is in reality reunited. "Those opposed eyes which were like the meteors of a troubled horizon are now all of one nature, of one substance bred." Those vast armies that over 50 years ago met in the internecine shock and furious charge of civil strife, now in mutual well-be-seeming ranks march all one way and are no more opposed. And time with her stealing tread has plucked from memory this deep-rooted sorrow, erased the written troubles of the brain, and with some sweet, oblivious antidote cleansed, freed, and united the North and South in eternal and irrevocable truce under the shadow of the same national pride. "The grass now grows green where but a few years ago death sat on the pale horse beckoning the blue and the gray to the yawning grave, and roses now bloom where heroes once bled." The North clasps hands with the South to-day, and Yankee Doodle and Dixie blend into one national air representative of an inseparable Union. Mason and Dixon line is still extant, but it is no longer the crater of death which once swallowed up the flower of the American Republic.

"Let the silvery clarion sound the jubilee of peace. Let the welkin ring with the hallelujahs of those who wore the blue and the gray." Let them pause with uncovered heads, caress the ample folds of the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, fling it to the breezes, and sing the national hymns. It is the flag of the inseparable Union, it is the glorious symbol of that Republic whose bounds are the ocean, whose covers are the stars under which burn the perpetual flames of liberty.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SCOTT FERRIS,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 8, 1920.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to incorporate in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter from Gov. J. B. A. Robertson, from my State, dealing with the question of the reorganization of the National Guard.

At the recent governors' conference, held in Utah, Gov. Robertson, with others, was named on a committee to draft and prepare necessary rules, regulations, and organization data touching the permanent organization of the National Guard.

The governor has given great attention to the subject, and is backed by Adjt. Gen. Charles F. Barrett, who has spent many toilsome years acquainting himself with the details of the National Guard in the State of Oklahoma. While our State is new and has many problems in front of it, I believe I do not say too much when I state that the question of the National Guard has been intelligently handled and effectively handled, and to that extent we are not behind the older States in the Union in the organizing and efficient handling of our National Guard. It is singularly true, and we are entitled to refer to it, that Oklahoma's National Guard leads all the rest. I mean by this that from the standpoint of efficiency and reorganization, after the world's most terrible war, it was the only State in the Union which was able to hold a Federal encampment and keep alive the embers of a National Guard organization.

The letter from the governor goes into this interesting question at length. His efforts and labor in connection therewith are well worthy of a place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, where others than myself may avail themselves of it.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the manner indicated. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The letter referred to follows:

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.,
January 5, 1920.

Hon. SCOTT FERRIS, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. FERRIS: The organization, equipment, and training for efficient military service of a part of the able-bodied man power in each State of the Union is a prime essential in the enforcement of domestic peace and tranquillity. The vitality and strength of the constitutional provisions guaranteeing the civil rights and liberties of our citizenship depend, in the last analysis, upon the power to enforce those provisions and the laws made in pursuance thereof. Under our form of government the military power has been properly made subject to the civil power, but its functions have been clearly recognized in all our constitutions, both State and National, and laws have been framed to make that force available when needed in support of the civil authorities. The dual nature of our Government—that of a Federal Republic composed of sovereign States—demands that the military forces of a State should owe a dual allegiance, they should be qualified to serve both the State and the National Governments, and both these Governments should participate in the organization, training, and equipment of this force.

The War Department has well said: "Our Federal Constitution contemplates the use of Federal forces for local or State purposes only when all other forces of the locality or State have been exhausted or have been found insufficient to meet the emergency. The theory of our Government is opposed to the use of Federal forces except for certain specific Federal purposes. When Federal forces are used for State purposes it is an admission on the part of the State Government that they are unable to cope with the situation."

Except in time of war some form of organized militia, partially trained and equipped by the States and only incidentally aided or recognized by the Federal Government has been the reliance of the States, and it was not till the passage of legislation by Congress in 1901–1903 in aid of the organized militia that the National Guard became a potential factor in the military forces of the State and Nation. Partially equipped in most States, feebly supported by the Federal Government in all, and indifferently trained as a result, the old guard of the several States, when mobilized on the Mexican border in 1916, provided the nucleus for that grand army of triumphant crusaders for human liberty who arrived just in time on the blood-soaked battle fields of France to turn the tide of victory against the brutal German despoilers. The National Guard in Federal service in 1917–18 literally saved the day for liberty and for the world because its divisions were the only trained American forces available when the Allies with their backs to the wall sent up their Macedonian cry to the American Nation for immediate help. This is not said with the intent of making invidious comparisons between the National Guard and the Regular Army or the other splendid troops with which our military forces were expanded into the millions.

The National Guard was a going concern when war was declared. The service on the border had fitted its best units for active service anywhere as soon as proper equipment could be provided, and they were ready for this great world service when the call came. Our experience then and our need now should make it possible to organize the citizen soldiery of the country on a basis that would make the National Guard a most dependable force for the national defense and a thoroughly efficient support for the civil authorities in case of domestic violence or tumult. We do not need and the people ought not to be asked to maintain a large standing army, but we do need a Regular Army, with officers highly trained in the technique and science of military operations and requirements. Our national activities and interests will require a Regular Army in time of peace of 250,000 to 300,000 officers and men, and measures providing for such an establishment as a fundamental part of our national military system are now being favorably considered in Congress.

Under the provisions of the national defense act of June 3, 1916, provision was made for the organization, equipment, training, and service in national emergencies of the National Guard of the several States. Before this law could be put in operation the call on the old guard for service on the Mexican border was made, and from that time until the early part of 1919 the active National Guard of the several States has been in Federal service. Upon their demobilization as Federal troops the order of the War Department holding that these organizations had automatically been relieved from National Guard service when they entered the Federal service had the effect of practically wiping out the guard of the several States as it existed prior to the declaration of the war, and, except in a few of the States, or in a limited way in the majority, no real efforts have been made to reorganize the National Guard. With bills now pending before Congress to fix a permanent military policy for the Nation, it is not probable that any effective results will be obtained in the matter of National Guard reorganization until Congress has acted and the national policy has been defined. In Oklahoma an earnest effort has been made to reorganize the National Guard under the provisions of the national defense act. This reorganization was begun in 1918, when the military spirit was high but available man power limited by the draft to men exempted on account of dependents and for occupational reasons. Because of the war, equipment was almost impossible to obtain, and it was not until July, 1919, that the two regiments accepted in September, 1918, were ready for field service.

Experience with the provisions of the national-defense act as applied to the National Guard warrants the statement that with a few necessary amendments to the law and with its administration taken away from the influence and domination of the General Staff it would be an effective and practical provision for the organization and maintenance as an effective military force, available both for State and national service, of a sufficient body of high-class citizen soldiers to meet any probable emergency, either State or national. Such a force would prove the proper complement for national defense of the Regular Army and the other branches of the military service, and such a force could be maintained and made efficient at one-fourth the cost of maintaining a like number of effective troops as a purely national or stand-

ing army. This force could be organized and maintained without a provision for compulsory service and no other system can or will be.

The period of world-wide unrest which followed the Great War, and will continue to follow the necessary readjustment in industrial and other fields in our country, makes it imperative that the States shall be empowered and equipped to maintain such trained and disciplined military forces as are necessary to uphold the dignity and insure the supremacy of the civil law within their borders. An effective, practical, and properly administered National Guard system meets this requirement and provides the Federal Government with a loyal, disciplined, and ample reserve of military effectives sufficient to meet any future contingency.

The national guardsman is the ideal soldier of a Republic. He is a citizen in time of peace and a soldier in time of war, and in his volunteer service he embodies the highest example of patriotism. In domestic or State service he understands local conditions; in national service he brings to the flag the organized loyalty and devotion of his State.

There is no cause of conflict between the National Guard and the Regular Army. One is the complement of the other, and we need them both, but the administration of the National Guard calls for a bureau under the War Department that shall be free from the clannish and autocratic tyranny of the General Staff. The National Guard can never be made to fit in with a policy of militarism, for it is essentially a democratic army, and its administration calls for a broader and more intimate knowledge of the mental attitude and environment of its members than is required for the control and development of an army of professional soldiers. There should be neither partisan nor professional politics in the National Guard, and its dual allegiance to the Federal and State Governments should exactly typify the dual allegiance of the good citizen of every State who loves his State and Nation with a fervent and undivided loyalty.

It is hardly necessary to assert that the people of Oklahoma in an overwhelming majority are opposed to any military policy or system which will provide except in time of great emergency for compulsory military service, whether universal or limited. The application of the selective draft law was approved and will be again when the need for it exists, but in my judgment, the American people will have none of the plans for compulsory service as the basis for a great standing army in time of peace.

Increased opportunities for military training as a part of the regular course in high schools and all the institutions of higher learning which is being rapidly extended under present laws will prove of great physical benefit to the student and will train for the future a vast reserve of most desirable officer and rank and file material.

An examination of Senate bill 3412, by Senator CALDER, which proposes several needed amendments to the present law, leads me to the conclusion that in some such measure as this, which will provide by amendment of the existing law for such changes as its operation has demonstrated to the friends of the National Guard are necessary, will be found the safest course in reconstructing this part of our military policy.

The history of the National Guard and its evolution through years of public and congressional indifference and neglect into that magnificent body of volunteers that led the van on so many bloody battle fields in Europe, and helped so vitally to write large on the most brilliant page of the world's military history the immortal record of America's service to mankind, is too familiar to require repetition and too important to be forgotten when Congress makes its final decision on the future military policy of the Nation.

Respectfully, yours,

J. B. A. ROBERTSON, *Governor.*

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. R. CLINT COLE,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 9369) to revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, to certain widows, former widows, dependent parents, and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, to me one of the chief rewards in being a Member of Congress is the opportunity it affords one to manifest his appreciation for the services and sacrifices of the men who made the continuation of our Congress and country a possibility.

Our fathers were right when they deemed it the primal purpose of government to bow to the will of the governed. As the tide of time rolled onward individuals appeared and vanished, nations rose and fell, but civilization advanced, each new nation an improvement over the old, until the adoption of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States of America, which express fundamentally the highest type of government of which the mind of man, aided by Divinity, is able to conceive. It was for the maintenance of that Government that the men for whom we to-day legislate paid such full measure of devotion.

I am unable to appreciate to the full the sacrifices they made. When the mighty Lincoln issued the call for troops to come to the defense of the Union, out of the hills and the valleys and towns and cities of the North these now venerable men came in ready response, started out on that historic march to the Southland, and out upon the morning and evening breezes stole the loud shouts of that grand Army as it thundered back the answer, "We are coming, Father Abraham, 300,000 strong." If I had, day after day, marched with them beneath the scorching rays of the Southern sun; had seen the brave comrades on my right and on my left mown down by the awful engines of war; had laid down to rest night after night, the bare, damp earth for a bed, the angry, rolling storm clouds a roof, the weird lightnings seething and hissing through the atmosphere, and the loud, roaring thunders making the nights hideous, then and not until then could I fully appreciate what they did. The best I can do now is to read and dream of those heroic days, and forever revere and praise and honor the men who so nobly endured them.

The heroic deeds of other days have scattered the clouds of disunion and slavery and permitted the brilliant sun of Americanism to rise higher and still higher into the widening canopy of national greatness. In every great crisis with which our Nation has been confronted our people have bespoken their patriotism and loyalty by offering themselves a willing sacrifice upon the altar of its perpetuity. It is out of the abundance of my appreciation for what these men have wrought that I give my voice and vote to these men to-day.

I know that economy should be the watchword of the country to-day. The tremendous debt of the great World War must be met. But economy must not be practiced at the expense and neglect of these venerable defenders of the flag. They stand the embodiment of genuine Americanism, and while they live no element or agency of destruction shall ever cause them to waver in their loyalty to the flag. They are growing old; for them the cold dews of the eternal night are gathering; soon the angel of death shall beat the low tattoo summoning the last one to his final reward. But while they do live we who support this measure can forever stand erect in the proud retrospection of having done our duty by them.

With no consideration for personal gain, with no thought for individual aggrandizement, in the prime of their young manhood, they bade adieu to home, friends, fame, and fortune, and to the wild, grand music of war marched away to do or die that the country might live. This Nation to-day stands a monument to their bravery and sacrifice, and as the effulgent beams of the receding sun of their earthly careers illuminate the grandeur of their achievement, let us pay them our respect and manifest our appreciation for their services by making it possible for them to better enjoy the comforts of life.

The Pension Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. S. D. FESS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for this bill, which will give additional relief to the surviving Civil War veteran and to the widow of him who has answered his last reveille.

On a former occasion I stated the debt this Nation owes to the hero of '61. We are too near his service to fully realize its meaning.

The historian in a thousand years from now will better estimate the value to self-government in the world contributed by the men who at the price of health and life proved to the world that a people can govern themselves. The historian will emphasize the fact that while a race was set free, was lifted out of the degredation of human chattelhood into the atmosphere of American citizenship, great as was that achievement, the greatest event of the Civil War was the perpetuation of our system of government, which is the first great Republic in history.

Europe's prophets and historians of the past, such as De Toqueville, and even Macauley, predicted a short life for this form of government. The one declared it would split on the rock of sectional difference, and the other declared it would break on the rock of class legislation. The fires of civil war fused the Nation into one indissoluble Union. And to-day, over a half century removed from that period, when only a small remnant of that grand Army of the Republic remains, the country's freedom from sectional strife was never so apparent.

The other danger is more prominent. Macauley's declaration that the time would come when the man on the street who could

not ride for want of a carriage would make good his determination that no man shall ride is being echoed and reechoed in many quarters to-day here in our own country.

The Civil War veteran settled the sectional question, wiped off of our escutcheon the blot of slavery, resisted armed rebellion against the Nation, and relaid the foundation of the Republic which to-day is the most powerful of nations in all history. Since he completed his work and demonstrated the perpetuity of republican form of government our shores have been sought as the haven of the oppressed of earth. Among us are men and women who are agitating to overthrow the Government which the heroes of 1861 fought to perpetuate. The movement has reached the proportions of a well-organized campaign. It is for us, the beneficiaries of the service they rendered, to see to it that no step is omitted to deal swiftly with this new enemy within our midst. It is not only a loss to the world to permit these enemies to set at naught the contribution of these defenders of republican government to the world's history, but it would be a crime against the dead, as it would be the deepest insult to the living soldier.

Our first duty is to defend this Republic they saved against these outlaws. This bill is proposed to in part compensate for the service rendered, and while we owe a debt which can never be paid, we can at least do this much to help make their last days a period free from want. The bill will pass by a sweeping vote.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. M. C. SMITH,

OF MICHIGAN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920.

On the bill (H. R. 9369) to revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, to certain widows, former widows, dependent parents and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of liberal pensions for our veteran soldiers who fought our battles in war and for the relief of their dependent widows and children. When the dark clouds of the Rebellion first appeared in the sixties and the clarion notes of war called the flower of the Northland to the colors, we made the pledge that those who answered the call to arms would be cared for in their declining years and the wounds of the injured in battle would be made whole, as far as a grateful Nation could make them, and sealed that pledge with the honor of our country.

President Lincoln, in his second inaugural address, in speaking of the task before our veteran soldiers, stated:

> Let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans.

Now, the day has come to fulfill that pledge and pay the debt. Some have contended that a pension is a gratuity. In this case it is an honorable obligation, a debt the Nation owes to those who in their young manhood bore arms for their country, instead of pursuing a profitable avocation and making for themselves a career. It was no compensation for a young man to join the Army for the pay of $13 per month. I do not think any of the veteran soldiers joined the colors for the mere compensation and pay of a private. They made the sacrifice and did their duty well. They helped their country in time of need, and now is the time of need for them, and their country is willing and eager to help them. It was no easy task, and the fortunes of war frequently changed sides. Out of the many encounters of larger or lesser extent of the Civil War may I mention some of the most significant:

[From World Almanac.]

Battles:	Casualties.
Gettysburg	23,001
Spotsylvania	18,396
Wilderness	17,666
Antietam	12,410
Chancellorsville	17,287
Chickamauga	16,179
Cold Harbor	12,737
Fredericksburg	12,653
Manassas	14,462
Shiloh	13,047
Stone River	13,249
Petersburg	11,386

Up to the present World War history fails to record such fighting as was done by our veteran soldiers of the Civil War. In fixing the amount of pension that should be paid to them we should not lose sight of their needs and do justice to both the public and the soldier. In determining the justice of their claim, let us ask ourselves what we would want by way of compensation to fight in some of the battles above recorded? Each of us would say that for the love of country we would be willing to lay down our lives, but not for worldly gain. The task and burden of battle fell heavy upon the veteran soldier of the Civil War. Michigan in 1860 had a population of 750,000; it furnished 90,000 soldiers.

I am pleased to record my vote willingly and freely for this bill granting an increase of pension to the soldiers, their widows and orphans, in recognition of their valor in war. It might be noted that our beloved country, during its existence of 140 years, has waged six wars, including the great World War. In each of them its national existence was at stake. In each of them our country pledged its entire man power and resources to its successful termination. In each of them our soldiers achieved a glorious victory. We have been a fighting Nation, and the American soldier covered himself with glory and bore high the standard of his country in every battle. In the recent World War, from the first Battle of Cantigny to the last Battle of Sedan, where a humiliating defeat was administered to the German Army on foreign soil, the American soldier never turned his back on the enemy. Retreat and defeat are unknown to the American armies; and our country, which owes its national existence and life to the American soldier, can now contribute to the relief of those who rendered such distinguished service and preserved the life of ours, the best of all nations.

The purchasing power of the pension now paid to the veteran soldier has greatly diminished. It was never too much. The amount carried by this bill while substantial will not equal the advance in the cost of the necessaries of life. The bill gives an added increase to those wounded in battle or impaired by disease. It increases the widow's pension and raises the allowance for the care of minor children. The bill passed the House by more than a two-thirds majority. I am pleased to insert a copy of the bill and trust it will be speedily passed by the Senate, receive the signature of the President, and become a law. With the enactment of this bill into law, I also hope that the payment of pensions will be made monthly instead of quarterly. It will be but a short time until these veterans have all been called to their final reward. The report filed in this case says that on the 30th day of June, 1919, there were 271,391 survivors of the Civil War on the pension roll; 293,244 widows of those who had died; 206 dependent parents of Union soldiers; 129 Civil War nurses; and 6,836 minor children. They are dying at the rate of 130 on an average each 24 hours, as stated by the chairman of the committee, and whatever we intend doing for them ought to be done now.

The Clerk read as follows:

"A bill (H. R. 9369) to revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, to certain widows, former widows, dependent parents and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases.

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That every person who served 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War, and who has been honorably discharged therefrom, or who, having so served less than 90 days, was discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, and who is now in receipt of, or entitled to receive under existing law, a pension of less than $50 per month, shall, from and after the passage of this act, be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $50 per month.

"SEC. 2. That every person who served 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War, and who has been honorably discharged therefrom, or who, having so served less than 90 days, was discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, and who is now, or hereafter may become, by reason of age and physical disabilities, helpless or blind, or so nearly helpless or blind as to require the constant or regular aid and attendance of another person, shall be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $72 per month.

"SEC. 3. That from and after the approval of this act all persons whose names are on the pension roll, and who, while in the service of the United States in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps during the Civil War, and in the line of duty, shall have lost one hand or one foot or been totally disabled in the same, or shall have sustained a disability equivalent thereto, shall receive a pension at the rate of $60 per month; that all persons who, in such service and in like manner, shall have lost an arm at or above the elbow, or a leg at or above the knee, or been totally disabled in the same, or shall have sustained a disability equivalent thereto, shall receive a pension at the rate of $65 per

month; that all persons who, in such service and in like manner, shall have lost an arm at the shoulder joint or a leg at the hip joint, or so near the shoulder or hip joint, or where the same is in such condition as to prevent the use of an artificial limb, or shall have sustained a disability equivalent thereto, shall receive a pension at the rate of $72 per month; and that all persons who, in such service and in like manner, shall have lost one hand and one foot, or been totally disabled in the same, or shall have sustained a disability equivalent thereto, shall receive a pension at the rate of $90 per month.

"SEC. 4. That the widow of any person who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War for 90 days or more, and was honorably discharged from such service, or regardless of the length of service was discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, such widow having been married to such soldier, sailor, or marine prior to the 27th day of June, anno Domini 1915, shall be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month. And this section shall apply to all former widows of persons who served for 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War and were honorably discharged from such service, or who, having so served for less than 90 days were discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, such widow having remarried, either once or more than once after the death of the soldier, sailor, or marine, if it be shown that such subsequent or successive marriage has, or have been dissolved, either by the death of the husband or husbands, or by divorce without fault on the part of the wife; and any such former widow shall be entitled to and be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month; and any widow as mentioned in this section shall also be paid $6 per month for each child of such officer or enlisted man under the age of 16 years, and in case of the death or remarriage of the widow having a child or children of such officer or enlisted man under the age of 16 years, such pension shall be paid such child or children until the age of 16 years: *Provided*, That in case a minor child is insane, idiotic, or otherwise permanently helpless, the pension shall continue during the life of such child or during the period of such disability, and this proviso shall apply to all pensions heretofore granted or hereafter to be granted under this or any former statute: *And provided further*, That in case of any widow whose name has been dropped from the pension roll because of her remarriage, if the pension has been granted to an insane, idiotic, or otherwise helpless child, or to a child or children under the age of 16 years, she shall not be entitled to renewal of pension under this act until that pension to such child or children terminates, unless such child or children be a member or members of her family and cared for by her, and upon the renewal of pension to such widow, payment of pension to such child or children shall cease.

"SEC. 5. That all Army nurses of the Civil War, and all dependent parents of any officer or enlisted man who served in the Civil War whose names are now on the pension roll, or who are now entitled to pension under any existing law, shall be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"SEC. 6. That the pension or increase of pension herein provided for, as to all persons whose names are now on the pension roll, or who are now in receipt of a pension under existing law, shall commence at the rates herein provided, from the date of the approval of this act, or under section 2 hereof, when the requisite condition is shown to exist after the approval of this act; and as to persons whose names are not now on the pension roll, or who are not now in receipt of a pension under existing law, but who may be entitled to pension under the provisions of this act, such pensions shall commence from the date of filing application therefor in the Bureau of Pensions in such form as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior: *Provided*, That as to any former widow as mentioned in section 4 hereof, who since the death of her soldier, sailor, or marine husband has remarried either once or more than once, and such subsequent or successive marriage has been dissolved, either by the death of the husband or husbands, or by divorce without fault on the part of the wife, and who filed her application for pension under the act of September 8, 1916, her pension shall commence from the date when her original application was filed under that act in the Bureau of Pensions, and shall be at the rate in that act provided, with increase at the rate or rates subsequently provided for the widows of Civil War soldiers, sailors, and marines, and by this act from the date or dates when any such subsequent act or acts took effect or may hereafter take effect, it being the intent and purpose to give to any such widow the same status as other widows of Civil War soldiers, sailors, and marines who have not remarried, and from the date of said act of September 8, 1916.

"SEC. 7. That nothing in this act contained shall be held to affect or diminish the additional pension to those on the roll designated as 'The Army and Navy medal of honor roll,' as provided in the act of April 27, 1906, but any increase herein provided for shall be in addition thereto; and no pension heretofore granted under any act, public or private, shall be reduced by anything contained in this act.

"SEC. 8. That no claim agent or attorney or other person shall be recognized in the adjustment of claims under this act, except in claims for original pension, and in such cases no more than the sum of $10 shall be allowed for services in preparing, presenting, or prosecuting any such claim, which sum shall be payable only on the order of the Commissioner of Pensions; and any person who shall violate any of the provisions of this section, or shall wrongfully withhold from the pensioner or claimant the whole or any part of a pension allowed or due to such pensioner or claimant under this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall, for each and every offense, be fined not exceeding $500 or be imprisoned not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court."

"Let Us Care for Him Who Shall Have Borne the Battle and for His Widow and Orphans."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ISRAEL M. FOSTER,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 9369) to revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, to certain widows, former widows, dependent parents, and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, this bill, which I am pleased to support, provides, among other things, (a) $50 per month to each person serving 90 days or more in the United States Army, Navy, or Marines during the Civil War; (b) $72 per month for every such person who, on account of age or physical disability, has become helpless or blind, or so nearly so that he requires the constant care of another person; (c) $30 per month for the widows of such Civil War veterans; (d) those having lost an arm or leg in the service and thereby rendered helpless are given additional consideration independent of their age or service; (e) for dependent children of deceased soldiers; (f) for Army nurses of the Civil War, and dependent parents of officers and enlisted men whose names are now on the pension roll.

The debate on this bill has disclosed, among other things, that 2,600,000 men enlisted in the Union Army, of which number more than 2,000,000 are now deceased; that this bill adds $65,000,000 to the present pension rolls, which is not unreasonable when we consider that the last Congress expended $100,000,000 on feeding Europe; that these soldiers are dying off at the rate of one every 10 minutes, and because of their advanced years their ranks will be depleted more rapidly each year.

The richest country on earth can not afford to be anything but justly fair with the small remnant of this Army, concerning which Lincoln said:

> Let us care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and orphans.

We should not forget that this Army, among other things, freed 4,000,000 human beings from bondage; that it preserved the integrity of the first great Republic in the history of the world and allowed us to continue a "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people." This remnant of that grand Army now range in ages from 70 to 90. Because of their age they are without means of earning a living, and the least a grateful Republic should do is to deal liberally with them in their declining years. We have heard quoted here the great truth that "the only national debt we can never pay is the debt we owe to our victorious Union soldiers, sailors, and marines."

On June 16, 1919, I introduced H. R. 5904, which was similar to the bill now under consideration. The chief points of difference were that H. R. 5904 provided for $60 per month, whereas H. R. 9369 provides for $50 per month, and H. R. 5904 provided

for $35 per month, whereas H. R. 9369 provides for $30 per month. In other words, the bill introduced by me allowed $60 per month for each soldier and $35 per month for each widow. The House has adopted a motion, "To suspend the rules and discharge the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union from further consideration of the bill H. R. 9369." With the adoption of this motion amendments are not in order. Because of this parliamentary status I shall support H. R. 9369 as now before the House, and I support this bill whole-heartedly, realizing that the Grand Army of the Republic at its recent convention at Columbus, Ohio, went on record in favor of this legislation. In supporting this bill we should bear in mind that the soldiers of the Civil War did not have many of the conveniences of our more recent war. The activities of the Red Cross, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, as now in evidence, were unknown to the men of the Civil War. Our insurance laws and our vocational training acts had no counterpart with the boys of '61. We are not disparaging our soldiers of the Spanish War and the World War in calling attention to the sacrifices necessarily undergone by the heroic men of the Civil War. I am sure that this House will, in order, treat the soldiers of these more recent wars with justice and consideration, and I have introduced bills which, if enacted into law, will, in my judgment, work substantial justice for our soldiers of both the Spanish War and the World War. I am intensely proud of the fact that my congressional district now has among its loyal citizens 1,500 survivors of the Union Army, each of whom contributed his utmost for the preservation of the Union and the freeing of a race then in bondage. While I remain a Member of this House I shall cast no vote with more genuine pleasure than when I support this bill, which will, I trust, contribute to the pleasure and happiness of this rapidly vanishing remnant of our Grand Army.

In closing these remarks, allow me to reproduce the "toasts," recited to us by our colleague, Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee, as follows:

A story is told that some time ago in New York five gentlemen of foreign birth chanced to meet. One was a Russian, one a Turk, one a Frenchman, one an American, and the other an Englishman. These gentlemen soon became bosom friends, and finally a champagne supper was proposed, at which each gentleman, to be in keeping with the ceremonies of such an occasion, was to propose a toast to his native country, the one giving the best toast to be at no expense for the wine.

The Russian said: "Here's to the stars and bars of Russia, that were never pulled down."

The Turk said: "Here's to the bird of Turkey, whose wings were never clipped."

The Frenchman: "Here's to the cock of France, whose feathers were never picked."

The American: "Here's to the Stars and Stripes of the United States of America, never trailed in defeat."

The Englishman: "Here's to the roarin', rampin' lion of Great Britain, that tore down the stars and bars of Russia, clipped the wings of Turkey, picked the feathers off the cock of France, and ran like h—— from the Stars and Stripes of the United States of America."

It is unnecessary to say the Englishman paid for no wine.

The Union Army made possible by its sacrifices a continuance of the truth contained in the above toast.

Let a Grateful Nation Make Smooth Their Pathway in Their Declining Years and Lift From Their Shoulders the Responsibilities They Are No Longer Able to Bear.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. SUMMERS,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, to-day we do tardy justice to the heroes of a past generation and a past century. The Civil War pension bill is before us. Common justice demands its speedy enactment by this House and by the Senate.

For liberal recognition of the defenders of these United States of America and our free Government and institutions, whether of the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, or of the great World War, I shall now and always give my support and my vote. A grateful Republic will not deal niggardly with her saviours.

We have appropriated many millions to feed the people of foreign lands, a hundred million at one time. Let us not forget our duty at home, especially to those to whom it was said that "The only national debt we can never pay is the debt we owe to our victorious Union soldiers, sailors, and marines." Also let us heed the admonition of Abraham Lincoln "To care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan." While we have done, are doing, and will do all possible for the young soldiers, sailors, and marines of the late World War, let us not forget nor neglect the survivors of that great struggle of more than half a century ago, the benefits of which have been a rich inheritance to every person whose privilege it has been to live under the protecting folds of the flag of the Union they saved and perpetuated. It is a surprising fact that so many of those old veterans are alive and with us yet. On the 30th day of June last there were on the pension roll 271,391 survivors of that war, 293,244 widows of those who had died, 206 dependent parents of Union soldiers, 129 Civil War nurses, and 6,836 minor children. That this bill, if enacted into law, will cost the Government a large sum of money goes without saying, but in comparison with some other expenses the amount seems almost negligible.

These are the eloquent words of Judge FULLER, chairman of the committee, with whom I fully agree:

These old veterans are leaving us in rapidly increasing numbers, and very soon they and their deeds will be only a memory. What a grateful Government does for them must be done soon in order that they may receive the benefits while they live. It is perhaps proper to say that the provisions of this bill were unanimously indorsed with great enthusiasm by the members of the Grand Army of the Republic at their national encampment at Columbus last year, and have been indorsed by many of the local camps throughout the country.

PROVISIONS OF THE BILL.

This bill will raise the rate of all existing pensions of honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War who served 90 days or more or who were discharged for disability to $50 per month.

To the helpless and blind and to those who are so nearly so as to require constant or regular attention by an attendant it gives $72 per month.

To the veterans who lost one hand or foot, or sustained a disability equivalent thereto, it allows $60 per month.

For the loss of an arm at or near the shoulder, or a leg at or near the hip, it allows $72 per month.

For amputations at or above the elbow or knee, it allows $65 per month.

For the loss of a hand and foot, or for a disability equivalent thereto, it allows $90 per month.

Widows and Army nurses are granted $30 per month, while orphans under the age of 16 years are raised from $2 to $6 per month.

It extends the limit of time within which widows come within the provisions of the law 10 years.

The bill in full is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 9369) to revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, to certain widows, former widows, dependent parents and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases.

Be it enacted, etc., That every person who served 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War, and who has been honorably discharged therefrom, or who, having so served less than 90 days, was discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, and who is now in receipt of or entitled to receive under existing law a pension of less than $50 per month, shall, from and after the passage of this act, be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $50 per month.

SEC. 2. That every person who served 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War, and who has been honorably discharged therefrom, or who, having so served less than 90 days, was discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, and who is now or hereafter may become, by reason of age and physical disabilities, helpless or blind, or so nearly helpless or blind as to require the constant or regular aid and attendance of another person, shall be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $72 per month.

SEC. 3. That from and after the approval of this act all persons whose names are on the pension roll, and who, while in the service of the United States in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps during the Civil War, and in the line of duty, shall have lost one hand or one foot or been totally disabled in the same, or shall have sustained a disability equivalent thereto, shall receive a pension at the rate of $60 per month; that all persons who, in such service and in like manner, shall have lost an arm at or above the elbow, or a leg at or above the knee, or been totally disabled in the same, or shall have sustained a disability equivalent thereto, shall receive a pension at the rate of $65 per month; that all persons who, in such service and in like manner, shall have lost an arm at the shoulder joint or a leg at the hip joint, or so near the shoulder or hip joint, or where the same is in such condition as to prevent the use of an artificial limb, or shall have sustained a disability equivalent thereto, shall receive a pension at the rate of $72 per month; and that all persons who, in such service and in like manner, shall have lost one hand and one foot, or been totally disabled in the same, or shall have sustained a disability equivalent thereto, shall receive a pension at the rate of $90 per month.

SEC. 4. That the widow of any person who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War for 90 days or more, and was honorably discharged from such service, or regardless of the length of service was discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, such widow having been married to such soldier, sailor, or marine prior to the 27th day of June, A. D. 1915, shall be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month. And this section shall apply to all former widows of persons

who served for 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War and were honorably discharged from such service, or who, having so served for less than 90 days, were discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, such widow having remarried, either once or more than once after the death of the soldier, sailor, or marine, if it be shown that such subsequent or successive marriage has or have been dissolved, either by the death of the husband or husbands or by divorce without fault on the part of the wife; and any such former widow shall be entitled to and be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month; and any widow as mentioned in this section shall also be paid $6 per month for each child of such officer or enlisted man under the age of 16 years, and in case of the death or remarriage of the widow having a child or children of such officer or enlisted man under the age of 16 years, such pension shall be paid such child or children until the age of 16 years: *Provided*, That in case a minor child is insane, idiotic, or otherwise permanently helpless, the pension shall continue during the life of such child, or during the period of such disability, and this proviso shall apply to all pensions heretofore granted or hereafter to be granted under this or any former statute: *And provided further*, That in case of any widow whose name has been dropped from the pension roll because of her remarriage, if the pension has been granted to an insane, idiotic, or otherwise helpless child, or to a child or children under the age of 16 years, she shall not be entitled to renewal of pension under this act until that pension to such child or children terminates, unless such child or children be a member or members of her family and cared for by her, and upon the renewal of pension to such widow payment of pension to such child or children shall cease.

SEC. 5. That all Army nurses of the Civil War, and all dependent parents of any officer or enlisted man who served in the Civil War whose names are now on the pension roll, or who are now entitled to pension under any existing law, shall be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

SEC. 6. That the pension or increase of pension herein provided for, as to all persons whose names are now on the pension roll, or who are now in receipt of a pension under existing law, shall commence at the rates herein provided, from the date of the approval of this act, or under section 2 hereof, when the requisite condition is shown to exist after the approval of this act; and as to persons whose names are not now on the pension roll, or who are not now in receipt of a pension under existing law, but who may be entitled to pension under the provisions of this act, such pensions shall commence from the date of filing application therefor in the Bureau of Pensions in such form as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior: *Provided*, That as to any former widow as mentioned in section 4 hereof, who since the death of her soldier, sailor, or marine husband has remarried either once or more than once, and such subsequent or successive marriage has been dissolved, either by the death of the husband or husbands, or by divorce without fault on the part of the wife, and who filed her application for pension under the act of September 8, 1916, her pension shall commence from the date when her original application was filed under that act in the Bureau of Pensions, and shall be at the rate in that act provided, with increase at the rate or rates subsequently provided for the widows of Civil War soldiers, sailors, and marines, and by this act from the date or dates when any such subsequent act or acts took effect or may hereafter take effect, it being the intent and purpose to give to any such widow the same status as other widows of Civil War soldiers, sailors, and marines who have not remarried, and from the date of said act of September 8, 1916.

SEC. 7. That nothing in this act contained shall be held to affect or diminish the additional pension to those on the roll designated as "The Army and Navy Medal of Honor Roll," as provided in the act of April 27, 1906, but any increase herein provided for shall be in addition thereto; and no pension heretofore granted under any act, public or private, shall be reduced by anything contained in this act.

SEC. 8. That no claim agent or attorney or other person shall be recognized in the adjustment of claims under this act, except in claims for original pension, and in such cases no more than the sum of $10 shall be allowed for services in preparing, presenting, or prosecuting any such claim, which sum shall be payable only on the order of the Commissioner of Pensions; and any person who shall violate any of the provisions of this section or shall wrongfully withhold from the pensioner or claimant the whole or any part of a pension allowed or due to such pensioner or claimant under this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall, for each and every offense, be fined not exceeding $500 or be imprisoned not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court.

Mr. Speaker, almost 60 years have passed since Fort Sumter was fired upon and the irrepressible conflict engulfed our fair land; 60 years since Lincoln summoned an Army of 75,000, and then more and more calls were issued until 2,000,000 brave men out of the North were called to the colors to preserve the Union.

Sixty years since these gallant sons won undying fame at Henry and Donelson, at Shiloh and Corinth and Vicksburg, at Gettysburg, Chickamauga, and The Battle Above the Clouds; from Atlanta to the sea; at Spotsylvania and through the valley of the Shenandoah; at Petersburg and Richmond and on to Appomattox, where victory crowned four years of deprivation, of intense suffering, and heroic fighting in order that this Union might not be dissolved and that slavery should no longer stain our history.

Yea, Mr. Speaker, as I read the history of the world, including the present war, I verily believe the boys in blue from 1861 to 1865 not only upheld the flag and preserved the Union, but I believe they were an important factor in guaranteeing that free government shall not perish from the face of the earth.

These gallant defenders of Old Glory received $13 per month with never a thought of further compensation. They sacrificed for their country—for you and for me. And now 136 of these immortals are passing to the great beyond every 24 hours. But a few years and we shall know them no more forever.

Let a grateful Nation make smooth their pathway in their declining years and lift from their shoulders the responsibilities they are no longer able to bear.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MOSES P. KINKAID,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 9369) to revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, to certain widows, former widows, dependent parents and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases.

Mr. KINKAID. Mr. Speaker, I am heartily in favor of the enactment of this bill, but I do not regard the increases of the rates of pensions provided as a gratuity or bounty, as some denominate it, or in any sense as a charity, but I view the increases proposed as the performance of an obligation incurred by our Government, you may call it legal or moral, I am not particular which. I regard the granting of these increases as the doing of justice already too long deferred.

But I want to emphasize that, in my opinion, the plea of economy made by a very few in opposition to the measure, is untenable and demurrable, just as much so as it would be for the maker of a promissory note, past due, or one indebted for groceries for the consumption of his household or for a doctor's bill to be heard to say, "I must be excused from making payment, because I have resolved to practice rigid economy in the use of my cash." We must not forget that the foundation of our Government was laid by a revolution, victoriously fought by our colonial armies, and that the domain we then possessed has been expanded and the Governments, State and National, we now enjoy, built up, preserved, and strengthened by the sacrifices made by our citizens as soldiers in subsequent wars. Pensions have been granted soldiers of all of these wars, so that it is a well-settled custom to grant reasonable pensions, and this custom just about creates a legal obligation. At least it justifies everyone who is called into war in assuming that pensions will be granted to the survivors of the war and their dependents. This custom is abundantly established by the numerous statutes, public and private, passed for the payment of pensions since the Revolutionary War. The custom is additionally verified by the records in the Treasury and the Bureau of Pensions, showing the numerous appropriations made for the payment of pensions.

Commencing back only as far as 1865, the annual appropriations made up to and including 1919 for pensions alone, without counting the expenses of the administration of the pension laws, amounted to $5,521,074,958.16. It was in 1902 that the high-water mark in the number of pensioners was reached, the number being 999,446. Since then the mortality rate has shown a steady increase, with the result of a marked reduction in the number of soldiers of the Civil War who draw pensions. On the 30th of June, 1919, there remained on the pension roll of these veterans of the Civil War but 271,391, a reduction of 332,570 since January 1, 1910. Of course, besides this are the dependents of these veterans, approximating 250,000. During the fiscal year of 1919, as reported by the Bureau of Pensions, 27,703 of these veterans and 19,217 of their widows passed to the great beyond. Naturally the proportionate mortality rate will continue to increase, and soon all these deserving and grand old patriots will be known only in our grateful memories. Perchance a very few may be blessed with great longevity like the veteran of the Mexican War, who was alive last summer at the age of 112 years. It is easy to believe his life may have been prolonged by the material aid afforded by his pension, coupled with his consciousness of this governmental recognition of the sacrifices he made.

But the increases provided are apparent rather than real. Due to the greatly increased cost of living, and the correspondingly decreased purchasing power of the dollar, these veterans will not fare any better with the new rates than they did with existing rates before the war, until the cost of living shall be reduced.

The bill grants all who served 90 days or more, or who were discharged for a disability before 90 days, $50 per month; helpless or blind, $72; loss of one hand or one foot, or a disability equivalent, $60; loss of arm above elbow or leg above knee, or totally disabled in same, $65; loss of arm at shoulder joint or leg at hip joint, or unable to use artificial limb or equal disability, $72; loss of one hand and one foot or an equivalent injury, $90; any widow of eligible soldier married prior to June 27, 1915, $30; remarried widows becoming widows without their fault, $30, with $6 for each child under 16 years of age; Army nurses and dependent parents of enlisted man or officer, $30.

But I repeat, the relief provided for these soldiers and their dependents has been much too long deferred, and that now the "eleventh hour" is up to the Congress in which to do them justice. I hope the bill may pass as speedily in the Senate as it is going to pass here, which is an exceptionally short time.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANTHONY J. GRIFFIN,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 10, 1920,

On the resolution (H. Res. 434) offered by Mr. DALLINGER declaring Victor L. Berger not entitled to a seat in the Sixty-sixth Congress from the fifth congressional district in the State of Wisconsin and declining to permit him to take the oath and qualify as such Representative.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I am opposed to the resolution of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. DALLINGER], because I consider it premature and ill timed. In my opinion it is not becoming to this House, said to be the greatest deliberative body in the world, to deny to any man, whatever his opinions, his day in court. It is unfair to a large constituency of American voters in one of the sovereign States to say offhand, without deliberation, that their constitutional right of representation in the American Congress shall be denied simply because the individual of their choice is not personally acceptable to the present membership of this body. It is true that the ground of aversion to Mr. Berger is founded on a very grave charge, and I hope I may not be misunderstood as countenancing or condoning his attitude during the war, but what I maintain is that his expulsion now at this moment, predicated wholly upon our individual opinion of his fitness, will establish a vicious and dangerous precedent. If we claim the right now to expel a duly elected representative of a sovereign State because of our individual conception of his patriotism the precedent thus established may be conceivably used to justify expulsion on less substantial grounds, the measure of the turpitude being the temporary attitude of the House.

The question presents no difficulty except such as we make for ourselves. Mr. Berger was duly tried for his sentiments and his attitude during the war. He was found guilty by a jury of his peers. He has taken advantage of his constitutional right to file an appeal. That appeal is still pending.

Now, my attitude is this: I am willing to take the final determination of our courts as to his guilt or innocence of the charge against him. I do not think, however, that it is fair to anticipate the judicial determination. If the court finds him guilty of the criminal charge against him, then, ipso facto, his right to a seat in this body fails. I would be the last man in the world to fly in the face of our courts, which I hold to be the bulwarks of our liberty. I therefore want to offer a substitute for the resolution before us, as follows:

Whereas by resolution duly passed on the 10th day of November, 1919, Victor L. Berger was declared not entitled to a seat in this House as Representative from the fifth congressional district of the State of Wisconsin; and

Whereas by resolution duly passed by this House on the same day a vacancy was declared to exist in said district; and

Whereas the said Victor L. Berger was thereafter, at an election duly called, elected as Representative from said district to fill said vacancy:

Resolved, That the question of the prima facie right of said Victor L. Berger to be sworn in as such Representative of the State of Wisconsin in the Sixty-sixth Congress, as well as of his final right to said seat, be deferred until the appeal now pending in a certain criminal proceeding in the United States circuit court of appeals, entitled "The United States *v.* Victor L. Berger et al.," shall be determined or until the further order of this House.

Under this resolution Mr. Berger would be kept waiting at the door until his appeal was determined, and then the House could act deliberately, according to its best judgment, without establishing a dangerous precedent and without calling upon the Members of the House to substitute their individual opinion of his fitness in the place and stead of a court decision.

I do not wish to be understood as impeaching the patriotism or sincerity of those who clamor for instant action. However, I can not fail to observe that it is very closely analogous to the "direct-action" policies of the very class against which gentlemen in this House are so prone to inveigh and which they profess so deeply to reprobate and despise.

This precipitancy smacks too much of lynch law. Justice is a cautious goddess, whose stride is slow and solemn. She should not be made to dance to the music of passion or to hurry before the goad of hate or fear. One would think we were on the verge of revolution and the Bolshevists were thundering at our gates.

We are assured by the gentlemen who stand for instant expulsion that they do not care whether Mr. Berger was convicted or not or whether or not his conviction by the courts is ultimately withheld. They claim that his conviction by the court had no weight with them or with the special committee of this House which passed upon his fitness. Let us see: The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. DALLINGER], in presenting the report of the committee to the House, on November 10, 1919, said that he made the objection to the swearing in of Mr. Berger, "relying upon public records and papers." Proceeding further, he said:

The public records referred to consisted of the reading of the trial of the case of the United States against Victor L. Berger et al. at Chicago last December and in January of the present year (1919), and a certified copy of the record in the Circuit Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia in the proceeding when the second-class mailing privilege of the Milwaukee Leader, Mr. Berger's paper, was revoked.

The records of Mr. Berger's trial for obstructing the war constitute a separate volume of the hearings of the House special committee, consisting of 765 finely printed pages.

If it was not the intention of the special committee to consider the minutes and records of the trial, why were they laid before the committee?

Try as you may, you can not avoid the conviction that the record of the Chicago trial had its influence with the special committee which passed upon Mr. Berger's case last November. That is the general opinion of the public to-day. Only a few days ago the New York Herald, in discussing the unseating of the Socialist members of the assembly in the State of New York, said:

The cases are in no way analogous to that of Victor Berger, whose dismissal from the House of Representatives was based on conviction of a crime against the laws of his country and not on any political views that he held.

As a matter of fact, the relation of the Chicago trial to the determination of the House special committee is the subject of much mystery. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. DALLINGER], in presenting its report, said:

Now, at the first meeting of the committee, the committee being appointed on May 21, 1919, the whole question was discussed. There were two courses open to the committee. One was to rely upon the naked conviction at Chicago, in the case just referred to—the fact that a United States jury had convicted Mr. Berger for a violation of the espionage law and a United States judge had sentenced him to 20 years in the penitentiary. If such a course had been taken there would have been no necessity for any hearings before your committee.

With all due deference, I submit the gentleman is wrong in his deduction. He must know, able lawyer that he is, that he could not have relied on the "naked conviction" alone, for, while an appeal is pending, the question of guilt or innocence is in doubt. Every man is entitled to his day in court, and that includes not only the original trial but all appeals up to final adjudication in the court of last resort. Therefore it is manifest that he could not have relied upon the "naked conviction." Instead of two courses there was only one course, and that was to pass upon Mr. Berger's conduct during the war upon the best evidence obtainable.

Whether or not that course was right is open to grave doubts. There is no higher determination than a court determination. The committee knew that, as things then stood, there was no court determination, and that while the case was still in the scales of justice, with an appeal undecided, they could not set up the lower court's decision as the basis of their action.

In this predicament, what did they do? They took the records of the Chicago trial and the District of Columbia proceeding against Berger's newspaper and undertook the task of passing upon the merits of the evidence. This is a most extraordinary procedure and utterly at variance with the basic principles of our law and of our institutions. In effect it was to set up their opinion of the evidence against the opinion of the jury and the court. Suppose their determination, after reading the evidence, had been in conflict with the jury's verdict? What then? What a mess they would be in? Would they have come here with a report that, after reviewing the evidence, they had come to the conclusion that the verdict was against the law and the facts? And if they did, do not you see what a muddle this would lead to? If such a complication is inconceivable, then you must challenge the good faith of the committee and contend that when they decided to review the court evidence they knew in advance that their determination would not differ from that of the jury.

Such a course as this should not receive our sanction. It is not the function of this House to pass on guilt or innocence. That is the function of our courts, the coordinate branch of our Government established in our Constitution to protect our rights and liberty. We as a legislature have no concurrent power in

that sphere, except in the case of impeachments, and in such cases the Senate alone is invested with judicial power.

I know it is claimed that the House has judicial power in certain cases by virtue of its constitutional right to judge of the qualifications of its membership. The only qualifications mentioned in Article I, section 2, paragraph 2 of the Constitution refer to age, citizenship, and length of residence in the State. The causes for disqualification, outside of these, must be founded upon interpretation or deduction or looked for elsewhere. The fact that the Constitution is silent as to the conditions of disqualification shows that its wise framers never suspected that an American Congress would ever need a guidepost or would ever use its power recklessly or unjustly. It was left in our hands, and the very plenitude and extent of our latitude should warn us to exercise it with caution.

In cases under the fourteenth amendment where the giving of aid and comfort to our enemies is specifically mentioned as a disqualification, there should be no difficulty or excuse for confusion in our procedure. Giving aid and comfort to the enemy is treason, and treason is a crime. If a man is charged with that most heinous offense he should be tried; but he should be tried by the courts and not by our National Legislature. Where guilt or innocence of a felony is relied on to exclude a duly elected representative from his seat in this House it is better that we first have a court decision. And when we get it do not let us fool ourselves into the belief that our opinion will not be affected by it. Our opinion should be affected by it. We ought to rely on the court determination. If a man has been tried in our courts and found guilty of a felony he ought to be excluded from membership in this House. But we ought not to take from him his right to appeal or catch him at a disadvantage before his appeal is finally determined.

This, gentlemen, is the extent of my disagreement with you. It is purely on constitutional grounds. I want to see the body of which I have the honor to be a Member act with deliberation and with such manifest concern for the protection of the rights of all that no excuse will ever be given for the growth of Bolshevism and discontent in our beloved land.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. KING,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, the pending bill, H. R. 9369, will no doubt add very much to the comfort of the Civil War veterans that it is intended to benefit, and I cheerfully vote for it as the best that we can get at the present time, but I must say that the provisions of section 3, intended to increase the pensions of those who have lost an arm or a leg, or have been totally disabled in the same from gunshot wounds, does not fully meet my approval. We have had pending before the House ever since I came into Congress bills more liberal as to rates and of broader scope as to provisions, some of which are new, which should have been placed on the statute book long ago. I refer to the provision recognizing, in addition to those "totally disabled in the same," those who have suffered excision, resection, or ankylosis of a joint, whether of ankle, elbow, or shoulder, and I have in mind the case of a splendid soldier, Hon. Henry D. Fulton, now department commander of the Grand Army of the Republic of Illinois, who when a boy of but 17 years old was shot through the shoulder and suffered excision of all the bones of the shoulder, leaving his arm hang as a totally useless appendage to his body.

I learn there are a number of others who are also disabled by excision or resection of the joint, some of whom have been properly recognized under the rules of the Bureau of Pensions as being entitled to pension in the class known as "totally disabled in the same." In addition to the person above named, a number of others, however, have been ignored by the Bureau of Pensions and consequently have never received the rate of pension they were entitled to and I take it that the Committee on Invalid Pensions would have done themselves high honor had they adopted the language of H. R. 2922 in place of that embodied in section 3 of the bill now before the House. At this point let me say that we all recognize that in matters of legislation as well as warfare it is the man behind the proposition or the gun who does the effective work, and I desire to render honor to one to whom it is due for his faithful, persevering, patient and intelligently directed work for more than 40 years with Congress in behalf of his maimed veteran comrades as secretary of their organization the United States Maimed Soldiers' League, a unique organization, of which there has never been the like composed, as it is entirely of those who lost an arm or a leg on the firing line or were totally disabled in the same by gunshot wounds. Dr. James M. McGee, the secretary of their league from the date of its organization, August 10, 1880, has made a lifetime study from the medical and surgical standpoint of gunshot wounds of the maimed soldiers. In addition Dr. McGee is also equally as well learned in pension law and the rules of practice of the Bureau of Pensions and is held in high esteem by all who have met him in the many years that he had been laboring with Congress in the interest of his maimed comrades. It therefore gives me great pleasure, and I consider it my duty to thus render honor to this brave soldier who lost his right leg in the Battle of the Wilderness May 5, 1864, and who to this day suffers at times greatly with neuralgic pains in the stump of his limb. Truly for him and those like him the Civil War has never ended.

Pensions for Civil War Veterans.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM N. VAILE,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920.

Mr. VAILE. Mr. Speaker, nearly 21 years ago a young lady relative, then in her junior year at college, visited me when I was in camp with my organization of United States Volunteers during the Spanish War. She saw the regiment lined up at "retreat." Her remark afterwards was, "How young they look! I didn't realize that soldiers were such young men." They were indeed young men, mostly in their early twenties, with a few in their teens. We all know that wars are fought by young men, but it took the war now fortunately ending to visualize that fact for most of us.

But my visitor's remark involves another idea; it was based on her observation up to that time, and this fact impresses me strongly at this hour: My visitor of a score of years ago was then a score of years old, and unconsciously visualized soldiers as old men. Why? Why, naturally because the soldiers that she had known during her 15 or 16 years of clear memory were not young men, but were already middle-aged or elderly men. But it was nearly 21 years ago that this witness thus spontaneously expressed her impressions of that moment concerning the age of soldiers. Those whom she knew as old men then are 21 years older now or else are sleeping in the ground which they defended.

The fresh-faced, eager lad who kissed his mother good-by in 1861, a year before he was old enough to vote, has now gone four-fifths of a decade beyond our average allotted span of life. Even the lad of 16 whose zeal and ingenuity sometimes enabled him to slip past the recruiting officer when the girls were snickering at his first moustache is 74 this year.

A few days ago I talked with a Member of the House who was opposed to general pension increases for Civil War veterans because many of them were "rich old men." He even knew several such in his own town. I sincerely hope there are a good many such. They deserve every worldly success which they may have attained under the laws of a grateful Republic. But I feel a disquieting certainty that there are very few such "rich veterans," and that certainty is based on the figures of the life insurance agents. You know those chaps have a very disconcerting habit of pulling the figures on you to prove their argument, and they tell me that approximately 90 per cent of men at the age of 70 are dependent either upon relatives or charity for a livelihood. Of the remaining 10 per cent, the great majority are dependent upon their own savings, and only a very small handful can then live solely by their current earnings.

"Moral," says the insurance man, "purchase an endowment policy while you are young." You submit to the logic, pull out your check book, and make a date with the insurance company's doctor. And Uncle Sam has now learned enough from the insurance man to adopt the argument with reference to our soldiers of the late war, though we have not yet provided insurance

which shall be payable to themselves except for disability incurred in the service.

Unsatisfactory as these provisions of the war-risk insurance and compensation acts still are—and they have been made more so by the way the bureaus were heretofore administered—they are still a vast improvement on the compensation provided for the veterans of the Civil War. Those men, all elderly and many old 20 years ago, have always had to rely on the charity of the Government.

The argument is certainly ample that they now need this increase. A flat increase to $50 per month for all honorably discharged veterans of the Civil War, an increase to $72 per month for all totally disabled veterans of the Civil War, is certainly not more than these old men need when they buy groceries with the 30-cent dollar of to-day. But I prefer to rest my argument on a broader ground, the ground not that they need this money but that they deserve it, deserve it for the patriotism which carried them in box cars to camps lacking the modern sanitation, electric lights, and shower baths of to-day; which carried them through the bloody hells of Manassas, Shiloh, and Chickamauga; which sustained them in the filth and misery of Andersonville; above all for the patriotism which has made these men for more than half a century the greatest single factor in the consecration of the Nation to the maintenance of liberty under the law and to the perpetuation of government of the people, by the people, and for the people. It has been well said by Judge FULLER, the chairman of the Committee on Invalid Pensions, that "the only national debt that we can never pay is the debt we owe to our victorious Union soldiers, sailors, and marines." The reason we can never pay the debt is that if it were not for their services we never could pay any debt, because we would not exist as a Nation.

In an important sense these men never will be old. They possess, as do no other group of men, the eternal youth of enthusiasm, of high ideals, and of hope. Most valuable, indeed, to the rest of us has been their possession of these qualities, but enthusiasm can not pay grocery bills when it is hobbled by palsied hands and dragging feet. High ideals inspire posterity and afford the hope of a future reward to the beloved old men who are leaving us now at the rate of 136 every 24 hours, but high ideals do not in this cold world compete very successfully with the high cost of living. And hope deferred maketh the heart sick.

Let us not longer defer the just hopes of the men without whose aid the Republic would be hopeless and helpless to-day.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FLORIAN LAMPERT,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 9369) to revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, to certain widows, former widows, dependent parents, and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases.

Mr. LAMPERT. Mr. Speaker, it will afford me genuine pleasure to be given an opportunity to vote for this bill, granting additional relief to the surviving Civil War veterans and to the widows and orphans of those who have passed from the living ranks of the Grand Army of the Republic.

This bill in a measure will compensate the services of the heroes of 1861. It will in a measure show our appreciation of the sacrifices endured by those who have freed the bondmen from the chains of slavery, who have resisted the armed rebellion against the Nation, and strengthened the foundation of this Republic which to-day is the guiding star to a world democracy.

The events of the great World War are vividly impressed upon our minds. We to-day have a fuller appreciation of the meaning of freedom and independence. What this country has accomplished for humanity in the late world struggle was made possible because this Union was preserved and perpetuated by the valiant Army of the days of the Civil War.

We have not counted the cost of our participation in the World War, because we were determined that this Nation shall remain free and independent, and the blessings of democracy shall be assured not only unto us but also unto future generations.

We of to-day who cherish so highly the privileges of free men can not be unmindful of the warriors of 1861 who have made it possible for us to enjoy the treasures of free citizenship. America will never forget the devotion and the untold hardships of the Civil War veterans. Hard-hearted and ungrateful would that individual be who would refuse to minister to the wants and comforts of the Nation's defenders. True, the watchword of to-day is economy. But we can not practice economy at the expense of this most deserving class of American citizens. Every one will concede that with the present increased cost of living the allowance made heretofore to Civil War pensioners is wholly insufficient and inadequate to meet their wants and needs. A grateful Nation can not and will not allow them to suffer any privation. We must be solicitous of their comforts and necessities in their declining years.

I am moved to support this bill not by any considerations of charity, but by my conception of right and justice. The pension roll was and is to-day a roll of honor. A place on that roll does not mean that the recipient of a pension is a dependent on the Nation's bounty, but that he is entitled to recognition at the hands of a grateful people for the services rendered and sacrifices endured.

In the present day of peace and liberty throughout the world no soldier who has ever fought beneath the banner of this free Republic should know what want and neglect mean. By passing this bill we are discharging in a small manner our obligation to these deserving veterans. Under the provisions of this bill the widow and orphan of every departed Civil War veterar will not feel the sting of hunger or the pangs of poverty.

The provisions of this bill were unanimously indorsed with enthusiasm by the members of the Grand Army of the Republic. Under its provisions every honorably discharged Civil War veteran who has incurred disability in service, and in the line of duty, shall be entitled to a minimum pension at the rate of $50 per month. The dependents of the deceased veterans are also well provided for by the terms of this act. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that this bill is deserving of the support of every man who has in his bosom a spark of affection for the heroes living and for the dependents of the heroes departed. I trust this bill will pass the House by an overwhelming majority.

The Pension Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. KLECZKA.

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 9369) to revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, to certain widows, former widows, dependent parents, and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases.

Mr. KLECZKA. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to be given an opportunity to vote for this meritorious bill. There is no class of American citizens more deserving of consideration at the hands of this Congress than the splendid body of surviving veterans of the Civil War. The provisions of this bill under consideration are nothing more than a concrete expression of the country's gratitude to the Nation's defenders. By its provisions every honorably discharged Civil War veteran, who was discharged for disability incurred in service and in line of duty, shall receive a minimum pension of $50. The other provisions of the bill relating to the pensioning of widows and children of these veterans are likewise just and worthy.

The enactment of this measure is a matter of imperative urgency. We are but in a small measure discharging the debt that we owe to the surviving veterans of the Civil War and their dependents. We can never adequately compensate them for their services. Their heroic efforts and sacrifices endured can not be measured by any monetary standards. Properly it has been said that "the only national debt we can never pay is the debt we owe to our victorious Union soldiers, sailors, and marines."

The spirit of the day is one of gratitude to those who have fought and bled in order that the Union might be preserved, and in order that we and succeeding generations might continue to enjoy the blessings of a free people. We have liberally provided for the starving people of foreign lands; we have not counted the cost nor the sacrifices. Well, then, does it behoove us, in keeping with the spirit of the times, to act in a generous manner to those who have done so much for this Republic.

These valiant defenders of the Union are now in the evening of their lives. A grateful Government should do everything in its power to make their declining years as comfortable as possible. With the advanced cost of the necessaries and commodities of life, it is necessary to increase their pensions, so that they will not feel any want or discomfort.

I am not prompted by any impulse of charity to support this measure. I am only actuated by my sense of justice. The Northwestern Branch of the Soldiers' Home is located in my district. I have had occasion to meet many of these veterans. I know something of the infirmities and physical incapacities of a great number of these veterans. No man whose heart responds to the transports of patriotism can refuse to grant them every proper and just allowance. No man with a spark of appreciation of their valor and heroism could refuse them any provision necessary for their health and comfort and well-being. That is the very least we can do for them.

I am sure that this measure when enacted into law will bring happiness and relief to these veterans. It will serve as a reassuring message that we are ever mindful of their needs and wants, and not ungrateful or forgetful of their services and sacrifices. Ingratitude is the worst of human offenses. Happily, it can be said that the American people have never been ungrateful to the warriors who made this Union a permanency and who secured unto us and to unborn generations all those priceless rights and privileges and blessings which the American people hold so dear.

The Fuller Pension Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. C. ELLIS MOORE,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 5, 1920.

Mr. MOORE of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, to-day presents the opportunity which I have eagerly sought in my official life to record my vote in favor of increasing the pension of soldiers of the Civil War and the widows of those who have answered the last call. To me this is a real opportunity to show appreciation, even in a small way, of the sacrifices of the men who preserved the Union and freed the slave.

I have no doubt that every Member of the Congress has been touched by the appeals that have come to him from the soldier or widow in distress and need, who has been making a losing fight with the high cost of living. We regret to recognize the fact, and yet our observation compels us to note that the boys of the sixties who fought for the Union are now in declining years and are fast passing away.

It is all right for us to speak in eulogistic terms on Memorial Day of these brave men, and mingle our tears and flowers on the graves of our heroic dead, but let us evidence our sincerity by doing something substantial by giving support when it is needed and can be appreciated.

The only objection that has been urged to this legislation is that of economy. We all want to economize in our expenditures in every proper way, and yet I hesitate to believe that there is any patriotic citizen who would advocate that it is proper economy to refuse to support these veterans in their declining years under the present conditions of living.

These soldiers saved to posterity a nation, rich and prosperous, and out of our great prosperity it occurs to me that we can do nothing more splendid than to increase the pension of those who served the Nation in her hour of supreme need. The gratitude and appreciation of our citizenship of the valor, sacrifice, and suffering of the veterans of the Civil War should be manifest, and the passage of this bill is one of the best ways to indicate it.

It is said that when Gen. Sherman lay upon his sick bed the newspapers carried the statement that "Gen. Sherman is putting up his last fight, and it looks like he will lose." It will be a sad day to us when we follow the body of the last soldier of the Civil War to his final resting place in the Nation which he saved from disunion and disorganization. We should hasten to pass this legislation at the earliest possible moment to meet the needs of those who are deserving and make their closing days as comfortable as possible.

We are told that to-day when the sun goes down in the west, while we have been considering this legislation, 130 veterans and widows of veterans of the Civil War will have passed to the great beyond. Certainly when they are passing away so rapidly we shall do well to properly support them while they are with us, for soon it will be too late.

The figures at the Pension Department disclose that the 1st of last June there were more than 271,000 survivors of the Civil War and more than 293,000 of the widows of these. The records also disclose that in my own district there were 1,425 veterans of the Civil War on the 1st day of January, 1920. Of this number 253 are in my own county, Guernsey; 114 in Monroe; 144 in Morgan; 443 in Muskingum; 110 in Noble; and 361 in Washington. I know many of these men personally. They were as brave as any who fought under the flag, and are yet active and interested in everything that concerns good citizenship and the Republic which endures because of their service and sacrifice.

All the soldiers of all our wars are generally patriotic, and they are not the disturbing classes of to-day. Indeed, the soldiers in all our wars remember their sacrifices and seem to appreciate fully our liberty and privileges as a people, and they are the most determined class in America, having resolved that our liberty and free institutions must be preserved and safeguarded.

To the soldiers of all our wars, as legislators, we should pledge at all times our careful and thoughtful consideration for everything that makes for their comfort and contentment. Many bills have been introduced and others will be fo aid the soldiers of all our wars. This one refers particularly to the soldiers of the Civil War who are aged and need this legislation. I know of cases that this legislation will not relieve, and yet I realize the difficulty of passing a bill that will give relief to everyone. I hope in some way every soldier and widow will be provided for by our Government in a way that becomes a great Nation such as ours.

We can to-day learn many lessons from the courage, sacrifice, and devotion of these men who saved the Union in a day of peril. They sacrificed and gave up a great deal that was near and dear to them, and every free people must give up something in order that the fundamental rights and privileges of a republic may become sure and certain. These soldiers of the Civil War fought for liberty, real and true, a liberty which respected the rights of others and did not demand a license of wrongdoing or selfishness that would favor any class as opposed to the people of the whole Union. They fought for a united people, with common interests, and we can learn a lesson from this and protect the Republic from all its enemies and develop a citizenship willing and anxious to preserve our institutions and the greatest Government of all time.

It remains for us to preserve the Union which the veterans of the Civil War saved from dissolution. To my mind there is no alternative of our republican form of government but anarchy. We do not need to fear anarchy in this country, but we do need to fear its baneful teachings, and must do everything to rid the country of those who are out of sympathy with our Government and its institutions.

By the enactment of this legislation we shall be inspired by the recollection of the deeds of these heroes of the Civil War, and we shall resolve with determination and courage that there shall indeed be but one flag in this Republic, and every person under its protection must be loyal to it and it alone.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVAN T. FULLER,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 12, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 7158) to provide for the expenses of the District of Columbia.

Mr. FULLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, nearly 50 years ago—to be exact, in 1878—to provide for the expenses for the District of Columbia Congress passed the following law:

Congress shall appropriate the amount of 50 per cent thereof—

Having reference to the estimates of the Commissioners of the District for the expenses of the District—

and the remaining 50 per cent of such approved estimates shall be levied and assessed upon the taxable property and privileges in said District other than the property of the United States and the District of Columbia.

Without doubt, this provision was fair enough under the very special conditions existing at that time, when the city was on the very verge of actual bankruptcy, through gross mismanagement, with a debt of about $150 per capita, but it is now per-

fectly apparent, when the finances of the District are in splendid condition, with a lower tax rate than any city of its size in the country, and when it will have no indebtedness at all, including bonds, in less than three years, that this so-called 50–50 plan is working a needless and useless expense upon the Government, which is evidenced by the fact that a surplus has been created of over $4,000,000, now lying in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the District of Columbia, which amount is not only increasing from year to year, and will, under the present system, continue to increase from year to year, but which surplus under the existing law can never be used.

Is there any better time to save the Government money than right now, when people are being taxed to the limit, especially when such a saving can be effected without injury to anyone?

The bill under discussion does not propose, and will not effect, an increase in taxes on the residents of the District of Columbia. It merely provides, to quote the language of the bill itself, that the "expenses of the District of Columbia shall be paid from and after July 1, 1920, out of the revenues of the District of Columbia to the extent that such revenues shall be sufficient therefor, and the remainder shall be paid out of the Treasury of the United States."

I understand that taxation in the District has increased only 6 per cent in six years, yet the value on real estate has increased more than 100 per cent in that time. In fact, to my knowledge, there is not another city in the country with a population of 400,000 that has as low a tax rate as the District of Columbia.

It is an incredible situation for Congress to consider the perpetuation of an archaic law which raises a larger amount of money each year than is necessary, and this is especially reprehensible when the fact is borne in mind that the excess so raised can not be expended for any purpose whatsoever, but must simply remain as a credit to the District. What business concern would allow such a condition to continue?

We hear a great deal of talk at the present time of curtailing expenses; that appropriations are to be cut, employees dismissed, and so on. Right in my home State of Massachusetts 1,500 men were recently discharged from the Boston Navy Yard not, mind you, on account of lack of work—for the operations of our Navy during the past four years have created a tremendous amount of repair work—but on account of lack of funds to pay the men to carry on the work. A constituent of mine wrote me this very week that she was informed by the Post Office Department that she had been awarded the sum of $20 on account of some claim she had for damages to a registered merchandise package in the mail, but that the department could not pay the $20 because there was no funds to pay it with. And all this while there is a surplus of $4,063,922.18 right now in the United States Treasury to the credit of the District of Columbia, which will be constantly added to so long as this antiquated 50-50 law shall obtain.

Post Office Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALVOR STEENERSON,
OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 15, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 11578) making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Speaker, it is to be regretted that the Postmaster General's report reads more like partisan political propaganda than an official document. In nearly every chapter reference is made to the year 1913, the beginning of the present administration, and an attempt is made to contrast the wonderful achievement since that year with the accomplishment that preceded it. A good illustration of this is the chapter on foreign-mail service.

It should be remembered that under the ocean mail act of 1891, commonly called the mail subsidy act, steamships of the first class are paid $2 per mile, outward voyage; second class, $1 per mile; and third class, 66⅔ cents per mile, and in consideration of this payment they are to carry all the mail offered, without regard to quantity. Ships operating under this act are known as contract vessels and others are known as noncontract vessels, and these are paid, if United States register, 80 cents per pound for letters and 8 cents per pound for other articles, and if of foreign register, 35 cents per pound for letters and 4½ cents per pound for other matter.

The Postmaster General in his report says:

The cost from 1892 to June 30, 1912, of carrying the mails by contract ships, authorized under the ocean mail act of 1891, was $8,000,000 more than if carried at the pound-rate charge of noncontract ships. Through intelligent management the cost of contract service for the six fiscal years ending June 30, 1919, was reduced to $2,566,694.35 less than it would have cost if the mails had been carried by noncontract vessels.

The 20 years from 1892 to 1912 represent the first two decades of operation under the ocean mail act, and the amount of mail carried gradually increased. During this period there was no parcel post. This was inaugurated in 1913, and the volume of mail, especially the foreign mail, gradually grew, until of late years, by reason of the increase in volume, the compensation by the mile was actually less than the vessels would have received if they had carried by the pound under the legal rates.

Credit for both the mail subsidy act and the parcel post act should be given to the Republican Party, which was in power when these statutes were enacted. The fact that the service is now cheaper than if it were paid for by the pound at the statutory rates is due to the increased volume of mail and the encouragement to trade by those laws.

In the face of this the Postmaster General says, "Through intelligent management the cost of contract service has been reduced," and so forth.

Further, under the head of "Foreign mail service," the Postmaster General states:

Upon the opening of the Panama Canal arrangement was made so that the mails dispatched from the United States for the west coasts of Central and South America instead of being transported across the Isthmus by railway were, as far as possible, transshipped from steamer to steamer at Colon, thereby very greatly reducing the expense to the department on account of transportation across the Isthmus. The cost of transporting the mails across the Isthmus during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1913, was $149,732.92 and for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1919, it was $12,732.94.

The evident intent and purpose of this statement is to point out that the present administration has accomplished a great economy over the extravagance that existed when it came into power. The casual reader would undoubtedly conclude that $149,000 of the people's money had been spent for the service that now was accomplished for $12,000. Upon looking up the report for 1913, however, it is found that only $64,000 was paid for the transit of the foreign mail across the Isthmus. I called the department's attention to this by telephone, and it was explained that the $149,000 embraced not only the cost of transit of foreign mails, but also United States mails coming from the Atlantic and destined to the Pacific coast. I then requested a statement of the total amount paid for transit of both foreign and domestic mail for each year from 1912, which I received and which is printed below.

From this statement it will be seen that the same item that amounted to $149,000 in 1913 grew to $178,000 in 1914, and continued at $133,000 for 1915 and $145,000 for 1916. The canal was opened that year, but still the administration spent $145,000 for transit mail. It must be apparent to anyone that the reduction in the cost of the transit of mail has been due to the completion of the Panama Canal and this administration can hardly claim the credit of that feat.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
SECOND ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, December 30, 1919.

Hon. HALVOR STEENERSON,
Chairman Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Referring to your telephonic request of the 29th instant to the Division of Foreign Mails, I have the honor to inclose herewith a statement in duplicate, showing for the fiscal years 1912 to 1919, inclusive, the cost of the Isthmus transit via the Panama Railroad of United States mails and of foreign closed mails, as well as the total cost for each year and, for the years 1917, 1918, and 1919, the cost of the handling of the mails by the Canal Zone postal service during their transfer from the ships conveying the mails to the Canal Zone to the ships conveying the mails onward from the Canal Zone to destination, this latter item for the three years mentioned being stated separately in a footnote on the statement.

Yours, very truly,
OTTO PRAEGER,
Second Assistant Postmaster General.

Paid to Panama Railroad Co. for Isthmus transit.

1912:		
	United States mails (see p. 142, Postmaster General's annual report)	$67,937.48
	Foreign closed mails (see p. 237 of Postmaster General's annual report)	53,062.22
	Total	120,999.70
1913:		
	United States mails (see p. 167 of Postmaster General's annual report)	85,472.93
	Foreign closed mails (see p. 269 of Postmaster General's annual report)	64,259.99
	Total	149,732.92

1914:		
United States mails (see p. 262 of Postmaster General's annual report)		$106,532.17
Foreign closed mails (see p. 267 of Postmaster General's annual report)		72,114.26
Total		178,646.43
1915:		
United States mails (see p. 224 of Postmaster General's annual report)		92,515.62
Foreign closed mails (see p. 230 of Postmaster General's annual report)		40,696.21
Total		133,211.83
1916:		
United States mails (see pp. 152 and 155 of Postmaster General's annual report)		107,594.45
Foreign closed mails (see p. 159 of Postmaster General's annual report)		37,534.58
Total		145,129.03
1917:		
United States mails (not published in annual report)		31,756.11
Foreign closed mails (not published in annual report)		7,965.00
Total		39,721.11
1918:		
United States mails (not published in annual report)		13,636.06
Foreign closed mails (not published in annual report)		3,618.57
Total		17,254.63
1919:		
United States mails (not published in annual report)		7,466.81
Foreign closed mails (not published in annual report)		1,131.20
Total		[1] 8,598.01
Total United States mails		512,911.63
Total foreign closed mails		280,382.03
Grand total		793,293.66

[From report of the Postmaster General.]

It will be observed that in the first period, covering the seven years prior to the time the present administration assumed office, there was an unbroken line of annual deficits, excepting in 1911, when a small surplus was shown, the aggregate net deficit for the period amounting to $59,072,909.62. On the other hand, in the second period, covering practically the tenure of office of the present administration, there has been an unbroken line of annual surpluses, excepting in 1915, the year in which the great World War began, the aggregate net surplus for the period amounting to $35,188,879. The net change in favor of the Public Treasury was, therefore, $94,261,788.62. The cause of the change is immediately apparent. Whereas the revenues under this administration increased $737,597,818.12, or at the rate of 50.68 per cent, compared with the seven-year period prior to the time it assumed office, the expenditures increased only $643,335,795.08, or at the rate of 42.49 per cent. The difference between the increase in expenditures and the increase in revenues, less losses, equals the amount of the net change in favor of the Public Treasury.

The purpose of the above must be to cause the reader to believe that the Treasury has been enriched in the sum of $35,188,876, and hence the taxpayers benefited by that amount.

The following statement from the Treasury, furnished me by Secretary Glass, shows the gain by reason of its connection with the Post Office Department for the last seven fiscal years, excluding war revenue, is only $22,966,861.89.

Under the law, however, the surplus or deficit consists in the difference between audited receipts and audited expenditures during the fiscal year.

Hence, it results that if for any reason expenditures incurred for any fiscal year are not paid in that year, the apparent surplus is correspondingly augmented. There is, for instance, now pending before the Interstate Commerce Commission on reference under an act of Congress claims for underpayment by the railroads for carrying the mail since November 1, 1916, amounting to over $100,000,000. Should this claim be allowed only to the extent of one-fourth, the apparent surplus would be wiped out.[2]

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, January 8, 1920.

Hon. HALVOR STEENERSON,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. STEENERSON: In reply to your letter of the 2d instant, inclosing a statement of postal transactions heretofore furnished you, and requesting that the same be brought down to include figures for the fiscal years 1917, 1918, and 1919, I have the honor to transmit herewith copy of the statement you desire.

Sincerely, yours,

CARTER GLASS, *Secretary.*

[1] Plus expense of handling mails on the Isthmus in connection with their transfer from ship to ship, $4,175.93 (see Postmaster General's Report 1919, p. 13), or $12,773.94. The cost of this service in 1917 was $3,828 and in 1918 was $3,828.

[2] The day after the above appeared in the RECORD, the Interstate Commerce Commission decided the Railway Mail Pay Case, increasing the rates between 25 and 30 per cent for the period between Nov. 1, 1916, and Jan. 1, 1918, and 25 per cent additional increase since Jan. 1, 1918. A computation of these increases shows that the amount due the railways for the 14 months from Nov. 1, 1916, to Jan. 1, 1918, is $17,000,000, and since Jan. 1, 1918, about $53,000,000, making in all about $70,000,000 that the railroads will recover because of underpayment for carrying the mails since the space plan was inaugurated by Mr. Burleson. This, for the seven years of his administration, leaves a net deficit, instead of a surplus, of $35,000,000.

Amounts drawn from the Treasury for postal deficiencies and amounts returned thereto, including deposits of surplus postal revenues, fiscal years 1913 to 1919, inclusive.

	Advances from the Treasury on account of postal deficiencies.	Repayments to the Treasury on account of postal deficiencies.	Net grants from the Treasury.	Surplus revenues deposited in the Treasury	Treasury gained (+) Treasury loss (−).
1913	$3,027,368.79	$2,000,000.00	$1,027,368.79	[1] $3,800,000.00	+$3,330,331.95
1913				[2] 557,700.75	
1914					
1915	6,640,736.02	4,143.42	6,635,592.60	[1] 3,500,000.00	+ 3,500,000.00
1916	5,500,000.00		5,500,000.00	[1] 5,200,000.00	− 300,000.00
1917				[1] 9,000,000.00	
1917				[3] 3,000,000.00	+12,000,000.00
1918	8,021,094.54	5,800,000.00	2,221,094.54	[1] 15,000,000.00	+12,778,905.46
1919	343,511.15		343,511.15		− 343,511.15
Total	23,532,710.50	7,804,143.42	15,728,567.08	40,057,700.75	+24,329,133.67

[1] Surplus revenue of the year indicated, but not deposited in the Treasury until the following year.
[2] Deposited in fiscal year 1918.
[3] Deposited in the fiscal year 1919.

Additional payments from the Treasury under various laws on account of the Postal Service, fiscal years 1913 to 1919, inclusive.

1913:		
Parcel-post equipment	$370,217.26	
Judgments, Court of Claims	8,400.28	
Miscellaneous payments under relief acts, etc	4,995.55	
		$383,613.09
1914:		
Parcel-post equipment	359,767.74	
Equipment and moving expenses, new post office, Washington, D. C.	5,000.00	
Judgments, Court of Claims	25.00	
Miscellaneous payments under relief acts, etc	234.20	
		365,026.94
1915:		
Equipment and moving expenses, new post office, Washington, D. C.	55,000.00	
Parcel-post equipment	19,352.11	
Judgments, Court of Claims	1,256.97	
Miscellaneous payments under relief acts, etc	12,073.59	
		87,682.67
1916:		
Judgments, Court of Claims	114.95	
Miscellaneous payments under relief acts, etc	247.27	
		362.22
1917:		
Equipment and moving expenses, Post Office Department, equipment shops	5,000.00	
Equipment shops, Post Office Department	57,000.00	
Judgments, Court of Claims	12,379.76	
Relief of mail contractors in certain Southern States, 1860 and 1862	105,675.09	
Miscellaneous payments under relief acts, etc	10,104.07	
		190,158.92
1918:		
Equipment and moving expenses, Post Office Department, equipment shops	4,000.00	
Equipment shops, Post Office Department	130,000.00	
Judgments, Court of Claims	161.40	
Relief of mail contractors in certain Southern States, 1860 and 1862	37,115.71	
Expenses, trading-with-the-enemy act, Post Office Department	17,190.00	
		188,467.11
1919:		
Equipment and moving expenses, Post Office Department, equipment shops	5,891.68	
Equipment shops, Post Office Department	12,982.44	
Judgments, Court of Claims	7,595.27	
Relief of mail contractors in certain Southern States, 1860 and 1862	3,225.99	
Expenses, trading-with-the-enemy act, Post Office Department	13,576.27	
Enforcement of the espionage and trading-with-the-enemy acts, Post Office Department	43,147.84	
Expenses of war savings and thrift stamps, Post Office Department	36,194.92	
National security and defense (Postal Service)	24,206.02	
Miscellaneous payments under relief acts, etc	140.40	
		146,960.83
Total additional payments		1,362,271.78

SUMMARY.

1913	+$2,946,718.87
1914	+ 3,134,973.06
1915	— 6,724,275.27
1916	— 300,362.22
1917	+11,809,841.08
1918	+12,590,438.35
1919	— 490,471.98
Net gain, 1913 to 1919	+22,966,861.89

NOTE.—In addition to the postal revenues deposited in the Treasury as above, the sums $39,073,000 for the fiscal year 1918 and $71,906,000 for the fiscal year 1919 were deposited in the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts, "Estimated increase in first-class postage," and $120,000 was deposited as miscellaneous receipts in 1919 from "Censorship of foreign mails, Panama Canal Zone."

The increased compensation in the pay of postal employees is contrasted with the lower compensation prevailing in 1913, the purpose being to give the administration of the Post Office Department credit. When we recall the fact, however, that the increases, both in the last Congress and the present Congress, amounting to $75,000,000 per year, was forced upon the department by the practically unanimous vote of both Houses of Congress, and that the last increase contained in House joint resolution 151 became a law without the President's signature, it is difficult to see how the departments can claim this credit. The fact is that Congress, regardless of party affiliations, saw that in order to rescue the Postal Service from absolute demoralization and breakdown, these increases were necessary. The Postmaster General now advocates postponement of any further readjustment of compensation until after normal conditions shall have arrived. But it is unnecessary to point out further illustrations of the partisan and biased character of the document. Formerly the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Assistant Postmaster Generals made reports of the business of the bureau, which was published with the report of the Postmaster General. These bureau reports were really annals regarding the progress of the Postal Service and the statistical tables were generally free from any juggling, and the student could here find facts and not fiction. The publication of these reports was discontinued in 1917, and since then the only source of information we have is the summary of the Postmaster General. I fear that if the example of the Post Office Department is followed by other departments the permanency of our institution is in danger. Supposing that the Treasury Department, with its Internal Revenue Bureau, Divisions of Income Tax, prohibition enforcement, all the Federal reserve banks, issuing bulletins at frequent intervals, and the Treasury Department's report itself, should be permeated by partisan argument; supposing all the other great departments of the Government should follow suit, not only their official reports but any other material sent out to the public. A political party once in power pursuing these tactics could never be ousted, but could perpetuate its rule indefinitely.

Suppose, further, that the telephones, telegraphs, and wireless, and all other means of communication of intelligence, were owned and operated by the Government, and not only this but that the Government asserted and exercised a complete monopoly, to the exclusion of all private means, as advocated by Mr. Burleson. I fear it would be a dark day for representative government if such things should come to pass. The people, I am afraid, under such a circumstance, would be more helpless than they are under the most autocratic and absolute military despotism in the world.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. S. ECHOLS,

OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 12, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 7158) to provide for expenses of the government of the District of Columbia.

Mr. ECHOLS. Mr. Speaker, before coming to Congress I had heard of the 50-50 scheme of providing revenue to conduct the fiscal affairs of the District of Columbia. Since coming to Washington I have given some consideration to the scheme, and after hearing the discussions here to-day it occurs to me that there is but little, if any, justification for the existence of such scheme. I am utterly unable to understand why my neighbor down in the city of Charleston, W. Va., who pays more than twice as much taxes for the maintenance of his own local government, is also required to pay for the maintenance of the local government of the District of Columbia an extraordinary proportion of the expenses of those who have the high privilege of living in the city of Washington.

It is utter folly to say that the rate of $1.50 per $100 valuation on real estate and tangible personal property and three-tenths of 1 per cent upon intangible personal property, upon a two-thirds valuation, is anything like equivalent to taxes that are collected from the taxpayers of other cities of similar size or even far less in size and having equal or fewer advantages than those in the city of Washington. I assert—and I make the assertion after examining tax laws and tax reports from various parts of the country for a period of 10 years previous to coming to Congress—that not a single city in the United States with a population of 50,000, one-eighth that of the city of Washington, or more can be found where the total tax rate is as low as it is here, and in many such cities it is twice, three times, and in some instances four times as high.

It is just as futile to say that the valuation of property in cities of similar size or even much smaller is not equal to or even greater upon an average than in the city of Washington. It has been suggested in the course of general debate that taxation should be according to the population of the city. Such a suggestion should require no answer whatever. Under the scheme of general property taxation throughout the country taxes are based upon value and not upon numbers. The bill now under consideration leaves the statute in effect now providing for taxation based upon value, not upon population. It is nothing short of absurd to even suggest that any scheme of property taxation based upon anything other than value would result in anything other than inequality and inequity among those upon whom the same might be imposed. It is always wise to place a limit upon taxing authorities, but I seriously doubt the wisdom of providing a flat rate from year to year in any taxing unit. Taxes ought to be levied each year according to the needs of the taxing unit for that particular year, and authority ought to be conferred upon somebody to determine what are the needs of the taxing unit for the year.

It has also been suggested that the city will need additional revenue to support the public schools. The same cry is coming from practically every other important city throughout the country. In my home city now we have three or four, perhaps more, bond issues for school purposes that are being retired by local taxpayers. Almost every other important city in the United States has the same burden to bear; but it is my understanding that Washington has no such bond issue, never has had, and will likely not have need for any in the near future.

The only excuse so far offered, I am informed, for imposing any tax upon taxpayers residing without the city is that a great portion of the valuable property in the city is owned by the Federal Government. It appears to be overlooked that other cities have great amounts of valuable property that belongs to the public and is not taxed; for instance, in my home city we have the capitol of the State, the capitol annex, and a separate building for the board of control, right in the heart of the city, the most valuable property there. In addition, we have the county courthouse, the public schools, hospitals, and other property that bear no burden of taxation; yet we do not go out and ask the citizens of West Virginia to donate for the purpose of maintaining the government of the city of Charleston; but the 50-50 scheme comes down and asks the citizens of West Virginia to donate to the city of Washington for the purpose of maintaining her city government, paying her school-teachers, and paving her streets, maintaining her waterworks, and so forth.

The county of Kanawha, my home county, has there now real estate and improvements thereto that cost the Government approximately $100,000,000, the title to which is in the Federal Government, and this property does not bear any of the burdens of local or other taxation. This amount is considerably more than one-third of the value of the real estate in the city of Washington that belongs to the Government and is used for public purposes. In addition to that real estate, there are millions of dollars of personal property in Kanawha County owned by the Government and on which no taxes are paid; yet the taxpayers of Kanawha County are not asking that the Federal Government appropriate money out of the Federal Treasury to take care of her local fiscal affairs.

Worse than all this, in a recent sale of part of this property, which cost the Government some sixty or seventy million dollars, by some sort of hokus-pokus scheme, the Government retaining the mere, naked, legal title thereto until it is resold by the purchaser, it will escape taxation for years to come, although in fact owned and controlled by a private corporation. And still worse than this, the Government is maintaining, and from all outward appearances will continue to maintain for years to

come, a great horde of employees in and about this property to look after and protect it for the benefit of a private corporation. These employees are now costing the Government from thirty to forty thousand dollars per week, although the sale of the property was awarded some three months ago.

In most other cities throughout the country intangible personal property is not relieved from seven-tenths of the taxes that other property is required to pay; not only that, but corporations owning property or transacting business in many of the States are required to pay an excise or income tax and a charter tax that are not required of such corporations transacting business in the city of Washington.

My understanding is that the half-and-half plan grew out of a necessity more than 40 years ago. That necessity originated from a mismanagement of the city affairs under the enabling act passed for the District of Columbia, under which it controlled its own affairs without interference upon the part of Congress. It therefore appears that the taxpayers of the District not only have not been injured by taking and keeping the control of its affairs in the Congress, but that they have been materially benefited thereby and that millions of dollars in taxation have been saved them by reason of the act of 1878. To pay the debt would have been extremely burdensome upon the wealth of the city. That debt is now almost liquidated, and the city of Washington stands far better in her fiscal affairs than perhaps any other city in the United States having anything like as great a population. The necessity for the present scheme of taxation passed out of existence long ago, and, as a matter of fact, the scheme should have been abandoned long ago and an act passed requiring the wealth in the city of Washington to pay taxes in proportion to those paid in other cities throughout the country. It is no argument to say that the scheme has worked well for a half century—of course, it worked well. By that is meant that there has been no complaint from taxpayers here, while other taxpayers throughout the country have been contributing to the payment of taxes which should have been paid by the taxpayers of the city of Washington.

The real estate owned by the Government and used for public purposes in the District, from information I have gathered during this debate, is only about 35 per cent of the total value of real estate within the District limits. The most, therefore, that the Government should be called upon to pay would be 35 per cent of the total revenue necessary to maintain the District government; and the Congress would be extremely liberal to allow even that amount, in view of the fact that many other cities and other taxing units have within their limits valuable public property that does not bear any of the burden of taxation.

It is my hope that the House will pass this bill, and not only that, but that it will stand firm and not allow the other end of the legislative body to drive it from its position.

Some day somebody is going to discover and tell the country why the law providing for the sacred 50–50 scheme can not be modified.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE BLACK,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 16, 1920.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert a speech delivered by Postmaster General A. S. Burleson to the annual convention of the National Hardware Association of the United States. This address gives some very interesting historical facts connected with the development of the Postal Service in the United States, and also recites some of the notable achievements of the Post Office Department during the World War. It is a valuable contribution to the discussion of postal matters, and it is for this reason that I have asked leave to print it at this time. The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF A. S. BURLESON TO THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL HARDWARE ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Postmaster General Burleson was introduced by President Robert H. Treman, acting as chairman, who said:

"It is a great privilege granted to the membership of these associations and our guests to-day to welcome a member of the President's Cabinet, who has not for the past three years accepted any of the many invitations extended to him to speak and address different organizations. He makes an exception in this one case, and he comes to us this morning with a word which I am sure you will all be very glad to hear. The Postmaster General of the United States, General Burleson." [Applause.]

Mr. Burleson said:

"Mr. President, ladies, and gentlemen of the National Hardware Association, it always embarrasses me when I am introduced to an audience, because it makes no difference how much the gentleman who makes the introduction endeavors to restrain himself there is always something said that excites an expectation in the minds of an audience of an entertaining address and there is always a resultant disappointment.

"Understand in advance that I am not an orator. I never was eloquent in my life. I can only unfold to you in simple words a plain story. Consequently, many of you are doomed to disappointment. I was told last night by one of the members of your association that I would be introduced 'as the popular hero of the newspapers, and the idol of the magazine writers.' I made up my mind then that that statement was intended as a provocation, and that I wouldn't fall for it; that I would place a restraint upon myself, and I am going to do so. I am not going to say any ugly things to-day, I am not going to throw any stones, though frankly I have had the provocation, and some people think the justification, to do so. I want you to know at the outset that I have no prepared speech. I apologize for it, but I know you will forgive me when I tell you that I have had no time to prepare a speech. I was told that I could select my own subject for discussion, but that the association preferred I talk about the policies of the Post Office Department.

HISTORICAL DATA.

"When I came to the head of the Postal Establishment, nearly 7 years ago, it had been established 137 years. We had had 47 different Postmasters General, serving on an average something over 2 years each. This statement will excite wonderment on your part as to why the average tenure of this office has been so low. It is easily explained. The Postmaster General of the United States is at the head of a service, the employees of which under his control come in contact during each year with every family in America, and often come in contact with members of these families three, four, or five times each day. What a fruitful source of criticism this affords. In fact, gentlemen, it is hard indeed when a man is serving one master to so perform his duties as not to provoke complaint, but when a public official is serving 100,000,000 people, then indeed it would be a miracle if he should escape criticism. As Postmaster General I haven't escaped, and for this I make no complaint.

"The First Postmaster General of the United States was that wise philosopher and great statesman, Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania. At that time our country was a little narrow strip of territory along the Atlantic coast and our people numbered only about 3,000,000. Postmaster General Franklin had the onerous task of administering the affairs of 75 post offices, with 1,875 miles of post routes and with an aggregate postal revenue of $30,000 a year. Twenty-five years afterwards, when Mr. Jefferson was inaugurated President of the United States, and after he had added somewhat to the territory of our country, we had about 1,000 post offices, operating 22,309 miles of post routes, with an aggregate postal revenue of approximately $320,000 a year. About 25 years later came Gen. Andrew Jackson as President of the United States. He, too, added to the territory of the United States. At that time we had something less than 8,000 postmasters with 105,336 miles of post routes and less than $1,700,000 a year of postal revenue.

"Then came President James K. Polk, in 1845, who again added to our territory, stretching the vast domain of our country from ocean to ocean, and the Postmaster General under his administration had only 14,000 post offices, about 144,000 miles of post routes, and approximately four and a quarter million dollars a year postal revenue.

"At that time the method of postal transportation was by pony express and the old lumbering stagecoach. There was no such thing as a postage stamp. The money-order system had not been brought into existence, the registration of letters was unknown, and the postal savings banks and Parcel Post Service was not dreamed of.

"What a simple task these splendid old gentlemen as Postmasters General had in the administration of our postal affairs.

GROWTH AND PRESENT CONDITION OF SERVICE.

"Since then there has been some development of the Postal Service. To-day we have more than 53,000 post offices. To-day we have 1,590,000 miles of post and rural routes. To-day we have about 300,000 employees in the Postal Service. The aggregate revenue collected and expended reaching the stupendous sum of $800,000,000 a year. And the mails are now transported

not only by pony express and the slow stagecoach, but by dog sleds in the icy regions of Alaska, by steamboats on our rivers and lakes, by electric street car systems, hundreds of thousands of miles of railroad transportation systems, and airplanes.

"We transact an annual business of approximately $2,000,000,000 year in money orders issued and paid. We have postal savings banks with, in round numbers, 640,000 depositors with $170,000,000 on deposit, and transported last year more than two and one-half billion pieces through the mails.

"The development of the Postal Service has been remarkable. Its organization is indeed wonderful, and the standard of its efficiency borders on the miraculous. [Applause.]

"This substantially was the volume and condition of your Postal Service in 1914.

WORLD WAR.

"At that time the flash of the pistol in the hands of a student in Serbia, whose name the world has forgotten, resulted in the death of the Crown Prince of Austria, whose name I have forgotten. This shot was the spark that led to a conflagration of war that swept within its scope all Europe (save a few small countries) and nearly all of Asia and Africa. After this war had been in progress nearly three years, what a condition confronted the world! Autocracy, thoroughly intrenched, represented by the central powers, one of which had been engaged for 40 years in preparation for war, holding a corridor through the central part of Europe which extended into Asia, affording most advantageous facilities for army mobilizations, had so successfully prosecuted the war that the great Russian Empire was "down and out," Roumania was practically upon her knees, and Great Britain, France, and Italy, the principal allied powers, found themselves sorely distressed, in dire extremity, and threatened with defeat. And then—and I will not go into the reasons why, because they are too long—our beloved country was swept into the vortex of this horrible, world-wide catastrophe.

"What a problem confronted the American people at that time. What a stupendous task presented itself. The Allies were short of food, short of munitions, lacking men to successfully prosecute the war, and practically, I won't say bankrupt, but in great financial distress. Then it was America entered the contest. When the tocsin of war was sounded it met with a ready response by every loyal American man, woman, and child throughout our broad domain. [Applause.] They realized the enormous task before them. They realized the necessity of producing more food, even denying themselves, if the necessity of the exigencies required it. The American had never theretofore denied himself anything that he wanted to eat. But during this war they denied themselves food in order to properly supply our Allies. The great industries of our country, responding to the call of that wonderful man in the White House, overnight, as it were, reorganized themselves, going upon a war footing from a peace basis, in order to furnish the requisite sinews of war.

EFFECT OF WAR ON POSTAL SERVICE.

"Of course this sudden action was demoralizing from the standpoint of business efficiency. It could have but one result. Every business man in America had his business disarranged, and nobody knows this better than this splendid body representing one of the great industries of our country. Every household in America was disturbed. It could not be avoided.

"Are you surprised, then, that there should have been a slight disturbance in the postal service? Think for a moment what happened when it became necessary to organize that wonderful army that we afterwards transported across the seas. Of the hundreds of thousands of trained postal experts that were in the service of the Government, tens of thousands of them instantly responded to the call to arms and were carried into and made part of that great army. Thousands more of these efficient postal employees were taken from their accustomed places and placed in cantonments and in naval divisions in order that we might give our soldiers who were going to offer their lives in the great conflict adequate postal service. So demoralized and disturbed were conditions in this country at that time that the railroad systems of America, the greatest and most efficient transportation systems the world had ever seen, became so thoroughly demoralized that they were practically broken down and had to be taken over by the Government.

"And yet there were people in the country who complained that they did not receive their mail with regularity and dependability. I do not marvel at such complaint. It was natural. It was unjust, in a way, but it was thoroughly human. They simply did not stop to think. Why, gentlemen, just before the railroad systems of America were taken over by the Government the Second Assistant Postmaster General reported to me that there was within one month 97,000 misconnections of mails occasioned by trains failing in their schedules.

"Of course, every misconnection of a train resulted in delayed mail, and naturally some part of the 100,000,000 of my masters voiced their complaint.

"But, gentlemen, if that had been the only difficulty confronting the postal establishment we could easily have overcome it, and we would have overcome it in a very short time. But this war brought about many unexpected conditions and imposed many unusual activities upon all the departments of our Government.

ASSISTANCE EXTENDED TO OTHER DEPARTMENTS.

"Unfortunately, the postal establishment was the only department of the Government that had an organization that was nation wide in its scope, and in consequence of this fact we were constantly appealed to by other departments to assume part of burdens that properly belonged to them. The State Department had unusual duties to perform, and it called upon the Postal Department to detail to its assistance a number of our most expert men. The Treasury Department, recognizing the fact that preparation for this war would entail the expenditure of billions and bilions of dollars, was forced to float five stupendous loans. It called upon the postal establishment for assistance. We transported tens of thousands of tons of propaganda matter for the Treasury Department in connection with these loans and placed it in the hands of the American people, without address and without stamping. We didn't shirk; we didn't complain; we didn't boast of what we were doing. We performed our duty.

"Later on it became necessary to raise $2,000,000,000 through the sale of war-saving certificates and thrift stamps. A very liberal percentage was given to the Treasury Department for conducting the campaign to sell these certificates and stamps. The Postal Department under the law had no part of this fund, and yet would you be astonished if I tell you that through the postal establishment 83 per cent of the war-savings certificates and thrift stamps were sold? It is a fact. [Applause.] Burdensome taxes had to be laid upon the backs of the people. It became necessary to distribute revenue stamps throughout the country in order that they might be readily accessible to those requiring them.

"The request was made that the Post Office Department undertake the distribution of these revenue stamps. We acceded to the request, and there followed as a result that we not only distributed these war-revenue stamps but sold large quantities of them. Of course there devolved upon the postal establishment, then, the burdensome task of accounting and auditing more than 50,000 additional accounts necessary to be accurately kept of stamps received and disposed of.

"During the war it became necessary to register the alien enemies of our country. That responsibility was imposed upon the Department of Justice. The gentleman who was at the head of that great department approached the head of the Postal Department and frankly said, 'I can't undertake this task unless you lend me the aid of the postal establishment.'

"We responded to his call and in every city of less than 5,000 inhabitants in the United States your postmaster registered the alien enemies.

"For the War Department, when the initial steps were being taken to put into operation the draft act, the Provost Marshal General came to me and said, 'I must have the use of the postal establishment or I can not put this law into operation as effectively as I otherwise could.'

"We again responded, and postal carriers placed in the hands of the men subject to that draft, without address, without stamp, more than 9,000,000 questionnaires. In addition thereto, every third and fourth class postmaster in the United States became a recruiting agent for the Army, the Navy, and the Marine services of our country. All this took not only the time of the postal employees but imposed the burden of additional labor upon them, for which they received no additional compensation. But no complaint was heard from them. It was their duty and it was performed.

"The great industries of our country, when they went on a war basis, of course, were in a great stress for labor. High prices for labor did not always secure an adequate supply. So the postal establishment, through its postmasters, became an employment agency for all of the industries of our country in order that surplus labor at one point might be shifted to where it was most needed.

ASSISTANCE RENDERED IN CONSERVATION OF FOOD.

"Again, when the campaign for food conservation was entered upon, Mr. Herbert Hoover, at the head of that great service, visited me in my office and said: 'We must depend upon the women of America for the conservation of food.

"'I have no means of reaching them. You have the means through the postal establishment. If you through the postal establishment will aid me in this task, I can make my organization threefold as efficient as it otherwise would be.'

"And again the Post Office Department responded and it placed in the hands of every woman in America who was the head of a household—and they are generally the head of the household—the appeal prepared by Mr. Hoover to save food in order that our Allies might not suffer.

ESPIONAGE AND TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACTS.

"We didn't stop there. In addition to all these things I have told you, the Congress passed an espionage act and a trading with the enemy act, imposing upon the postal establishment the duty of excluding from the mails all treasonable and seditious matter, matter that would discourage enlistment and recruitment in the Army and Navy of the United States. It was a most vexatious task, and a very unwelcome one. It devolved upon the postmasters of this country to read not only every American newspaper, but every newspaper (either read them or have them read), every newspaper published in German, Turkish, or Yiddish, or Russian, or Finnish, or Croatian, or Italian, or what not, in order that we might keep the minds of the American people from being poisoned by treacherous and seditious matter.

"The Post Office Department performed that task. It was an unwelcome one, as I say, but we performed it. I was denounced from one end of the country to the other as an autocrat and as a tyrant and as a man who was engaged in the suppression of free speech, as a slave driver, but I moved on in the even tenor of my way. I performed the service with moderation, exercising no arbitrary power whatever, but enforced the law as it was written. [Applause.]

"And it has been a source of great satisfaction to me that in every instance where my action was challenged the courts upheld my action, in effect saying: 'The Postmaster General did no more than his duty.' [Applause.]

CRITICISM OF POSTAL SERVICE.

"These were just some of our difficulties. I can not go through them all. I could not remember them. The things I have enumerated are just a few of the difficulties that confronted the postal establishment during this war. I make no appeal to you, but submit to you as fair-minded men—after the postal establishment had assumed all these outside functions in addition to its regular duties, stripped of a large part of its efficient force, compelled to take on untrained and inefficient men to replace the experienced employees—is it not remarkable that the Postmaster General and the Postal Service escaped with no more criticism than was directed against them? I will say to you for your peace of mind, for fear that some of you tender-hearted people go away thinking, 'Well, what a terrible, terrible ordeal that poor man has passed through and how he must have suffered,' that all the abuse, all the denunciation, all the scurrility, all the attacks directed against me during that period did not lose me a moment's sleep. [Applause.]

"But, gentlemen, I have spoken about a certain line of criticisms; I have said to you that they were natural, unjust in a way, but thoroughly natural and sincere. The great bulk of them were honest criticisms. The trouble was, as I said a minute ago, the critics didn't stop to think.

DISHONEST CRITICISM OF POLICIES OF ADMINISTRATION.

"But there is a line of criticism that has been directed against the head of the Postal Establishment that is not sincere criticism—I am not going to deal in any hard words, don't be afraid—because it is not fair or just, neither is it honest criticism. These criticisms are not offered in a constructive way. They are not made because of any defects in the Postal Service nor in order that conditions might be bettered, but are directed against the head of the postal establishment because of certain postal policies which have been pursued.

"Let no one misunderstand me. I alone am responsible for these policies. I don't try to shunt the blame onto the shoulders of anybody else. These policies are sound. I stand ready to defend them. They will not be changed and there has never been a moment when I regretted their adoption. Whereas I have borne the brunt of much denunciation and criticism, I am not so conceited as to believe they were aimed at me personally or that they were directed against me because I belong to a certain political organization or that I was from a certain section of the country, because I want to say to you that these same criticisms would have been directed against any other man who stood for the policies I have fought for, regardless of whether he was from the North or South, whether he was a Democrat or Republican. It was the postal policy being pursued that gave birth to these sluices of denunciation and the criticism that has been directed against me.

POLICIES: READJUSTMENT OF PARCEL-POST RATES.

"Now, what are these policies? I do not want to talk too long. I am going to discuss them as rapidly as possible. When I came to the head of the postal establishment the Parcel Post System had just been inaugurated. It was still in its infancy.

"There had been a great clamor upon the part of the American people for the inauguration of this service, and yet it was starting off haltingly. The people didn't seem inclined to patronize it, and the inquiry naturally arose, 'What is the trouble? Why is this?' It became my duty to investigate, to ascertain, if possible, what the trouble was. I did investigate and discovered that the parcel-post rates had been so adjusted that in the traffic in the near-by zones, which was the profitable traffic, the Post Office Department participated but little, but in the far-away zones, where the traffic was unprofitable, the burden was thrown almost entirely upon the postal establishment. Now, the law that brought this service into existence had imposed upon the Postmaster General the responsibility of fixing the rates and weight limit of parcels. What did I do? What was my duty? I readjusted those rates. I increased the weight limit. Under the readjustment the postal establishment participated in the profitable traffic in the near-by zones, and a part of the burden of the unprofitable traffic was shifted onto the shoulders of some other people; not entirely, but only a part of it. Why, of course that didn't please altogether those people. Only about five express corporations were affected, but they were not without their influence, and I awoke one morning to find that steps had been taken to wrest from the Postmaster General the power of fixing parcel-post rates, and the people escaped the repeal of that law by only one vote in the Senate of the United States, notwithstanding the fact that I brought all the influence that I possibly could to prevent the threatened action. [Applause.]

"What was the result? Of course, as I tell you, this didn't please certain people who were not in accord with the policy of readjusting those rates. Of course these people voiced their criticisms through the newspapers. If I had been a jellyfish, if I had been looking for popularity, I would have pliantly yielded; but fortunately I wasn't looking for popularity; I was trying to discharge my duty to the American people. Under the action that I took the traffic through the parcel post was increased from 331,000,000 parcels a year to 2,700,000,000 a year, and the postal establishment passed permanently from a deficiency to a revenue-producing basis. In whose interest was this policy? Now, did I increase the rates and diminish the weight of parcels? No; I decreased the rates and increased the weight of parcels authorized to be mailed. Did you ever hear anybody in this country—any transportation concern—being criticized for voluntarily reducing rates? No; you never did, and you never will. Yet those criticisms were directed against me because I reduced rates. And, gentlemen, I didn't do this to hurt the express companies. I pledge you the action taken was taken solely in the interest of the public, and was not taken with a view of affecting adversely any interest. I didn't want to injure anybody, but, if in the course of my duty it became necessary for me to take action for the public interest, that resulted in putting one express company out of business and all others on a deficiency basis, you ought not to denounce me for it, though the express companies and their hired newspapers and magazines may do so.

"Those critics will abide with me to the end. I would not part with them, because I know the only consideration that would bring them to my support would be a reversal of policy, and that will not be done.

"Since then I have reduced the rates twice and increased the weight of the parcel twice. I think that you can begin to understand from whence some of the criticisms of the Postmaster General come.

COMPENSATION OF RAILROADS FOR THE TRANSPORTATION OF THE MAILS.

"Now, another policy—I discovered when I came to the head of the Postal Establishment that the basis for fixing compensation of the railroads for the transportation of the mails had been established somewhere about 1873, and it was ascertained upon what was called the weight basis. The country was divided into four sections, and the mails were weighed in one of the sections each year. It was a fruitful source of complaint.

"The railroads themselves, for purposes that suited them, were more clamorous than others that some change of method should be effected. Finally, they came down to see me. The presidents of 15 of the great railroads filed into my office—the office now occupied, as the newspapers say, by an untrained man without a business experience. And these railroad presidents complained of the service and complained of the basis of compensation, and I finally said to them: 'Well, gentlemen, what would you have the Government do?' I remember distinctly that the president of the great Atchison, Topeka &

Santa Fe System—I will not call his name—said: 'Why, what we want is an annual weighing of the mails in order that just compensation may be afforded the railroads and we may receive that amount for the service that we actually earn.' I said, 'Mr. President, you know that this is thoroughly impracticable. It would be a stupendous task. It would completely disorganize the postal force each year, and it is hard enough as it is now to have the force disorganized, in a quarter of the country each year; and, furthermore, it would cost millions of dollars to weigh all the mail each year. The cost of such a plan makes it impossible for us to consent to it.' One of the presidents said, 'Why, the railroads will pay for it—in order that justice may be had; we will pay the cost.' I said, 'Gentlemen, put that in writing and send it to me to-morrow morning,' but it never came.

"I then said, 'Gentlemen, I want to be perfectly frank with you'—I always try to be open and candid, I put my cards right on the table, never indulge in any veiled words, and try to speak just as plainly and simply as I can, so that I may not be misunderstood—I said, 'Gentlemen, I want you paid for the services you are rendering the Government, every dollar that it is worth.' I remember an illustration that I used at the time. I said, 'I'd just as soon reach into Mr. Rea's pocket' (the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad) 'and steal his watch as to ask you to render a service to the Government for less than it is worth. I want the Government to pay you for this service you perform every dollar it is worth; but, gentlemen, I don't want it to pay you 1 cent more.' I said, 'I am in favor of the "space system."' That system had been advocated by the experts in the Post Office Department for a number of years. We asked the railroads to furnish us certain space in their cars, just exactly like space is furnished in a passenger car.

"I said, 'You furnish us certain space and we will pay you for every square inch of that space.' They laughed at the suggestion. They said, 'Oh, that is an old story. Forget it; forget it.' I remember exactly what was said—'Forget it.' They said, 'You are not going to get away with that.' Well, that nettled me somewhat, although I am of a very placid disposition, and I said, 'Gentlemen, the present system is antiquated, obsolete, and unscientific; you say it is unfair to you. I know it is unfair to the Government. I am against it. I am going to try to change it, and I am going to try to put through the space-basis system that was recommended by my predecessor and the experts in the postal establishment; and let me say to you furthermore, I was on Capitol Hill for 14 years as a Member of Congress before I came down here, and I wasn't asleep while I was there. I know just how the wheels go around up there, and I want to say to you now that I not only stand for the space system as a just and fair system, but I am going to have it enacted into law if it is possible for me to do it.' That ended the interview and inaugurated the contest. I set upon foot the movement for the adoption of the space-basis system before the Congress of the United States, and I was met there by the representative of every selfish railroad in the United States and by every kind of misrepresentation, by all sorts of criticisms and denunciations directed against the head of the postal establishment. Day after day, week after week, month after month, the struggle went on, and finally the bill got into conference. So powerful were these great transportation agencies that they strangled the postal appropriation bill for that year, which forced me to operate the department under a resolution for the ensuing fiscal year. This was the first time such a thing was done in 140 years. [Applause.]

"I felt like John Paul Jones. The railroads didn't exactly ask for 'surrender,' but I let it be known that I 'had just begun to fight.' [Applause.]

"And next year I 'put it over.' Of course, to the critics that had been brought into existence as the result of my action in connection with the parcel-post rates there were added at once the critics that were brought into existence by the action taken in the railroad matter. Certain newspapers and magazines were lurid in their abuse and denunciation. I have no propaganda bureau. You well know that I have no means of presenting my case to the American people through the newspapers, because no appropriation is allowed for me for such purpose; but there were no strings upon my railroad critics, so a selection was made of an unscrupulous little creature, who denounced, derided, abused, and villified the head of the postal establishment for weeks and months and years because of this action that was taken. What was the result? Despite the efforts of the railroads to prevent it, they are now paid on the 'space basis.' It is true they are not paid the rate that I think they ought to be paid, because Congress fixed the rate very much higher than it should be fixed, and this matter of rates is now being contested before the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the department hopes to prevail there. Even on the high rates of pay obtaining, however, under the economic methods inaugurated by the postal establishment, under the space-basis system we saved of postal revenues the first year an amount of money in excess of $10,000,000. But I must get along.

PNEUMATIC TUBE SERVICE.

"I found another postal service that had started under very cloudy circumstances—the so-called pneumatic tube service. It had been denounced as a service that was 'conceived in sin and born in iniquity' by one of the greatest and best men of this country, the Hon. W. H. Moody, who was a Member of Congress at the time, afterwards became Secretary of the Navy, Attorney General, and who later graced the Supreme Bench of the United States. From the floor of the United States House of Representatives, when this pneumatic tube service was inaugurated, Mr. Moody said, 'The time will come, I fear, when it will prove a stain upon the postal establishment.' It was a significant fact that one of the Assistant Postmasters General, the year after he went out and the year after the inauguration of this tube service, received a thousand shares of its stock and $10,000 in money. This charge has been made time and time again, and it is in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and has never been denied. But, regardless of its birth, regardless of how it was inaugurated, every postal expert in the department asserted that the pneumatic tube was a useless facility; that it was a mere toy; that it transported only a small per cent of the mails; that we had expended millions and millions of dollars for the service, and that instead of expediting the deliveries of mail as a whole it was an obstruction. Now, what was my duty? It was to remove the obstruction, wasn't it? Well, as I had already gathered a goodly number of critics, I didn't mind adding a few more to them, so I took on the fight to abolish the tube system; but I am not going to take up your time with the details of it. The tube service was abolished. Chiming in with the pack of critics made up from the other sources I have indicated, of course, were joined those selfishly interested in tubes.

TAKING THEM ONE AT A TIME.

"I had discovered by this time that in order to succeed with these postal reforms that it was necessary to take them on singly, as a friend suggested last night: 'Don't forget to tell them you took them one at a time.' Recently I used a homely illustration which describes the situation. I said: 'I discovered I was digging up too many snakes at one time; I couldn't destroy all these evils at one time, so I decided on the policy of "digging up one snake" at a time and "scotching" him, then move on to the next hole.' Having abolished the pneumatic tubes for the betterment of the service, I moved to the next hole.

READJUSTMENT OF POSTAGE RATES ON NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES.

"Then came on the contest with the newspapers and magazines. With this controversy you are somewhat familiar because of the splendid assistance rendered to the American people by the gentleman sitting here in front of me, Mr. George McIntosh. He has done more than any other to keep the public advised and posted exactly of conditions as they have existed in connection with the readjustment of the postage rates on newspapers and magazines—my good friends (?), the newspapers, and my great admirers (?), the magazines. Now, gentlemen, accept my assurance that I had no feeling against them. I recognized the fact that they were rendering a great service; that they had been a power in the upbuilding of our country. I have no desire to injure them; but on investigation of the history of the service and the facts just as they existed I discovered that former Postmasters General, my predecessors for—how many years, Mr. McIntosh?

"Mr. MCINTOSH. Thirty.

"Mr. BURLESON. For 30 years have been recommending an increase of the postage rates on second-class matter—the newspapers and magazines. This is exactly the policy I stood for. One of my predecessors was the Hon. Charles Emory Smith, of Pennsylvania, a great publisher, who, when he was Postmaster General, being placed in a position of responsibility, recognizing this grave evil as it existed in the Postal Service, denounced it in unmeasured terms. Be it said to his credit, his everlasting credit, he pleaded for an increase of second-class postage rates. Well, these predecessors of mine had talked much, recommended many times, but nothing had been accomplished. It was a patent fact, made known by a report of a commission, of which the Hon. Charles E. Hughes was the head, that the newspapers and magazines of this country were not bearing their just proportion of the burdens of the cost of operating the Postal Service. On the contrary, the users of the first-class mail were bearing an unjust proportion of the postal burdens. I favored removing the injustice. I was not in favor of embodying in the revenue bill the provision for the proposed in-

crease of postage rates, but I did stand for the policy of requiring the newspapers and magazines to pay their share of the cost of operating the Postal Service, and whenever I believe in a policy I recommend it in my report, regardless of whether it is popular or unpopular. If I think it is right, I recommend it, and then I stand for it. [Applause.]

"When the Ways and Means Committee of Congress, in preparation for the part in the great war that America had undertaken, was looking for sources of revenue (and, as you gentlemen know, they found many sources), they said to me: 'Why not make the users of the second-class mail privilege pay a fair proportion of the burdens of the cost of conducting the Postal Service? They have been enjoying a subsidy for years and years. This year (that is the year the law was passed) the Postal Establishment is burdened with a loss of $72,000,000 in excess of the revenues from the second-class matter, the newspapers and magazines. Why shouldn't they bear a small part of this burden?' I replied: 'I do not want the Postal Department used as a revenue producer.' This is the truth, and yet, gentlemen, that is one of the strings that my critics have constantly harped on. They don't care whether it is true or not; they have asserted and reasserted ad nauseum that I wanted the Postal Establishment to be made a revenue-producing establishment. I invite you now to read my first annual report, and you will find in as plain words as it can be expressed that I did not want a surplus in the Postal Department at the expense of efficient administration; that I wanted to effect economy wherever practicable; that I stood for the efficiency of the service first, the highest standard of efficiency that could possibly be obtained; that if I could effect intelligent economies, that I wanted savings resulting therefrom to go into a reduction of postal rates and increased postal facilities. Notwithstanding these emphatic statements they have repeatedly said, because I developed a surplus, that I was trying to make the Postal Service a 'revenue producer.' I couldn't help having a surplus. By eliminating these useless facilities, these injustices and grafts—because some of it was pure graft—I did overcome what occurred under the administrations of Presidents Roosevelt and Taft when there was a deficiency of more than $73,000,000; that is, the postal revenues failed to meet the expenditures by that amount and the Congress had to reach into the Treasury of the United States and take out $73,000,000 to meet the postal expenses. This sum was taken out of the pockets of the taxpayers of this country in order to maintain or continue just such conditions as I have been describing to you this forenoon. Having effected these reforms, what did I do?

PENNY POSTAGE ON DROP LETTERS.

"I begged that the American people be given penny postage on drop letters. But no, political expediency controlled and you were denied that benefit to which you were justly entitled though I begged time and time again that it be given to you. [Applause.] I couldn't help the fact that there was a surplus resulting from these postal reforms.

"Having developed a surplus, I believe it should be used in part to reduce postage rates, but this has been denied you. I did lop off every unnecessary expenditure that could be found; I did cut out every useless facility; I did do away with every extravagant practice; I did abolish every inequality and injustice that entailed unfair burdens on the postal expenditures. And then the howl was raised principally by those whose selfish interest had been touched that the Postal Service had broken down. Now, has the service broken down? Let us see.

HAS THE POSTAL SERVICE BROKEN DOWN?

"Through the newspapers and magazines it is heralded day by day, week by week, that the service is not only 'demoralized,' that it has 'collapsed,' that it is 'broken down,' but that this has been occasioned by my stinginess and unwise curtailments and economies. Now, let us see about this. Do you realize that mail service, daily mail service, is being carried to 13,000,000 more people than when I came into office—5,000,000 on the rural routes, 7,000,000 in the cities, and 1,000,000 in village delivery? Do you realize that the postal savings have increased enormously since I came into office—from 331,000 depositors, with $33,000,000 deposits to 640,000 depositors with $170,000,000 of deposits?

"Do you realize that parcel post facilities have been established with many foreign countries where they did not exist when I came into office? Do you realize that whereas we were transporting when I came into office about 300,000,000 parcels we are now transporting through the mails more than two and one-half billion parcels? Do you realize that during the recent war every postal establishment of every country engaged there was seriously impaired; that every transportation service in this country—the railroads and the express—completely broke down and were repeatedly forced to issue embargoes, and yet the Postal Service of America continued to do business and never at any time failed or refused to receive any matter for transportation that was mailable under the law? It is a fact, however, and I again assert that it has proved itself a marvelous organization with an efficiency of service bordering on the miraculous.

EFFICIENT SERVICE NOTWITHSTANDING WAR.

"I challenge any honest-minded man to make an investigation, look to his own postal experience, and decide this issue for himself. I will be content to abide by the verdict reached. We have subjected the Postal Service to every test that is known, the test of the auditor, the test of the post-office inspectors, the test of the First Assistant Postmaster General, who is in direct control of same. [Applause.] The auditor of the post-office establishment is a Republican, and I kept him because of his efficiency.

"He has repeatedly stated there is a higher standard of efficiency among the postmasters of to-day than ever before in the history of the service. And post-office inspectors have repeatedly reported that the service has suffered no serious impairment, notwithstanding the war, and so has the First Assistant Postmaster General made to me similar reports, and yet the critics say that 'because of lack of business qualifications on the part of the Postmaster General, the Postal Service is in a state of collapse.' I assert it is not true.

INCREASE IN SECOND-CLASS RATE AGAIN.

"But to revert to the increase of the second-class postage rate, when I said to the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee that I did not want an increase in the second-class postage rate put on the revenue bill, he replied by asking the question, 'You have always stood for an increase of these rates?' I replied, 'Yes; that I was still in favor of such increase.' Then he said, 'We are going to put in on this bill and have the right to your assistance in the framing of the law to effect it.' I assented. And whereas other Postmasters General had talked about it and recommended it, under this administration, for the first time in the history of this Government since 1885, there was an increase of the postage rate on newspapers and magazines. [Applause.] Whereupon I became the hero of the newspapers and the idol of the magazine writers! They have been praising me since that good day and will so continue to the end of the chapter.

AFFILIATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES WITH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

"Now, gentlemen, there is just one other matter I will briefly discuss. I didn't intend to allude to it. About two or three years ago I reached the conclusion that the affiliation of Government employees—and it is true without reference to whether it is Federal, State, or municipal—with an outside organization that resorts to the strike as a means of adjusting grievances was a menace to the welfare of this Republic and would result in a divided allegiance, an allegiance to an outside organization stronger than their allegiance to the Government. I expressed the opinion that the continued affiliation of Government employees with the American Federation of Labor would inevitably result in engendering dissatisfaction, discontent, and unrest on their part and resistance to the constituted authorities and would ultimately result in lowering their efficiency. I submit that subsequent events have more than justified the conclusions I had reached—employees of the Government owe their sole allegiance to the Government, to the people whom they serve. The truth is, I knew what would happen just as well as I knew my name—and I am fairly familiar with that—when I made the recommendation based on this conclusion. But it was my duty, so believing, to act.

"So I embodied in my annual report a recommendation that any law that permitted such affiliation be repealed and that a law be passed that Government employees should not be permitted to affiliate with an organization that has a strike for its means of adjusting grievances. I was immediately denounced by the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Buffalo. Next year I was denounced again, but I didn't change my position, being of the same opinion still. This year—and I believe it was in this beautiful city that the assemblage took place—the federation didn't content itself with denouncing me, holding me up as a 'tyrant,' an 'autocrat,' as a 'practitioner of Prussianism,' a 'slave driver,' and I forget the other words used, but also demanded my removal as Postmaster General! I am still of the same opinion and am also still on the job. [Applause.] Thus you see, gentlemen, how I have foregathered my mass of critics—they never tire—they never cease their efforts to undermine me in the public confidence. I have briefly given you the reasons why.

REAL CAUSE OF ABUSE.

"Talk about misrepresentation, about denunciation! Why, do you know they carried as advertisement matter in some of the magazines—that is, in the advertising section—issue after issue, depicting me as a man 'without vision,' a man 'without business qualifications,' a man who had 'thoroughly demoralized the Postal Service,' and so forth. Why? You know why. It wasn't the service that was at fault. Gentlemen, it was the policy that made them unhappy and discontented. I want to say now that we haven't gone far enough, and I don't speak from anger or resentment or because of what they have said about me. I would despise myself if I thought I could be controlled by any such consideration; but from the standpoint of the necessities of the service, from the standpoint of justice to the users of the various classes of mail, I say to you that a magazine that carries in one issue a million six hundred thousand dollars of advertisement, that cost the postal establishment for transporting that issue through the mails $160,000 in excess of the postage that the magazine pays, is not right. [Applause.] When you, as business men, every time you place a stamp upon a letter, not only pay the cost of its transportation but you make up in part for such loss, it is right? [Applause.]

PERSONAL INCIDENT RE SECOND-CLASS RATES.

"A friend has asked me to touch on one incident that happened after the passage of the measure which increased second-class postage rates. I don't like to talk about personal matters, but I feel that I am justified in doing so at this time. There are not many leaving the hall so I will talk a few minutes longer. After this law was passed a great clamor went up for its instant repeal, I was visited by committees of all sorts of publishers, and the owners of all sorts of publications, and finally, one day there was a committee of three came in and one of them said, 'Now, Mr. Postmaster General, if you will acquiesce in it—we don't ask you to reverse your position, but if you will just take your hand off and acquiesce in it—we can secure the repeal of this law or the suspension of it.' I replied, 'No, gentlemen; the increase of these rates is right, and I can not do it. I won't do it.' And then one of them said to me, 'We ruined Postmaster General Hitchcock, we destroyed President Taft for the advocacy of this very policy, and if you don't take your hand off now we will see what can be done with the next Congress.' Well, gentlemen, I won't tell you what I replied, there are ladies present. [Applause.]

"But they didn't miss my meaning. They at once saw that tack with the 'longhorn from Texas' didn't go. So within a very few days a dear old friend of mine, whom I had known for years and am very fond of, came, and he took another tack. He said, 'Mr. Postmaster General, we wish you would consent to the suspension of this act. If you do it, we will make you the most popular man in Woodrow Wilson's Cabinet; and my dear friend, if you don't do it, I fear they will destroy you.' I will tell you what I said to him. I said, 'I neither can be moved by threats nor persuaded by cajolery. This law is right, I stand for it, and I do not intend to yield. If you get the suspension or the repeal of this act, it will be over my most emphatic protest.' [Applause.]"

Rivers and Harbors Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY Z. OSBORNE,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 22, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 11892) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Speaker, as a rule I do not believe in the policy or principle of Congress transferring its authority to the administrative department of the Government to designate the places at which Government works shall be established or Government funds shall be expended. It is a good rule that the direct representatives of the people should retain that authority in times of peace, and extend it as sparingly as the necessities may require in times of war. As a matter of fact, Congress, actuated by the highest of patriotic motives, during the great World War placed almost unlimited power in the hands of the Executive department that normally rested in Congress. The condition of war legally is not over, and is not over in fact. Its effect is real and apparent in the situation which confronts the river and harbor work of the country. Due in large part to the high war prices for materials and the increased cost and scarcity of labor, much provided for in the last and previous annual river and harbor bills has not been performed, either in whole or in part. Thus we find ourselves with about $60,000,000 of funds unexpended. This, it is true, is not all available, as contracts are outstanding or incomplete of many millions against the large total. With the provision which is made in the bill for $7,000,000 additional for improvements and $5,000,000 for maintenance, I am of the opinion that we will have sufficient funds to carry the work through the next fiscal year without serious default.

Undoubtedly there are a number of new projects that ought in the interest of commerce to be started as soon as we are in a financial condition to take them up. The Pacific coast in particular, with which I am more immediately familiar, is pulsating with activity in the way of opening and increasing commerce with the Orient, Australia, New Zealand, and South America. New shipping companies have organized in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle to utilize the ships of the Nation's great, newly constructed mercantile marine for foreign commerce. Considerable increases in the harbors of the Pacific coast and other projects are really very much needed at present, and should be taken up with as little delay as possible.

The Pacific Coast States west of the Rocky Mountains now comprise the most promising assurance for the future of any part of the United States. Our public lands east of the Rocky Mountains have all been taken up and are occupied by farmers. West of the Rocky Mountains there still remain very large tracts that, when they have been provided with water, will offer homes to thousands. The State of California alone, which now has less than 3,000,000 people, is easily capable of sustaining a population of 10,000,000. With the development and distribution of water which is possible, and with its enormous resources of minerals, the territory west of the Rocky Mountains may quite possibly in the future sustain a population as great as that of the Atlantic Seaboard States.

Much has been said in the course of this debate as to the action of the so-called "steering committee" of the House. I have not been so much influenced in my judgment by that committee as I have by the tone of the press throughout the country, evidently voicing the general opinion of the people. As I read the great newspaper press, including what are called the country papers, I am convinced that there is a very general desire that taxes should be reduced from the extremely high figure at which they are now placed. In view of the representations of the able Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carter Glass, it appears that the estimates for the conduct of the Government for the next fiscal year amount to about $9,000,000,000 as against a tax estimate of $6,000,000,000, leaving a deficit of something like $3,000,000,000. It behooves us, therefore, to look well to our expenditures, and either bring them within our resources or as near them as possible. That would be the course of any prudent man in his individual expenditures.

Further, we can not reduce the taxes without denying ourselves as a Nation some of the things that we would like to do or that it might, indeed, be profitable to do. The first thing necessary is to take an account of stock and find just where we actually stand. The tone of the newspaper press of the country on the subject of special economy this year is fairly reflected in the following editorial in a recent issue of the San Francisco Chronicle:

It has been agreed by Republican leaders in Congress that the department estimate of expenses for the next fiscal year must be reduced by at least a billion dollars. That is good so far as it goes, but a $2,000,000,000 reduction would be better.

It should be understood that there can be no retrenchment without depriving ourselves of some things which we should like to have. Until there is a final settlement of our war affairs and all bills paid, and we get some idea of the solvency, or want of it, of the nations indebted to us, we should prepare to go without some things which we really desire. When we have found out just where we stand, we shall know what we can afford.

In some of the services created during the war, or greatly enlarged, there are already more employees than there is work for. Those and all other evidently unnecessary expenditures should be cut off as a matter of course. But there are things outside the strictly unnecessary class which must of necessity be postponed. The leader of the House names rivers and harbors and public buildings as in that class. It is easy to extend the list. There are activities of the Department of Agriculture which we could dispense with, and the construction of warships could be greatly reduced.

I have listened with great interest to the strictures that have been placed by several Members on the floor upon the supposed ruthless methods of the "steering committee." As I listened to the eloquent denunciations of the supposedly arbitrary acts of that committee, I might have been persuaded that some great

outrage had been committed had I not reflected that I had been present at the conference between the steering committee and members of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and recalled that there had been none of the ruthless violence described. In fact, I recall no threats and nothing more severe than persuasive arguments advanced by some of the gentlemen on the committee as to why it was necessary that Congress should show good faith in reducing the taxes of the country and that all appropriating committees would do well to bear the condition of the taxpayers in mind. One can hardly associate the well-modulated and gentle, but forceful, arguments of the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] with anything in the way of undue aggression. Even the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN], who has gained no great reputation for gentleness in debate, where each warrior fights according to his own methods, and where the gentleman from Illinois is much more inclined to use the battle-ax and the heavier arms than to apply the weapons of a lighter caliber—even he, far from using the harsh methods which the remarks of gentlemen would indicate, confined himself to persuasive appeals, resorting to nothing that might be construed as coercive or threatening. The members of the steering committee seemed to be acting simply as a body of gentlemen deeply concerned in the successful handling of difficult financial questions of great importance to the country, presenting their views to a committee having in charge an important piece of legislation.

I feel that the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, by curtailing new appropriations for a few months until the country can determine its financial situation without serious detriment to the great works of harbor improvement that are in its charge because of the large unexpended balances on hand, has performed a commendable service to the House and to the country. Their recommendations at future sessions for a resumption of adequate provision for the inestimably important work of river and harbor improvement for the benefit of foreign and domestic commerce will have greater weight with the country than they would have had should we have disregarded the obvious necessity of special economy at this particular time.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HORACE M. TOWNER,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 17, 1920.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address delivered by my colleague, Mr. SWEET, recently before the posts here and the soldiers of the Walter Reed Hospital regarding the war-risk insurance act.

Mr. SWEET spoke as follows:

"Mr. Chairman, gentlemen of the Senate and House, members of the American Legion, and soldier boys from Walter Reed Hospital, I have listened with unusual interest to the statements and the speeches that have been made this evening.

"We are now passing through a reconstruction period following a mighty war. Many unusual problems confront us as a nation and a people. Many questions are demanding immediate solution. There is universal unrest throughout the country. Production has failed to keep up with consumption. The cost of living is mounting higher and higher. The purchasing power of the dollar is less than one-half of what it was prior to the war. Labor and capital are contending for supremacy. The railway problem must be solved. They must be unscrambled, if possible. The lawless, the I. W. W., the anarchists, the Bolshevists, and the reds, the enemies of our form of government, must be taken care of by proper legislation. This element must be stamped out by force, if need be. America must not be the breeding ground for this type and character of men. They must understand that every true American has respect for the Constitution and the laws enacted thereunder and is in favor of law and order. Let them understand once for all that America is for Americans. And when I say Americans I mean native and naturalized Americans, who are in harmony with the fundamentals of our institutions and in accord with the spirit and genius of our civilization.

"While we are engrossed with these mighty problems we must not forget those who took part in the great war—those who left their homes and loved ones; those who left their business to the care and keeping of their friends; those who went across 3,000 miles of sea to vindicate the honor and integrity of our Government; those who defended the flag on foreign soil; those who gave their very lifeblood and endured the hell of battle that our cause might be triumphant.

"What is our full duty to them? The dead are beyond our power to add or detract. What about their families, their wives, and children, and those who were dependent upon them?

"What about the living? What about those who have been maimed, their bodies torn by shot and shell, or perhaps ravished by disease; those who are resting to-night upon beds of pain?

"What can we do for them? What should we do for them as a grateful people, remembering the sacrifices they made, the hardships they endured, and the dangers they encountered? What can we do to show our gratitude?

"Some one has said that 'Gratitude is the fairest flower that sheds its perfume in the heart.'

"I say to you to-night that a nation that will not defend its defenders and protect its protectors is a disgrace to the map of the world.

"Some have advocated giving them land on easy terms. Some have advocated loaning them money at a low rate of interest and for a long period of time. Some have proposed that they be given a bonus. Some have advocated that they be paid at the rate of $30 per month for every month they served and fractional part thereof.

"All these plans have their advocates and are good as far as they go, but none of them, it seems to me, meets the immediate needs of the disabled soldiers and those dependent upon them for sustenance, clothing, and support.

"On October 6, 1917, Congress enacted the war-risk insurance act. The bill is divided into four parts: Title I relates to the organization of the bureau; Title II relates to allotments and family allowances; Title III relates to compensation to be paid in case of death or disability; Title IV relates to insurance payable in case of death or total disability.

"The objects and purposes of the act were to take care of the families of the soldiers, sailors, and marines, their wives, children, and those who were dependent upon them while they were fighting the battles of the Republic. It was war legislation. This is the first time in the history of the Nation that legislation of this character has been enacted prior to the close of a war. Our pension legislation has always been enacted after the war.

"Now that the war is over, what can be done to make the war-risk insurance law meet the immediate demands and needs of the disabled soldiers, sailors, and marines and their dependents?

"The allotment and family allowance features will soon become inoperative, for they relate solely to war conditions.

"The compensation features should be amended to meet the existing conditions: First, as to the condition of disabled soldiers, as measured by their earning capacity in civil occupations; second, to meet the ever-increasing cost of living.

"The insurance features should be liberalized and made more attractive.

"The organization and management of the bureau should be made more efficient.

"On September 13 the House passed a bill amending and modifying the war-risk insurance act, keeping in mind at all times the immediate and imperative demands of the disabled soldiers, sailors, and marines and their dependents.

"In this bill compensation for disabled soldiers was almost trebled. Under the present law a soldier without dependents receives for total temporary disability not to exceed $30 per month.

"Under the bill passed by the House, he will receive $80 per month. If he has a wife and children he will receive more than that.

"The compensation features of the bill are made retroactive, and if it is passed by the Senate in its present form the Government will immediately pay to disabled soldiers, sailors, and marines over $14,000,000 in accordance with this phase of the bill.

"It has been reported to me that in many instances disabled soldiers are borrowing money from the Red Cross and their relatives and friends in order that they may have sufficient funds to tide them over until the bill becomes a law. They simply can not exist on the compensation they are now receiving. It is not a theory that confronts them, but cold hard facts. In justice, this legislation should be immediately passed by the Senate.

"The bill passed the House by a unanimous vote. The compensation features of the bill have met with almost universal approval by disabled soldiers throughout the country. Thou-

sands of letters have been written to Congressmen and Senators voicing their approval. The bill has met with the enthusiastic support of the whole press of the country.

"Not only that, the American Legion in convention assembled at Minneapolis, on November 10, 11, and 12, gave it their unanimous indorsement. The legion also suggested that a number of important amendments be added to the bill, and especially one making yearly renewable term insurance payable in a lump sum or 36 equal installments, at the option of the insured.

"Senator SMOOT in his remarks to-night has stated that he will do all in his owner to have the bill passed by the Senate as soon as possible, and I am sure that the Senator means just what he says.

"The United States Senate during the last four months has been considering unusual questions. Those of prime importance have been the peace treaty, the League of Nations, and the railroad bill.

"If this bill were now a law, we would not be listening to statements and complaints from the boys at Walter Reed Hospital to-night. They would be receiving the compensation to which they are justly entitled.

"There is nothing nobler, nothing grander in this world, than to alleviate suffering. In my judgment, there would be nothing nobler, nothing grander, for the United States Senate to do than to make the soldiers of the Republic a Christmas present by passing this bill immediately.

"And when I speak of Christmas it reminds me of a story. In a certain city in one of the Southern States people were lined up one morning in front of an express office. It was just before Christmas, and they were receiving the packages that thoughtful friends had sent them. The white people were waited on first, and in due time the colored people received their packages. Among the colored people was an old, gray-haired darkey, and when he received his package he placed it carefully and caressingly under his coat and walked away, his countenance wreathed in smiles. After he had walked along about half a block in some unexplainable way he dropped the package, and the bottle was broken and the contents ran out upon the walk. The old darkey stood still for a moment as if in bewilderment. Then fully realizing what had happened, he exclaimed with great earnestness, 'Oh, Lord, Christmas am came and went.'

"I trust, gentlemen, that the inaction of the American Senate with reference to this legislation will not place the disabled soldiers of the Republic in the position of the old darkey, so that they can truthfully say, 'Oh, Lord, Christmas am came and went.'

"Gentlemen, during this period of reconstruction let us keep pace with the march of events and the demands of the hour.

"Let us honor ourselves by honoring those who honored the Nation and mankind everywhere in the greatest struggle of all the ages.

"Gentlemen, I thank you."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARTHUR B. ROUSE,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 13, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 11578) making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.

Mr. ROUSE. Mr. Speaker, the Postal Service is the largest public service in the world. Its revenues during the fiscal year 1920 will amount to approximately $400,000,000. The growth of the service is phenomenal. The increase in the gross receipts at the 50 largest post offices, which represent approximately 50 per cent of the total postal receipts, surpasses that of any period in the history of the service. During the months of October, November, and December, 1919, the receipts of the 50 largest post offices show an increase over the corresponding period of 1918 of over 10½ per cent, and to this should be added 17.07 per cent, because during 1918 the increased postal rates were in effect on first-class matter and the increase amounted to 17.07 per cent of the total revenue. I will insert in these remarks a report from the 50 largest post offices, also reports from Chicago and New York for the months of October, November, and December, 1919, as compared with the same months of 1918. Chicago's increased receipts were 17.86 per cent and those of New York were 12.42 per cent.

Increase in receipts at the 50 largest post offices.

Quarter ended June 30, 1919	$55,106,477
Quarter ended June 30, 1918	49,632,491
Increase	$5,473,986
Per cent	11.02

	1919	1918	Increase.	Per cent.
October	$20,332,196	$18,600,177	$1,732,019	9.31
November	18,086,980	16,787,155	1,299,825	7.74
December	23,134,761	20,457,352	2,677,409	13.09
	61,553,937	55,844,684	5,709,253	10.22

CHICAGO, ILL.

Quarter ended June 30, 1919	$9,410,441
Quarter ended June 30, 1918	$7,812,735
Increase	$1,597,706
Per cent	20.45

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Quarter ended June 30, 1919	$11,937,053
Quarter ended June 30, 1918	$10,323,813
Increase	$1,613,240
Per cent	15.62

CHICAGO, ILL.

October, 1919	$3,483,081
October, 1918	$3,053,780
Increase	$429,301
Per cent	14.06
November, 1919	$3,436,063
November, 1918	$2,905,575
Increase	$530,488
Per cent	18.26
December, 1919	$4,167,654
December, 1918	$3,353,872
Increase	$813,782
Per cent	21.28

NEW YORK, N. Y.

October, 1919	$4,351,867
October, 1918	$3,597,308
Increase	$754,559
Per cent	20.97
November, 1919	$3,433,032
November, 1918	$3,323,642
Increase	$109,390
Per cent	3.29
December, 1919	$4,549,905
December, 1918	$4,025,547
Increase	$524,358
Per cent	13.02

More than 300,000 persons are employed in the handling of the mails. Because of its organization, which is national in scope, the Postal Service was called upon during the war to perform many additional functions for other branches of the Government, some of which were:

The establishment and maintenance of mail service for the military forces in the United States and abroad.

Control and operation of the telephones and telegraphs.

The handling of tens of thousands of tons of mail for the various war agencies.

Administration of the espionage and trading-with-the-enemy acts, the purpose of which was to prevent the use of the mails in disseminating matter calculated to incite disloyalty and sedition against the United States Government during the war.

The registration of enemy aliens and the listing of enemy-owned property by postmasters.

The reporting of disloyal utterances.

The use of post-office inspectors in furnishing information to the intelligence services of the Army and Navy and to the Departments of State and Justice.

The distribution of millions of questionnaires of the first and second selective drafts. The successful conduct of the war rendered it necessary that these questionnaires be quickly dispatched. These questionnaires had to be handled five times. This imposed upon the postal establishment a tremendous volume of mail and a grave responsibility for the quick and efficient distribution thereof. It was accomplished to the entire satisfaction of the War Department.

The use of post offices as recruiting agencies for the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, and as employment agencies for the Department of Justice.

The issuing of export licenses and furnishing income-tax information at post offices.

The use of post-office lobbies for posting public bulletins as to various war measures and activities.

The use of the postal organization in connection with the nation-wide fuel and food conservation campaign; also in connection with the sale of Liberty and Victory bonds, war saving, thrift, and revenue stamps, and practically every other activity and patriotic endeavor intended to aid in successfully prosecuting the war.

Postmasters and postal employees generally have responded cheerfully to these numerous demands upon and extraneous duties required of them, evidencing at all times a noteworthy spirit of loyalty and patriotism. The Postal Service as a whole is credited with 83 per cent of the total amount of sales of war saving stamps.

Notwithstanding these many additional burdens of the war, efficient postal service was maintained in the United States, while in the other countries involved in the war their service practically broke down. The service rendered in this country has attracted attention throughout the world, and I am informed that representatives of four different Governments have recently visited the United States for the sole purpose of making a study of our Postal Service and to familiarize themselves with the method of handling the mails and the service rendered in this country. They were loud in their praise of our Postal Service.

During the Christmas period just past the number of parcels exceeded all expectations, but, notwithstanding this fact, they were handled promptly and in a manner which reflects great credit on the personnel of the Postal Service. The telegraphic reports received by the department, and which have been examined by me, show that the immense volume of mail was moved with celerity and dispatch at all times, and with little or no congestion, as was shown by the reports received from some of the offices which I will insert herewith.

CHICAGO, ILL., *December 20.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington.

Situation here in splendid shape. Holiday mails heavier than last season. All distributed, dispatched, and delivered on schedule time. Weather conditions fair. Approximate increase, 30 per cent.

CARLILE, *Postmaster.*

—

CHICAGO, ILL., *December 21.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington.

Entire force on duty to-day (Sunday). Distribution, dispatch, and delivery of parcel post performed without delay. Weather favorable.

CARLILE, *Postmaster.*

—

CHICAGO, ILL., *December 22.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington.

Condition to-day excellent. All mails have been distributed, dispatched, and delivered on schedule time.

CARLILE, *Postmaster.*

—

CHICAGO, ILL., *December 23.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, D. C.:

Christmas mails heavy to-day; volume unprecedented; weather favorable; no congestion; no delay; distributed, dispatched, and delivered on time; all things considered, mails worked and dispatched more expeditiously than heretofore.

CARLILE, *Postmaster.*

—

CHICAGO, ILL., *December 24.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, D. C.:

Christmas mails continue heavy to-day; parcel post originating here distributed, dispatched, and delivered promptly; average seasonal increase approximates 21 per cent; peak reaches for local delivery four and one-third million pieces first-class mail main office only in 24 hours; on hand 5 p. m. to-night 1,000,000 first class; dispatched to stations 11,000 sacks parcel post, 1,500 sacks special-delivery parcels; received 18,000 ordinary and special-delivery sacks all told; parcels will be worked up to-night; motor service contributed immeasurably to facilitate movement of mails and eliminate congestion.

CARLILE, *Postmaster.*

—

ST. LOUIS, MO., *December 20, 1919.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington.

Comparative statement mail handled 19th instant, ending midnight, as against same date last year shows outgoing first class 122,210 pieces, or 23 per cent increase; parcel post 100,416 pounds, or 43 per cent increase; incoming first class 120,277 pieces, or 19 per cent increase; parcel post 11,559 pounds, or 7 per cent decrease, said decrease being doubtless attributable to delayed train service, which is causing some inconvenience, but we are meeting all delivery schedules and showing complete clean up.

SELPH, *Postmaster.*

ST. LOUIS, MO., *December 22, 1919.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, D. C.:

Comparative statement mail handled 20th instant ending midnight as against same date last year shows outgoing first class 82,431 pieces, or 13 per cent increase; parcel post 103,350 pounds, or 38 per cent increase; incoming first class 52,289 pieces, or 7 per cent increase; parcel post 46,462 pounds, or 25 per cent increase. December 21, outgoing first class 398,098 pieces, or 58 per cent decrease; parcel post 165,397 pounds, or 46 per cent decrease; incoming first class 63,470 pieces, or 9 per cent increase; parcel post 43,977 pounds, or 23 per cent increase; decreases referred to attributable to Sunday delayed train service, still causing some inconvenience; but we are maintaining all schedules and showing complete clean-up daily.

SELPH, *Postmaster.*

—

ST. LOUIS, MO., *December 23, 1919.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington:

Comparative statement mail handled 22d instant, ending midnight, as against same date last year, shows outgoing first class increased 890,636 pieces, or 300 per cent; parcel post increased 257,604 pounds, or 190 per cent; incoming first class increased 398,109 pieces, or 75 per cent; parcel post increased 120,951 pounds, or 62 per cent. Large percentages of increase in a measure due to comparison with Sunday last year, but total of 393,049 pounds parcel post indicates largest mail of this class handled in history of St. Louis post office. Train service considerably improved. We are maintaining all schedules and showing complete clean-up daily.

SELPH, *Postmaster.*

—

ST. LOUIS, MO., *December 24, 1919.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, D. C.:

Comparative statement mail handled 23d instant, ending midnight, as against same date last year, shows outgoing first class increased 498,159 pounds, or 39 per cent; parcel post increased 49,357 pounds, or 15 per cent; incoming first class increased 913,016 pounds, or 84 per cent; parcel post increased 278,503 pounds, or 152 per cent; 461,488 pounds incoming parcel post greatly exceeds largest incoming mail of this class ever received during one day in history of St. Louis post office. Are still experiencing much inconvenience as result of delayed train service from all directions, which has depleted our allowances more than could have anticipated. Separate telegram being addressed to you upon this latter subject.

SELPH.

—

ST. LOUIS, MO., *December 25, 1919.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL:

Comparative statement mail handled 24th instant, ending midnight, as against same date last year shows outgoing first-class increase 252,085 pieces, or 31 per cent; parcel post increase, 107,099 pounds, or 37 per cent; incoming first-class increase, 1,151,786 pieces, or 103 per cent; parcel post increase, 300,176 pounds, or 169 per cent. A general clean-up has been had and complete deliveries now being made in all residential districts of all mail received up to 6 o'clock a. m.

SELPH, *Postmaster.*

—

ST. LOUIS, MO., *December 25, 1919.*

Personal.

Hon. JOHN C. KOONS,
First Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.:

It gives me great pleasure to report that the largest holiday mail in the greatest year in the history of this office has been properly and promptly dispatched and delivered. The entire office joins me in appreciation and holiday greetings to you and the officers of your department.

SELPH, *Postmaster.*

—

ST. LOUIS, MO., *December 26, 1919.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL:

Comparative statement mail handled 25th instant ending midnight as against same date last year shows outgoing first-class increase 11,858 pieces or 11 per cent, parcel post increase 6,443 pounds or 62 per cent, incoming first-class increase 405,862 pieces or 74 per cent, parcel post increase 212,455 pounds, or 302 per cent. Considerably handicapped by delayed train service but made complete delivery of all mail received in St. Louis post office up to 6 a. m., and maintained completed schedules on dispatches throughout entire day.

SELPH, *Postmaster.*

—

ST. LOUIS, MO., *December 27, 1919.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL:

Comparative statement mails handled 26th instant ending midnight as against same date last year shows outgoing first-class increase 33,460 pieces or 6 per cent, parcel post increase 35,259 pounds, or 29 per cent, incoming first-class increase 147,854 pieces or 25 per cent, parcel post increase 81,566 pounds or 40 per cent. Condition to-day practically normal.

SELPH, *Postmaster.*

—

NEW YORK, N. Y., *December 20, 1919.*

Hon. J. C. KOONS,
First Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.:

Postage sales first 17 days in December show increase of $181,404 over same period 1918. Mails of all classes are being distributed, dispatched, and delivered promptly, there being no congestion at any point of this office. It is early yet to give fairly accurate statement as to whether Christmas mails are heavier this year than last year.

PATTEN, *Postmaster.*

—

NEW YORK, N. Y., *December 21, 1919.*

Hon. J. C. KOONS,
First Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.:

To-day, Sunday, mail of all classes distributed and dispatched. City mail all up and ready for delivery. Practically clean house.

PATTEN, *Postmaster.*

NEW YORK, N. Y., *December 22, 1919.*

Hon. J. C. KOONS,
First Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.:

Postage sales first 18 days in December, 1919, shows an increase of $189,368 over same period 1918. City mails are heavier this year. Outgoing eastern and western mails heavier; outgoing south mails about the same as last year. Outgoing foreign mails greatly increased. Incoming registered (foreign) increased. Mails of all classes, both city and distribution, are being promptly distributed and dispatched. No delay whatever. All mails up at 8 a. m. Clean house.

PATTEN, *Postmaster.*

—

NEW YORK, N. Y., *December 23, 1919.*

Hon. J. C. KOONS,
First Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.:

Postage sales first 19 days in December this year shows an increase of $226,728 over same period last year. City mails heavier; insured and registered mails heavier; outgoing eastern and western mails heavier; outgoing south about same as past year. Outgoing foreign mails of all classes and incoming foreign registered mails greatly increased. Mails of all classes, both city and distribution, are being promptly distributed and dispatched. No congestion at any point of this office.

PATTEN, *Postmaster.*

—

NEW YORK, N. Y., *December 24, 1919.*

Hon. J. C. KOONS,
First Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.:

Postage sales first 20 days in December shows an increase of $215,140 over same period last year. City mails heavier; insured and registered mails heavier; outgoing eastern and western mails heavier; south mails about same as last year. Outgoing foreign mails and incoming foreign registered mails increased greatly. Incoming and outgoing mails very heavy to-day and yesterday. Mails of all classes being distributed and dispatched without undue delay. No congestion whatsoever.

PATTEN, *Postmaster.*

—

NEW YORK, N. Y., *December 25, 1919.*

Hon. J. C. KOONS,
First Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.:

The final letter and postal-card mail on hand was delivered on last carriers' delivery to-day. The letters and cards which failed of delivery was due to late running of trains and will be delivered on first delivery trip to-morrow morning. All parcel post for city delivery now in this office and stations will be delivered to-day. No congestion. Everything in excellent shape. Mails from steamship *Orduna*, 5,656 sacks of mail from England, now in course of delivery to this office by the Cunard Steamship Co. steamship *Mauretania*. Same line with 3,464 sacks of mail now at pier will probably be delivered to this office after mail has been received from the *Orduna*.

PATTEN, *Postmaster.*

—

NEW YORK, N. Y., *December 26, 1919.*

Hon. J. C. KOONS,
First Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.:

Gross postal receipts $3,110,875 December 1 to 24, 1919, inclusive, compared with $2,884,146 for same period 1918. Increase, $226,729. There was an increase in all classes of mail over last Christmas period, with the exception of second-class matter, which decreased about 1 per cent. All classes of mail were handled without delay, there being no congestion at any time during the Christmas rush. All parcel-post mails which were received in time for delivery in New York City were delivered on Christmas Day. Mails now normal.

PATTEN, *Postmaster.*

—

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *December 20, 1919.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, D. C.:

Stamp sales indicate about 20 per cent increase; all mail being distributed, dispatched, and delivered promptly; no congestion.

CLORE, *Postmaster.*

—

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *December 21, 1919.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, D. C.:

Mails fully 20 per cent heavier than last year; no congestion; all mails being distributed and dispatched.

CLORE, *Postmaster.*

—

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *December 22, 1919.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, D. C.:

Volume of letter mail and parcel post approximately 5 per cent greater than last year, all being promptly disposed of; no congestion or delay.

CLORE, *Postmaster.*

—

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *December 23, 1919.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, D. C.:

Although letter and parcel-post mail much heavier than last year, we are distributing, dispatching, and delivering without congestion or delay.

CLORE, *Postmaster.*

—

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *December 24, 1919.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington:

Volume of mail much heavier than last year, all being distributed, dispatched, and delivered promptly. No congestion at post office or depot.

CLORE, *Postmaster.*

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *December 25, 1919.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, D. C.:

All outgoing mail distributed and dispatched; all city letters, cards, and parcel post mail in this office at 6 a. m. will be delivered at 4 p. m.

CLORE, *Postmaster.*

—

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *December 26, 1919.*

FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, D. C.:

Increase about 16 per cent; all mail handled in good shape, excepting some delay in specials, very heavy.

CLORE, *Postmaster.*

There is no service in the world whose employees are more loyal, faithful, and patriotic than those of the Postal Service. I am proud to be able to say that I have a personal acquaintance with over 95 per cent of the postal employees of my district, and I believe that their equal could not be found anywhere. Many of these employees continued in the service throughout the war at a personal sacrifice when they could have, no doubt, obtained positions on the outside at increased compensation. Not only did they render efficient postal service but they subscribed liberally for Liberty bonds, war-saving stamps, and other war activities.

A reading of the annual report of the Postmaster General shows the great progress that the service has made during the past six years. Its achievements are such that we all may feel proud. The credit for the accomplishments is due to a very large extent to the faithfulness and efficiency of the men who administer the service.

Congress recognizes the fact that the cost of living has increased materially, and has increased the compensation of these employees from time to time, and the bill now under consideration by the House would continue these increases during the next fiscal year unless changed by law. The committee has shown by its action that it appreciates the valuable service being rendered the public, and I trust that the House will show its appreciation by the approval of the recommendation of the committee. The salaries of the postal employees should be readjusted on a fair and equitable basis, and the commission authorized by Congress for this purpose and of which I have the honor to be a member is prosecuting its labors, and I hope that when it is finished and its conclusions reached that the classification of salaries will be such as to give justice and credit to the postal employees, who are rendering an invaluable service to the public, their Government, and their country.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 21, 1920.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to submit the following:

While I wish that the House would have voted a certain sum for the improvement and straightening of the Cuyahoga River I am submitting the following facts concerning the Cuyahoga River at Cleveland, Ohio, with the hope that the engineers may allot a certain part of this lump-sum appropriation for the improvement of the Cuyahoga River:

Freight movement during calendar year 1918, classified as to commodity and point of receipt and shipment.

[From records of U. S. Engineer's office, 420 Federal Building.]

	River above Collision Bend.	River below Collision Bend.	Old River.	Outer harbor.	Total.	Miles carried by water.
RECEIPTS.						
	Short tons.	*Short tons.*	*Short tons.*	*Short tons.*	*Short tons.*	
Iron ore	3,547,852	91,355	3,148,320	4,139,249	10,926,776	779
Lumber	27,243	25,550	.....	.....	52,793	530
Lath	227	835	.....	.....	1,062	220
Limestone	516,759	129,868	.....	.....	646,627	.....
Sand and gravel	.....	101,967	.....	174,913	276,880	65
Fish	.....	1,412	.....	.....	1,412	25
Cement	.....	26,000	.....	.....	26,000	305
Wheat	19,791	3,000	.....	.....	22,791	712
Flaxseed	3,555	.....	.....	.....	3,555	834
Miscellaneous	.....	.....	.....	84,655	84,655	107
Total	4,115,427	379,987	3,148,320	4,398,817	12,042,551	3,577

Freight movement during calendar year 1918, etc.—Continued.

	River above Collision Bend.	River below Collision Bend.	Old River.	Outer harbor.	Total.	Miles carried by water.
SHIPMENTS.						
Coal, soft:	*Short tons.*	*Short tons.*	*Short tons.*	*Short tons.*	*Short tons.*	
Cargo		670,334		2,550,204	3,220,538	720
Bunker			200,000	141,941	341,941	
Oil	71,250				71,250	710
Manufacturing iron		26,375			26,375	710
Miscellaneous			1,712	191,083	192,795	294
Total	71,250	696,709	201,712	2,883,228	3,852,899	2,534
Grand total	4,186,677	1,076,696	3,350,032	7,282,045	15,895,450	6,111
Per cent	26	7	21	46	100	

	Value.	Per cent.
River above Collision Bend	$21,965,776	13
River below Collision Bend	7,443,693	4.5
Old River	17,260,336	10.3
Outer harbor	120,301,453	72

CLEVELAND, *December 23, 1919.*

Hon. H. I. EMERSON,
223 Society for Savings Building, Cleveland, Ohio.

DEAR MR. EMERSON: Confirming our conversation of yesterday, we are attaching herewith an article on the Cuyahoga Valley, the local section within Cleveland, in relation to river straightening, street car service, and the Union Freight Terminal for this district.

The Union Freight Terminal is assured and in the ordinance passed by the council some time ago, and will be taken care of and constructed without cost to the city by the Van Sweringen people, should their project be approved.

Street car service: Ordinance for this service on the flats has been passed by the council and has been signed by the mayor. We are assured that work will be begun in the spring, and that some time during the coming year we will have this service on the flats.

River straightening: We are sure that you appreciate the large amount of local preliminary work that has been done on this project, and the various meetings that have carried route No. 2 successfully through the city plan commission, the city council, the county commissioners, and other organizations of this city.

To give you the further information desired when talking with you yesterday we are attaching herewith the names of prominent manufacturers, and the number of their employees, on the West Third Street section and the Scranton Road section of the Cuyahoga Valley, or Flats. These prominent manufacturers total 17,592 employees, and it is estimated there are 10,000 employees more than this in various sections of the flats to the mouth of the river.

You can appreciate it is hard for our committee to see everyone, but in the cases of those on this list, they were all personally solicited and supported the projects covered in the above portion of our letter. In fact, at one meeting with the mayor we had over 60 representative manufacturers, who appeared before him for these improvements in the valley.

We are also attaching a letter from the chamber of commerce, dated December 22, giving the tonnage up the river, and also on a separate sheet the railroad freight tonnage in and out of the valley. You will notice from the chamber letter, signed by Mr. Thomas W. Fletcher, assistant industrial commissioner, that the figures given on the tonnage for the river show only the movement up the river, and during the next few days we hope to place in your hands the movement down the river.

We are sure that the figures in all these cases will be very striking and show a volume much greater than any individual would appreciate, and can only ask you to consider what it will mean to Cleveland in having our river straightened to encourage a greater tonnage, as manufacturing establishments will be developed all along the river after the improvement is once determined.

We again wish to say, Mr. EMERSON, that we are all appreciative of the good and honest effort you are making, and sincerely hope that you will get some good, substantial appropriation during this session.

Very truly, yours,

THE PECK, STOW & WILCOX CO.
T. J. RAY, *Manager.*

CLEVELAND, *December 23, 1919.*

Hon. H. I. EMERSON,
223 Society for Savings Building, Cleveland, Ohio.

DEAR MR. EMERSON: In reading over the writer's sketch of the valley which is inclosed with our other letter of to-day, we believe the figures at to-day's increased employment and higher values would mean that there are approximately 27,000 people employed on the flats, with an annual pay roll at somewhere from $35,000,000 to $50,000,000.

We also believe that the industrial investment in this section would easily run in the neighborhood of $60,000,000 at the present time.

Of course, you appreciate that these figures are estimated, as it would take a good deal of time to get them accurate. In fact, we might say it would take a year or more; but our estimate is so close as to be usable for anything you wish.

With kind regards, we are,

Very truly, yours,

THE PECK, STOW & WILCOX CO.
T. J. RAY, *Manager.*

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *March 6, 1919.*

Several months ago there was organized in the Cuyahoga Valley, or better known as the "Flats," the Cuyahoga Valley Business Association, comprising manufacturers and others doing business in this section of the city. This was brought about from the fact that for some time many of us have been giving consideration to the necessities of this section to properly continue the employment of labor and carry on business in competition with plants making similar products, or goods more favorably located in other cities free from hazards of floods and with proper transportation to the factories for their employees.

To properly continue and progress in competition with such plants in other cities and to employ a greater amount of labor in the years to come, three things are necessary for the Cuyahoga Valley: River straightening, street car service, and a union freight terminal station. In years gone by petitions have been signed for street car service but never concluded toward securing the service.

River straightening has also been talked of in the statehouse, in our city hall, and courthouse, but never developed to a conclusion. Meetings and conferences on river straightening finally wear themselves out without the proper result. Some of the freight stations on the flats have been removed; others are in a deplorable condition, subject to the elements and do not give proper protection to the goods delivered to them for transportation to cities where consigned.

Some of the reasons why the above three projects should be vigorously followed through to a proper conclusion, actual work started, and service given at the earliest possible date are as follows:

River straightening: This is a most essential civic necessity, because in the proper development of both the east and the west sides, and the proper linking up of these two sections of our city, the foundation for bridge building should be established, and at the present time the building of the Huron-Lorain bridge is affected by the necessity of definitely deciding and taking action on the route which is to be, both for the carrying on of this improvement and other bridges that may be developed, linking up the east and west sides in years to come. Such an improvement has been suggested and approved by city planning commission, city engineers, county engineers, and others in the form of route No. 2, which matter is now in the court of common pleas for the appointing of a conservancy commission to carry the project through, from the view of the fact that neither the city nor the county has the funds for this improvement.

Straightening the river by route No. 2 eliminates Collision Bend, the cause of floods in the upper valley, and will reduce the cost of building the Huron-Lorain Bridge about one-half million dollars. This is a saving to the taxpayers of the county which would go toward the fund of the conservancy commission in taking care of this project.

Newspapers of our city at the time the bond issue for the Huron-Lorain Bridge was voted on informed the public that river straightening would be part of the expenditure of the $5,000,000 approved by the voters at that time. The straightening the river will benefit the west side considerably, for the reason that property on that side of the river is much less than the value of the property on the east side, even miles farther out than any extreme of the west-side section, and our city development strongly going east means that we are building in a lopside manner, while fine west-side property is available both for manufacturing and residences.

To start greater interest toward the west side, it is necessary to straighten out the Cuyahoga Valley, improve the vacant land there, bringing more industries and more employees to this fine manufacturing section, who will ultimately, of their own volition, make their homes on the west side and in Lakewood, on account of the closer proximity to this proposed development. This improvement of river straightening will eliminate floods in the Cuyahoga Valley, will make it a desirable place for new manufacturers and industries in which to locate, and will assist the present manufacturers and industries to the employment of more skilled mechanics and to properly develop their manufacturing plants. The elimination of floods and the development of more manufacturing interests in this fine section of Cleveland, with some improvement, is worth while alone, to say nothing of the safeguarding it will be in preserving the piers in bridge construction, which are undermined and weakened when floods occur. River straightening will be essential in the development of iron and steel industry in the valley, as it eliminates bridges and shortens the route to these particular places, all of which benefits the entire city of Cleveland in the long run.

Street car service: Street car service is very essential for the maintenance of industries in the Cuyahoga Valley for the health and efficiency of the workmen, as it is now necessary for people who work in the Cuyahoga Valley to walk long distances from the nearest street car line, or upper level, to their place of employment, exhausted to a state of inefficiency on arriving and tired out on reaching home in the evening after their day's work and long walk. Business in the flats needs assimilation of certain mechanics in order to carry on business satisfactorily, who will not come down to the flats under present conditions, and who could be better employed in this section if we had better street car service.

In a recent personal canvass are pleased to report that at the present time there are employed in the Cuyahoga Valley between 22,000 and 25,000 people, with annual pay rolls in the neighborhood of $25,000,000 to $30,000,000 annually, the preservation of which to the benefit of our city as a whole, should demand street car service on these facts alone. Several weeks ago a meeting of some 75 people doing business on the flats—representing both the manufacturers and the people employed in that section—met in the mayor's office for the furtherance of this improvement, which matter is now in the hands of Tractioner Sanders, with considerable data gathered for his benefit on this subject, and he is also recording by other methods the wants of same. It is the wish of the people in the Cuyahoga Valley—employers and employees—that this improvement be put in operation at the earliest possible date, and have suggested various routes over which this could be worked out without any cost or new equipment or additional employees on the part of the street railway people, but simply the initial cost of tracks and electric wiring.

Street car service will—in the valley—add considerable to the earnings of the street railway company, if worked out as proposed, as some of the lines which have been suggested to extend in the valley are now traveling over sections of the city to bring them to the square, which do not contribute anything for that service, as there are no passengers in certain sections of the upper levels to use the cars, while in the valley there would be good passenger service all day long, especially heavy for several hours in the mornings and evenings and two hours at noon; but in addition to this, as stated above, there are people coming in and out of the flats all day long, such as salesmen, shop inspectors, people seeking employment, etc. The employees and the employers really feel this service is essential to both and should be pushed to completion and the giving of the service in the shortest possible

time, as by the new Van Sweringen plans, eight or nine streets now leading into the flats will be eliminated and a "Y" road from Central Avenue leading north and south will be the only two arteries from the east side into this section. This means longer walks for the employees than has existed in the past and should be recompensed by the proper street car service to properly continue the business and employment to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Union Freight Terminal: The new road will not be able to take care of the traffic and wagon service up and down the hill from the flats, as the tonnage will be far too great and the hauling up and down will be considerably expensive, adding to the burdens already mentioned above. It has been recommended that in addition to the freight service on the upper level the valley should have a service sufficient to take care of its large tonnage of less-than-carload business and not congest the new "Y" road, which will just about take care of ordinary traffic which will naturally have to come in and out of the flats from other sections of the city.

This matter has also had proper consideration and placed before the proper authorities, who have given a fair hearing and expect to work with the people in the valley along these lines. It is the belief of the people in the valley that if the public understood the situation and the benefits, as a whole, to be derived, they would be in favor of these improvements for the further development of our city and properly balancing the growth of our city to avoid congestion, which will naturally come if the development is in one direction only.

Our city-planning commissions should give this matter of growth and development of our city in a more uniform way most careful attention, and direct their energies along the proper lines. There has never at any time been anything selfish in the efforts of people in the valley, but are looking at these improvements in a big, broad way as a benefit to all.

This great manufacturing and equipment section should not be left unconsidered at any time in the future, and organized as we are to-day expect to carry through the propositions now before us to complete success.

All of the matters mentioned above have been canvassed and argued in various meetings of the Cuyahoga Valley Business Association with representatives of our city and county in all the various departments where these matters come up, and in the appointing of a conservancy commission we shall be vigilant, with the judges of common pleas court, to carry through the proposition of river straightening and bridge building with the least possible delay for the benefit of all concerned.

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	Employees.
Saginaw Bay Co., 2106 West Third Street	200
Sherwin-Williams Co., linseed oil plant, Cuyahoga Avenue	100
Union Engineering Co., Cuyahoga and West Fourth Street	125
H. V. Hartz & Co., Cuyahoga and Mahoning Avenues	50
Nicola Stone & Meyers Co., Sweatland Building	45
Martin Barriss Co., 2048 West Third Street	100
Fisher & Wilson Lumber Co., 819 Rockefeller Building	40
Taylor & Boggis Foundry Co., 1913 West Third Street	150
Standard Oil Co., Broadway	600
Able Bros., West Third Street, 445 Arcade	10
Peck, Stow & Wilcox Co., 2172 to 2232 West Third Street	350
Erie Railroad, Literary Road:	
Train conductors	55
Brakemen	90
Engineers and firemen	20
Car workers	15
Clerks	15
Baltimore & Ohio shops and roundhouse:	
West Third Street	500
1323 West One hundred and second street	200
McKinney Steel Co., Perry Payne Building; works West Third Street	3,300
Phoenix Oil Co., 2554 West Fifth Street:	
Grasselli Chemical Co., fourteenth floor Guardian Building	700
American Steel & Wire Co., central works	700
Wheeling & Lake Erie Railroad:	
Repair yards	35
Roundhouse	150
Yard office	50
Sinclair Oil Co	10
Interlake Engineering Co., Cuyahoga River and Jefferson Bridge	350
Great Lakes Towing Co., 503 Rockefeller Building, Jefferson Street and bridge	150
Ohio Shipbuilding Co., Mahoning Avenue and Cuyahoga River	400
Byerley & Sons, 2484 West Fourth Street	25
Consolidated Fruit Auction Co., Stones Levee	195
Cleveland Grain Co., elevator A, Stones Levee	80
Cleveland Grain Inspection Bureau, Stones Levee	5
American Box Co., 1932 West Third Street	125
Cleveland Provision Co., 2527 Canal Road	1,250
Big Four Railroad freight station, Central Flats	25
James Dunn Box Co., 1952 West Third Street	40
Charles J. Pfeil Co., 1976 West Third Street	15
Whitmar Jackson Sash & Door Co., 1996 West Third Street	25
Lake Shore Trucking Co	15
Chemical Supply Co., 2450 Canal Road	12
Cleveland Garbage Collection, Canal Road	200
Briton T. & S. P. Day Co., 2394 Canal Road	15
Mercantile Warehouse Co., 2382 Canal Road	15
The Koblitz Kohn Co., 2380 Canal Road	40
Union Paper & Twine Co., Canal Road	40
Security Fireproof Storage Co., 2338 Canal Road	35
The Illuminating Co., Illuminating Building	150
Cuyahoga Valley Realty Co., Cuyahoga Building	30
Baltimore & Ohio freight depot, West Third Street	5
Total	12,322

Scranton Road district:	
Ackerman Wheel Co., 2146 Scranton Road	40
Aetna Steel Castings Co., 2284 Scranton Road	150
The Barrett Manufacturing Co., Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis, near Willey	200
Cleveland Belting & Machinery Co., 1922 Scranton Road	30
Cleveland Storage Co., Commercial Bank Building	35
Commercial Flour & Milling Co., 2177 Scranton Road	40
Dracket, P. W., & Sons, 1846 Scranton Road	20
L. N. N. Foundry Co., 2088 Scranton Road	120
Goldman & Son, 1826 Scranton Road	60
Scranton Road district—Continued.	
R. G. Miller Coal Co., 2027 Scranton Road	40
National Machinery & Wrecking Co., 1914 Scranton Road	60
Reserve Lumber Co., 1782 Scranton Road	130
Louis Rich Iron & Metal Co., 1955 Scranton Road	40
Sherwin Williams Co	600
Smeed Box Co., 1878 Scranton Road	130
Sterling Spring Co., 2148 Scranton Road	75
Upson Nut Co., Scranton Road	3,500
Total	5,270
Grand total	17,592

THE CLEVELAND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Cleveland, December 22, 1919.

Mr. T. J. RAY, *Cleveland.*

DEAR MR. RAY: I am attaching copy of a report submitted to Mr. Doster on December 13, 1918, together with a copy of Mr. Baer's letter.

Mr. Baer states that the figures submitted are the total freight movement, and that an arbitrary figure for the valley section was arrived at by Mr. Doster at that time.

In regard to total tonnage on the river, the information I received from Mr. Phelps, assistant United States engineer, Federal Building, was as to the years 1917 and 1918, and show only the movement up the river. These figures are as follows:

	Tons.
1917	6,866,606
1918	6,060,292

Mr. Phelps was unable to give me total figures this afternoon, but I have arranged an appointment with him for to-morrow morning and hope to be able to get total figures on the freight movement, both up and down the river, for a given year.

Very truly, yours,

THOMAS W. FLETCHER,
Assistant Industrial Commissioner.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN JACOB ROGERS,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 14, 1920.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the New York Journal of Commerce by the gentleman from New York, Mr. PLATT, chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency. It is the best statement that I have seen and a very brief statement of the reasons why the decline in exchange is now so large in the world market.

The article is as follows:

REASON FOR DECLINE IN PAR OF EXCHANGE—EDGE ACT WILL NOT CURE SITUATION—SOME DECLINE OF EXPORTS UNAVOIDABLE—PRESENT POSITION OF EXCHANGE QUOTATIONS—FINDINGS OF BULLION REPORT.

[By Hon. EDMUND PLATT, chairman Banking and Currency Committee, House of Representatives.]

Many of the financial publications speak hopefully of the Edge bill as likely to do much to maintain American export trade, through furnishing the necessary machinery for converting long-time credits into cash for the payment of wages on American farms and in American factories. I do not believe, however, that the Edge bill or any other measure that could be taken will work miracles. In my opinion nothing can prevent some falling off of our exports just as soon as the necessities of Europe for commodities for immediate consumption are satisfied. Nor do I believe that any measure that can be taken—not even a resumption of Government loans—can "stabilize exchange" in the sense of raising exchange to anywhere near normal levels between a country like the United States, which is on a gold basis, and countries which have an excessive paper currency not redeemable in gold.

POSITION OF STERLING.

The fact is that so-called "sterling exchange" is no longer "sterling." There is somewhere a new par of exchange with Great Britain. I do not claim to have studied the subject enough to have formed any very definite idea of just what it is, but it is certainly far below $4.866. The present real rate of exchange is not a dollar or more below the actual par, but perhaps 25 cents or so below—roughly, 5 per cent instead of 20 per cent. That explains to a degree how business can continue to go on in such great volume. The handicap of the purchasers of our commodities in England, in France, and elsewhere in Europe, is not nearly so great as the quoted rates of exchange lead many people to believe. Gold is selling at a premium in England of something like 15 per cent above the mint price, according to recent statements, and that premium is some indication of the depreciation of the present paper currency of England. In France, Italy, and especially in Germany, the depreciation of paper is still greater, and the rates of exchange with those countries necessarily allow for the depreciation. There are other factors, chief of which is the great excess of our exports over imports and the great sums owed to us by foreign Governments, but they do not account for more than a fraction—a rather large fraction, perhaps—of the fall of sterling exchange and of exchange on the Continent. If French francs, normally about 5 to a dollar, are now quoted at 10 to a dollar, it doesn't mean that the Frenchman who buys from the United States has to pay twice what he would have to pay with normal rates, because the French franc itself in paper is worthless and has not the same purchasing power even at home. The par of exchange has changed.

THE BULLION REPORT.

In this connection let me quote from a document which just now deserves a wide rereading, a document to which Stuyvesant Fish called at-

tention in his letter on foreign exchange, published in the Sun on December 24, the well-known bullion report made by a special committee of the House of Commons in England in 1810. That was during the world war of the last century; the Bank of England had suspended specie payment since 1797, and the rates of exchange were running strongly against England, while gold, as now, was selling at a premium, running as high as 15 per cent in London. The committee was appointed "to inquire into the high price of gold bullion, and to take into consideration the state of the circulating medium, and of the exchanges between Great Britain and foreign parts." Before making its report the committee held extensive "hearings," as we should say in Washington, and the "evidence" is printed with their report. A most significant statement of the principles governing foreign exchange is the following:

"That rate of exchange which is produced at any particular period by a balance of trade or payments between the two countries, and by a consequent disproportion between the supply and the demand of bills drawn by the one upon the other, is a departure on one side or the other from the real and fixed par. But this real par will be altered if any change takes place in the currency of one of the two countries, whether that change consists in the wear or debasement of a metallic currency below its standard, or in the discredit of a forced paper currency, or in the excess of a paper currency not convertible into specie; a fall having taken place in the intrinsic value of a given portion of one currency, that portion will no longer be equal to the same portion, as before, of the other currency. But though the real par of the currencies is thus altered, the dealers, having little or no occasion to refer to the par, continue to reckon their course of exchanges from the former denomination of the par, and in this state of things a distinction is necessary to be made between the real and the computed course of exchange. The computed course of exchange, as expressed in the tables used by the merchants, will then include, not only the real difference of exchange arising from the state of trade but likewise the difference between the original par and the new par. Those two sums may happen to be added together in the calculation, or they may happen to be set against each other. If the country whose currency has been depreciated in comparison to the other has the balance of trade also against it, the computed rate of exchange will appear to be still more unfavorable than the real difference of exchange will be found to be."

POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Now that explains exactly the conditions of the exchange on the United States in England to-day, and the principles set forth are just as true now as they were then and have never been better stated. The rate of exchange is not so unfavorable to Great Britain as the published rates used by the merchants would make it appear, because those rates include not only the real difference of exchange arising from the state of trade, but also the difference between the original par and the new par.

By the same token the Edge bill has not quite as unpromising a handicap to overcome as the published rates of exchange make it appear. If foreign currencies can not at present be converted into exportable coin, they can doubtless be converted into exportable securities of value, as well as commodities, and it will be the task of the institutions chartered by the Federal Government under the new act to find those securities, appraise their value, and send them over to the United States, where they may either be marketed so as to furnish ready American cash to pay for our exports, or may be used as collateral for debentures to be marketed. Just how far the American people will go in making investments of this kind remains to be seen, but no one can go among the banking fraternity of any of our great cities without finding a new world spirit, with information at hand of trade possibilities in countries not only of South America and of Europe, but of Asia and Africa. If the banks generally cooperate, as the bill contemplates, and also the manufacturers and farmers, much can be accomplished. But in order to hold trade with Europe beyond the period of dire necessity our own prices will doubtless have to come down.

The National Budget.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. CANNON,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 21, 1920.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the address delivered before the Illinois Manufacturers' Association in Chicago on Friday evening, January 9, 1920, by Hon. JAMES W. GOOD be printed in the RECORD.

There was no objection. The address is as follows:

An address delivered before the Illinois Manufacturers' Association in Chicago, Friday evening, January 9, 1920, by Hon. JAMES W. GOOD.

"I thank you for the high honor of being invited to address you on this occasion. The members of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association are to be congratulated upon their great accomplishments. In a comparatively short time from a community of farmers and wood cutters there grew up in this splendid State a manufacturing enterprise that is exceeded only in two other States in the value of its product. The last Government reports show that the manufactured products of this State are greater than the like production of 23 States in the Union, and is exceeded by the States of New York and Pennsylvania alone. This achievement is unparalleled in the industrial history of the country and is one of which you may well be proud.

"It is an old saying that 'Necessity is the mother of invention,' but invention is not her only offspring. From necessity has sprung every great reform, every constructive statute, and every great improvement in our commercial and industrial life.

"We are living in an age of constant change in which a healthy rivalry in industrial production necessarily forces the manufacturer to substitute machine power for man power; machine work for hand work, and again and again to throw out the old and install the new. To increase production, to decrease the cost, and to improve the quality is the aim of every successful producer, and to accomplish these results he quickly and gladly substitutes the new for the old. With him—

"New occasions teach new duties; time makes ancient good uncouth.

FORCES WORKING FOR A CHANGE.

"The same principle that has brought health and vigor to our industries is working for improvement in the fiscal system of the United States. A change from the old, extravagant, and wasteful method is a pressing necessity.

"Until comparatively recently there was little or no incentive to exercise strict economy in Government expenditures. There was apparently no necessity for it. The revenue out of which these expenditures were paid flowed into the Treasury from sources that affected but slightly the ordinary citizen. That revenue came through a system of indirect taxation that the ordinary taxpayer did not feel and that did not affect industry except to stimulate its production. Our revenue then came from tariff duties and taxes on tobacco, cigars, snuffs, intoxicating liquors and sources of that character.

"While formerly the expenditures of the Government rapidly increased, this growth did not keep pace with the increase in the flow of revenue into the Treasury. For 52 years—from 1866 to 1917, inclusive—the revenues exceeded the expenditures during 41 years, and only during 11 years were the expenditures greater than the revenues. During this period the net increase of revenue over expenditures exceeded $2,147,000,000. During all that time, according to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, only $636,554,225.07 of direct taxes were levied and collected, and these were paid by a comparatively few persons. The comparative ease with which the revenue was formerly raised is more clearly understood if we analyze the sources from which it came for a year before the enactment of corporations and income tax laws.

SOURCES OF GOVERNMENT'S REVENUE.

"For the year 1907, which was typical, the tariff duties or customs receipts aggregated $332,233,362.70; taxes on spirits yielded $156,336,901.89; the tax on fermented liquors was $59,567,818.18; the tax on tobacco amounted to $51,811,069.69; the tax on oleomargarine, filled cheese, mixed flour, adulterated butter, and process or renovated butter brought into the Treasury $1,071,067.24. Taxes on opium and playing cards, together with the penalties exacted by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, aggregated $879,915.85; while other miscellaneous items yielded $53,346,713.24; the receipts from the sale of public lands amounted to $7,878,811.13; the postal revenues amounted to $183,585,005.57, making a grand total of receipts for that fiscal year of $846,710,665.49. These receipts were $111,000,000 in excess of the expenditures for that year. This, too, notwithstanding the fact that not a single dollar was collected in the form of direct taxes.

"In 1909 the first year under the corporation-tax law, 52,498 corporations made income-tax returns showing a taxable income; while in 1917 this number had increased to over 232,000. For 1913, the first year the personal income-tax law was on the statute books, 357,598 persons made individual income-tax returns, while for the year 1917 this number increased to 3,472,890. For the next year it is estimated that $3,750,000,000 of our revenue will come through direct taxation, to the payment of which 4,000,000 persons will contribute.

EXPENDITURES COMPARED.

"The enormous expense involved in the prosecution of the war and the burden of debt occasioned by it has brought a radical change in the fiscal affairs of the United States. Now, our expenditures are so large that the Government must raise practically all of its revenue to meet the expenses through a system of direct taxation. Even before the outbreak of the recent war the increase in Government expenditures had grown out of all proportion to the increase in our wealth or population. A comparison of present cost of some of the functions of the Government with the costs during former years will disclose the reckless gait at which we are traveling, so far as national expenditures are concerned.

"During the Jefferson administration the annual expense for the War Department averaged 20 cents per capita; the annual expense of the Navy Department averaged 23 cents per capita; the annual expense of the Post Office Department averaged 5 cents per capita; and the total annual expenditure for the

National Government during these four years averaged $1.52 per capita.

"During the four years covered by the Civil War the annual expense of the War Department averaged $19.99 per capita; the annual expense of the Navy Department averaged $2.31 per capita; the expense of the Post Office Department averaged 4 cents per capita; while the total annual expense of the Government was $25.01 per capita.

"For the four-year period immediately following the Civil War there was a rapid decrease in expenditures. The annual average expense of the War Department fell from $19.99 to $3.94 per capita; the expense of the Navy Department decreased from $2.31 to 82 cents per capita; and the total expenditures of the National Government were reduced from $25.01 to $11.02 per capita.

"After the close of the Civil War and down to 1917 the annual appropriations were always less than $1,000,000,000, except for the years 1914, 1915, and 1916, when the largest amount appropriated for any one year was for 1916, and the total appropriations aggregated $1,116,118,138.55. The average amount appropriated for this three-year period for all expenses of the Government was $1,062,930,372.76, or $10.62 per capita.

"During the fiscal years 1918 and 1919 the total expenses of the War Department were $14,854,109,211.22. The average annual expenditure for this department during these two years was $7,427,054,605.51, or equivalent to $70.26 per capita. The expenditures for the Navy Department for these two years aggregated $3,377,915,182.37, and the average annual naval expenditures for each of said years was $15.98 per capita. For the fiscal year 1919 the per capita cost of operating the Post Office Department alone was $3.40, or more than twice the per capita cost of all the departments of the National Government during Jefferson's administration.

"The Navy Department for the next fiscal year has requested an appropriation of $573,131,254.80, or an equivalent of $5.28 per capita. The War Department has asked for $1,128,875,497.87, a sum equivalent to $10.40 for every man, woman, and child in the United States. This amount is more than the total requirement of the National Government for any year since the Civil War and prior to 1917, not excepting the period during the Spanish-American War. It is more than ten times the requirement of the War Department for any year since the Civil War down to 1917. It is more per capita, as well as larger in the aggregate, than the total expense for the National Government for the high-water mark reached for the year 1916.

"The amount estimated as required for the needs of the War Department, $1,128,875,497.87, for the next fiscal year alone exceeds slightly the total appropriations for the two years of the Fifty-first Congress, 1889–1891. Criticism of that Congress on the score of extravagance was answered by Speaker Reed in his valedictory. That Congress was commonly referred to as 'The Billion-Dollar Congress.' Mr. Reed's reply was that if it was a billion-dollar Congress the United States had grown to the proportions of a billion-dollar country. Now, however, we see one department alone requesting for one fiscal year's expenses an amount exceeding the appropriations of the entire Fifty-first, or Reed, Congress.

BUDGET SYSTEM A NECESSITY.

"The total estimated requirements for the next fiscal year, excluding any estimates for the United States Railroad Administration, which undoubtedly will make large demands, are $5,250,000,000, or an equivalent of $47 for every person in the United States. In order to collect even a much smaller sum, the hand of the taxgatherers must fall heavily upon a great many of our people. The result is that from the taxpayer is coming a demand that is both increasing and constant for greater economy and efficiency in the Government's fiscal affairs. That demand can only be satisfied in two practical ways. First, by the adoption of a sound budget system and, second, by the practice in the executive departments of the Government of those homely virtues of economy that successful business men everywhere have found necessary in the successful conduct of their business affairs.

"A great deal has been said and much has been written about a budget system by men whose knowledge of the Government's fiscal affairs is at most only academic and whose actual experience in this broad and complicated field of the Government's activities is extremely limited. No press-bureau budget plan, formulated without a real knowledge of actual conditions, and that is based only upon strong statements rather than true statements, will solve the problem. So, too, those who would have us adopt the British budget system fail to realize that the difference in the forms of government prevailing in the two countries precludes our taking such a course. They fail to take cognizance of the fact that while they are praising the English system English statesmen are condemning some of its most important features.

"The system we adopt must be based upon facts and not fancies. It must be bottomed upon sound business principles. It must recognize that the Government is a business institution, and the same general principles that successful business men have found necessary in the conduct of their affairs must obtain in the fiscal affairs of the Government. It must be an American system adapted to our form of government and in harmony with our Constitution. Budgetary legislation will not meet the requirements of the present or of the future if it does not result in the adoption of a system far superior to that of the British. Where their system is strong ours is weak, and where theirs is weak ours is strong. With a wealth of past experiences upon which to build, we should be satisfied with nothing short of the best, and the best is within our reach.

PRESENT FISCAL SYSTEM—ITS DEFECTS.

"To understand the changes which a budget system will effect, one must first be familiar with the details of our present system. Under the law it is the duty of the heads of the several executive departments and independent establishments to furnish the Secretary of the Treasury on or before the 15th day of October of each year with an annual estimate of the funds necessary for their respective departments for insertion in the Book of Estimates. Under this law it is the practice for each Cabinet official to designate the head of each bureau under him to make the estimate of the expenses for his bureau. When all of the estimates from the various bureau chiefs under a given department have been thus made, the head of that department submits his estimates to the Secretary of the Treasury, who has no power to increase or diminish them and no power to coordinate the service of the several bureaus or to prevent duplications in the service. His only power is to publish them in the Book of Estimates and transmit them to Congress.

"Bureaus under different executive departments doing similar work are thus stimulated in a spirit of rivalry to secure increased appropriations, and so far as the estimates that come to Congress are concerned no one coordinates or attempts to coordinate the various activities of the several departments. In practice this system has resulted in waste, extravagance, inefficiency, and duplications in the Government service.

"The defects in this plan must be apparent to anyone who has made a study of it. Everyone familiar with the practical operation of this system agrees that its failure lies in the fact that no one person is responsible for the estimates to Congress. They are a patchwork and not a structure. As a result, a great deal of the time of the committees of Congress is taken up in exploding visionary schemes of bureau chiefs for which no administration would be willing to stand. They provide for building up rival bureaus, and no one is responsible for bringing about their coordination or limiting their activities. The result is that Congress is criticized, and justly so, for its failure to provide a system which will correct these abuses.

"To-day duplication in the Government service abounds on every hand. For example, 8 different departments of the Government, with large overhead organizations, are engaged in engineering work in navigation, irrigation, and drainage; 11 different bureaus are engaged in engineering research; 12 different organizations are engaged in road construction; while 12, with large overhead organizations, are engaged in hydraulic construction and 16 are engaged in surveying and mapping. Sixteen different bureaus exercise jurisdiction over water-power development. Nine different organizations are collecting information on the consumption of coal. Forty-two different organizations, with overhead expenses, dealing with the question of public health. The Treasury Department, the War Department, the Interior Department, and the Department of Labor each have a bureau dealing with the question of general education. These departments operate independently; instances of cooperation between them are exceptional. Each of these departments is manned at all times with an organization prepared to carry the 'peak of the load,' and maintains an expensive 'ready-to-serve' personnel. A lack of cooperation in the executive departments necessarily leads to gross extravagance. The system is wrong, and Congress alone can change the system. If it fails to act now and refuses to make the necessary changes in a plan that is admittedly bad, Congress will and should receive the condemnation of the American people.

"A budget system under our form of Government logically embraces three distinct steps:

"First. The formation of the budget.

"Second. Action on the budget by Congress.

"Third. The control over expenditures after appropriations have been made.

THE BUDGET—WHO SHALL PREPARE IT?

"Who shall prepare the budget? is a question frequently asked, and one that a group of men commissioned to work out a budgetary system for the United States are trying to solve. The more I study the problem the more thoroughly do I become convinced that there can be but one answer to this question. The President is responsible in the main for the work of his administration. He is the only official in the Government who is elected by all the people. He appoints the members of his Cabinet and subordinate officials. The President, and the President alone, can bring about a harmonious working together of his official family, and to him should be committed the responsibility for the preparation of the budget. To give one of the members of his family the power to regulate and control all of the activities carried on by the other members of his official family is unnatural and unworkable. For the next 25 years the big political questions in this country will center, not around questions of the coinage of silver, or the tariff, but rather around the big business problems of economy and taxation. If this be true, the great act of every administration for the next quarter of a century will be its financial program, and at every general election the electors will be called upon to pass judgment on the economy and efficiency of the administration then in power.

"Of course, the President can not perform this monumental task in person. He must be given a staff of his own choosing, upon whom he can place the utmost confidence, and who will do the work and prepare for him a budget in accordance with his plan and in harmony with his views. Congress must create a machine by which he can do the work. But the budget, when prepared, must be the President's budget. The responsibility must be his, and his alone, and the act must be his act. If duplications exist in the service and the budget provides for their continuation, or if waste and extravagance find a place in the estimate of appropriations as contained in the budget, the President will be responsible if they are included in his program. For that responsibility he and his party must answer in the succeeding election.

PRESIDENT CAN AND SHOULD—SAYS TAFT AND WILSON.

"As to whether the President can perform the work, I submit that ex-President Taft and President Wilson are the best witnesses. Addressing the Select Committee of the House on the Budget on this phase of the subject, ex-President Taft said:

"The President, with the great executive departments under him, and with the dependency of other departments upon the executive department for money, and that kind of thing, is the proper person to say for the benefit of the legislature how much he, with his experience and the experience of those under him, believe the machinery of the Government can run for. He is in intimate relationship with those agencies, and they are under his orders, and that is where the budget should be made. That is where it would be begun, and where it should be put in complete form for the consideration of the legislature. * * *

"Now, it is asked, Can the President do it? Yes; he can do it, if you give him the assistants and the machinery with which to do it. If you give him a budget staff such as the Good bill gives him, and have that staff made up of competent and expert men who know how, he can devote time to deciding questions that are critical in respect to policy, as the budget shall disclose. When there is a question as between a department and the budget staff, as to whether something shall be cut down in the department, the President would be there to act as final authority and to decide. He is there, backed up by the budget staff if he agrees with them, or by the department if he thinks they have gone too far and cut too much to the quick. Now, the budget is to contain, first, an estimate of the regular income; second, of the revenue, and the method of raising it, or so much as the plan of expenditures may require; and, third, the estimates of expenditure with all of it based upon the showing of prior years. It is to be the financial working plan of the Government; it is to be the financial review of the state of the Union; and it will contain the personality of the President. It will contain a résumé of his views as to the policy of the Government in every important field of finance, and that will draw to it a great deal of the Government's policies of all kinds. Of course, it will involve great labor on the part of the President in determining what those policies should be, but it will be something that he has got to meet, it will be something that he has got to take a part in, and, while he has many duties, there will be no duty more important than this.

"In dealing with this subject in his recent message to Congress President Wilson said:

"I believe the burden of preparing the budget must in the nature of the case, if the work is to be properly done and responsibility concentrated, instead of divided, rest upon the Executive.

"No one is better qualified to pass judgment upon the question as to whether the President, with his manifold duties, is able to perform this function than ex-President Taft and President Wilson. Certainly their judgment that the President is the logical official to perform this function is in harmony with business experience and practice, and the soundness of their position will impress itself upon men of affairs.

"There are those who believe that the preparation of the budget should be under the direction and control of the Secretary of the Treasury. In his statement before the committee Mr. Taft gave most excellent reasons why this course should not be pursued. His experience as a member of President Roosevelt's Cabinet, and as President, enabled him to speak with authority, and the soundness of his argument had great weight with the committee of the House that had jurisdiction of this subject.

SENATE BILL OVERLOADS OVERWORKED DEPARTMENT.

"It is suggested by a Senate bill that by divesting the Secretary of the Treasury of some of his nonfinancial duties that the Secretary of the Treasury would be best able to prepare the budget. It is proposed to transfer from the Secretary of the Treasury the Public Health Service, the Office of Supervising Architect, the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, and the General Supply Committee. Even with these functions transferred to some other department, he would still have under him the office of the Treasurer of the United States, with 1,400 employees, drawing annual salaries in the aggregate of more than $1,500,000; the office of the Comptroller of the Currency, with 165 employees, drawing annual salaries in the aggregate of more than $223,000; the office of the Director of the Mints, with over 1,000 employees, and conducted at an annual expense of more than $2,000,000; the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with more than 14,000 employees and conducted at an annual expense of $21,000,000; the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, which prints and engraves all United States notes, bonds, certificates of indebtedness, national-bank notes, Federal-reserve notes, Federal-reserve bank currency, internal-revenue, postage, thrift, war-savings, and customs stamps, and the like, employing over 7,000 persons and conducted at an annual expense of more than $12,300,000. He collects the customs, and in that service employs about 7,000 persons, at an annual expense of more than $10,000,000. His Coast Guard Service contains 100 vessels, maintains 272 life-saving stations, employs over 5,000 men, and is conducted at an annual expense of over $10,000,000. The Division of Public Moneys, of Loans and Currency, of the Secret Service, of Printing and Stationery; the office of the Comptroller of the Treasury, with all the auditors for the other departments of the Government; the Register of the Treasury, and the Federal Farm Loan Board place upon the Secretary of the Treasury duties for the performance of which require the employment in the aggregate of thousands of clerks and the disbursement of millions of dollars in salaries and expenses, and but add to his other manifold duties.

"Even if the nonfinancial duties described in the Senate bill should be taken from the Secretary of the Treasury and transferred to some other department, he would still have under him almost 43,000 employees, and would annually expend in the payment of the salaries and expenses in carrying out the duties imposed by law on the Treasury Department more than $164,000,000. It is no reflection on the ability of the great men who have occupied the high office of Secretary of the Treasury to say that no Secretary in recent years has been able to comprehend the details of all the duties of the various bureaus and agencies under him. Besides, if he is to regulate and bring about economy in the other departments of the Government, who is there that will regulate and force economy in all these bureaus under the Secretary of the Treasury? When he was Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman attempted to supervise the estimates of other Cabinet officials, but the dissension the plan evoked and the jealousies it aroused immediately forced him to abandon it.

"With such a plan the Secretary of the Treasury would have power to revise all the estimates of the other Cabinet Members excepting the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, while no one would revise the expenditures of the Secretary of the Treasury, and his expenditures, outside of those of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, exceed by several times the expenditures of any other department of the Government. In that department is to be found some of the most flagrant examples of duplications and of extravagance. The estimated requirements of the Government for the next fiscal year aggregate $5,250,000,000, and if the Senate bill was the law to-day the Secretary of the Treasury, who would make the budget, would pass upon less than $1,500,000,000, or less than one-third of the total estimates, outside of his own department. The aggregate of the estimates for the Treasury Department alone is over $1,600,000,000, and under the Senate plan no one is to supervise these and bring about economy in the departments where the large appropriations are contained and where a great saving must be made.

"In his last report the Secretary of the Treasury complains because of new duties placed upon the Treasury Department by Congress, and states—I quote his words: 'That the responsibility should not be imposed on the Treasury Department, which is already burdened with the fiscal and revenue problems of the Government.' If the Secretary of the Treasury is already burdened with the fiscal and revenue problems of the Government,

would it not be idle to impose upon him new duties and obligations which ex-President Taft pointed out would in the future be the crowning achievement of every administration? No overworked department official will ever be able to perform so important a task to the satisfaction of the American people. Certainly no official, except that he be commissioned by all the people, should be given the authority to say what the expenses of the people's Government should be.

ACTION ON BUDGET BY CONGRESS.

"The second step in budget making—that is, the action on the budget by Congress—can not under the Constitution be regulated by a general statute. While the Constitution provides that 'no money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of an appropriation made by law,' thus requiring action by Congress, it also provides that 'each House may determine the rules of its proceedings.' With each Congress guaranteed under the Constitution the right to prescribe its own rules, it would be idle to place on the statute books a general law which attempted to deprive either or both Houses of any succeeding Congress of its constitutional rights. Faulty, unscientific, unbusinesslike, and extravagant as is the present executive system of formulating the estimates of expenditures, it is no more faulty, unbusinesslike, or wasteful than are the present methods of considering the estimates by Congress.

THE RULES OF THE HOUSE.

"All appropriation bills originate in the House of Representatives. Eight separate and distinct committees have jurisdiction over the 14 annual supply bills. These bills are brought before the House at different times and the Members of Congress are not able at one time to comprehend the contents of all of the appropriation bills or to realize approximately what the total appropriations will be, until Congress is about ready to adjourn. Naturally the same division and lack of cooperation which exists in the formation of estimates continues in Congress as its work progresses on the adoption of the estimates. Just as the separate departments working separately estimate for duplicating functions of the Government, so the several committees of the House report out appropriations estimated for, continuing year after year these duplications which are so apparent. It is just as difficult under this plan for Congress to secure cooperation in the elimination of duplications or to maintain a uniform policy as to appropriations as it is to secure the elimination of duplications or bring about real economy in the executive departments.

"Formerly the Ways and Means Committee of the House had jurisdiction over all matters of revenue and appropriation. This jurisdiction continued for 76 years, from 1789 to 1865. In the beginning all appropriations were carried in one bill. The number of regular annual appropriation bills gradually increased until 1880, when it reached the present number of 14 regular appropriation bills and one or more deficiency appropriation bills.

"In 1865 the Committee on Appropriations was created, with jurisdiction over all appropriation bills, and this plan of having all of the appropriation bills considered and reported by one Committee on Appropriations continued until 1880.

HOW CONGRESS APPROPRIATES.

"The importance of having all appropriations acted upon by one committee can be realized only after a full understanding of how appropriations are made by Congress. The Committee on Agriculture reports appropriations for the Agricultural Department; the Committee on Military Affairs reports appropriations for the War Department; the Committee on Naval Affairs reports appropriations for the Navy Department; the Committee on Indian Affairs reports appropriations for the Indian Service; the Committee on Foreign Affairs reports appropriations for the expenses of our foreign relations; the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads reports appropriations for the Postal Service; the Committee on Rivers and Harbors reports appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors; and the Committee on Appropriations reports all appropriation bills for the payment of pensions, for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the United States, for the District of Columbia, for fortifications, for the sundry civil expenses of the Government and one or more deficiency appropriation bills, to supply deficiencies in any executive department.

A CONCRETE CASE.

"The work in the preparation of the sundry civil bill by the Committee on Appropriations in the first session of this Congress will illustrate the labor involved in the investigations by that committee and the conservatism with which Congress approaches matters of appropriations. The total amount estimated by the various departments for inclusion in the sundry civil bill was over $964,000,000. The committee conducted hearings on every one of the more than 1,000 individual items that went to make up this aggregate. The hearings took place in the rooms of the Committee on Appropriations. At these hearings members of the President's Cabinet and subordinate officials and employees appeared before the committee. They were interrogated with regard to every phase of their work on every single item estimated for. They gave the committee full information with regard to the funds which had been available for the prior fiscal year, the uses made of such funds, and the purposes for which they expected to expend the money for which estimates had been made. These questions and answers were all taken down by an official stenographer, and were printed; they comprise almost 3,000 printed pages. After the committee had thus examined these estimates for more than a month, working day after day, a bill was formulated by the committee and reported to the House of Representatives for its action, and the result was that when the sundry civil bill became a law it carried a little over $607,000,000. In other words, Congress appropriated $357,000,000 less than the executive departments estimated for these services.

"The work done on this bill is illustrative of the work done by the various committees on appropriations in preparing bills for consideration by Congress. While the work by appropriation committees has been thorough and the investigations made have, as a general rule, been complete, the plan is not businesslike and can not help but be wasteful. The eight committees having jurisdiction do not work together. Some are located in the Capitol Building and some in the House Office Building. Each is jealous of its prerogatives, and the same difficulty that now obtains in the executive departments in making estimates as to the elimination of duplications is found in the present plan in the House of Representatives by having eight committees on appropriations. No general policy of Congress in making appropriations for the different departments can be applied when eight different committees report the appropriations for the executive departments. Each committee has its own policy, and in trying to carry out eight different policies as to economy the result is Congress ends with no real policy on economy at all.

ONE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS PROPOSED.

"The Select Committee on the Budget of the House of Representatives has reported a resolution changing the rules of the House which, if adopted, will center all jurisdiction to report appropriations in one committee of the House, where all appropriation bills must originate. If that resolution is adopted, the Committee on Appropriations would then be able to do its work through seven small subcommittees, each reporting first to the whole committee, and when the work of examining the budget estimates by the respective subcommittees shall have been completed the entire budget could be presented to Congress at the same time. Appropriations to the different departments would then be measured by the same yardstick. Congress could thus formulate and carry out a financial policy. Around the discussion of the budget would then center the big financial discussions of Congress. On that action taken on the budget would depend possible tax reduction and other important legislation. Members would know early in the session not only what the estimated financial requirements of the executive departments were, but also the position Congress proposed to take on the estimates contained in the budget. It would then be in a better position to shape all other legislation that might eventually require some draft on the Treasury.

"Moreover, general legislation, the subject of jurisdiction of every House committee, frequently involves expenditures, committing the Government to contracts for the future which must be reckoned with in making subsequent appropriations. Such legislation is passed without inquiry in advance as to the state of the Treasury, present or prospective, but nevertheless commits the Government to such additional expenditure morally. No attempt is made to inquire into the Government's obligations already incurred or its ability to meet the new expenditures thus incurred or the source from whence the necessary revenue will be derived. It is taken for granted in this general legislation that, somehow, a resourceful people will be able to raise the money. These unlooked-for obligations make all the more difficult the task of devising a real, workable budget system. They prove the exceptions which disturb the most careful calculations and estimates.

"Just as great economies will unquestionably flow from a proper and businesslike preparation of the budget, so, too, great savings will be effected through a change in the rules of the House permitting a businesslike consideration of the budget by one Committee on Appropriations.

VIEWS OF STATESMEN OF OTHER YEARS.

"When it was proposed to change the rules and divide the appropriation bills among separate committees, objection was

made to the plan by the strongest men in Congress. Speaking on this subject, Hon. James A. Garfield said:

"I do say, sir, without the slightest question in my own mind of the truth of the statement, that the scattering of these appropriations as suggested by the gentlemen there will be absolutely breaking down all economy and good order and good management of our finances. It can not be otherwise.

"Hon. Thomas B. Reed said that to break down the work of the Committee on Appropriations and put a portion of its work in the hands of several committees would add to the expenses of the Government more than the Holman economy rule ever saved.

"The objection to dividing the jurisdiction over appropriations among committees was most forcefully put by Senator J. C. S. Blackburn, of Kentucky, when he was a Member of the House. He said:

"The legislative committees are appointed that they may guard the interests of the particular department committed to their care. That is the theory of the construction of the committees of the House, and it is a proper theory. The Committee on Appropriations stands in a very different attitude. Because of no special relation to any department, selected as a fair and impartial arbiter, with no more concern for the Navy or the Army than for the Interior Department or the Post Office Department, it has been selected as the one grand reservoir into which all these proposed disbursements of money should pour, in order that fairly, judiciously, impartially, it may make its recommendation to the House.

"With great experience and profound wisdom Senator Sherman, of Ohio, declared:

"I would not do anything at all to weaken the restraint or power of the Committee on Appropriations. I believe it is necessary, as my friend from Vermont says, to bring all the items of expenditure for the Nation under the eye and control of one committee, so that they may limit the amount of expenditures.

"In urging a return to a single committee on appropriations ex-President Taft said:

"I am bound to say that, under the old maxim that charity should begin at home, that is something that Congress ought to do for itself. In this matter of a budget if there is any method by which any extravagance in Government expenditures can be expanded it is under the system you have in the House, because that same feeling that I have been describing in the bureaus and the departments that tends to magnify their relative importance inheres also in the making of appropriations of money by one committee for one department or for one branch of the service. A man does not have to be a Member of Congress to see that.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM DEMANDS SINGLE COMMITTEE.

"The last Democratic platform contains this declaration:

"We favor a return by the House of Representatives to its former practice of initiating and preparing all appropriation bills through a single committee chosen from its membership, in order that responsibility may be centered, standardized, and made uniform, and waste and duplications in the public service as much as possible avoided.

"In his recent message to Congress the President placed himself squarely upon the platform of his party. He said:

"The budget so prepared should be submitted to and approved or amended by a single committee of each House of Congress, and no single appropriation should be made by Congress except such as may have been included in the budget prepared by the Executive or added by the particular committee of Congress charged with budget legislation.

PROGRAM FOR THE CONGRESS.

"It is a part of the present plan of the Select Committee on the Budget that the House of Representatives shall change its rules by providing that all authority to report appropriations be centered in one committee of 35 members. Such a resolution has been reported and is now pending in the House and will be acted upon at this session of Congress. Certainly the House of Representatives will not place itself in the position of requiring the executive department to clean house and at the same time refuse to put its own household in order.

"Reported in one bill, a budget containing all the appropriations for a fiscal year will give Congress early in the session a clear picture of the resources of the Government so far as its revenue is concerned and the demands that would be made upon that revenue to carry out the provisions of existing law. Around the consideration of that bill would center great financial debates in Congress. In these debates the policies of the administration would be discussed and these discussions would have a reflex influence on subsequent legislation, which might mean additional drafts upon the Treasury of the United States. The entire picture of the Government's fiscal affairs could be seen at one and the same time. At present we only see that picture in fragments and so much time intervenes between the action on one appropriation bill and the consideration of the next that one forgets the picture presented by the one before the next is acted upon.

"With but one committee on appropriations, the budget will constitute a structure and not a patchwork, and the sober business of making appropriations will be considered just as a great business corporation would consider the budget which its president or general manager would lay before his board of directors. It substitutes teamwork for individual play, a business policy for a trusting-to-luck plan, with the result that economy and efficiency will take the place of waste and extravagance in governmental affairs.

"Unquestionably such a plan will be bitterly opposed, but most of the opposition will be based upon the selfishness of men from whose committees certain jurisdiction will be taken. When we consider, however, the seriousness of our fiscal affairs, the enormous expenditures which the Government will be required to make every year, and the heavy burden placed upon the taxpayers in order to meet these expenses, the duty of Congress is clear. Without the adoption of such a resolution true budgetary reform is impossible. Its adoption will guarantee the consideration of appropriations by Congress in a businesslike and economical way. While it means the surrender by certain committees of jurisdiction which they now possess and will take from certain members of those committees some powers they now exercise, we should, and will, approach the consideration of this problem with a determination to submerge personal ambition for the public good.

THE THIRD STEP—CONTROL OVER EXPENDITURES.

"The third step in budgetary reform is the control over expenditures after appropriations have once been made. Ours is the only Government where the law-granting or appropriating power loses control of all appropriations after the money has been once granted. Under our plan the President appoints the Comptroller of the Treasury and the six auditors.

"The appointment has always been considered political patronage, and technical as is the work of auditing accounts, strange to say, as a general rule the auditors so appointed have rarely had any experience either as accountants or auditors. Of the six persons now filling these responsible positions only one ever had any experience in the auditing of accounts. They are appointed because of their political service, and it ill becomes either the Comptroller of the Treasury or one of the auditors to criticize very strongly an expenditure made by any department. Such criticism would be considered a reflection upon the administration of which the auditor himself is a part.

"The Comptroller of the Treasury is not always free from political bias and control, and is not always unhampered in giving a legal opinion as to the use which may be made of an appropriation. It is reported that a former President, while criticizing a rather unyielding Comptroller of the Treasury with regard to one of his decisions, almost despaired of having him change his opinion until he said to the comptroller that if he could not change the opinion of the comptroller, he could change the comptroller.

CREATING OFFICE OF COMPTROLLER GENERAL.

"The bill recently passed by the House if enacted into law will cure this defect. It provides for a comptroller general and an assistant comptroller general of the United States, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and should be removed only by a concurrent resolution of Congress on account of inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office. Long tenure in office is necessary in order to secure a competent man of high standing to fill the position. The positon is a semijudicial one and the tenure in office should be made secure so long as the official performs his work in a fearless and satisfactory way. The auditors should be appointed by the comptroller general because of their fitness for the position and should at all times be under his control and direction.

"By creating this department, Congress will have applied another practical business principle to the administration of the Government's fiscal affairs. Men will be employed as auditors who owe their positions to their training and ability, and who do not secure their position as a reward for political service. They will be fearless in their examination, and can criticize the executives who misuse appropriations or whose offices are conducted in an inefficient manner, without fear of removal.

WILL BE AID TO CONGRESS.

"Congress and its committees will at all times be able to consult with officials of this department regarding expenditures and from them it will be able to obtain the most reliable information regarding the use to which any appropriation has been put. From them Congress will receive first-hand information as to the lack of efficiency in any department of the Government. This independent department will necessarily serve as a check against extravagance in the preparation of the budget. Those appointed by the President and charged with the duty of assisting him in collecting data and in preparing the budget will realize that their every act and decision will come under close scrutiny of the accounting department. If duplications, inefficiency, waste, and extravagance exist, as the result of any expenditure, this department will discover

it immediately. The knowledge on the part of every executive and bureau chief that such an independent and fearless department exists, and that every act and deed they perform will come under the closest scrutiny of this department, and will reach the ear of Congress, will in itself force a much higher degree of efficiency in every department of the Government.

"One of the greatest weaknesses in our present system lies in the fact that committees charged with the responsibility of considering appropriation bills have but little assistance in arriving at correct conclusions. The persons appearing before the committees of Congress in explaining estimated requirements are in the main the very bureau chiefs who prepared the estimates. Proud of their achievement and jealous of their power, they appear before these committees to exploit the attainments of their respective bureaus; not infrequently are they discovered in attempting to cover up the shortcomings of their departments, and to minimize waste and inefficiency, no matter how great the extravagance may be. They magnify their accomplishments and often either conceal or forget their shortcomings. They pad their estimates on the theory that Congress will make reductions and stultify themselves in attempting to maintain them. Not infrequently do they fool Congress and its committees by securing larger appropriations than they know are necessary; but when these appropriations are once secured, in order to prevent a reduction in them in succeeding years, they proceed to spend the appropriation for unnecessary things not contemplated when the grant was made. The result is an ex parte examination by Congress, and in this examination, even though made most searching and thorough, Congress too frequently hears only half the truth and sometimes gets an altogether erroneous conception of the real situation.

"Even the heads of the executive departments, as a rule, are not informed as to the actual conditions of the separate bureaus under them. This fact has been clearly demonstrated by the appearances of Cabinet members before appropriation committees. Members of the Cabinet have too frequently demonstrated before such committees that they have no detailed information with regard to the departments they are administering. Indeed, so great has been the humiliation of members of the Cabinet in this regard that the practice which formerly obtained of members of the Cabinet appearing before appropriation committees in the House in support of their estimates has practically passed into disuse.

COMPARED WITH BRITISH AUDITOR AND COMPTROLLER GENERAL.

"The office of comptroller general will be a very important and powerful one. In some respects it may be compared to the office of the British comptroller and auditor general. How important that office was during the war and how it functioned when the British treasury and even the House of Commons failed to function is best told in the speech of the Hon. Lief Jones, made in the House of Commons on October 24, 1916. He said:

"The ordinary control of this house over finance has wholly disappeared during the war. We have no estimates. We have the estimates for the civil service, but there are no estimates for the war office or navy expenditures. The House of Commons has not the control which it exercises ordinarily through considering the estimates. Treasury control has largely disappeared. Both the great spending departments which deal with the war urge that the control of the treasury could not be exercised during the war because of the need for haste. The only control which is left is control after the event, and it is most important, late as it comes, that that control after event should be as thorough as possible and that there should be full investigation into those matters to which the comptroller and auditor general draws attention in his report upon the appropriation account.

"The honorable member for Galway has reminded the house of the great functions of the comptroller and auditor general, who, indeed, is the real guardian, on behalf of the House of Commons, of the purse of the nation. He is a great officer of state. He is not removable even by the Government of the day. He can only be removed on a petition from both houses of Parliament. He is appointed expressly by this house to safeguard the expenditure of the country and to see that the accounts are properly audited and properly appropriated for the purpose for which this house intended. There is no power in the house nor in the prime minister nor in the cabinet to override the decisions of the comptroller and auditor general. He is one of the great officials of this country.

"If the comptroller and auditor general of the British House of Commons is the 'real guardian, on behalf of the House of Commons, of the purse of the nation,' under the law proposed a comptroller general will become the real guardian of the Treasury of the United States. He will become one of the most powerful and useful Government officials, and, in my opinion, more real economy and efficiency will result through the creation of this office than from any other single step we could possibly take. The exchequer and audit act was enacted by the British Parliament in 1866 and remains and will continue to be the monument to the statesmanship of William E. Gladstone. The one outstanding provision of that act is the provision creating the accounting department. It functioned in time of peace and is the only fiscal agency of the British Government that functioned in time of war. Shall we make the mistake of providing for a budget without the creation of so important an office? The creation of an accounting department will accomplish a threefold result:

"First. It will provide for a real audit of Government accounts.

"Second. It will serve as a check on the President and those under him in the preparation of the budget, and in order to assist him in its preparation every Cabinet member will be required to make a study of his department, to the extent that he will become master of the work of the various bureaus under him. Cabinet members will be made to realize that they have not always realized in the past that they will be responsible for the waste and extravagant use of public funds appropriated for the use of their departments.

"Third. It will become a real arm of Congress and will be able to furnish the very information that Congress needs and now works without.

THE BUDGET A BUSINESS PLAN.

"The proposed legislation is of vital importance to the people of the United States. No legislation of greater import will engage the attention of this Congress. More than three years ago the political parties promised it. To-day the people are earnestly demanding it. In proposing this budgetary legislation no claim is made that it is perfect. Time alone will develop its imperfections, and when they appear Congress should not hesitate to correct them. In my opinion the legislation provided in the bill recently passed by the House, taken in connection with the resolution changing the rules of the House, providing for a single committee on appropriations, is solidly founded upon sound business principles, and its adoption will mark the beginning of a new era in the financial history of the United States. Once enacted and properly enforced, the proposed legislation will need no defender. The saving it will effect under a business administration will cause men to wonder why its adoption was so long delayed. As Burke put the old Latin law, it will 'give us a system of economy, which is itself a great revenue.'

BUDGET USELESS WITHOUT A BUSINESS EXPENDITURE.

"You ask what a budget system will save the taxpayers of the United States. My answer is that in and of itself no budget system, however perfect, can make any saving. It may contain great possibilities but it can not have actualities. The savings and economies that can be effected through such a system will depend entirely upon the sound business judgment of the man who in a large measure must formulate our national policy, whose duty is to execute the laws, the man who must formulate the budget, and who, through his Cabinet members, must carry the budget into execution by actually expending the money appropriated by Congress—the President of the United States. He and he alone, under any budget system, can bring about real and substantial economy in the Government's fiscal affairs. No budget system will work automatically. It will be only a system, a mere machine. If the operator desires economy, and is firmly grounded on sound business principles, it has great possibilities; but if he only talks economy while he practices waste there can be no saving. He must realize that a reduction in Government expenditures must precede a reduction in taxation, and that a return to normal conditions can only be effected by the Government adopting a sound business policy and adhering to it. Excessive taxation is a companion of high living costs; they can be divorced only by the practice of economy. The Government in this day should be the exemplar.

"Apparently the Government of the United States is the only great business concern that is not run along business lines. With one breath the Secretary of Labor asks for $14,500,000 to establish employment agencies throughout the country to help our unemployed find jobs, while in another he voices his approval of the plan of the Commissioner of Immigration to bring into the United States 100,000 laborers from Porto Rico and Mexico to supply a labor shortage. On the same day that the Attorney General is seen starting a great crusade against buying anything except the actual necessaries for immediate needs we see the Secretary of Agriculture advising and urging the State highway commissions to buy all kinds of material and machinery for road construction and store it for future use. We behold the Treasury Department urging Congress to accept a generous donation by patriotic citizens of a southern city of 5,000 acres of land on which to build a hospital, and when a generous appropriation is made by Congress to build this hospital we see this same department letting a contract to some of these same patriotic citizens who donated the land. That is not all. The contract is let at just double the amount which the Treasury Department estimated it would cost to have the same improvements made by letting out the work to subcontractors.

We hear all of the executive departments in one grand finale denouncing the hoarder of the necessaries of life and threatening to throw him in jail, while at the same time we behold the Secretary of War, the greatest hoarder of necessities in all the world, refusing to dispose of his hoarded stock until commanded by Congress.

"True, these specific instances apply only to the present administration, but the failure to conduct the Government on business principles is not confined to this administration alone. Lack of a business policy has been inherent in former administrations.

"No budget system, however perfect in principle or complete in detail, can make a business executive out of a person not thoroughly grounded in sound business principles. In the future the political party, as well as the executive official, that pays less attention to politics and more attention to good business administration will win the plaudits of the American electorate.

"The Government of 110,000,000 people is a big business. No other government and no other business concern in all the world is engaged in such a variety of enterprises or on so large a scale. Its activities have grown so quickly, its functions have expanded so broadly, and the consequent expense has multiplied so rapidly that we sometimes fail to realize the fact that the Government of the United States is the biggest business concern in all the world. From the business men of the Nation must come the demand that the business of the Government be conducted along business lines. More and more must public sentiment be aroused to the necessity of conducting the greatest business in the world, the business in which we are all partners, on business principles.

"The Government's real game is not at chess, where movements are for position, but rather is it the great game of business, affecting, as it does, the industry and security, the happiness and contentment of all the people. To secure this the most improved business methods must be applied. The highest degree of business economy must be exercised. A strict business policy must be inaugurated and strictly adhered to. The pressing fiscal needs for the future are for a budget system and a business administration of that system. Given these, we will enter the new financial era with hope and enthusiasm that the Government's business may be so conducted that the burdens of taxation may be lessened and the comforts of life made more the common enjoyment of all."

Compensation for ex-Service Men.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. NICHOLS,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 22, 1920.

Mr. NICHOLS of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with leave granted me, I am herewith inserting in the RECORD, by request, the resolutions adopted by Charles A. Learned Post, No. 1, the American Legion, in regard to the question of compensation for ex-service men:

Whereas we, the members of the Charles A. Learned Post, believe that the maintenance and vocational training and other reconstruction work for disabled service men and the proper maintenance of widows and orphans of those who paid the supreme sacrifice is of first interest with all ex-service men, we still believe that the question of proper and just compensation for all citizens who served the Nation during the late war is also of prime importance to the Nation, in that our future national spirit very greatly depends upon our comrades themselves feeling and teaching to posterity that the Nation properly appreciates services rendered in time of need; and

Whereas there is a very apparent effort upon the part not only of some of our Representatives in Congress but also upon the part of a few members of our own organization, who do not represent the desires of the vast majority of ex-service men, to sidetrack or muddle the question of just compensation by confounding this question with that of land grants or loans for city home building: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Charles A. Learned Post of the American Legion, with nearly 6,000 paid-up members, make known to our Representatives in Congress and to the national executive committee of the American Legion our decided views on the question of compensation as expressed in the following paragraphs:

1. We glory in whatever and all sacrifices we have made, and nothing can properly compensate us for such sacrifices but the heartfelt appreciation of our fellow Americans.

2. For time spent in service compensation is justly due us which will put us on a plane of equality with the men who served our country in home industries.

3. Enemy aliens and slackers received abnormally high wages in our shops, which high wages were made possible by high prices paid by the Government on war contracts, which prices in turn were paid by the issue of Liberty bonds, which in turn have been absorbed by the war wage earners.

4. What would be more just, therefore, than an issue of Liberty bonds, payable 20 years from date of issue, to be issued to the service men at the rate of one bond for each month of service rendered?

5. These bonds would not be a drain on our national finances.

6. There would be no cost of sale of this issue.

7. The payment of $30 a month in cash or bonds added to the amount which a private in the service received would be ridiculously small and considered inadequate pay for services rendered by any fair-minded American.

8. If compensation is due any of us, it is due all. It would be very apparently unjust, therefore, to offer compensation in lieu of a farm loan or loan on city property in that the Government would practically be saying: "If you wish to make a loan for the purchase of a farm or city home, we will not pay you that which is due you," or "if we pay you what is justly due you, you can not have the privilege of taking up a farm or city home, thereby becoming a more stable citizen and greater asset to your country."

9. Loans on land to ex-service men would be a privilege not granted to the ordinary citizen, and such loans would not be asked for by all, while compensation is due all for time rendered in service. Therefore loans and compensation, serving very different purposes as they do, should not be confounded by incorporation in a unit bill before Congress, or by making them optional with the service men.

10. The State convention of the American Legion, of Michigan, representing thousands of paid-up members, passed a resolution without a dissenting vote, favoring a $100 bond to be paid to each ex-service man for each and every month or major fraction thereof which he spent in the service.

11. We respectfully submit that human nature is not different in Michigan from that in any other State.

12. We respectfully request that the above resolution be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The Antidumping Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CORDELL HULL,

OF TENNESSEE.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 9, 1919.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 10918) to provide revenue and encourage domestic industries by the elimination, through the assessment of special duties, of unfair foreign competition, and for other purposes.

Mr. HULL of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, I do not rise for the purpose of entering into a discussion of this bill at this time. I did not have the opportunity of making a study of the bill or of participating in the proceedings in the committee when the bill received its real consideration.

I am not satisfied with some of the provisions as they appear from a superficial examination. My present impression is that some material phases of this bill are more drastic than those of any other so-called antidumping law that I have any knowledge of. I am going to ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on this bill in order to define the impressions which I may finally form with regard to certain phases of it.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULL of Tennessee. Yes.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I agree with the gentleman that this bill is quite drastic in its provisions, and I would like to have him suggest at this time the particular matter that he has in mind. It may be that the bill needs some amendment.

Mr. HULL of Tennessee. I sought to develop one point of objection earlier in the day, and the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] proceeded to elaborate on it, and I am informed that he will offer an amendment relating to that phase; that is, in connection with the meaning and application of section 9 taken in conjunction with section 1 of the bill.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Section 9, of course, refers back to section 1.

Mr. HULL of Tennessee. Yes. Under the present provisions of the bill we might take any product which is produced only to the very slightest extent and value in this country, with the result that this country would be obliged to import the principal part that it consumed. Yet this bill would apply to and tax that business situation, even though we produced only a nominal amount and there was no prospect or possibility of ever producing more.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULL of Tennessee. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Let us take an example and see if I understand what the gentleman is getting at. Take the article of tea. Does the gentleman think that under a reasonable con-

sideration of section 1 it could be considered to be a competing article?

Mr. HULL of Tennessee. Some of the other antidumping laws relate only to competitive products where they are produced in substantial quantities. Now, section 1 of this bill simply embraces all articles that are produced at all or to any extent whatever in this country.

Mr. LONGWORTH. It leaves a certain amount of discretion to the Treasury officials in that regard. I do not think that under this bill, for instance, it would be construed that tea was produced in this country in such quantities as to justify its inclusion in the terms of this bill.

Mr. HULL of Tennessee. The gentleman might take potash or some similar products that are produced in minor quantities and in such small quantities that this country will be obliged to purchase the principal amount from abroad not only now but for all time hereafter.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I agree with the gentleman from Tennessee and the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] that this bill ought not to include articles which are practically not produced in this country, and if it were necessary to modify the bill I, for one, should be perfectly willing to modify it.

Mr. HARDY of Texas. The bill, in paragraph 1, makes it apply to all goods of a kind identical or comparable with the class or kind made or produced in the United States, without reference to quantity.

Mr. HULL of Tennessee. Without reference to quantity or value.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I think there are provisions in this bill, however, which limit it to articles produced in substantial quantities, to be determined by the Treasury officials.

Mr. HULL of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, I shall now extend my remarks in order to say that since the above colloquy I have given some study to the pending antidumping measure, with the result that my original impression that the proposed measure is decidedly more drastic, sweeping, and inflexible than any other law or proposed law on this subject has been confirmed. Existing laws in the very few other countries which have adopted antidumping legislation contain certain flexible and elastic provisions, exceptions, and qualifications which have been found essential to their practical administration and satisfactory operation. These laws present a much wiser and more feasible antidumping policy than this bill proposes.

The Balfour committee in England defined dumping as—

A sale of goods in particular markets at prices lower than those at which the goods are currently offered in the country of manufacture.

The United States Tariff Commission, in its interesting and elaborate report recently sent to the Ways and Means Committee of the House, proposes the following definition:

Dumping may be comprehensively described as the sale of imported merchandise at less than its prevailing market or wholesale price in the country of production.

The commission then very pertinently adds:

The definition derives particular importance from a not infrequent tendency to confuse with dumping ordinary low-priced sales, price cutting, and severe competition of a legitimate sort, as well as certain other trade practices which are generally considered unfairly competitive.

Hon. William S. Culbertson, a member of the Tariff Commission, in his recent admirable book entitled, "Commercial Policy in War Time and After," inserts an instructive chapter on antidumping legislation. Among other things, he says:

"Dumping" is a term which is heard frequently and which is used very loosely by business men. The great majority of cases described as dumping are merely cases of severe competition of cheap foreign goods.

He further points out that the unfair trade practice known as "undervaluation" is by many erroneously confused with the term "dumping."

Mr. Culbertson proceeds to define the three kinds of trade practice which might appropriately fall under the head of dumping, as follows:

(1) A temporary and sporadic selling abroad below the domestic price of a surplus that can not be disposed of at a profitable price at home. It is the principle of the "bargain counter" applied to international trade.

(2) A constant deliberate selling abroad below the domestic price of a portion of a factory's output, since by operating full time foreign producers can reduce the average cost and increase the total profits. Monopoly frequently results in this practice.

(3) A method of predatory price cutting intended to destroy a foreign industry, to eliminate a competitor, or to prevent the development of competition in the import market.

He then refers to the first classification just set out as being a trade practice as old as commerce which "consists of selling goods for whatever they will bring, usually at or below cost." This practice in domestic trade—and it is a very frequent and general practice—is never referred to as dumping, but only when it is pursued in foreign trade is it characterized as a species of dumping. American business concerns have generally pursued this practice in domestic trade, as well as to a very considerable extent in their export trade. This phase of dumping, which may be illustrated by the case of an American manufacturer who reduces the price of his goods sold abroad in order to meet competition or in order to get rid of a surplus, does not partake of the obnoxious or vicious character of the third form of dumping enumerated by Mr. Culbertson. Without regard to the merits of the dumping problem, it is claimed that in the past business in the United States has gained far more than it has lost from the practice of so-called dumping under the first and second classifications of Mr. Culbertson which I have already set out. The Nation undoubtedly has suffered much from the practice described in his third classification. The dye situation offers a conspicuous case in point. Speaking generally, it must be apparent that if the proposed drastic antidumping measure should become a law it would greatly limit the range of bargaining in which our business men can now indulge without injury to domestic industry when buying abroad, but I say this without including the more vicious class of trade practices which the German dye industry exemplified prior to the war.

Many of our industries prior to the war followed the constant systematic policy of selling abroad below the domestic price of a portion of their output. As I recall, steel rails, sewing machines, cash registers, and other staple products were for many years sold in other countries at substantially lower prices than in the domestic market. Understand me, I am only stating conditions, not opinions. The theory of this practice is that manufacturing concerns which produce on a large scale and at correspondingly lower costs find it profitable year in and year out to sell their surplus at or below cost in foreign markets. Under this practice many manufacturing businesses which produce on an immense scale are not obliged to shut down, thereby subjecting themselves to considerable losses resulting from idle plants and the disorganization of their labor. Before the war the German combination of wire-rolling mills and pig-iron and similar manufactures sought to justify their practice of systematic dumping. This combination was known as the Steel Verband, and they put the matter as follows:

Large steel plants must work at a certain maximum capacity without interruption if they are to remain efficient and produce at a minimum cost. It is impossible for the home market of any plant in any country to absorb a large output without interruption in the flow of orders due to periods of depression from economic causes outside the influence of the steel industry. Also the increased complication of the coal, iron, and steel industries, the increased use of furnace gases for industrial purpose (gas engines), for running lighting plants for neighboring towns, also the concentration of all stages of production in a few large mills, have made it increasingly difficult to reduce production in any one line of all the allied processes without causing grave losses and disorganization in other lines. Also the combination of the steel works with the coal mines and coke burners, which in turn also must work at a certain maximum capacity in order to be profitable, makes the reduction of its steel output directly affect the entire coal-mining, ore-mining, and smelting industries. Of the entire coal output the members of the Steel Verband absorbed about half, the other half being controlled by the Coal Syndicate (treated separately). A reduction of steel production to a marked degree would therefore bring about a crisis in the coal industry The Steel Verband therefore maintains that it is better for the entire economic life of the country in slack years at home to dispose of surplus products abroad at prices which may even cause a loss, inasmuch as the loss incurred by dumping abroad is in no comparison to the losses which would be incurred if production were reduced at home. Also, if production were reduced at home the cost of production would rise in mills running at half time, which in turn would increase the prices of the products to such an extent that the home consumers would suffer a greater loss in the end than they would gain by a momentary price reduction.

I merely insert this German view as an item of pertinent information and as a warning possibly to be heeded in future years. This statement is taken from the 1916 report of the Federal Trade Commission on "Cooperation in American Export Trade," volume 2, page 14. The Tariff Commission in its comment on the replies of American business, in response to its request for information as to dumping on the United States, says:

The answers, as already noted, evidence a tendency to complain indiscriminately, not only of these methods condemned everywhere as unfair but also of every form of successful foreign competition. The latter attitude, if given legal sanction, would affect American business usages in the promotion of foreign trade and would invite retaliation by other countries. Ordinary price cutting and underselling are so universal, both in domestic and foreign fields, that it is taken for granted that restrictions are contemplated only when their practice is accompanied by unfair circumstances or by unfortunate public consequences.

The United States is at present producing and selling abroad merchandise valued at near $8,000,000,000, while it is importing in return merchandise amounting to less than $4,000,000,000, and in this latter amount manufactured goods ready for consumption are but nominal. Our imports of such manufactured goods are but little over $425,000,000 per annum, while our exports of manufactures ready for consumption are over $2,500,000,000. Our imports of crude materials for use in manufacturing are in round numbers $1,600,000,000, while we export other kinds of like materials to the amount of $2,000,000,000. Our

imports of manufactures for further use in manufacturing are about $575,000,000, while our exports of manufactures for further use in manufacturing are over $900,000,000. It is evident from these figures and from general conditions of international trade, present and prospective, that there can and will be no really injurious or vicious dumping on the United States, save in limited instances, at any early date. I should make, among others, an exception as to certain phases of the dyestuff situation. I thoroughly agree that adequate action can not be taken any too soon to prevent that kind of dumping, wherein prices are cut for the purpose of destroying a competitor, either at its home or in a neutral market, or for the purpose of preventing the organization and development of a competing industry, or where the reasonable effects of dumping produce such results. No nation, nor any industry in it, should follow this unwarranted and vicious practice, nor will any commercial nation, in my judgment, permit foreign exporters in the future to inflict such injuries on its domestic manufacturers and producers. The purpose and terms of the proposed bill are certainly to this extent timely and wise. But the bill with its extremely drastic provisions does not stop here. It embraces, in addition, not only all the milder, less injurious, and certainly far less vicious forms of so-called dumping but also innumerable cases which do not constitute dumping in any accepted sense. The result will be that this proposed law will constitute either a bar or serious burden to tens of thousands of transactions which would not hurt but rather help our economic situation. The definitions of "foreign home value" and other commercial terms in the bill are highly technical, and will require detailed and closer examinations of goods and prices by our enforcement officials than ever before. Extreme difficulty will be encountered in determining the value of goods partly produced or manufactured in one country and partly in another. The definition of "dumping" is so broad and unqualified that the enforcement officials will be flooded with all kinds of complaints connected with transactions which do not come within the legitimate meaning of "dumping." I can best illustrate what I mean by referring to the result of the general inquiry as to the practice of dumping on our domestic producers and manufacturers made by the Tariff Commission within the past 18 months. Its letter of inquiry was sent to 39 business associations of manufacturers, importers, and exporters, including the United States Chamber of Commerce, Home Market Club, the National Foreign Trade Council, and other well-known commercial organizations.

The addresses of 562 manufacturers and other business firms were thus obtained and a letter written to each requesting information as to each or any known instance of "unfair competition through the selling in the United States of articles of foreign origin at less than the fair market value when sold for home consumption in the country of origin." Similar letters were also sent to a large number of other business concerns in the United States considered most likely to be affected by dumping. The Tariff Commission received 281 replies from manufacturers and others; 135 stated that the writers had no information of dumping in this country, while 146 offered complaint of certain forms of foreign competition which they had experienced. The Tariff Commission proceeded to analyze and list each of these complaints, with the result that, of the 146, 23 were listed under the definition of "dumping," 97 under that of severe competition, 5 under that of deceptive imitation and use of trade-mark, 8 under that of undervaluation, 4 under that of deceptive labeling, 7 under that of imitation of articles, 1 under that of threats, and 1 under that of exploitation of patents. It is thus seen that 146 business concerns or organizations, instead of being able to report 146 cases of dumping, only reported 23 actual cases, while the other 123 complaints, though constituting unfair competition and illegitimate trade methods, do not fall under the true definition of dumping in any form. Still the drastic features of the pending bill are such that most every transaction wherein the values appear suspicious in the slightest would be expected to receive the close scrutiny of our enforcement officials. The result would not only be a never-ending task but would operate as a serious burden on our manufacturers, traders, and consumers, for the reason, among others, that the immense amounts of raw materials and manufactures for further use in manufacturing, to which I have already referred, must continue to be purchased abroad on the best available terms—certainly at the world level of prices—and brought to this country, to be utilized in the business development of our manufacturing concerns and in the increased employment of labor.

Notwithstanding the Tariff Commission, after raking our domestic business world with a fine-tooth comb, calling upon scores of nation-wide commercial organizations and hundreds of individual manufacturing and other business concerns, was only able to locate 23 cases of dumping, including the mild as well as the aggravated cases—there were doubtless more—it is now proposed by the enactment of the pending air-tight bill to adopt as a permanent, cardinal trade policy of the United States the extreme prohibitions and exclusions which this bill would impose on every international trade transaction wherein the slightest variance downward between the import price and the price in the country of origin occurs.

It matters not that a given country is selling its raw materials to all other commercial nations lower than to its domestic consumers, our manufacturers purchasing them alone must pay the high prices it charges at home; it matters not that Germany or other sugar-producing countries are selling abroad cheaper than at home, as was the case prior to the Brussels convention, our American consumers alone must pay the higher home market price plus our sugar tariff; it matters not that a given country is selling any one of innumerable classes of products or materials to all the world at prices lower than the domestic price to the advantage rather than the injury of every country purchasing them, the people and business concerns of the United States alone must pay the higher home-market prices in every instance. The proposed bill contains not a single saving clause nor makes a single exception no matter what the nature of the foreign trade transaction, but treats the mildest and most harmless transaction that partakes but slightly of the nature of dumping as criminally as it does the most aggravated, cutthroat case of dumping, notwithstanding the former may be of real benefit to the American purchaser and the American people and the latter a serious injury. Even the only three antidumping laws in existence save our own are far more moderate than our present proposal; even the proposed law in England contains certain qualifying and elastic provisions; and in fact no antidumping policy ever proposed in any country has been so utterly drastic and inelastic as that suggested by the pending bill. The antidumping bill recently offered in the English House of Commons contains the following basic provision, prescribing the prerequisites to the imposition of the special dumping duty:

(a) That goods of any class or description produced or manufactured in any country outside the United Kingdom are systematically and in substantial quantities being imported into or being sold or offered for sale in the United Kingdom at prices below the foreign value as defined by this act or that there are good grounds for apprehending that such importation or sale is about to take place; and

(b) That the production or manufacture of similar goods in the United Kingdom is or is likely to be thereby adversely affected.

It will be seen that the very wording of these provisions exempts a long list of import-trade transactions not hurtful but helpful to British industry, which our bill would include and practically prevent. Other saving clauses designed to draw a line between all import transactions calculated to benefit the British people and British industry and those other classes of transactions which comprise actual dumping in the injurious and destructive sense are found in the British measure, such as the following:

Provided, That if the vendor previously to the sale has satisfied the board that the sale at the price at which the goods are to be sold is due to depreciation in the quality of the goods or to any other cause which it appears to the board should be taken into account.

In all the history of international commerce, in the light of all past experience in foreign trade, only three other countries to-day, so far as I can learn, have permanent substantive antidumping laws, and neither of these three countries is a separate, independent nation. They are Canada, Australia, and the Union of South Africa. Only England, among the important commercial nations, by their trade policies—high tariff, low tariff, or no tariff—has thus far proposed new or additional antidumping legislation.

And in this connection I desire specially to call attention to the reported fact that immediately after the British measure was offered in the House of Commons some months ago people and business concerns of every shade of opinion—protectionist as well as free trade—proceeded violently to assault it, with the result that some weeks ago it was officially announced by its sponsors that the bill had been abandoned for this session, and the general opinion is that it is permanently dead. This British proposal seems to be based on a revival of one of the famous Paris resolutions at the economic conference of the Allies in 1916, which in part at least, I must believe, were intended for war consumption. It was on this occasion that, economically speaking, the Allies declared "war after the war," which outstanding declaration is now being rapidly forgotten. I may say that I heartily favor reasonable, practical, antidumping legislation.

Even the Canadian law, drastic as it is, contains many qualifying and liberalizing provisions, designed to reach and deal only with the limited classes of cases of really injurious and destructive dumping without interfering with the ordinary

processes and natural currents of international commerce, the results of which are, in the aggregate, far more helpful than hurtful to the people, including the manufacturers of Canada. Canada's law imposes dumping duty "in the case of articles exported to Canada of a class or kind made or produced in Canada, if the export or actual selling price to the importer in Canada is less than the fair market value of the same article when sold for home consumption in the usual and ordinary course in the country whence exported to Canada at the time of its exportation to Canada." This is the general basic provision of the Canadian law, but radical reservations and qualifications too numerous to set out here will also be found as a part of the same statute. For example, the special dumping duty shall not exceed 15 per cent ad valorem in any case, whereas under the pending measure it may exceed 50 per cent, or 100 per cent, or 200 per cent, since no limitation is prescribed. This is the only proposal for an unlimited tax that I know of. Another provision in the Canadian law exempts entirely from any dumping duty "goods wherein the duties otherwise established are equal to 50 per cent ad valorem," whereas under the terms of the pending measure our regular tariff rates may be 60 per cent or more and our maximum domestic production may be but little above nominal, and still the special dumping duty which may run from 50 per cent to 100 per cent and upward without limit would be superimposed. The Canadian law exempts sugar refined in the United Kingdom, binder twine, and so forth. Still another liberalizing provision of the Canadian law is as follows:

> Such regulations may also provide for the exemption from special duty of any article when the difference between the fair market value and the selling price thereof to the exporter as aforesaid amounts only to a small percentage of its fair market value.

Under this regulation the margin is fixed at 5 per cent. Our proposed law prescribes no special margin, but would impose the special additional duty, however slight the margin might be.

It will be observed that the Canadian antidumping law limits the special duty to articles "of a class or kind made or produced in Canada," while our proposed measure takes a radical step in advance by including in addition "articles of the kind sold in competition with articles made or produced in the United States." This clause is new to all existing antidumping legislation, and its administration will involve constant controversy and unlimited difficulties. In a large sense, an automobile is sold in competition with the two-horse carriage; an autotruck is sold in competition with the dray wagon. These examples but illustrate the innumerable conditions of competition to which strenuous efforts will be made to apply the proposed provision of our antidumping bill. The articles may properly have different names and may be in all essential respects of a different make-up, but if "of a kind sold in competition," this bill would apply; otherwise, what does this language mean, and where does the application of its meaning begin and where does it end? This language could be applied so as to result in the outright prohibition of many imports of a most desirable and necessary character. This clause might properly be called a provision for the maintenance of high prices in this country. Our regular tariff schedules, whether high or low, are supposed to deal adequately with a vast number of transactions on which it is attempted to superimpose an additional duty of an irregular and uncertain amount by this and other clauses in the bill.

The enforcement of our proposed comprehensive antidumping law will severely tax any administrative agency vested with that authority and duty. With a foreign trade aggregating near $12,000,000,000, the American tradesmen will either buy or sell in nearly every port and important inland market in the world. Speaking of the ease with which Canada can administer her law and of the far greater difficulty our country will experience, the United States Tariff Commission in its report says:

> If the United States enacts a similar statute, it may find a different and more complex task presented by the world-wide foreign prices of import articles, especially those of continental Europe and the Orient. It also remains to be seen whether effective methods of evasions of such statutes will not hereafter be devised.

The bare mention of this administrative question shows that the conditions compared with those of Canada are entirely different. In considering the enormity of the administrative problem which this bill presents, we should keep in mind the one broad and inflexible general provision which, without exception, qualification, or reservation, directs that the special dumping duty shall in every instance be imposed on each article of merchandise, whether dutiable or free, which may be imported into the United States of a class or kind already described, equal to the difference between the import or sales price here and the sales price in the country of origin, as defined, provided, of course, the import price is the lesser of the two.

This herculean task will require a knowledge on the part of our administrative officials of the innumerable kinds, qualities, conditions, ingredients, origin, and values in the foreign countries of manufacture of the 3,000 or more different kinds, classes, and characters of commodities which we are accustomed to import. It is proposed to dump this burden upon the customs officials of the Treasury Department to be borne as a coordinate part of their present regular duties. In my judgment, it is a matter of grave doubt as to whether they should be made chiefly responsible for the satisfactory administration of the proposed measure, for the reason that unless their force should be greatly augmented and extended to various parts of the world and a special organization built up at home from the bottom to the top, the principal time of which should be devoted to this rather than the regular customs service, the administration would be in danger of breaking down. In the light of these conditions the intimation of the Tariff Commission that the Federal Trade Commission or some similar official body might much more feasibly be delegated and authorized to deal with the administrative work which the antidumping bill will require strikes me as very forcible.

This would be after the order of the Australian method of preventing antidumping practices, whereby dumping is treated very properly as a method of unfair competition. Tribunals are given jurisdiction to entertain and pass judicially upon these questions. By the act of September 26, 1914, creating the Federal Trade Commission, section 5 declares unfair methods of competition in commerce as unlawful, and directs the Federal Trade Commission to prevent any business concern from using unfair methods of competition in commerce. Adequate penalties are prescribed through court agencies. The procedure is well defined. The Federal Trade Commission has rendered extensive, effective, and valuable service in exposing and stamping out unfair methods of domestic competition. It would be easy enough to insert a provision making comprehensive the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission over acts of dumping, and it would not be bad policy to include certain other unfair methods of competition in international commerce, and in addition such trade commission could be given power to investigate the conditions of production, importation, and sale of all merchandise imported from any foreign country to the United States, with a view to ascertaining whether such unfair methods of competition exist; and if so, the commission could enforce the prohibitory provisions of the law under the powers granted by section 5 of the said act approved September 26, 1914, which should be conferred upon it by the pending measure.

By the authority of these provisions, if inserted in the proposed measure, a well-defined and already effectively organized tribunal consisting of officials and employees skilled and experienced in just this class of investigation and this character of functions would be prepared immediately to proceed with the administration and enforcement of all unfair trade practices arising under the proposed antidumping legislation. Under the authority of the act creating it, the Federal Trade Commission made an extensive investigation of competitive conditions affecting Americans in international trade, and published the results in two large volumes in the year 1916. The power which the commission exercised in making this investigation and report was based on paragraph (h) of the act creating it, as follows:

> To investigate, from time to time, trade conditions in and with foreign countries where associations, combinations, or practices of manufacturers, merchants, or traders or other conditions may affect the foreign trade of the United States, and to report to Congress thereon with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

It is thus seen that the work and functions of the Federal Trade Commission would easily dovetail into the coordinate and similar functions of enforcing the proposed antidumping, and such kindred, legislation as may be contained in the pending bill when finally enacted into law. The methods used by this commission in gathering information for its report on competitive conditions affecting American international trade were:

> (1) Special reports for the commission from the United States consuls; (2) public hearings by the commission; (3) research in published material; (4) inquiry cards and formal schedules sent to American business and professional men; (5) investigations, in this country and abroad, by the commission's field agents.

To these agencies of information would be added the officials and employees of the United States Customs Service who would closely cooperate with the commission.

Any law which so vitally affects the large percentage of foreign trade transactions such as this bill proposes, a law that confers great power more or less arbitrary, should have as its administrative agency a tribunal consisting of a systematic, well-defined, accurately functioning organization, which could entertain and consider according to legal forms, procedure, and practice the manifold matters of controversy that will arise un-

der this antidumping legislation, and render true judgment according to the law and the facts. It may be suggested that this is a revenue measure and therefore should fall under the administration of the customs officials. The experience with existing antidumping laws disproves this view. The amount of revenue derived from the operation of the Canadian law during the past six years has only averaged seven one-hundredths of 1 per cent of the total customs duties collected in Canada during the past six years, or, in other words, it is less than nominal when compared with the total.

The vast intricacies of many transactions involving dumping make it most difficult satisfactorily and clearly to establish the fact of dumping. The Tariff Commission in its report says:

> In the absence of governmental machinery devoted to its detection, conclusive proof of dumping is difficult to obtain. * * * In the absence of large investigating powers the task of an individual who seeks to convert suspicious circumstances into proof, one element of which must be found abroad, is usually of extreme difficulty.

Canada has had her troubles in this regard, although her trade area is so limited that her problem in this respect is simple compared to that which the United States must undertake. The Canadian law has been applied in the main to imports from the United States, while, as heretofore indicated, the enforcement of a United States statute would involve world-wide investigation and access to the exporters' books in almost all commercial countries. These conditions strengthen the force of the suggestion that a special and distinctive tribunal, organized in chief part for the purpose and which can function actively and efficiently in all essential respects, will be highly necessary.

"Dumping" in its more injurious and aggravated forms is but one of the large number of hurtful, irritating, and unfair practices common to international commerce, each of which is unjustifiable from the standpoint of fair dealing, friendly business rivalry, and friendly trade relations. Unfriendly trade relations means unfriendly political and diplomatic relations. It would be difficult to enumerate all the forms of unfair competition, extending from the slightest method of discrimination up to the worst degree of boycotting in return, but there are included in the list of unfair trade practices in foreign commerce all forms of tariff discrimination and retaliation; preferential right of entry to ports; discriminating embargo laws and restrictions; unfair utilization of bounties, bonuses, subsidies, drawbacks and rebates; wrongful seizure and utilization of patents, copyrights, trade-marks, and trade brands; the economic and financial violation of the territory of small, uncivilized, or backward nations; tonnage and shipping discriminations; wrongful interference with trade routes; violations of the "open door"; hurtful and unfair economic alliances; undue colonial preference; discriminating trade concessions; and other preferences by special agreements. What are ordinarily known as our commercial treaties with other nations have in the past dealt but slightly with any of the more or less vicious and unfair methods just enumerated, but in the main they only embrace the following subjects: (a) Most-favored-nation clause; (b) liberty to trade and travel; (c) passports; (d) nationality of vessels; (e) tonnage dues; (f) no shipping discriminations; (g) port regulations; (h) coastwise trade; (i) deserters from ships; (j) shipwrecks; (k) blockade, embargo, contraband, and other war measures; (l) patents, trade-marks, copyrights, and designs; (m) consular officers.

I think it most deplorable that the recent peace congress at Paris was unable, or at least failed, to agree to and announce a policy which would require steps to be taken to eliminate by international agreement as many of these irritating and unfair trade practices as it might be possible and at all consistent for the various commercial nations to agree to. For more than three years I have had a resolution pending in the House proposing an international trade agreement congress, for the purpose of discontinuing by agreement at least the worst forms of discrimination, retaliation, and other unfair trade practices to the fullest extent possible. The present is peculiarly the time—while the network of commercial treaties existing prior to the war are broken or abandoned, and while the various commercial nations are readjusting their domestic and foreign commercial policies—effectively and definitely to abandon the irritating classes of trade practices I have mentioned. No more important step forward could have been, or could be, taken, in my judgment. The alternative is that each nation shall lapse back into the old ruts, proceed to "act the hog," and seek every possible commercial advantage by fair means or foul, the result of which will be to revive every phase of those vicious, unfair, and war-breeding trade practices and policies which in most instances have constituted at least one of the chief underlying causes of past wars. Individually speaking, I can not too strongly urge the view that the various commercial nations of the world should by concert of action seek to discontinue rather than resume all these unjustifiable, cutthroat, selfish, and undermining trade methods which in the aggregate inflict far more harm than good upon each and all. The pursuit of this latter course would clearly be narrow, shortsighted, and, in the end, frightfully calamitous, as it has been in the past. It is my belief, therefore, that before each nation proceeds to adopt methods of serious discrimination or of too severe retaliation it will be wise first to ascertain whether more desirable international trade policies could first be agreed to by common understanding. Certainly there is no present necessity for the United States to be at all hasty in proclaiming, and in returning to, the old order of commercial practices which have been so disastrous to international good will and international peace. Whenever this Nation adopts a drastic, inflexible, antidumping policy instead of a reasonable and conservative one, or any other policy of vigorous retaliation, or any methods of discrimination, it thereby invites, or at least gives its assent to, every other nation to adopt similar and, if they desire, even more drastic policies in kind. I thoroughly agree that it is wise and timely that we should devise measures to prevent any kind of dumping intended to destroy a competitor, either at its home or in a neutral market, or to prevent the organization and development of a competing industry, or any phase or policy of dumping so substantial, fixed, permanent, and systematic that the reasonable effects of which would produce such results. Again, I may point to the dyestuffs situation as an example, but in so doing I desire to express the view that if the German dyestuffs organizations should again become at all powerful no one method will protect our domestic industries from unjust injury from these German influences.

A tariff based as nearly as may be on the relative cost of production, an antidumping provision, and also a temporary license system, operating jointly, will be necessary. Apart, however, from the dyestuffs and a few other conditions calling for immediate action by this Government, there are no others, either present or prospective, which require or from the wise, economic standpoint suggest further antidumping precautions at this time. We are the greatest producing, the greatest creditor, and the greatest exporting Nation in the world at present; we expect in the future to maintain our relative portion of international trade, and in so doing to ship and sell our great variety of surplus products to all the nations of the earth. The balance of the world is hopelessly behind in most lines of production and is strenuously calling on us for every kind of available surplus we have to spare. Prices of commodities generally are extremely high and in many instances going higher. Prices are high in the United States, and the enactment of a comprehensive, inflexible antidumping law such as is now proposed will have a tendency to sustain and increase rather than decrease existing high prices. This is no time to stimulate or increase prices to the American consumers and to the American manufacturers as to raw materials and semimanufactured products when they are already artificially high, when ours is the only country that has surpluses in important lines, and when the world not only has nothing to dump upon us but nothing to sell to us except, in the main, raw materials, products for further use in manufacturing, and noncompetitive articles such as coffee, tea, and rubber. In this period of high prices at home we can, to a real advantage rather than to any detriment, buy virtually anything the world has to sell and at such prices as may be offered. We want to lower rather than raise prices at present. The effect of the Canadian antidumping law, even with its radically qualified provisions, has been needlessly to increase prices to her citizens and business concerns in many classes of cases, not to say generally. And yet it is now proposed to impose a similar burden on the American people, notwithstanding there is no prospect of really injurious dumping in the early future save in the few special instances to which I have referred. It would be absurd to assume that other nations in the present demoralized state of their industries and their lack of adequate production will sell what limited amounts of products they might have available to the United States at less than the best prices obtainable. The recent action of some of their chambers of commerce to this effect is strong evidence in support of this view. We can be sure, too, that they will price their goods to us in dollars and not in their own depreciated currency.

It is clear from the facts and conditions already recited that the proposed antidumping bill should not become a law without first being radically modified—until a number of important and material qualifications and exceptions are made a part of it—so as to exclude from its operation any and all import transactions save those classes which I have heretofore expressly pointed out

and defined. It would be entirely feasible to so frame the bill that its prohibitory provisions would only affect such imports as would be actually hurtful in the sense already explained without at the same time uselessly adding to the cost of that other large mass of import transactions which in the main are beneficial to both the American manufacturer and consumer. It would not be difficult to enumerate a long list of this latter class of imports, but I have already proceeded at too great length.

Let me in closing quote from the famous speech of President McKinley at Buffalo, delivered on September 5, 1901, as follows:

Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously and our products have so multiplied that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention. * * * We must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. * * * The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good will and friendly trade relations will prevent reprisals.

Every sentence in this memorable statement applies with powerful force to our domestic and foreign trade situation to-day. Gentlemen may talk about looking alone to the development of our domestic trade to the exclusion of export business, but with our enormous supply of raw materials, the tremendous development of our manufacturing capacity before and especially during the war, and with our $12,000,000,000 of foreign commerce, I can point to no greater economic truth than to say that the biggest factor in our domestic prosperity during the coming years will be our foreign trade. This is true because there is no more patent fact than that the United States is producing far more than it can hope to consume at home, and the only possible way by which industry can operate at full capacity and labor secure constant employment is to maintain a stable foreign trade of such volume as will dispose of the vast surplus in many lines we will from year to year have on hand. To maintain this amount of foreign trade it is vitally important that we should produce at home on the lowest cost basis possible. The effectiveness of American industry and American labor makes this possible in a thoroughly satisfactory degree. But we can not hope to accomplish this much-desired end and go forward with the expansion of our great domestic and foreign trade if we proceed to erect many of the artificial barriers which I have heretofore specially enumerated, the inevitable result of which will be unnecessarily to increase generally our production costs. Extreme and unnecessary high tariff provisions are included in this list of artificial barriers and would prove even more fatal than many or most others. The higher level of costs of production thereby created in this country would prevent our selling our surplus abroad, with the result that production would have to be curtailed to meet only the domestic requirements, which would mean the shutting down of factories, the slowing up of enterprise generally, and the laying off of labor from employment during a good portion of each year. Utter stagnation would be our lot. Under this shortsighted, unwise, benighted, and suicidal policy the United States would be obliged itself to invoke the dumping practice, as it has too often done in the past.

River and Harbor Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANTHONY J. GRIFFIN,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 20, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 11892) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, my colleague from New York [Mr. DEMPSEY] I do not think has quite fully answered the question I propounded as to the reasons which moved the committee to make a lump-sum appropriation of $7,000,000 for carrying on pending authorized projects. I asked him (p. 1799, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Jan. 20, 1920): "What objection would there be, then, to saying in the bill how and where it is proposed to expend the $7,000,000?" In replying he gave the same reasons as were urged in the committee report in extenuation of the lump sum of $5,000,000 for maintenance. That report confesses that the policy of making a lump-sum appropriation for maintenance was an "experiment" and says that it was only adopted to enable the Engineers to shift appropriations in order to meet unexpected damages due to storms and floods. Having such contingencies in mind no one would dare assert that a lump-sum policy for maintenance is unreasonable. But no such excuse was made by the committee in support of that policy in the handling of the appropriations for pending projects, and I do not think that such excuse is valid.

If storm or flood or other disturbance of the customary conditions should damage or interfere with pending projects, I have no doubt that the maintenance fund of $5,000,000 could properly be drawn upon. The $7,000,000 appropriation is and should be exclusively for carrying on pending improvements.

The question that concerns this House most vitally is the wisdom of departing from the long-established and wise custom of making specific instead of lump-sum appropriations. Neither my colleague nor the Rivers and Harbors Committee has given any convincing reason why that departure has been made. We are therefore thrown back upon our own resources to find or try to find the motive. I ask your indulgence, therefore, in an analysis of the situation.

There are now on hand unexpended balances of upward of $27,000,000 at the disposal of the United States Engineers for pending projects. I have enumerated in the following table 39 projects under way in which there are on hand amounts more than ample to continue such work on the basis of average annual outlay for the preceding five years:

TABLE I.—*Great river and harbor projects under way, showing unexpended balances on hand in all projects over $100,000 Nov. 1, 1919.*

1.	East River and Hell Gate	$4,786,276
2.	Hudson River Channel	684,954
3.	Delaware River	1,136,096
4.	Schuylkill River	350,265
5.	Chesapeake & Delaware Canal	480,000
6.	Baltimore Harbor	390,473
7.	Norfolk Harbor	813,766
8.	Thimble Shoals Channel	361,368
9.	Cape Fear River below Wilmington	506,493
10.	Charleston Harbor	1,143,353
11.	Savannah Harbor	578,187
12.	Brunswick Harbor	507,830
13.	Hillsboro Bay	443,113
14.	Mobile Bar	276,989
15.	Black Warrior	228,516
16.	Southwest Pass	691,313
17.	Mermentau River to Sabine	372,502
18.	Galveston Channel	599,669
19.	Houston ship channel	994,350
20.	Brazos River, Waco to Washington	110,563
21.	Ouachita River	309,345
22.	Mississippi, between Ohio and Missouri	367,573
23.	Mississippi, Missouri River to St. Paul	586,875
24.	Missouri River	379,367
25.	Cumberland River below Nashville	591,215
26.	Tennessee River above Chattanooga	140,081
27.	Tennessee River, Chattanooga to Riverton	559,812
28.	Ohio River, locks and dams	4,997,903
29.	Ohio River, open channel work	420,019
30.	Keweenaw waterway	228,892
31.	Chicago Harbor	267,000
32.	Indiana Harbor	585,764
33.	Detroit River	754,786
34.	Rouge River, Mich	488,959
35.	Humboldt Bay	382,483
36.	Yaquina Bay	100,000
37.	Columbia River and Willamette River	393,833
38.	Pollock Rip Shoals	199,315
39.	Connecticut River below Hartford	116,992
	Total	27,327,290

SUMMARY.

Total expended fiscal year 1919	$21,245,177
Average expended last five years	26,229,851
On hand Nov. 1, 1919, in project funds, including all projects for which additional funds are asked	27,000,000

Is it likely, therefore, that the committee have in mind that the Engineers will apply any part of their lump-sum appropriation to any of these projects? Why should they when they have no need to or are not directed?

In the following table I think we can arrive at a nearer approximation to the purpose the committee seem so determined to conceal. In this table are shown 33 improvements which have less on hand than is necessary to equal their average annual expenditure. It would seem quite possible, therefore, that it is the object of the committee to provide for the continuance of these projects and to put enough to their credit in the hands of the Secretary of War to enable the United States Engineers to continue the respective improvements.

But the fact is that that is only an inference. What guaranty is there that the Secretary of War will continue these undertakings? It is left wholly in his discretion. Here are the projects in question. The table shows: First, last year's expenditures; second, the amount on hand; and, third, the average annual expenditure for the last five years.

TABLE II.—*Improvements which have less in hand than is necessary to equal average annual expenditure.*

	Last year's expenditure.	Amount on hand.	Average expenditure.
Greenwich Harbor	$14,662.65		$67,273.84
Smyrna River	4,052.24	$4,977.00	5,066.00
Waterway, Rehoboth Bay	6,810.94	41,955.00	50,680.00
Cape Lookout Harbor of Refuge	4,320.55	26,241.00	272,170.00
Jacksonville	264,961.00	84,356.00	258,032.00
Key West Harbor	13,549.70		4,375.00
Alabama River	33,554.33	27,073.00	58,144.00
Pascagoula River	97,041.79	21,769.00	48,973.00
Gulfport Harbor, Miss	122,149.00	32,357.00	78,869.00
Southwest Pass	1,592,083.00	691,313.00	835,640.00
Freeport Harbor	199,198.46	61,153.00	93,506.00
Port Aransas	115,591.57	15,518.00	236,395.92
Brazos River, Waco to Washington	49,276.04	110,563.00	120,154.20
Big Sunflower	20,087.90	9,179.00	7,026.39
Steele and Wash Bayou	39,065.63	2,077.00	87,445.49
Mississippi, between Ohio and Missouri	475,151.98	367,573.00	376,291.04
Mississippi, Missouri to St. Paul	756,431.28	586,875.00	942,573.23
Missouri River	1,210,805.20	379,367.00	1,178,985.97
Tennessee River above Chattanooga	169,095.13	140,081.00	216,093.65
Tennessee River below Riverton	87,900.98	66,427.00	106,219.06
Ohio River locks and dams	3,850,045.80	[1] 4,997,903.00	4,794,694.39
Fox River	16,133.79	10,922.00	15,179.18
Manitee River	25,636.73	34,646.00	65,170.34
Oakland Harbor	115,404.22	43,443.00	112,384.01
Richmond Harbor	194,956.29	4,269.00	97,567.28
Petaluma Creek	35,307.35	18,404.00	13,199.36
Sacramento River	71,753.07	1,954.00	55,403.77
Snake River	2,669.29	7,500.00	15,329.26
Columbia and Willamette Rivers	387,369.00	393,833.00	331,800.00
Lewis River, Wabash	18,445.00	8,336.00	12,248.00
Grays Harbor	2,067.00	93,595.00	117,773.00
Honolulu Harbor	14,646.00	8,648.00	56,048.00
Hilo Harbor	155,975.00	8,974.00	118,804.00
Total	10,166,197.91	7,321,181.00	10,837,508.38

[1] Slightly in excess of average annual expenditure.

The question is, Are these the projects which are going to get the $7,000,000? If that is so, what is the objection to saying so? If not, why should not that fact also be revealed? What excuse is there for keeping the Members of this House and the country in the dark? We are entitled to the information, and the country is entitled to the information. If this is to be a "porkless river and harbor bill" in name, let it be so in fact. There can be no "pork" in any bill where the name, nature, and amount of every appropriation is frankly disclosed. It is only in these dark and sinister, hooded and cloaked bills that the danger of corruption lurks. Let us have more light.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN I. NOLAN,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 22, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 11892) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Speaker, in support of the amendment that I offered in the House during the consideration of the pending rivers and harbors bill, providing for a preliminary survey of Islais Creek, San Francisco, Calif., I desire to incorporate a communication from the president of the State board of harbor commissioners—Hon. John H. McCallum, San Francisco, Calif.—as well as a brief prepared by Mr. Frank G. White, chief engineer for the State board of harbor commissioners, San Francisco, Calif. Also an excerpt from the report of the State board of harbor commissioners for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918:

BOARD OF STATE HARBOR COMMISSIONERS,
San Francisco, Calif., June 19, 1919.

Hon. JOHN I. NOLAN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: You will recall that during your recent stay at San Francisco you accompanied a committee of Congressmen on a survey which they made on the Bay of San Francisco looking toward the establishment of a naval base.

In journeying to and from Hunters Point you will recall our chief engineer, Mr. White, as well as myself, calling your attention to our proposed development at Islais Creek, and the necessity of receiving some aid from the Federal Government in the way of dredging an approach to Islais Creek.

This board, as well as the chamber of commerce and the shipping interests, are of the opinion that the Federal Government should render some assistance on this matter; and therefore the request that you present to the proper committee a bill asking for a preliminary investigation or survey of our requirements.

I am mailing you, under separate cover, a map showing the creek itself, together with the district which we think ought to be dredged and which appears on the map in red.

Any assistance that you can render us in getting this started in the right channels will not only be appreciated by this board but by the shipping interests of San Francisco Bay.

With kind personal regards, I am,

Yours, very truly,

J. H. MCCALLUM,
President.

P. S.—In order that you may understand the project and development which we have under way I am sending you under separate cover a copy of our biennial report and would ask that you give particular attention to pages 20, 23, and 24, which treat of the work to be done in that vicinity.

I am calling your particular attention to the vegetable-oil station mentioned on page 24, work on which is in course of progress at the present time, and in order to handle the large commerce coming to this port carrying oriental oils we hope to get the assistance of the Government in getting the necessary dredging done.

VEGETABLE OIL STATION.

There is urgent need at the present time for a well-equipped station for handling the various kinds of oriental vegetable oils and it is proposed to use for this purpose a portion of the filled land and the existing wharf on the south side of Islais Creek and east of Third Street. On this property the board contemplates the construction in the near future of facilities for the handling of barrel, case, and bulk oil. These will consist of a pumping plant, pipe lines, tanks, case and barrel storage, dumping tables, can balers, etc. A number of the oil importers have expressed their willingness to build the tanks necessary for their own use and it is the board's intention to build only a few small tanks to be used for overflow and emergency business. In conjunction with the oil station there will be provided a tank barge with a capacity of about 700 tons of bulk oil, which will be used as the connecting link between the steamships and the storage tanks and which will be available in case any cargoes are not large enough to justify the steamships in moving to the oil berth.

INDIA BASIN-ISLAIS CREEK DEVELOPMENT.

The construction of the wharf which extends along the south side of the Islais Creek channel from Third Street to Selby Street marked the initial step in the development of the India Basin-Islais Creek district. Comprehensive plans for the improvement of this district are under way and the work will be carried out in successive steps as the requirements of shipping demand.

BOARD OF STATE HARBOR COMMISSIONERS,
San Francisco, Calif., August 14, 1919.

Miss HILDA GOHRMAN,
Secretary Board of State Harbor Commissioners.

MY DEAR MISS GOHRMAN: In preparing "brief" for Congressman NOLAN to be used in connection with the proposition to dredge in the vicinity of Islais Creek, the following facts should be brought out:

1. "San Francisco Harbor is the largest and most important harbor on the Pacific coast of the United States." I quote from page 1671 of the Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers to the Secretary of War, dated September 10, 1918.

2. The entire water front is owned by the State of California and is under the jurisdiction of the Board of State Harbor Commissioners.

3. This board has constructed 38 piers in addition to ferry slips, wharves, sea walls, buildings, a belt railroad, etc., aggregating in value at the present time more than $20,000,000. The water front has been practically built new within the last 10 years.

4. The berthing space available alongside the existing structures is more than 14 miles in length, and the piers and wharves have an area of more than 134 acres.

5. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, 10,258,000 tons of cargo were handled over these structures.

6. Up to July 1, 1918, there has been expended by the United States through the Chief of Engineers of the War Department on projects around San Francisco Bay a total of $6,796,626.94, distributed as follows:

(1) Harbor of San Francisco	$709,651.52
(2) Redwood Creek	46,119.10
(3) Oakland Harbor	4,515,599.87
(4) Richmond Harbor	None.
(5) San Pablo Bay	1,283,493.75
(6) Suisun Channel	18,592.63
(7) Napa River	60,369.79
(8) Petaluma Creek	162,800.28
	6,769,626.94

In addition, $100,000 has been appropriated for the Richmond Harbor project.

7. Although the sum of $709,651.52 is charged against the harbor of San Francisco only a fractional part of this should be so charged. Practically all of the money was expended in the removal of Centissima Rock, Rincon Reef Rocks, Arch Rock, Blossom Rock, and Shag Rocks. These rocks were located in or near the Golden Gate or in the main channels in the bay, and were a menace to navigation into or in the bay, regardless of the destination of the vessel. I quote again from the report of the Chief of Engineers, page 1672, in which he refers to these projects:

"Effect of improvement: The chief menaces to shipping entering and leaving the port have been removed."

This shows that he recognizes the fact that these improvements are of benefit to the entire port and not alone to the harbor at San Francisco.

As a matter of fact practically no expenditures have been made solely for the benefit of the San Francisco Harbor, while more than $6,000,000 have been spent for other harbors on the bay.

8. The dredging which is requested is required to render accessible improvements already constructed by the board along the south side of Islais Creek Channel. These improvements consist of wharves about one-half mile in length which are used for handling rice, lumber, etc. Back of one wharf the board is now constructing an oil terminal to be used for handling oriental vegetable oils. When this terminal is completed it will be necessary for vessels plying to the Orient to dock at this wharf.

9. The board is planning a large development of this section which will be inaccessible until this dredging is done. It is expected that the first unit of this development will be begun in the near future.

10. The board owns and operates a dredging plant which is constantly in operation and which maintains the necessary depth of water in the slips adjacent to all piers and wharves. The cost of operation of this plant is merely $100,000 per year.

Very truly, yours,

FRANK G. WHITE, *Chief Engineer.*

For a number of years I have consistently voted against rivers and harbors appropriation bills due to the fact that they contained immense appropriations for projects of doubtful value to the commerce of the country. I shall be very glad to support the pending bill and wish to thank the House and committee for incorporating my amendment for a preliminary survey of Islais Creek. It will be noted that there has been but a very small amount of money spent by the United States Government on the San Francisco Bay side of the world's greatest harbor, but Islais Creek section is destined to become one of the most important units in San Francisco's great harbor system, and the comparatively small amount of money necessary to thoroughly dredge Islais Creek channel will be spent upon a very meritorious project.

Railroad Control.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Saturday, December 20, 1919.

The Senate had under consideration the bill (S. 3288) further to regulate commerce among the States and with foreign nations and to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as amended.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I shall not attempt, in the closing hours of this debate, to reply in detail to the arguments advanced in support of this bill.

The one point chiefly relied on, to pass the pending measure returning the railroads to the private owners, is that the American public will be saved two or three hundred million dollars a year on the cost of operation.

The junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD], in his able speech two or three days ago, stated the argument, and the whole of it, when he said:

> If they—
>
> The railroads—
>
> are going to be controlled by private owners, if the future policy is going to be to turn them back to private owners—and that is what I am in favor of doing—then I do not see why we should continue the burden on the American public of $200,000,000 or $300,000,000 a year for another year. I think we had better turn them back right now. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Dec. 16, p. 678.)

That argument has the merit of being easily understood. It is the statement which has been scattered broadcast over the country during the last few months so as to prepare the public mind for the return of the railroads to the private owners. Of course, that argument does not justify the return of the roads to private hands under this particular bill, because this particular bill goes a great deal further than merely returning the roads to private ownership. It does not justify the extraordinary features of this bill, which are not necessary in order to effect a return of the roads, but it is the one argument that has been made in support of the demand for the immediate relinquishment of Government control of the railroads.

If it is true that as a result of the return of these roads to private operation the American public is going to be saved two hundred million or three hundred million dollars a year, I admit that to be a very strong argument in favor of so returning these roads to the owners. But, on the other hand, if facts show that the return of the roads will save the American public nothing, then the argument for the return of the roads fails utterly. If we go one step further and show that the return of the roads to private operation means an additional charge and burden on the American public of many times $300,000,000 a year, then, by the logic of the supporters of the bill, the argument against the return becomes well-nigh conclusive.

So that the question gets right down to the question of fact, and fortunately *the facts are established or admitted which show that the return of these roads to private hands is going to cost the people of this country annually several times $300,000,000. That the return of the roads and their continued operation in private hands will ultimately cost the people of this country many billions of dollars a year can be shown with great certainty.*

But as to the immediate annual cost of returning the roads there is no question at all. The facts are before us. In the first place, it is to be said that the argument of the supporters of this bill that retention of the roads by the Government will cost the people of this country two hundred or three hundred million dollars a year, or any other sum whatever, is purely speculative. It is based upon nothing excepting the fact that the operating income of the roads during the period of the war was insufficient by about $250,000,000 a year to pay the extortionate rentals to the roads which the Government undertook to pay when they were taken over and the extraordinary cost of operating the roads under war conditions.

That is no more of an argument than it would be to say that because a man lived and supported his family on $1,000 or $2,000 prior to the war he should be able to support his family just as well on the same income during and since the war. With the cost of railway labor increased I believe it has been stated in the argument here something like a billion dollars a year during and since the war period; with the cost of fuel and other materials almost doubled as a result of the war; with the roads run for the purpose of winning the war instead of making money, it must be obvious to any fair-minded man that because a loss resulted under those conditions is no argument at all to support the claims of any loss in Government operation under normal conditions.

So I say that the argument that the roads must be run by the Government at a loss during normal conditions because they were run at a loss under war conditions is purely speculative, and the analogy by which the argument is attempted to be supported is wholly fallacious.

When you turn, however, to the other side of the ledger and inquire what it is going to cost the people of this country immediately when the roads are turned back, the increased burden to be at once imposed upon the people is clearly stated and so well authenticated that no man can mistake the facts.

In the first place, this bill, when it came before the Senate, carried on its face a provision for a loan to the roads, which was to accompany their return, of a sum representing the advances made by the Government, amounting to $800,000,000 to $1,000,000,000.

Then the bill carries on its face a very handsome guaranty for four months after the roads are returned of the standard return, based upon the previous earnings of the roads. That will mean a few million more to be taken out of the public. Not satisfied with that, since the bill has been before the Senate it has been amended so as to provide for an immediate loan to the roads of $500,000,000. All this money has to come out of the pockets of the American public. It has to be raised in taxes.

Thus, according to the argument of the proponents of this bill, it is proposed in this single item alone to take out of the pockets of the American people at once enough money to cover the loss of Government operation for another two years, even if the approximate loss during the war were continued.

Which is going to be the more burdensome, then, to the American public, the more immediately burdensome—returning the roads to private operation or continuing Government operation?

It is idle to say that this is a loan and that it is going to be paid back some time. It is like the many other billions of dollars of the people's money that the Government has loaned in recent years. We do not know it will ever be paid back. But the point is that at this time, now, this money has to come out of the pockets of the people when they can least afford it.

We are talking about continuing the burden on the American public, in the language of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD], but the greatest burden of all which the return of these roads is going to place upon the American public remains to be mentioned, and that is the burden of increased fares, rates, and charges by the railroads. I want to remind the Senate, Mr. President, that every increase in freight rates, while paid in the first instance by the shipper, is ultimately paid by the consumer, but not in the amount which the shipper paid. It has been computed by those entirely competent to make the computation—among others, Director General Hines—that an increase in freight rates of $1, by the time it is passed on from the manufacturer, who first pays the increase as he ships his goods—his products—to the wholesaler, to the jobber, and from the jobber on through the various stages until it finally reaches the consumer, carries with it a multiplication of the freight rate originally paid by the producer and shipper of the product amounting to five times the amount of the original freight rate by the time it reaches the consumer. It is just as much of a tax upon consumers as though it were a tax levied directly on their homes or on their incomes.

We know that this increase is going to come if the roads go back to private hands, for every railroad official who has testi-

fied or spoken upon the subject, or who has been interviewed by the press, has said that the rates must be increased, and every Senator on the floor who has championed the bill admits that to be the fact. We know also from the testimony of the railway officials themselves that the increase in rates will amount at least to more than $700,000,000.

A few days ago, speaking upon the bill in the Senate, I quoted from an interview with Mr. Kruttschnitt, president of the Southern Pacific Railroad, given to the New York Times a week ago last Sunday. In that interview Mr. Kruttschnitt stated emphatically and positively that as soon as the roads were turned back to their owners they should press at once for an immediate increase of $742,000,000 in railroad rates. He supported that statement with the argument familiar to all members of the committee.

There is no more doubt than that we are here in the Senate Chamber at this moment that this increase of rates will be forced upon the country. That is the minimum of their demands—$742,000,000. That was backed up by the statement which I submitted to the Senate at that time, made by the President of the Northern Pacific on the 21st day of November at a banquet held at New York, in which he declared that the railroads must have immediately this increase of rates. He did not name the amount, but he stated that it must be very considerable, a very large increase.

I have been told by the financial department of the Railroad Administration of the Government now operating the roads that there is every reason to believe that if the roads are left with the Government for operation no increase in freight rates will be imposed upon the country. I sought information from the financial department of the Railroad Administration, because that is the department that is best informed as to the financial needs of the roads. They inform me that all the indications point to the largest tonnage in railway transportation for the coming year in the history of our Government. That is the indication. Members of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Railroad Administration look out upon the next year as being the biggest in tonnage, in profit, and that means in railroad profit, that the country has ever seen in all its history in normal years.

It ought to be said in this connection—and I say it notwithstanding it may be in some way a repetition of what I have said heretofore on the floor—that it was necessary to maintain a great overhead by the Government in railway operation in order to handle the war business during the war period. When the armistice came, transportation fell off abruptly, almost instantly, in enormous proportions because of the cancellation of war orders.

We were informed about that at the time. We had to pass in the Senate an emergency measure providing for the war contracts that were canceled over the telephone and by telegraph. The Government had an immense machine here for handling transportation during the war, the mightiest transportation organization that the world has ever seen, built up to meet the needs not of this country, sir, but of the world, in so far at least as those who were in partnership with us in the prosecution of the war were concerned.

At the stroke of the clock, quite unexpectedly, the armistice was signed. Then it became the duty of those who were contracting for world production to stop expense and, stopping the expense, to stop production, and stopping production cut down the freight shipments and at once reduced receipts for the railroads that were being operated by the Government. But there had been built up a great machine for handling that world transportation and you could not instantly adjust that; you could not at once keep pace in reducing the overhead charges with the immediate reduction of freight tonnage from a war-time basis to a peace-time basis. It would have meant throwing hundreds of thousands of men out of employment. It would have involved a social problem, an economic problem. It could not be done. It takes time for a mighty organization to adjust itself to radical and revolutionary changes such as the armistice brought about. So this overhead charge for a great war-time machine continued to operate until it could be slowed down here, reduced there, and adjusted in the course of time to the new conditions which the armistice had brought to the country.

In counting the expense of Government operation in testing this matter, I think it is just and fair and reasonable to take those things into consideration, and yet they are not taken into consideration here, they are given no consideration by the press of the country, and hence they are not understood by the public. You have just the naked facts presented that Government operation cost so much, that Government operation is very expensive.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, would it disturb the Senator to ask a question at this point?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Indeed, it would not.

Mr. GRONNA. If I may preface my inquiry with a statement, I will say that as a rule I am opposed to Government interference in business or in the industries, although I realize that public-service corporations are somewhat different from corporations or individuals engaged in private enterprise. I have been reading the Senator's minority report, and I find on page 11 the following statement:

> If the railroads are returned to the owners under this bill, they go back with a Government guaranty of profit to the private owners amounting to 5½ to 6 per cent on the value.

If the Government of the United States turns the roads back to their owners and permits the owners to increase the salaries of the officers as they see fit, then do I understand the Senator to state that the Government will guarantee a return to the owners of the roads of 5½ or 6 per cent, regardless of whether or not they make it?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Absolutely; that is provided in the bill by fixed terms that admit of no variation. In other words, let me say the Interstate Commerce Commission is required so to adjust rates as to pay 5½—nay, 6 per cent—upon the fair value of the roads.

There is no way of ascertaining the fair value of the roads if the provisions of the bill are to be carried out at once as the bill requires, except to take the book accounts of the railroad companies as to their valuation, for the actual valuation provided for by the act of 1913 will not be completed for some three or four years; nobody knows exactly how soon. After it is completed the Interstate Commerce Commission has got to go to the courts in a contest with the railroads, probably as to every single road.

Mr. GRONNA. If the Senator intends to touch upon that phase of it I shall not further interrupt him.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I intend to do so if my time permits.

Mr. GRONNA. But I am at a loss to understand how it would be possible for the Government of the United States and the people of the United States to arrive at any given rate of percentage so long as we do not know what the valuation of the roads is.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. But, Mr. President, the Interstate Commerce Commission by the very terms of this bill is required to do that at once and to fix the railroad rates immediately so as to pay that return.

My contention all through the arguments that I made last week was that since the Interstate Commerce Commission has not the true value it has been compelled to take the book value of the railroads as the basis for fixing those returns.

Mr. GRONNA. It must take an arbitrary value, whether high or low.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It must take a value that I will show before I get through is a fraudulent and fictitious value, a padded value, a value that is vastly more than the actual value; and I will show it by the statements of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which have been issued officially to the Congress of the United States.

Mr. President, if the question is simply what will burden the American people the least, returning the railroads to private hands or keeping them where they are, there can be no doubt about the answer. If we continue Government operation for the next year, you will keep in the pockets of the American people, by any sort of figuring possible under the admitted facts, more than three billion dollars, which you will take out of their pockets and turn over to the railroads if you return the roads to private management. If Mr. Hines's statement as to the multiplied cost of an advanced freight rate by the time it reaches the consumers is true, you will take upward of four billions of dollars out of the pockets of the American people in a short time if you return the roads to the owners; for, mark you, this bill says to the Interstate Commerce Commission, "You shall at once fix rates so as to pay 6 per cent on the value of this property." The Interstate Commerce Commission does not know the value of the property, and they have said in the western advance rate case in 1910, Commissioner Lane writing the opinion, that when it comes to meeting the railroads on the question of the value of their property before the commission shall have officially ascertained the value, they have no answer to the book valuations of the railroads.

I am going to deal with that matter specifically in a few moments, and I am going to show that that is such a wicked, wrongful, dishonest distortion of the true value that to impose it upon the Interstate Commerce Commission now is little short of a raid upon the public.

The bill provides for a net income of from 5½ to 6 per cent upon the value of the railroad properties as determined by the Interstate Commerce Commission. It requires that the value

for the purpose of fixing the rate be immediately determined. It has been admitted by every speaker in behalf of this bill that it will be two or three years before the Interstate Commerce Commission can determine the true value. In the meantime the book value must be accepted, and Senators in their remarks in behalf of this bill all clearly show that they expect that value to be accepted, excepting the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS]—I want to except him, for he has never indorsed the book value; he has said again and again that the book value is excessive. But the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] and the senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] have argued in support of the validity of the book value or investment account of the railroads as showing the fair value of their property. Particularly is that true of the argument made by the Senator from Alabama. That is just what I anticipated, Mr. President. That is the argument that is going to be made before the Interstate Commerce Commission. When by the provisions of this bill you throw upon the Interstate Commerce Commission the duty and the responsibility of immediately finding the value of the railroads in order to fix the 5½ per cent return, they are going to be confronted with the argument made by the Senator from Alabama that the book value is the true value.

That contention had never been made by any Senator before. I do not recall anywhere in any of the debates of Congress that any Senator ever had the hardihood to argue to his associates on this floor that the book values, the investment accounts, of the railroad companies could be considered as anywhere near approaching accuracy as to the value of the properties.

Mr. President, I have dug down into the capitalization of the railroads a bit, and I am going to put the figures in the RECORD in connection with this bill. Let Senators get this in their minds. It is now contended for the first time on this floor that since the bill of 1906, known as the Hepburn-Dolliver bill, was passed, because there was a provision in that bill—and I refer to section 20 of that bill—authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to supervise the bookkeeping of the railroad companies, in order that it should be made uniform, from that time on, from 1907 down to the present time, railroad accounting has been accurate and reliable, being supervised by the Interstate Commerce Commission. I will show by the reports of the commission—and I will read their words to the Senate—that that is not true. And let me say to Senators here, even if it were true, that from 1907 down to this hour the Interstate Commerce Commission have been able so to supervise the bookkeeping of all the railroads as to make a true account of investments, back in 1906 you have all the errors and all the frauds and all the fictitious capitalization carried year after year in those accounts down to this hour. What I mean to say is this: If you become involved in a difference with some one with respect to an accounting, and there is a period within which you have had satisfactory knowledge that the accounts were kept fairly accurately; that that period of time began in 1907 and reached down to 1919, 12 years; but that back of that time there were 50 years of fraud in the accounts, and the fraud stays there; and has never been taken out; if you are asked to make a settlement with your opponent on the basis of the whole account, with its big element of fraud, would you be content to make a settlement on such a basis?

Mr. McCORMICK. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WOLCOTT in the chair). Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. McCORMICK. I desire to ask a question as a matter of information. The Senator knows a great deal, and I know very little.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I do not know much. Few of us here know much. Let me just say that that is the trouble with this business. None of us can sit as experts on the problem with which we are dealing, and that is the reason why I am asking that this subject might be under investigation for a couple of years.

Mr. McCORMICK. The Senator is informed as very few men are.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I am hoping that there might be a commission appointed of real experts on this subject, disinterested experts, who will take it up, make a study of it, and who at the end of a couple of years would be able to make a very informing report to Congress of this whole matter, so that in dealing with this question we should deal with it with some expert knowledge as a basis for our action instead of taking action now based on the inaccurate work of a committee of Congress that is going to fix a certain burden forever upon the American people with regard to this big problem if we adopt it. That is what I am pleading for here.

Mr. McCORMICK. I sought to ask the Senator what bearing the authorized physical valuation of the roads would have on the error antedating the passage of the Hepburn-Dolliver Act?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. This, Mr. President: If the valuation is made with accuracy and justice, it will determine the true investment value of the property of a railroad from its organization to date. It is a large undertaking. It requires time. The act for the valuation of railroads was passed in March, 1913. Down to the present time the Interstate Commerce Commission has reported the value of five little railroads. I have not their names at my tongue's end at this moment, but I put them in the RECORD during my discussion of this subject last week. They are small roads. Those are the only roads that the Interstate Commerce Commission is sufficiently advised about to warrant it in making an order as to their valuation. They are small roads, inconsequential roads. Now, even as to those five roads, the order of the Interstate Commerce Commission, entered as their judgment as to the value of those roads, does not settle the value of those roads. Of course, you could not write a law on valuation that would authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix the value of railroad property and make it absolute upon their findings, because we have constitutional provisions that no one shall be deprived of property without due process of law, and they might fix a valuation so low, or at least the railroads might so contend, that it would amount to confiscation, and therefore they must have their day in court. So, as to these five roads, they have got to go to court in each of the cases. Now, there have been some proceedings in court already, testing certain principles that the Interstate Commerce Commission is applying in valuation. But even at that every item in each of the valuations of these roads is going to be a subject of contest in the courts, so that, so far as the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission is concerned in valuation, it does not fit into this plan at all, let me say to the Senator from Illinois. This plan requires the Interstate Commerce Commission, on the passage of this bill, to adjust the rates so as to return a given percentage—6 per cent—on the value of railroad property.

How are they going to get it They said again and again to Congress, for 12 or 15 years, that whenever a railroad company in any case before the Interstate Commerce Commission involving the fixing of rates raised the question of valuation, the Interstate Commerce Commission was helpless; that the railroad companies had their books, the Interstate Commerce Commission did not have anything to show to what the railroad companies had put into the property, and therefore they were utterly helpless; and they pleaded with Congress, from 1903 down to 1913, for authority to get the value of railroad property *as the only means of correcting the fraud in the book accounts.*

Mr. McCORMICK. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I do.

Mr. McCORMICK. I only wanted to observe that there are some of us who perhaps have as little taste for this bill as the Senator from Wisconsin, but we do not see clearly to the end of the passage along which he would lead us. We see "through a glass darkly," as the Scripture has it.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I know. I do not wonder at that. The railroads and the railroad press have been darkening that glass for two years and distorting the facts through it. If the Senator could have the patience to follow me, I believe that I can produce facts here that will entirely sustain my proposition to leave this matter for at least two years in the hands of the Federal Government.

It has been admitted by practically every speaker in behalf of this bill—I think by every speaker—that it will be three years before the Interstate Commerce Commission can report upon railroad valuation. In the meantime the book value, as I contend, must be accepted; and, Senators, the remarks in behalf of this bill of all except the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS] clearly show that they expect book value to be accepted, and they are arguing for the validity of book value; and never before this session did anybody ever argue, here or at any other place, unless he was a retained attorney for the railroad companies before the Interstate Commerce Commission, for the validity of book value.

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE], in discussing this question the other day, frankly said:

> I do not know, and no one else knows, what the whole value of these properties is at the present day.

Take that admission, and then study the terms of this bill, which requires the Interstate Commerce Commission to make rates based on the value of the railroad immediately upon the passage of the bill. The Senator says, "No one knows the whole value of these properties." Yet the majority of the

Interstate Commerce Committee wrote into this bill a provision that the Interstate Commerce Commission must immediately find out the actual values of these properties at the present day. Every Member of the Senate knows that it will be years before the Interstate Commerce Commission can comply with that command, and that is now admitted to be so.

Why, then, was any such demand made? Why not have stated frankly that it would be a fictitious and false book value, which would be capitalized under the bill for rate-making purposes. The answer is obvious. Had this been made plainly to appear in the bill, such opposition would have been aroused on the part of the public as would have made the adoption of such a provision impossible. But that provision in the bill is just as effectual as though it had been written out in plain language that in fixing rates to insure the railroads the 6 per cent, the Interstate Commerce Commission should accept the book values or investment accounts of the railroads as the actual value of their properties.

It was said by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] that whether we adopted the pending bill or not, the rates must be made, under the Constitution, with reference to the value of the property, and that responsibility will attach to the Interstate Commerce Commission whether the bill is passed or not.

That is true; the Interstate Commerce Commission is directed to make rates according to the correct principles. But everybody knows that the Interstate Commerce Commission can not make rates according to the correct principles, and never has made rates according to correct principles. I mean by that just this, that it never has been able to make a rate that would result in a reasonable return upon the fair value of the property. That is what the Ames case, a Nebraska case, laid down a generation ago as the true measure of a reasonable rate.

If Congress had performed its duty and authorized the Interstate Commerce Commission to make a valuation of railway property, they would have complied with the true principles laid down by the Supreme Court with reference to making reasonable rates. We never have had a reasonable rate made in the United States in the history of rate making by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and every man who understands the first principles of ascertaining reasonable rates knows that is true. What have we had? When the question is raised before the Interstate Commerce Commission as to whether a rate is reasonable or not, they go through the form—and it is a process of juggling for which Congress is responsible because it delayed providing for valuation—they go through the form of merely comparing the questioned rates with existing rates that are not questioned; and then adjusting it so that it is relatively reasonable as compared with other rates, the reasonableness of which they know nothing about, and can ascertain nothing unless they know the value of the property. But because those other rates have not been attacked and assailed, they are made upon the theory that that can be accepted, for the time being, until they have the valuation of the property, as a reasonable rate, and they adjust other rates, where the services are comparable to a reasonable relation, with existing rates. That is what you have had, and it is all you have had.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, am I right in assuming that the rate of profit, the 5½ or 6 per cent, will be a net profit to the roads?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Surely; absolutely. There is no question about that. That is the reason why all the security holders are for this bill. It has been said in the course of this argument that the railroad presidents are not for this bill. They are not for that provision of the bill. They do not like that provision of the bill. At just that point their interests are in conflict with the interests of security holders. But, outside of that, they are emphatically for the provisions of the bill, because, as I traced out when I spoke last week, this bill agrees, section by section—and I can go over it again if it is necessary—with what has been presented to the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate, as the demands of the railroads for legislation, ever since 1912. Every major proposition of this bill can be found in the hearings presented to the Interstate Commerce Committee of the United States Senate by Mr. Thom, the attorney for the railroad executives, since 1912, except just one; and what is that? That is the provision covered by section 6, guaranteeing a certain rate to the security holders; and it is at that point that the interests of the security holders and the interests of the railway executives divide and are in conflict.

So anybody can stand up on this floor and say that the railroad executives are not for this bill. They are not for that provision of this bill. They are for every other provision of this bill excepting the one that assures a guaranty of a certain fixed return to the security holders. That was a concession, made by those who framed the bill, to the security holders. In other words, this bill, sir, I undertake to say, is a bill that is in accord with the wishes of the railroad executives.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, I am perhaps disturbing the Senator, but I am asking these questions for information, for myself especially.

Admitting that the valuation is the dominant factor in the matter of making rates, and assuming, as the Senator has explained, that the book values will be taken, is it not also true that there is another factor which enters into it, and that is operating expenses; for instance, the large salaries which are generally paid to the heads of great corporations? I know that is true with reference to the packing concerns. Some of them receive enormous salaries—$100,000 a year, and so on. What has the Government to say with respect to that?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, this bill does not put any limit upon that at all. This bill puts no limitation on the expenses that can be imposed upon the public with regard to any such features as that. Judge SIMS, of the House, chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce when the House was Democratic, introduced an amendment over there, and it was voted down. His amendment gave a list of all of the railroad officials under private ownership whose salaries were above $20,000 a year; and they ranged all the way from $20,000 up to $120,000; and Representative SIMS, of Tennessee, proposed as an amendment to the Esch bill that no sum for any railway official or railway attorney should be assessed against transportation costs to the public greater than $20,000 a year; and they voted him down.

Mr. President, I would have offered that amendment here if there had been the slightest reason to expect its adoption. I spoke of it last week, but if it could not be voted into the bill over on the House side, where they come up for reelection every two years, there would be little hope of getting it in the bill here. The committee that framed this bill provided no limitations whatever upon the fixed salaries, when these roads go back, that can be continued by the railroad companies and loaded onto the people and taken out of transportation charges.

Then there is another thing they did not do. Mr. President, I wonder if Senators have ever looked into the looting of the railroad companies of this country by railroad officials? There never has been a thoroughgoing investigation of any of the great railroad systems of this country by the Interstate Commerce Commission that did not disclose robbery of the finances of the road on the inside by the railroad officials. That is a serious charge to make, and I suppose that the railway officials are as honest as other corporation officials; but, sir, let me say that there is a difference in the integrity, in the standards, which the officer of a corporation will apply to corporation business, and which that same man will apply to his individual business. Why? Because his individual business stands on his individual honor, and the other is a mere corporate responsibility. It was for that reason, sir, that when we entered upon the era of corporation building in the United States, in the early seventies, corruption was introduced for the first time in the history of the Government. Government had run clean-handed down to that time. There is a difference in the integrity of an individual in his relation to his corporate responsibilities and in his relation to his individual responsibilities.

Why, sir, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a decision the other day in which they found that one of the leading railroad presidents of the country, whose name has been mentioned in the course of this debate, had committed perjury. That was a case affecting oil lands.

As governor of the State of Wisconsin it became my official duty, in trying to secure equitable and just taxation of railroad property, to review the returns made by the railroads under a law which they had been instrumental in getting passed back in 1854, when the State was only 6 years old, written on the statute books and kept there until I became governor of the State, when the basis of taxation was changed. Under the terms of that law the presidents of the railroads filed statements with the State of Wisconsin. They filed with the State treasurer false affidavits with respect to their returns. They were just as good men as you could find anywhere in the United States in official positions as important as that.

By a special message sent to the legislature I secured the passage of a bill giving to the State the right to put bookkeepers and accountants into their offices in Chicago and elsewhere to inspect their books and see whether they had made honest returns. They resisted it. Fortunately a provision was put in those bills that if they refused to let us have access to their books their charters in the State of Wisconsin should be annulled.

Finally, after a delay of six weeks, during which time there is no question that vouchers were made away with and changes made in their records, we got access to their books, and we found that in the case of every single railroad in the State of Wisconsin perjured affidavits had been filed with respect to

their earnings in that State upon which they were paying taxes under the old law of 1854.

So I say that you have this question to deal with, and, coming back to the bill, I say that wherever you have got to depend upon the official records and railway accounts and book values and the official testimony of corporate officials you have got to be on your guard every moment if you are going to serve the public interest.

The bill does not provide against excessive salaries. It guarantees to capital and to the railroads certain returns. It guarantees nothing to the public. It does not say to the public that it shall have a fair show in the matter of expenses. It does not say to the public that there shall not be any more robbing of the railroads from the inside.

Why, Mr. President, there never has been a railroad corporation investigated by the Interstate Commerce Commission that they did not find that the officials of the road—the managers of the road—were interested in inside corporations that were furnishing supplies to the railroad and charging two or three times what they were worth and furnishing an inferior character of supplies and eating the railroad up from the inside, robbing the stockholders and the public alike.

That is the history of a number of these roads. It is the history of the New Haven; it is the history of the Illinois Central. The records of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission demonstrate what I say. It is the history of the Alton; it is the history of the Frisco; it is the history of every road that has been investigated. Yet there is no provision in the bill protecting the public against the continued looting of the railroads of the country by inside manipulation.

Mr. President, it is not a question, I say, of whether you are in favor of Government operation or in favor of private operation; but surely you ought to be in favor of wise legislation dealing with this problem when you hand the railroads back to their owners; and I undertake to say that we have nothing in this bill which insures honest dealing with the public.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. EDGE in the chair). Does the Senafor from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. On yesterday, in some remarks I submitted to the Senate, I complained rather bitterly that the Interstate Commerce Committee had not presented to the Senate any hearings taken upon the bill which were calculated to reasonably enlighten the Senate as to its provisions. I was told by the chairman of the committee in reply that the Interstate Commerce Committee had had elaborate hearings.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Let me state this on my honor as a Member of the Senate. The extra session adjourned on the 19th of November. During that extra session, and I think along about June, possibly earlier than that—we met on the 19th of May, as I now remember—a subcommittee of five was appointed to prepare a bill. The subcommittee prepared the bill and turned it into the full committee on the 2d of September. It was introduced in the Senate and referred back to the full committee.

I think there were some hearings—I mean that I think the subcommittee of five had some advice, some counsel, some assistance in drawing the bill, but not one word taken down in shorthand. You can go up to the Committee on Interstate Commerce and you can not find a line of testimony taken by the subcommittee.

Then we came to the full committee with the bill presented to it. Agricultural interests asked for a hearing, shipping interests asked for a hearing, labor interests asked for a hearing, various other interests asked for a hearing. A vote was taken upon it. I made the motion that we have public hearings; that if it was necessary that we should make haste that they be limited, but that such a bill as this ought not to be brought in unless hearings had been given to the public; that however much we had had hearings upon the Government taking over the railroads and what the Government had done with them before—and there are three or four volumes of that—they did not bear on this bill; that this was a bill for Congress to pass upon and there ought to be hearings upon it, and the public ought to have a chance to be informed.

Mr. SIMMONS. Then, as I understand the Senator——

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Just a word further. I made the motion that there should be hearings upon it in response to demands that had come to me. I was voted down. One other member of the committee, who was lately presiding here in the Senate, voted with me for hearings. I think it is proper for me to say as much as that. All the other members of the committee voted against me.

Then they voted finally to give hearings—limited hearings—to the railroad brotherhoods on the strike provision, section 30, limited strictly to that, and parts of two days' hearings were given on that, and those hearings are printed. Those are all the hearings had before the Committee on Interstate Commerce that are printed. I think Mr. Thom filed a written brief; former Justice Hughes filed a written brief on one section of the bill and two or three other lawyers filed briefs, but we had no hearings.

Mr. SIMMONS. As I understand the Senator, the statement which I made yesterday, that there had been no hearings upon the specific bill except those which related to the strike provisions, is substantially correct?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Absolutely correct.

Mr. SIMMONS. My understanding at the time I made the statement was that the committee had, previous to the preparation of the bill and its presentation to the committee by the subcommittee charged with the duty of framing it, held some investigation or some hearings, but that those hearings related to the general subject——

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Exactly.

Mr. SIMMONS. And not to the specific provisions of the bill.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. That is true.

Mr. SIMMONS. Of course, it could not have been considered in those hearings, because no one at that time knew that the bill would be framed in this particular form.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Exactly; that is true.

Mr. SIMMONS. So it brings itself down to this, that we have a bill here dealing specifically with many phases of the railroad questions in a new and untried way, and we have had no hearings with reference to the proposed innovations upon our former system of controlling and regulating railroads except as relates to the strike provision of the bill.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. That is absolutely true, except that the committee of five may have had some private hearings, but no stenographic report of those hearings was accessible to any member of the committee and, of course, not to the Senate, and they might as well not have been held, if they had any.

Mr. SIMMONS. So that so far as the essential provisions of the bill are concerned, barring the one just spoken of, the Senate is called upon, after a debate of 10 days, probably, to pass a bill dealing most comprehensively with the question of what is to be done with the railroads hereafter and what part the Government is to take in their management.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. That is absolutely true.

Mr. SIMMONS. I will ask the Senator if he thinks that with this lack of information and data upon which to base our action we ought to be precipitated into a hurried vote upon the measure?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I am unable to characterize the forcing of the Senate to pass upon the bill as I feel it ought to be characterized and still keep within the rules of the Senate.

Mr. SIMMONS. Let me say to the Senator that on yesterday I sought to elicit some information with reference to what to my mind is the most vital provision of the bill, and I was unable to get even an approximate prediction. To my mind there is no provision in the bill quite so important as that which relates to the imposition of a rate, which will have to be paid by all of the people of the country, sufficient to enable the railroads to earn 5 or 6 per cent upon the value of their property. I think it is of fundamental importance to have some information that will enable us to determine with some degree of accuracy how much the present high traffic rates that have been inaugurated by the Government during its control of the roads will have to be increased; and if they have to be increased, what will be the effect of those increases upon the cost of living. It is admitted, it was admitted here yesterday, that if there is an additional increase of rates, that increase will be reflected in the cost of products not once but possibly several times. The people of the country ought to know whether, while talking about reducing the cost of living, we are proposing the imposition of high freight rates, which will enormously increase that cost; and yet we do not seem to have any information on that subject.

The Senator says to-day in his discussion—and that raises a new question—and he states it correctly, that this bill provides for a certain per cent of earnings upon the value of the property of the railroads. That must mean the present value of those properties. Has there been any inquiry made by the committee or by anybody else for the committee as to what would be the possible increase in the value of railroad property to-day as compared with its value during the prewar period? Are the

present values to be ascertained by what it would cost to duplicate the railroads?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Of course, interrupting the Senator at that point, if the roads were to be reproduced at the present costs prevailing in this country for everything the capitalization would be almost doubled.

Mr. SIMMONS. It would be almost doubled, and therefore the rates, in order to yield 5½ per cent return, would have to be twice as much as upon the original value. Is that contemplated? Does the bill mean that? If it does not mean that, it ought to say it does not mean it.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I think so, too.

Mr. SIMMONS. We are not in a position to ascertain or even to form a conclusion as to what extent the bill will require rates to be increased until we have some information about that question. I should be very glad to hear the Senator elaborate that proposition a little bit further.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I had given quite a bit of time to that, I think, before the Senator came upon the floor.

Mr. SIMMONS. Of course, so far as the book values are concerned, I suppose they are the book values that the railroads have been carrying for some time?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Yes.

Mr. SIMMONS. And the railroads, doubtless, would not be satisfied with those values for the purposes of this bill? They would say, "This bill proceeds on the basis of present values, while the book values are the values that obtained before the great enhancement in the cost of commodities in this country. Therefore, we are entitled to a revision of those book values."

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Yes. I think the bill is fairly open to that construction by making "the present value" the basis of computation. I discussed that somewhat in my argument before the Senate last week. The present value of building any railroad in the United States would be vastly more than the investment or book value, probably, although the book values run, doubtless, some 40 to 50 per cent more than the actual investment. I do not think there is any doubt about that. As I progress I am going to discuss the book values to some extent, because we have got to take one or the other; we have either got to take the book value, the investment account, or else we have got to take the present value. The bill says the value of the railroads.

Mr. SIMMONS. The bill says "the value," which means the present value, I take it.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Yes. The railroads may insist that you have got to take that in order to make a correct basis for fixing the percentage which the bill provides, or you have got to approximate the present cost of reproduction of these properties. They will contend for either one or the other. I do not know whether or not they will be satisfied with the investment account. If they are, even at that they will receive a rate vastly beyond any investment which they have actually made in these properties. I was just upon the point of calling attention to the fact that the bill does not provide for any of the excessive expenses that the railroad companies may saddle upon the public, and it does not provide for any of the graft that investigations of the Interstate Commerce Commission have disclosed exist in such great railroad systems as the Illinois Central, the Alton, the Frisco, the New Haven, and a long list of other roads that have been subject to investigation. No check whatever is provided in the bill on that side.

The railroads are taken care of; the stockholders are taken care of; but it does seem to me—and I say it with no desire to make personal reflections—that the public is not protected in this bill any more than labor is protected in this bill.

Now, Mr. President, to resume the line of my argument, because I must hasten on——

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, if the Senator will pardon me, I wish to state that I do not mean to say that I believe section 6 is wholly bad. I am inclined to think that section 6 probably contains a framework which could be made use of so as to be a most valuable provision in this bill, if this bill is to be adopted; but I do not think we have the information at this time to enable us to adjust section 6 to this bill so that the interests of the public will be surely safeguarded and protected.

I do not know what I might do with reference to this bill if we could have time to discuss it and have time to get that information which I feel I should like to have, and which I think the Senate ought to have before it acts. If I am forced, as it seems that I will be forced this afternoon, to vote upon this bill without what I consider necessary and essential information to enable me to decide the questions that are troubling me, I shall be forced to cast my vote against it. I wanted to vote for the bill if I could. There are some provisions in it I never could vote for, except as it became necessary to vote for them to get other provisions; but there are some provisions I should like to vote for, provided I feel that I can safely vote for them without shouldering upon the people of this country a great burden of taxation; for railroad rates are taxes, and if they are excessive they are taxes of a most obnoxious character, because they are all-pervading—nobody escapes them. I want, when I vote for a proposition that levies that kind of taxes, to know what I am voting for; I want to know that the rate I am voting for is a just, compensatory rate, and not an extortionate and burdensome exaction upon the people of this country.

I have not the data and can not get them; nobody upon the committee seems to be able to supply them to us; they have furnished us no information in their hearings that supply them.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. May I suggest to the Senator, too, that, being a tax, it comes out of the public; but if there is an excess, it goes to private corporations.

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; the Senator makes the point, and it is a very good point, that the excess, if there is an excess, is recoverable by the Government in this case instead of by the shipper, as under the present law, and goes not to the man who bore the burden, who is subjected to the unjust exaction, but to some corporation. I am not at this time complaining of that. There may be compensatory features in that, especially if the Government should use the fund for the purpose of creating an equipment service that could be rendered to corporations as they might need it in order to overcome congestion and temporary lack of sufficient facilities to meet the demands that might be made upon them. It might be that such a use of the funds would operate in the interest of the shipper who had been required to make the payment, in the sense that he would get the benefit of better service; but, even in that case, one individual might be required to contribute more than his share to the public benefit that would be derived.

That, however, is not what is troubling me. The thing that is troubling me is that we are required here to take a step in the dark with reference to the imposition upon the people of this country of a rate of railroad taxation, without knowing in advance whether that rate is going to be a reasonable rate or an excessive rate; and that is very much emphasized by the fact the Senator has brought out here—a fact that had occurred to me, but I had not alluded to it in my remarks yesterday—that under this bill nobody can foresee to what extent the present estimated value of the railroad properties of this country, for the purpose of carrying out this section of the bill, will have to be revised, and, if revised, how many times, how much it will be increased, or how many times it will be multiplied.

We know that at this time in many sections of the country, probably in all sections of the country, values are enormously inflated. Real property selling in the prewar period for $100 an acre can not be purchased now for twice that amount in many sections of the country; in some sections, not for three times that much. I take it that the value of railroad property has increased, the intrinsic value, the market value—and the reasonable inference from the language of this bill is that the market value is meant—that the market value of the physical property of the roads of this country and the intangible property of the roads of this country has increased in proportion to the increase that has taken place in other properties and commodities, and that when we go to impose this rate that will permit these corporations to make 5½ and 6 per cent upon the value of their properties, the value of their properties will have to be determined by the inflated values that obtain now.

There ought to have been some investigation about that. The members of the Interstate Commerce Commission could have thrown light upon both of these questions—both the question of how much the value of the property would have to be increased, and the question of how much the rates would have to be increased over the present high rates. I suppose they were not called. I suppose the committee has not heard from them. Why this hurry, why this indecent haste, when you consider this demand here for immediate action in conjunction with the precedents and the customs and the habits of this body as a deliberative body to discuss proposed legislation freely, deliberately, and with all the time that may be deemed necessary by any Senator upon the floor before action is forced?

Mr. President, I had been seriously considering at one time supporting this bill; but when I began to investigate it, and these questions began to occur to me, I reached the conclusion that if forced to vote now I could not safely vote for it.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I only regret that there are not more Members of this body who feel in the same keen and personal way the responsibilities of their official obligations.

Mr. President, when diverted from the line of my argument I was directing attention to the statement made by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE]. The statement of the distinguished Senator was very guarded. He does not say that the Interstate Commerce Commission fixes rates now upon the actual value of the railroad property, because he knows that statement would be palpably wrong. The whole point of his general statement means, if it means anything, that the Interstate Commerce Commission is under the same obligation substantially now that it would be under the terms of this bill. This, however, I submit, is wholly erroneous. What the Interstate Commerce Commission does now when any particular controversy arises is to fix the rate primarily in relation to an existing rate, and to determine its reasonableness with regard to an existing rate. It also takes into consideration other facts as it may find them. I remember that in one celebrated case the Interstate Commerce Commission took into consideration the value that we had placed upon the railroads of Wisconsin under the State law. The Interstate Commerce Commission makes no pretense now of fixing a rate upon the value of the property so as to provide a certain specific return. The latter thing is what this bill compels them to do; and when they are compelled to do that and do it at once, when the railroads stand ready with the proof in their hands, their book value, their investment account, and the public and the shipper have nothing to submit to combat that proof, every Senator must know that the practical result of it is going to be that the railroads' proof will be accepted.

But that is not all. This 5½ and 6 per cent, which the railroads are to get upon the value of their property, as determined, is fixed for a period of five years. I refer to the top of page 18 of the bill; not the reprint, but the original bill in the form in which we took it up for consideration in the Senate.

It may appear within that time, if the railroads' valuation shall be completed, that 5½ or 6 per cent is all wrong, was an unreasonable rate, an improper rate, and yet the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission are tied, and the hands of the Government and of the people are tied, and their roads are guaranteed an absolute return for five years. So I assert that there is not the least similarity between the rate-making power or duty of the Interstate Commerce Commission under the present law and what it would be under the terms of this bill, if it should become a law. In one case the rate fixed may be temporary, subject to modification. In the other it is fixed so as to yield a flat return for a period of five years.

In the one case the reasonableness of the return is determined by the existing rates, primarily, which have been acquiesced in, or to which no attention has been paid, and by many other facts and circumstances, while in the other case the reasonableness of the rate must be determined upon the book values or investment account.

Mr. President, now I want to turn for a moment to the investment account, and in that connection I want to direct the attention of Senators to the fact that the investment account is defended on this floor by the distinguished Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD], a member of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, formerly leader of his party in the House of Representatives.

I suppose his distinguished services in this body, if we may take account of report, will shortly invest him with the leadership upon the Democratic side; and I will say that it can not be placed in abler hands.

But I want to note the fact that the distinguished Senator from Alabama—and I think his frankness is to be commended—defended on this floor the investment accounts of the railroads as a reasonable measure of the value of their property. Not every member of the committee spoke out in the same candid way.

Mr. President, that is what is to be made the basis of the rate which section 6 is going to fasten upon the people of this country, unless, as suggested a short time ago in the colloquy which I had with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS], the railroads should press for the technical right which the terms of this bill would give them, and that is the present value of the property, the inflated value of their property, the value of their property measured by a 50-cent dollar.

They may stand upon section 6 before the Interstate Commerce Commission and say: "Our book values, in round numbers, showing that we have invested 18 billions in railroad property, shall be taken as the base of our investment. But in addition to that we are entitled, by the terms of this bill, to the present value of these roads. If that is what we invested when values were 50 per cent lower than they are now, a hundred per cent lower in many things than they are now, we may rightfully claim in addition to our book or investment accounts, as the present value of our property, 24 or 25 billions." I do not know how much or how they would reckon out or arrive at the demands which they will press.

The bill says the value of their property; that means the present value. There is no possibility of the Interstate Commerce Commission ascertaining the value guided by what they invested 10, 20, 30, or 50 years ago, some of them 70 years ago. The value now, the value to-day, at this hour, is what this bill says. And it will either be the book values, the investment account, or else it will be something larger than that, based upon the inflated condition of values to-day.

The Senator from Alabama argued it upon the basis of the investment account, and I refer to his argument as it appears on page 679 of the RECORD of December 16.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. The Senator is correct in stating that I took the investment account as the basis of my argument. Of course, the bill provides for real value. We do not know what the real value is; that is to be ascertained by the commission. I suggested that possibly the commission would find that the investment account would approximate the real value, and then based my argument on that. But I am not prepared to agree to any proposition in reference to the basis of fixing rates that goes beyond real value. I think it is just that they should have their return on the real value of their property.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Yes; but the Senator must agree with me that there is no method by which the real value can be ascertained to-day.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I think it is difficult of ascertainment; but I think in the interests of the American people we must make an effort to ascertain what it is.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Let me ask the Senator from Alabama how he would ascertain it immediately, under the provisions of this bill?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I am free to say that I do not think immediately—I mean within the hour that the bill goes through, or I may go further and say within the year that the bill goes through—it can be accurately ascertained; and it is not contemplated that it should be accurately ascertained in that hour. For the purpose of running the railroads pending a final ascertainment the commission will have to take the best evidences of values they have, as any other man would. But in the end the bill contemplates that they shall ascertain the real value.

I know of no one else that can do it. We can not do it. We can not leave it to the owners of the properties to do it. The only way it can be done in the end, in my judgment, is to leave it to a governmental commission. I am willing to trust the Interstate Commerce Commission to act in the matter. I think they have fairly and in the main represented the people of the United States in the past.

But I do not stand on this particular commission. If somebody can show me a fairer way of appointing a governmental commission to ascertain values, I shall be glad to accede to it. The principle, as I contend, whether you buy the railroads ultimately if you stand for Government ownership, or whether you establish a permanent return in private hands, is that the real value of the properties must be found now, and no unearned increment added to them in the future. The only way to do that is by a fair ascertainment of real value, because there is value there, there must be real value there, and the men who have owned the real value are entitled to a reasonable return on it. I do not think the Senator from Wisconsin will disagree with me in that statement.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. That means, as I understand it, that the Interstate Commerce Commission by the terms of the bill is directed to find the real value of the railroad property. It is required to fix rates based upon that value so that the rates will return 6 per cent upon the outstanding securities of the railroad companies.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him further?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Certainly.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I know that a great many people visualize the bill in the idea that it contemplates a return on the value of the securities. As I understand the bill, that is not so. The bill contemplates a 6 per cent return, so far as the earning is concerned, on the value of the property. One railroad may be undercapitalized. If that is so, it would get 6 per cent on the value of its property, and, being undercapitalized, it would get more than 6 per cent on its securities. If it is overcapitalized with watered stock, it would get 6 per cent on its value and vastly less on its securities.

So the question as to whether it has watered stock is not a question involved in this equation. It is a question of paying them 6 per cent, or, rather, of allowing them to earn 6 per cent,

because we do not pay it; they must earn it, if they can, on the value of their property. I am free to say I do not think in this day and hour that that is an unreasonable proposition.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. The point is, however, that the Interstate Commerce Commission is required to ascertain the real value or the value of the railroad property now, and to make a rate that shall insure the return provided for in the bill. You can not get away from the proposition that the Interstate Commerce Commission has no means of getting the value of the railroad property under the bill excepting that it take the value proven by the railroad companies of the country, namely, their investment accounts.

So it is that the Senator from Alabama, accepting that situation, in his address the other day very candidly defended, as I read his statement, the investment account as a fair basis for the value of the railroad property.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I wish to say to the Senator that I know nothing myself as to whether their investment account is a fair value. It is probably what the commission would take, or approximately take, in the period pending the ascertainment of real value, and therefore I merely take that statement as a basis for my argument because I know of no other. But I have been told that the commission would probably approximate some position of that kind. It might be a billion dollars over or it might be several billion dollars under, but that is approximately what would be the basis until the final equation is arrived at. To that extent I say there is no other basis that I know of for the temporary ascertainment of this value, and we must have some basis to go on.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, the inherent candor of the Senator from Alabama compels him to make that statement. He can not make any other. He is intellectually honest, therefore he says that until they get some other basis the Interstate Commerce Commission will be compelled to accept as the value of the property investment accounts. That is what he argued here the other day.

Now, I agree with him; I think they have to take that. Under the terms of the bill they are forced to do it. They have nothing else, and will not have for years any scientific basis of value with which to correct the iniquities of these values. I am going to show their iniquity now. I am going to show that no one ought to stand for these investment accounts as a basis for a 6 per cent return to the railroads.

Mark you, the railroad companies all say that they have to have immediate action that shall enable them to finance their properties. Why, they are running great half-page and full-page advertisements with the view of preparing the public for the enormous increases that are going to be made in freight rates in order to put their securities upon the market.

The Interstate Commerce Commission can not wait three years or five years or eight years for a completion of valuation and decisions by the Supreme Court in the case of every single railroad valuation, because the valuation fixed upon every one of the roads will be contested and taken to the courts. So in view of the statement of the Senator from Alabama the Interstate Commerce Commission will be forced to accept these investment accounts as the basis of the value of the railroad.

I stand before the Senate this afternoon and say that the investment accounts of the railroad companies are impeached, a thousand times impeached. They are fraudulent. By the friends of the railroads they are admitted to be fraudulent. By the friends of the Interstate Commerce Commission they are declared to be fraudulent and fictitious, and I am going to put that proof in the RECORD.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I interrupt the Senator just a moment to ask if he knows how far the Interstate Commerce Commission has gone with ascertaining the true value of railroad properties?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I stated a little while ago—the Senator was out just for the moment when I made the statement—that they have ascertained the value in a way to warrant their making an order finding the value of four or five little railroads in the country. The act was passed in 1913. They are five small roads, quite inconsequential, really, but that is as far as they have gotten.

The Senator knows, of course, as a lawyer that each one of those roads will have the right to go to the Supreme Court of the United States to determine whether the value fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission is confiscatory or not.

We undertook a great economic problem when we essayed the valuation of the railroads of the United States. It is going to take years to do it. It may be well done, it may be fairly well done, it may be badly done, but it is going to be done, and I presume the generations to come are going to be bound in a measure by it. I hope it will be well done, but it is not going to be any guide to the Interstate Commerce Commission in carrying out the provisions of this bill. Let every Senator get that out of his mind if he has had it there.

That is what this bill says: "Do it now, not next year, not the year after, not 5 years from now or 10 years from now, when the railway valuation is ascertained." Those roads will be pressing at once for financial aid. The railroad presidents are already running advertisements filling pages of the daily papers. I quoted one of them the other day, that of the president of the Southern Pacific road. They want $742,000,000 increase in rates. They want it now; they are going to demand it now. They have been pressing Hines to grant that increase before the roads go back to their owners. He has refused. They are going to be knocking at the doors of the Interstate Commerce Commission and demanding this increase in rates, amounting to three-quarters of a billion of dollars. They are going to say to the commission: "Here is a law of Congress which is known as the Cummins bill, which requires you to pay us 6 per cent upon the value of our property to-day. We are not going to wait for you for the long process of valuation and fighting it out in the courts. This law says you shall give us 6 per cent on the value to-day. Give it to us. We have got to have it or we shall go into the hands of receivers and a great financial panic will follow." All of the power of these mighty railroad organizations will be brought to bear upon the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Mr. President, do you know what that means? Let me remind Senators that only three or four years ago the Interstate Commerce Commission was besieged for an increase in rates. Upon the hearings held they decided that the increase was not warranted; that the rates were already reasonable. Then what happened? There was turned upon the Interstate Commerce Commission, a quasi-judicial body, such a campaign of assault and contumely as was never before witnessed in the United States.

Think, sir, of the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission being called out of his bed at midnight and presented with a demand to grant the increases that the railroads wanted! That commission was literally swamped with demands that they grant the increase or resign. I introduced a resolution on this floor asking that communications improperly sent to the commission demanding that they decide in favor of the railroad companies without any adjudication be transmitted to the Senate. They came. On the day they came my desk and the adjoining desks here were piled full to overflowing with these outrageous demands upon the Interstate Commerce Commission. Every single organization in the United States connected with stock exchanges, commercial organizations, bankers' organizations, real estate associations, had sent these demands to the Interstate Commerce Commission that they decide in favor of the railroads. What do you think of that? Do you remember it? Not many Senators were present. I put those infamous documents which had been sent here by the Interstate Commerce Commission in response to the order of the Senate into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There are 175 pages of infamy; it took 175 pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to print the demands that were hurled at the Interstate Commerce Commission in the advance rate cases in 1913 ordering them to decide in favor of the railroads or to resign. That was the character of those communications. One of them was a full-page advertisement by the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, of which Hurley, afterwards put on the Federal Trade Commission, was president. He was president at the time that advertisement was inserted. What did that advertisement say? It said substantially this: "Write your Members, wire your Members and your Senators, and demand of the Interstate Commerce Commission that they decide the pending application in favor of the railroads."

To pass upon differences between the railroads and the public with regard to rates, fares, and charges, Congress raised a great commission. Whom did they put on that commission? From memory I can not name them all, although I was a Member of the other House when that commission was created. I know, however, that Cooley, of Michigan, was one of the original members of that commission; I know that Morrison, of Illinois, was another. They were great men; there were five of them.

Mr. OVERMAN. Judson C. Clements, of Georgia, was subsequently a member of the commission.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Let me say to you that you are turning over this question of fastening upon the people of the country burdens based upon rottenness and fraudulent overcapitalization to the Interstate Commerce Commission and you are leaving the present members of that commission naked and defenseless against attacks of this kind.

Why, do you know, Mr. President, there was established by the railroads over in Philadelphia a bureau that issued a bulletin

every month? They flooded the country with their "dope" demanding an increase in rates. They were after more money. Where do you suppose that campaign culminated? They did not hesitate at anything; they went to the White House and demanded of the President that he interfere in the proceedings of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The record I made when I printed those documents shows it, and I challenge contradiction.

Mr. President, when I spoke last week I said that the valuation would be demanded by the railroads upon their book investments. Their book investments are rotten beyond all measure. I did not then expect that Senators would rise on this floor and confirm me by arguing for the validity of those book investments. The Senator from Ohio and the Senator from Alabama have done so; so that we may assume that that is what we are going to be confronted with if we dare to pass this bill.

If investment accounts and book values as kept by the railroads—and those are synonymous terms—are to be accepted as the basis for the value upon which the people of this country are to pay 6 per cent just as soon as the machinery can be set in motion after this bill is passed, then there are just two things that I should like Senators to get in their minds: First, investment accounts and book values can be properly divided into two classes, those made before 1906 and those made after 1906.

In 1906 we passed a law known as the Hepburn-Dolliver law. It was not worth the paper it was written on excepting for one section. Just one section in it was valuable. That was section 20. That is not my estimate of it. That is the estimate of Commissioner Prouty, one of the ablest men who ever sat on the Interstate Commerce Commission. Shortly after the act was passed he wrote a magazine article putting an estimate on the results of that legislation. They had been a long time getting it, and he wanted to sort of sum it up, boil it down, and say what had been achieved after all these years from 1887 down to 1906, and he said just this: "The act is more conspicuous for what it does not do than for what it does do"; and then he said: "There is one thing of value in the act, and that is section 20."

What was section 20 in the Hepburn-Dolliver revision of the interstate-commerce law? It was this, that the Interstate Commerce Commission should have a right to require the railroads to keep a uniform system of books in a uniform way, to the end that the Interstate Commerce Commission could keep better track of their finances. So that back of 1906 you have, in all of their accounts, items that had no supervision from anybody. If you take book investments to-day, you have book investment with all the fraud and iniquity from about 1830 or 1835 down to 1906. You have all of that long era of unrestrained fraud as the foundation of the book values and investment accounts of the railroads. It never has been taken out. It is there now.

You can not make any just settlement with a man with whom you have a controversy on accounts if half his accounts are fraudulent and the other half are half fraudulent. The Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] said, in the course of his remarks, that since 1906, under the Hepburn-Dolliver Act, there has been a supervision of railroad accounts. I am going to read you what the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission say about it. They say that the supervision was not a half supervision. They say that they could not tell much about it from that time down to this. It has improved somewhat, because they have had some supervision, but they say that Congress has cut them down so on their appropriations for accounts to look into the accounts of the railroads that they could not keep up with the railroads. Therefore even since 1906, when the terms of the Hepburn-Dolliver Act gave the Interstate Commerce Commission supervision over railroad companies the check upon the purse strings has kept the force so small that they could not supervise them, they could only look in here and there; they could only pick a few railroad companies and revise their accounts. Now, that policy comes back to plague us—penny-wise and pound-foolish. The Interstate Commerce Commission pleaded for more accountants, pleaded for ability to supervise these accounts under the Hepburn-Dolliver Act of 1906, and the Appropriations Committees of Congress every year cut down their appropriations so that they could not supervise them.

I am going to take you as rapidly as I can over the period before we began any supervision of these accounts. I am going to offer testimony from the railroad authorities—Poor's Manual; Van Oss, a British statistician who wrote a book on investment in railway securities, and wrote it for the protection of the British investor.

The railroads are capitalized, in round numbers, for $19,000,000,000. The public believes that this capitalization grossly exceeds the fair value of the property; that it has been wrongfully watered and inflated; and that the producers and consumers of the country are unjustly taxed on transportation to pay an income upon a false and fraudulent valuation. The railroads deny this claim. That makes a sharp and conflicting issue between the public and the railroads.

Now, mark you, I am going to deal with conditions up to 1906, and then I am going to deal with them afterwards on the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission as to how much supervision they have been able to exercise over the accounts of railroads from that time down to this, because, Senators, you are going to vote presently to pass a bill that shall direct and compel the Interstate Commerce Commission to assess rates against the American public on the present value of the railroad property. I shall present in this connection evidence of the overcapitalization, inflation, and watering of many of the railroad properties of the country. I shall go into the subject fully enough to impeach the standing capitalization, or book values, of the railroad property of the country. The falsity of any representation which speaks of railway capitalization as railway investment becomes readily apparent when a few instances are cited to show the nature and source of the capitalization of some of the leading railroads.

Take the case of the Wilmington & Dalton, a North Carolina railroad. The road was originally capitalized on such a basis that its stock afterwards sold at $40 per share. The earnings were forced up, however, and when the road became important it was merged into the Atlantic Coast Line road, and $400 of new stock issued for every $100 of the old stock which had in past years been calling for $40 a share.

Probably everyone is familiar with the history of the making of millions of Erie stock by Daniel Drew, the treasurer of the road, to pay a gambling debt. He had sold "short" to Vanderbilt, who was trying to get entire control of the road; and when Drew found out that Vanderbilt had cornered all the stock in sight, he got a printing press and made enough more Erie stock to satisfy the obligation.

Oh, you will tell me, as some of the Senators who advocate this bill have said in the course of this debate, that there has been iniquity in bygone years, but that it is stopped now. But *that iniquity is in the railroad investment account*, and you are called upon to pass a bill that will force the Interstate Commerce Commission to fall back on that kind of evidence in order to find value; and this generation is asked to fix transportation charges high enough to pay interest and dividends on railroad securities created in this manner.

An examination of financial newspaper files will show advertisements of reorganization committee announcements about as follows—and I quote from one of those old advertisements:

> The reorganization committee will issue $1,000 of new 6 per cent bonds, $1,000 of 6 per cent preferred stock, and $1,000 of new common stock, in exchange for each $1,000 of 6 per cent old bonds.

That is taken from the actual advertisement. Some interesting evidence on this question was given before the Cullom committee in 1886. Mr. O'Dunn, of the New York State Central Railroad Commission, called attention to the watered capitalization of the Erie Railroad in the following language:

> They increased their capital one year over $30,000,000, and the reason they gave was that they had to lay down steel rails. In the vernacular of the newspapers at the time, they spelt steel rails "s-t-e-a-l."

Dare you pass a bill that hands that on as a burden to the people of this country upon which 6 per cent shall be paid? You will have to answer some questions to your constituents if you take that course.

I do not care what you are in favor of—Government ownership, private ownership, what not—you can not be in favor of a bill of this kind. You had better let the roads stay where they are, paying more than they ought to pay under the standard return contracts, until you can mature legislation that is decent and righteous as between the railroads and the people.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I interrupt the Senator just a moment?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Certainly.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Has there ever been any policy on the part of any of the railroads to charge off the profit and loss from time to time?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Never. I undertake to say that if you trace their accounts you will find this watered stock, this fraudulent, fictitious stock, handed down decade after decade, statement after statement. It is there, and that is what you are called upon to approve in this bill. Otherwise I would have no reason to be going into it here.

I do not ask you to take my authority for that statement. I will quote the Interstate Commerce Commission in just a few minutes. However much supervision they may give, it does not cure the festering corruption in the accounts back of 1906. It is

there. It is there forever, until you get a true valuation, an honest valuation, of railroad property. You are not permitted to have that now, you can not get it for years. But you are going to fix 6 per cent as a burden upon the property of this country, upon a value to be ascertained at once by the Interstate Commerce Commission, by the terms of this bill.

Mr. H. V. Poor, the author of Poor's Manual of Railroads, in his statement before the Cullom committee in 1886, pointed out that most of this fictitious capital has been issued in defiance and immediately in violation of charter provisions.

I am about to quote from Poor's Manual, high authority, never prejudiced against the railroads. You can not find a broker's office in the United States where Poor's Manual is not kept as a ready reference and guide. He says:

The reasons for such provisions are obvious. Railroads have virtually the power of taxing the people. The object of such provisions is to limit this power of taxation to fair returns upon the capital actually invested. The common way in which such a wholesale provision of the law is avoided is by contracts for construction, in which the promoters of the railroad to be built are really the contractors, receiving the gross amount of stocks and bonds, twice or thrice greater, perhaps, than the cash cost of the road.

As an illustration of such fictitious capitalization, Mr. Poor cited the Pacific roads chartered by Congress. In the act chartering the several companies it was provided that the share of capital should be subscribed for bona fide, and that the full nominal value of the same should be paid in cash. That was the condition of the charter. A congressional investigation of the Union Pacific showed that the stock of the company was issued chiefly to the directors of the road under a contract for construction without consideration.

The committee reported to the House that the issuing of this stock in violation of law justified the abrogation of the company's charter. It was not abrogated. The railroads were here; they have been here for a good while. I am wondering whether they are here now. The record will tell the story.

The Northern Pacific, under like charter restrictions, divided the whole nominal amount of one hundred millions of its capital stock among the promoters of the enterprise, little or nothing being paid thereon, before any considerable expenditure was made upon the road at all.

The Central Pacific was likewise constructed by the promoters and the greater part of the stock issued to them as a gratuity.

The water in the Erie is described by Mr. Poor as the difference between the par value of $55,000,000 of bonds, $1,000 each, and the price, $350 each, at which they were sold, or, in all, about $36,000,000.

The New York Central secured a special act of the New York Legislature which allowed some $48,000,000 of water to be added to the capitalization of their property in violation of the constitution and charter provisions. Just think of it.

The promoters of the New York, West Shore & Buffalo Railroad divided the $40,000,000 capital stock of that company as a part merely of their profits to be received under a construction contract.

The greater part of the share capital—fifty million—of the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railroad was issued in like manner as a profit to the promoters, says Mr. Poor.

Poor's Manual states further:

Another mode of issuing water was that adopted by the East Tennessee, Virginia & Georgia Co., which, without the payment of any considerable sum into the treasury, increased its share capital from $1,900,000 to $44,000,000, the occasion of the increase being the purchase of or consolidation with some other line.

Previously, in his manual for 1884, Mr. Poor had given careful attention to this question, and as a result of his investigations stated that *the true investment in our railroads did not exceed the amount of the bonded indebtedness.*

In a subsequent estimate, before the Cullom committee, Mr. Poor somewhat reduced the proportion of the fictitious capitalization in the foregoing statement, because there is a tremendous amount of water in railroad bonds. You know what they do. They issue a certain amount of bonds to build a certain railroad; they issue $100,000,000 of bonds. They do not bring them to you and to me to put in the road, for they know they are not going to put that amount of money into the roads. Mr. Morgan is going to give them only such and such a portion, maybe he will take 10 per cent rake-off, maybe it will be 15 per cent, but it is after he gets through with it and after the other fellows get through with it that there goes into the road a certain amount of money, but it is never the face value of the bonds. That is what is meant here by the statement.

But Mr. Poor was particular to state that in this later estimate no allowance was made for the enormous amount of water in the bonds.

In the course of his statement Mr. Poor quoted Mr. Charles Francis Adams, writing in 1869 of the capitalization of the Union Pacific Railroad. The statement is all the more interesting in that Mr. Adams later, and at the time of Mr. Poor's statement, was president of the road. Mr. Adams said:

The line from Chicago to New York represents now but $60,000 to the mile, as the result of many years of inflation, while the line between Omaha and San Francisco begins life with a cost of $115,000 per mile. It would be safe to say that this road cost considerably less than one-half of this sum. The difference is the price paid for every vicious element of railroad construction and management. Costly construction, entailing future taxation on freight, tens of millions of fictitious capital; a road built on the sale of its bonds and with the aid of subsidies; every element of real outlay recklessly exaggerated and the whole of it some future day to make itself felt as a burden on the trade which it is to create.

Oh, the prophetic wisdom and foresight of that last statement of Charles Francis Adams, shortly to succeed as president of the road! Was he thinking of this year 1919 when a bill would be proposed in the Senate that would crystallize and embalm forever the shocking fraud and corruption as a burden upon the American people?

By exacting earnings from the public on the basis of this fictitious capitalization, Mr. Poor says:

The Union Pacific and the Central Pacific together divided or carried to the credit of profit and loss over $100,000,000 over and above a fair return upon the capital invested in them. The water in the New York Central equaled $48,000,000, or thereabouts. Upon this sum dividends at the rate of 8 per cent were paid for 15 years, the water and the dividends on the same equaling over $100,000,000.

Mr. Thurber, a New York wholesaler, who testified before the Cullom committee, criticized Mr. Poor's estimate of railroad fictitious capital in this language:

I know there are so many instances where that is so very much short of the mark that it is absurd. I think he said the New York Central was about half water. Why, the New York Central had been watered three times prior to 1867-68, and at that time they doubled it. They put forty-seven millions of water into the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad in 1867-68, and they paid 8 per cent dividends on that forty-seven millions until last year (1885). I think last year they paid 6 per cent.

Mr. Thurber submitted as an example of "how excessive capitalization operates as a mortgage upon the industry of the country," a computation of the amount of these dividends, with interest, over the period of 15 years, which aggregated over $100,000,000.

In the statement of Mr. Simon Sterne, who testified before the Cullom committee as the representative of the Board of Trade and Transportation of New York, we obtain some interesting information as to the manner in which these stock issues and some other questionable items find their way into the construction accounts of the railways.

I shall presently show how the whole system of railway accounting has been built up with a view of concealing these transactions and of concealing the earnings of the railways from year to year up to the present time. Sir, I should not care to trespass upon the time of the Senate to present the facts of the false and fraudulent capitalization of the railroads of these earlier years, except that the villainous system still survives.

You may dull your ears to that, you may deaden your consciences to it, you may set your face to go through with this thing no matter what the showing or what the argument, but let me say to you that you will not bury this fraud by your votes to-day. Like Banquo's ghost, it can not be buried. It is an iniquity that will live until the scales of justice are fairly balanced.

The methods of Gould and Fisk and Vanderbilt and Huntington are the methods of Morgan and Rockefeller and Hill and Harriman and their successors. It is the same old game. The stakes are bigger now. The system of accounts and the other details are much more adroit and clever.

As an example, Mr. Sterne cites the expenditure one year by the Erie of $700,000 as a corruption fund and for legal expenses, which was carried to the "India-rubber account" and charged to the cost of construction. After the capital of the New York Central was doubled in 1869 they had a stock account, "which," says Mr. Sterne, "was out of all harmony with their construction account, and for 10 years following, every year varying, from 3 to 8 per cent of this water was artificially carried into the construction account and the capital account balanced. * * * In the same way the balances were forced in the Erie Railway Co. when Mr. Gould took $40,000,000 of stock of the Erie Railway Co. out of its books and sold it on the street and appropriated the money to his own use, and there was not a dollar's worth of construction to represent it, and when reorganization took place the balance of the Erie Railway Co. was forced to meet that violence done to the stock account."

Is it to be supposed that the people of this country will consent to be taxed to the end of time upon capitalization of that sort?

In the final report of the Industrial Commission is cited the purchase of the Chicago & Alton Railway in 1899. The road had

been capitalized at $30,000,000. The purchasing syndicate issued in the purchase a total capitalization of $94,000,000.

Another case cited is that of the St. Paul and Manitoba Co. (Great Northern Co., lessor). The property of this company had previously been bought at foreclosure at $3,600,000, and some years later the recapitalization reached $84,550,000. In the Great Northern rate case of the Minnesota commission the Minnesota court made an appraisal of this property to determine the reasonableness of rates, and held that the cost of reproduction of all property of the company at that time, 1896, could not exceed $44,000,000.

The Interstate Commerce Commission, in its decision in the Danville case, said of the $120,000,000 of common stock of the Southern Railway:

> This common stock was issued as a part of a reorganization scheme, under which the Southern Railway Co. came into existence. It does not appear that the persons to whom this stock was originally issued ever paid one dollar in actual value for it. It simply appears that the stock is outstanding.

In like manner the capital of the Atlantic Coast Line was increased $50,000,000 without any additional investment, merely to enable Mr. Morgan to get the control of the Louisville & Nashville from Mr. Gates, whom he considered not a "proper person" to control the destinies of that road.

Mr. James J. Hill testified in an investigation of the Northern Securities merger by the Interstate Commerce Commission that in the purchase of $108,000,000 of Burlington stock by the Great Northern and Northern Pacific companies, $216,000,000 new 4 per cent bonds were issued, and that the purchasing companies which guaranteed the interest on these bonds *intended to make the property earn not only enough to pay* 4 per cent on this *doubled capitalization*, but a *dividend on the old stock as well.* Mr. Hill further testified that in the merger there were issued on the capital of the Northern Pacific $22,500,000, and on that of the Great Northern $39,500,000, or a total of $62,000,000 of securities in excess of the old capital.

In the recapitalization of the Rock Island, $75,000,000 Rock Island stock was converted into $75,000,000 of bonds and $137,000,000 new stock.

William D. Marks, a consulting engineer and statistician, of Philadelphia, Pa., submitted a letter on costs of construction and overcapitalization which figured prominently in the debates of the Fifty-ninth Congress. This letter was published on page 7483 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and stands to-day as a damning commentary upon the methods employed by men in control of the railroads to exploit the public.

After making most liberal allowances for equipment and architectural work and adding to the average standard costs of construction, the engineer arrived at an average cost per mile of $25,200, which, he said, "I have no doubt substantially exceeds the true costs of railways." On the same mileage the roads of the State are capitalized at $52,000 per mile—"51½ per cent water, probably more."

The writer gives as his conclusion, after 34 years of experience and investigation, "that, outside of Massachusetts * * * the equipment rarely costs as must as $5,000 per mile, and we are liberal in putting the cash cost of construction and equipment of all roads at an average of $20,000 per mile," making about $5,600,000,000 for the investment in all the roads of the country in 1903 and leaving the seven billion additional capital to represent water. Every example of extraordinary cost of construction that may be cited is more than offset by hundreds of miles of railway which have been built at a cost much less than $17,500 per mile.

To quote directly from the language of Engineer Marks on the cost of construction:

> You may, and probably will, have many instances of extraordinary cost of construction brought to prove to you the higher cost of our railways. Many of these instances are both unwise and unnecessary expenditures.
>
> Do you forget that for every such case there are hundreds of miles of railway which honestly have not cost $17,500 per mile to construct and equip; on the contrary, very much less?

The most comprehensive statement of the fictitious capitalization of the American railroads and the most extensive investigation of this question of "water" are probably embodied in the work of Mr. Van Oss, of London, entitled "American Railroads as Investments," published in 1893. While the information here presented is for the benefit of investors primarily, the facts are equally valuable for our purposes. The conclusions are all the more reliable in consideration of the fact that they are offered largely in commendation of our railway securities as investments and are not open to such criticism or radicalism as are usually made by railway interests in answer to statements of this kind. I wish to say that Mr. Van Oss is an investment banker of London. He is late editor of the Investor's Chronicle. He published in 1892 American Railroads as Investments; in 1893, American Railways and British Investors; in 1896, A Decade of Finance. He has written, and still writes, articles for various leading reviews on the subject of finance and investments. The added fact that Mr. Van Oss's work is used extensively in the final report of the Industrial Commission gives it a certain authoritative standing and warrants the extended consideration which I wish to give certain statements and conclusions and the adoption of its final results as the basis for computing an estimate of the actual investment represented by present railway capital.

Mr. Van Oss classifies the different ways of inflating capital of American railways as follows:

1. By fraudulent issues of bonds and shares as a downright swindle or for speculative purposes.
2. By paying too much for construction.
3. By purchasing property at excessive prices.
4. By buying superfluous competing lines.
5. By selling bonds and shares at a discount.
6. By declaring stock dividends.

As an example of stock issued for speculative purposes, the history of the Erie Railroad is cited. The capital of this road was increased between 1868 and 1872 "from $17,000,000 to $78,000,000 mainly to manipulate Wall Street." And President Watson "a few years later doubled the funded debt, it is said, also chiefly for his own benefit."

As an illustration of the construction company frauds, the incident of the South Pennsylvania Railroad is given. This road was started by Vanderbilt to compete with the Pennsylvania, and it was, says Mr. Van Oss—

> proven to have cost actually $6,500,000, and a responsible contractor offered to build it at that price. Yet a construction company composed of Vanderbilt's clerks received $15,000,000 to complete it, and the syndicate of capitalists which supplied this money got $40,000,000 in bonds and shares, so that for every dollar of actual cost over $6 of bonds and shares were issued.
>
> In the same manner, though not in the same proportion, the thing was worked all over the Union. * * * The builders of the Central Pacific, for instance, commenced with the modest sum of $159,000, and, taking this as a nucleus, they completed the road, gathering a capitalization of $139,000,000. * * * The Government Commission on Pacific Railroads in its report to Congress says that $58,000,000 would have been a very good price for the railway.

Of the extent to which was carried the practice of selling to railway companies property of officers and directors at excessive prices in stocks and bonds Mr. Van Oss says:

> Until 12 or 15 years ago the majority of purchases of auxiliary concerns used to be permeated with fraud.

Parallel lines of railway were built to force their purchase at excessive prices, as a sort of blackmail, backed by the threat of competition. Such purchases added great amounts to the capitalization but little or nothing to the earning power of the properties. Thus Vanderbilt was forced to lease the West Shore and buy the Nickel Plate, and the Pennsylvania, in turn, had to come to Vanderbilt's terms to preserve its monopoly from competition of the Southern Pennsylvania.

To secure capital, it was a common practice to allow liberal discounts on bonds, "and shares were frequently given into the bargain. * * * The railroads would have outgrown the payments of excessive rates for money if their affairs had otherwise been conducted with honesty and integrity." But they were not. Hence, "shares not being much sought after, it mattered little to the promoter whether he gave shares into the bargain or not." The majority of companies realized nothing for the shares they issued in their early days. The Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Co., for instance, gave the payment made in bonds. The New York Central, Erie, Reading, St. Paul, Chicago & North Western—in short, almost every railway company—received nothing for the earlier issue of its ordinary shares. * * * Instances are given of fictitious capital resulting from the payment of stock dividends, as follows:

In December, 1868, the New York Central distributed a stock dividend of 80 per cent, and 11 months later, when consolidation with the Hudson River Railroad followed, a further stock dividend of 27 per cent was declared, while the Hudson River shareholders received one of 85 per cent.

The Reading paid a scrip dividend of 10 per cent in 1846, one of 12 per cent in 1847, while between 1871 and 1876, upon a capital of $32,200,000, more than half water, $15,700,000 was paid in dividends, mostly scrip.

The Erie made still larger payments of stock dividends; the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy in 1888 paid 20 per cent, and the Santa Fe in 1881 paid 50 per cent.

"The practice," declares Mr. Van Oss, "may be said to have been general and is still resorted to in numerous cases."

The aggregate amount of water in the $500,000,000 capitalization of the Central, Erie, and Reading companies is variously estimated from $200,000,000 to $300,000,000.

Poor's Manual for 1884 points out that the increase of capitalization of American railways for the three years ending December 30, 1883, was $2,093,000,000, or $70,000 per each mile of new road. Mr. Poor said:

The cost of mileage construction certainly did not exceed $30,000 per mile. The whole increase of the share capital and a portion of the funded debt was in excess of the cost of construction.

Referring to this statement of Mr. Poor, Mr. Van Oss says:

Some writers even go so far as to allege that the estimate of Mr. Poor, whom they deem a spokesman of the railways, is moderate and conservative, and the fictitious capital is said by some, among others by Mr. Hudson, to amount perhaps to fully two-thirds of the total capitalization.

Some sound reasons are given by Mr. Van Oss why this view is not improbable.

As a result of his investigation of American railway history and capitalization Mr. Van Oss arrives at two important conclusions: First, that the average amount originally received in actual value for American railway bonds probably did not exceed 67 per cent. Second, that the original investor in American railway stocks certainly paid not more on the average than 10 per cent of their face value, and probably less.

If an estimate on the actual investment in American railroads is computed on the basis of these final percentages given by Mr. Van Oss, on the capitalization as reported by the United States Railroad Administration for December 31, 1918, we get the following result:

Stock, 10 per cent of $7,201,254,960	$720,125,496
Bonds, 67 per cent of $9,241,028,525	6,160,685,682

By this computation, American railroads, with a total capitalization of $16,442,283,485, represent an actual investment of approximately $6,880,811,178. The remaining $9,500,000,000 is largely fictitious capitalization.

I have in my hand, Mr. President, extracts from reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission since 1906, beginning with 1907. I told you that in 1906 an act was passed known as the Hepburn-Dolliver bill, by the terms of section 20 of which the Interstate Commerce Commission was given authority to supervise the accounts of the railroads. What I have been talking of prior to this time is the wickedness and the corruption that exists in those accounts from the beginning of history down to 1906. You can not build a solid structure on a rotten foundation. You can not tell by book values that have iniquity from the beginning of railroad history down to 1906 into those accounts. You can not build up an accounting system with that sort of foundation. I do not care what supervision you had after 1906 under the Interstate Commerce Commission, you have got this rotten thing as a basis of the account, and it is continued and carried along, transferred, kept up, repeated year after year.

But, Mr. President, I hold in my hand extracts from the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission year by year from 1907—the first year after we passed the Hepburn-Dolliver bill—in which they say that they have not been able to correct this iniquity; that it still exists; that even as to the accounts since that time they have not had accountants enough so that they could maintain an adequate supervision. They bear out all I say and more. I shall not take time to read them. To Senators who are present here this afternoon let me say, in a word, they show in themselves that book investment, even from the period of 1907, inclusive, down to 1919, can not be depended upon as accurate and just between the people and the railroads, for the reason, they say, that they have not had force enough to check up the fraud which appears in these accounts as they go over them.

The railroads are still engaged in the same wicked, fraudulent business, and anybody who argues on this floor that railroad corruption and selfishness are things of the past is mistaken; that is all. I will not put it any stronger than that—they are just mistaken.

The Supreme Court, in deciding a case recently, referred, as I said a little while ago, to one of the ablest presidents of railroads in the United States as having committed perjury. Supervision of railroad accounts is just as good as lynx-eyed authority can make it and no better—not a bit. You catch them on the things that you catch them on, and if you have not supervision to catch them on everything the rest of it goes through; that is all; and that is what these printed statements will show.

One year after the passage of the Hepburn-Dolliver Act the Interstate Commerce Commission, in its report for 1907—page 141—took notice of the fact that "the twentieth section of the act to regulate commerce opens to this commission a means for the exercise of some degree of supervision over the manner in which carriers comply with the duties imposed upon them by law."

In the same paragraph of the report appears the following significant sentence, presaging the futile efforts of the commission, commenced in 1907, and continuing up to the hour the Government took control, to force the railroads to render honest accounts:

The law clearly specifies certain acts as illegal, but there is no direct or certain method of preventing such illegal acts.

The commission's report for the same year—1907—on pages 149 and 150, declares that a sound basis for supervising the railroad investment accounts can only be furnished by a "comprehensive, systematic, and authoritative valuation of railway property," and such a valuation in 1919 has been completed in the case of only four or five of the smaller roads of the country. The report of 1907 says, under the head of "Valuation of railway property," pages 149 and 150:

The commission can not emphasize too strongly the significance of the supervisory work which, upon the authority conferred by the twelfth section of the act to regulate commerce as amended, has assumed such large proportions; and believing, as it does, that a comprehensive, systematic, and authoritative valuation of railway property is essential for the successful development of this work, as well as for other purposes named, it does not hesitate to submit to Congress a formal recommendation for the enactment of a law under which such a valuation can be made.

In its report for 1908—the second year after the passage of the Hepburn-Dolliver Act—the Interstate Commerce Commission spoke of the "present unsatisfactory condition of railway balance sheets."

The scathing paragraph in which this report impeaches the accounts of the railroads, even after the law required that they should be kept under the watchful eye of the commission, should be a sufficient answer to Senators who would have the American people believe that the juggling of railroad accounts ceased with the passage of the act of 1906. On pages 84 and 85, the committee report for 1908 reads:

The balance sheet is, perhaps, the most important of the statements that may be drawn from the accounts of corporations, for, if correctly drawn, it contains not only a classified statement of corporate assets and corporate liabilities but it provides in the balance—that is to say the "profit and loss"—a quick and trustworthy measure of the success that has attended the operation and management of the property. Every balance sheet begins with "cost of property," against which is set a figure which purports to stand for the investment. *This is no place to enter upon an extended criticism of the practice of American railways in the matter of their property accounts, nor is such a criticism necessary for the purpose in hand. It is sufficient to refer to the well-known fact that no court, or commission, or accountant, or financial writer would for a moment consider that the present balance-sheet statement purporting to give the "cost of property" suggests, even in a remote degree, a reliable measure either of money invested or of present value.* Thus, at the first touch of critical analysis the balance sheets published by American railways are found to be inadequate. They are incapable of rendering the service which may rightly be demanded of them. One cure seems possible for such a situation, and one only, and that is for the Government to make an authoritative "valuation of railway property, and to provide that the amounts so determined should be entered upon the books of the carriers as the accepted measure of capital assets. Under no other conditions can the commission complete in a satisfactory manner the formulation of a standard system of accounts."

Two years later, in its report for 1910, the Interstate Commerce Commission again spoke (p. 37) of the "present unsatisfactory condition of railway balance sheets" and declared that the "experience of the commission during the past year serves only to emphasize" the need of "adequate provision for the valuation of railway property."

In its report for 1911 the commission again urged that Congress require a physical valuation of the roads (p. 94):

The experiences of the commission during the past year in its efforts to enforce and administer the law serve only to confirm the views expressed in our last as well as in previous reports in support of our recommendations for the valuation of railway property. This recommendation we respectfully renew.

Describing what it found in its supervision of railway accounts, the commission reported in 1912 (p. 37–38):

The work of general examination of the accounts of steam railway companies has been continued during the past year. These examinations have included several of the larger railway companies, as well as a number of the smaller companies, in different sections of the country. * * * The necessity of such supervision was recognized previous to the establishment of the present examining force, but its value has become more apparent through the results of examinations made. * * * The general examinations * * * made have developed the fact that in some cases items entered in the property accounts have not represented simply expenditures in cash, but have been greatly in excess of such expenditure, whereby the wide disparity between the cost of property and the par value of securities issued has been concealed. Nor should it be assumed that misleading practices in accounting are confined to the statement of capital accounts. Instances have been found of the misstatement of revenue and expense accounts to such extent that the apparent results of operation were materially affected, an actual deficit or surplus being reported as the opposite. Such misstatements are not evident to the reader of the reports, and can only be detected through an investigation in the carriers' office. A number of cases of the more flagrant violations of the accounting rules are now before the commission, and proper disciplinary measures will be adopted in due course.

In 1913 Congress finally voted for a valuation of the railroads, in response to the appeals from the commission which had gone unheeded for years.

That this work is still in an uncompleted form, and that Congress at the present time can have no sound basis for returning the roads to their owners under legislation which can be more than guesswork is obvious from the commission's reports for 1918 and 1919.

In commenting upon delays in the valuation of the roads, the commission reported in 1918 (p. 56):

Our last report stated that the office work of the engineering section should be finished during the year 1920, but in view of the experience of the current year that statement must be somewhat modified. The effect of the war upon the office forces has been more serious than in the field. For some reason it has been more difficult to maintain the integrity of that force, it having several times happened that more than 25 per cent of the office employees in a given district have changed during a single month.

The report continues:

Attention is again called to the fact that, owing to the failure of carriers to furnish necessary information as to their equipment, and especially as to their lands, it is found necessary to stop work upon particular properties and proceed with other properties. To-day the work of the bureau in all branches is well advanced upon every considerable road in the country and is approaching completion upon many of the most important, but reports have been delayed by the lack of this information. Carriers did not realize at the outset the difficulties involved in compiling the original cost of their lands and unreasonably delayed the beginning of that work.

* * * To free the carriers' accounts of inaccuracies and to prevent manipulation of the accounts or questionable practices in connection therewith on the part of those responsible for the accounts and reports, it is essential to maintain field forces for the purpose of inspecting the books, records, and memoranda of the carriers and in a measure policing their accounts and reports. The larger part of the staff of examiners of the bureau of carriers' accounts is ordinarily engaged upon work of this character. The number of examiners is limited, however, and the offices that can be visited and examinations that can be made during the course of the year is necessarily restricted.

If additional proof is needed that the railroads since 1907 have been guilty of the same fraudulent practices which obtained on an even larger scale prior to that date, it is to be found in the current report of the Interstate Commerce Commission for 1919.

On page 37 of this report the commission describes the work of the "Bureau of Carriers' Accounts," which, under act of March 21, 1918, was directed to review the accounts of the carriers for the three-year period ending June 30, 1917. The object of this investigation, the report points out, was to provide Congress with a "basis for compensation of railroad owners for the use of their property during Federal control."

This investigation, the commission reports, resulted in "the *discovery and correction of erroneous practices in connection with the important accounts involved*, as well as material changes in the amounts reported by the carriers as their operating incomes, which was the immediate object of inquiry."

How can Senators ignore the ugly facts revealed by this report? Upon the highest authority it is here asserted that as late as 1915, 1916, and 1917, up until the very moment when the Government took the roads from the hands of the private owners, railway accounts were being juggled through the "erroneous practices" of railway officials. This is the answer of the Interstate Commerce Commission to the unfounded assertion made on this floor that since the Hepburn-Dolliver Act of 1906 railway investment accounts have been purged of the fraud which all admit existed before 1907. These reports show that, in spite of careful supervision by the commission, the investment accounts are still shot through with dishonest and fictitious returns, and that in guaranteeing a profit to the roads—as this bill proposes to do—and in accepting these accounts as a basis for calculating that profit, we are building upon a rotten foundation.

The current report of the commission for 1919 also plainly shows that the physical valuation of the railroads has been delayed, and makes it obvious that the manifest duty of the Government is to retain control of the roads until, with the completion of the valuation, we shall have something on which to base legislation providing an intelligent solution of the railroad problem.

The following excerpts are taken from the report of 1919 (p. 51):

Fifty-three tentative valuations have been served upon carriers and other interested parties, and hearings are now being held upon protests which have been filed. In connection with the properties of the Texas Midland Railroad, the Winston-Salem Southbound Railroad Co., and the Kansas City Southern System, action upon protests has been taken and final reports published, except that *we have not fixed a single sum as the final value of the common-carrier property of any of these carriers.*

As stated in our last annual report, *the work of the bureau had been seriously interfered with during the war by inability to obtain and retain competent men*, and it was expected that with the cessation of hostilities this condition would disappear, but it has not. The difficulty of finding men with the requisite expert qualification has not lessened, and the cost of employing them has materially increased. This has to an extent interfered with progress.

* * * * * * * *

The greatest difficulty is being experienced in the accounting section, and here again the delay rises from the inability of the carriers to furnish us proper information, especially as to the cost of the equipment and the original cost of their lands. * * *

We are finding it extremely difficult to procure the requisite number of accountants who are competent to deal with this question.

Mr. President, as the time approaches to vote on the Cummins bill it is apparent that so far as a practical solution of the railroad problem is concerned Senators are divided upon one fundamental issue. The friends of the bill take the position that Government operation of the railroads has been given a fair trial; that this trial has ended in failure; and that nothing, therefore, remains but to turn the roads back to private operation. The opponents of the bill take the position that during the past two years, as a result of the war, so many abnormal factors have been interposed that Government operation has not enjoyed a fair trial, and that Congress can not act intelligently on the railroad problem until Government operation has been thoroughly tried out under normal, peace-time conditions.

No one has expressed more tersely the position of the friends of the bill than the distinguished chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS], in his address on Tuesday, December 2, 1919. He said:

I feel no hesitation in saying that the trial of the past two years has been the fairest trial to which that form of regulation—

That is, Government operation—

could be submitted. I repeat that I believe that the Government has had greater advantage in the last two years than it can ever again have save in time of war for the operation of railroad properties. They have operated under great advantages.

Mr. President, I believe it is fair to say that the Senator from Iowa voices the sentiment of nearly every Senator who has spoken in favor of the bill. But the Senators do not stop with this proposition. After laying down the premise that the Government has been given a fair trial under "great advantages," they contend that Government operation has been a disastrous failure, and so strong is their belief in the truth of this latter contention that they state it as an axiom, unnecessary of proof, and they base their entire argument on this assumption.

I do not concede for one moment this argument of the friends of the bill. On the contrary, I contend that all of the data available as to the actual results of Government operation during the past two years and all of the opinions submitted by men of unquestioned authority who are familiar with this situation show that the proposition assumed by these Senators and made the basis of their argument can not be maintained.

I propose to submit a portion of this data and authority at this time in so far as I am able within the limits of time fixed.

This material taken from official sources shows, first, that Government operation succeeded after private operation had failed in meeting the transportation needs of the Nation at war; second, that the two years' period just ending has offered no fair test of Government operation; and, third, that the known results of Government operation justify the hope and the expectation that an extension of five years of the present plan, or even of two years, will show Government operation vastly preferable to private operation.

It seems to me essential in dealing with this whole subject to go back to the time when the Government first commenced the operation of the roads, in December, 1917, and to inquire into the conditions which then obtained. That private operation broke down after we entered the war, and that it was unable to cope even with our domestic needs is within the scope of the experience of every citizen of the country. Even before we entered the war, in the summer and fall of 1916, according to Director General McAdoo—and I quote his words—conditions had "reached such a point that traffic was almost paralyzed through inability to furnish but a small part of the cars necessary for the transportation of staple articles of commerce."

Appearing before the Interstate Commerce Committee on January 3, 1919, Director General McAdoo said of conditions in the fall of 1917:

In the fall of 1917, despite strenuous efforts, and yet under a larger degree of coordination than had ever before been attempted to prevent such a situation, a paralysis of the transportation situation again occurred.

It is unnecessary to submit further evidence along this line. The only dissenting authority from this view, the railroad officials, now banded together in an attempt to induce Congress to turn the roads back to the private operation which brought them to ruin in the critical hour of the Nation's peril.

Mr. President, when Senators assume that Government operation has been a failure they ignore the fact that Government operation succeeded at exactly the point where private operation had failed. When the United States entered the war in April, 1917, it will be remembered that we engaged to supply the armies of France, Italy, and Great Britain with a specified number of tons of grain. In December, 1917, after we had been in the war eight months, we had fallen so far behind in our agreement—because of transportation difficulties—that the prime ministers of the allied countries joined in a communication to President Wilson, calling his attention to the critical condition of the food supply among the armies in the field. In this communication, necessarily kept secret at the time, Lloyd-George, Clemenceau, and Orlando informed President Wilson that the Italian armies, because of our failure to supply the stipulated amount of grain, had been forced to make two reductions in their rations; that the French had made one reduction, and that a revolt among the troops was imminent unless something was done to relieve the situation. This communication suggested to the United States Government a reorganization of the railroad system—mark you, that was under private operation—the prime ministers of the Allies evidently being aware that the American railroads under private operation had broken down.

How the United States met the crisis presented by the communication to President Wilson and how in less than six weeks the railroads under Government operation succeeded in the task at which the railroads under private operation had failed was graphically recited by Director General McAdoo at a hearing before the Interstate Commerce Committee January 8, 1919:

The food situation in the allied countries of Europe became extremely critical in February last (1918), representations being made by Great Britain, France, and Italy that unless the program of food deliveries promised by the Food Administration was kept pace with, Germany and her associates inevitably would win the war. While the facts could not be told at the time because of the possible effect on the morale of the nations fighting the Central Powers, it was nevertheless true that according to official word received from the Entente Allies the outcome of the war depended upon the ability of the American railways to transport sufficient supplies of foodstuffs to the Atlantic seaboard for shipment abroad. This problem was met. It was no time for halfway measures. The safety of the world hung in the balance. Empty box cars were rushed from all portions of the East and South to the Southwestern grain States. Conflicting traffic of all kinds was held up. Every facility of the Railroad Administration and of the railroads under its jurisdiction was thrown into the balance. Officials and employees worked day and night. The result was magnificent. By March 15 the vessel capacity of the Allies had been satisfied, and there was available at North Atlantic ports an excess on wheels of 6,318 carloads of foodstuffs, exclusive of grain on cars and in elevators.

Since that time there has never been any danger of the American railways failing to transport the necessary amount of food supplies for Europe. It, perhaps, is not too much to say that this was one of the turning points of the war.

In the period from July to November, 1918, 135,000 more cars of grain were handled than in the same months of 1917, thus demonstrating the enormous extra strain placed upon the railroads by this one item alone.

Mr. President, how are we to reconcile this statement—from the man who knows more about Government operation of the railroads during the war than any other American—with the bland assumption by the friends of this bill that Government operation has been a failure?

Unless Mr. McAdoo's formal statement before this committee was a fabrication from start to finish, unless he exaggerated the disorganization of the railroads at the time the Government was forced to assume control, unless he tells a garbled story of the successful efforts of the Government to answer the demands of our allies, then we must admit that Government operation succeeded where private operation failed. We must admit more than that. We must admit, as our allies have frequently assured us, that Government operation of the American railways, both in this country and in France, was such a considerable factor in the winning of the war that if transportation had been left in private hands, to quote Mr. McAdoo, "Germany and her associates inevitably would" have "won the war."

But, say the friends of this bill, what of the deficit in 1918, the deficit accruing after the Government had paid a rental to the roads which the author of this bill admits was $200,000,000 in excess of an equitable figure?

Mr. McAdoo gave the obviously sound answer to this objection to Government operation when he told the Senate committee January 3, 1919:

The $136,000,000 of deficit in 1918 is the price America paid for an effective transportation system for war purposes. It is my honest judgment that we did not get as much value for any money we spent in the war as we did for that $136,000,000.

Before leaving Mr. McAdoo's statement to the Senate committee, I wish to submit a few short excerpts contrasting strangely with the claim of the friends of this bill on both sides of the Chamber, who assume that Government operation has already been given a fair trial and has failed. Mr. McAdoo told the committee January 3, 1919:

I feel * * * that what has been accomplished, even under war conditions, is of such infinite value to the public that we ought to carry the experiment still further in order to realize still more the benefits that will come from this unified operation. Certainly none of us should be afraid of a fair and intelligent test. The American people are, it seems to me, entitled to that, and it also seems to me that none of us should fear knowledge. The more knowledge we get the greater progress we can make toward a solution of the difficulty. The net earning power of the railroads will have a vital bearing on some of the plans for a permanent solution of the problem, and the true earning power of the railroads can not be ascertained unless there is a reasonable test under peace conditions. (P. 46, Hearings.)

Again, Mr. McAdoo said:

I believe that even under the handicaps of war conditons a sufficient showing has been made to indicate that all the reforms I have mentioned are desirable as permanent peace measures. Yet it is clear that the general public has not had an opportunity to appreciate this and to weigh the real value of what has been accomplished. There has not yet been an opportunity to give the public knowledge of the facts. In view of the far-reaching importance of any solution of the railroad question which may be adopted, the public is entitled to have, before the present Federal control shall be terminated, a reasonably fair test under peace conditions of the advantages derived from these reforms.

These were some of the considerations which led Mr. McAdoo to recommend to the committee that "Federal control be extended until January 1, 1924."

III. THE FACTS AS TO GOVERNMENT OPERATION SHOWN BY FIGURES.

Mr. President, proceeding upon the broad assumption that Government operation has been a failure, from the standpoint of efficiency and revenue, Senators favoring the early return of the roads to private operation have made statements during this debate which are not supported by the facts.

One of these is the charge that the Government has so misused the physical property of the railroads and has allowed it to deteriorate to such an extent that the railroad owners may for the next 25 years successfully bring claims for compensation and damages against the Government.

Figures compiled from the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Railroad Administration remove all color of truth from this charge.

I am about to submit figures as to maintenance of equipment of Class I roads, covering the period from 1911 to 1918. These figures show that during the year from December 31, 1917, when the Government took over the roads, until December 31, 1918, the Government spent $1,094,825,873 for maintenance of equipment, or more than $400,000,000 in excess of the highest sum ever applied to this purpose during a single year in the history of private operation.

These figures show that in the year 1918 the Government spent 100 per cent more for maintenance of equipment than was spent for the same purpose in 1915 when the roads were under private operation.

Maintenance of equipment—Class I roads.

1911	$415,590,400
1912	436,995,458
1913	499,988,331
1914	520,200,274
1915	496,739,561
1916	557,664,332
1916 (year ended Dec. 31)	595,566,336
1917 (year ended Dec. 31)	685,428,913
1918 (year ended Dec. 31)	1,094,825,873

What is true of the careful preservation by the Government of the equipment is likewise true as to the generous appropriations for maintenance of way and structures.

The following table shows that in 1918, during the first year of Government operation, the Government on Class I roads spent $644,606,618 for maintenance of way and structures, or $202,000,000 more than was spent for the same purpose in 1917, when the roads were under private operation. This marked an increased appropriation of 50 per cent for this purpose. Now, it must be borne in mind, in considering all these figures, that the money was spent on the recommendation and under the direction of the very railroad officials who are now asking that the roads be returned to private operation, so that it can not be argued that the money was wastefully spent without condemning the men into whose hands the roads will be surrendered if they are returned to private operation:

Maintenance of way and structures—Class I roads.

1911	$348,004,080
1912	348,470,704
1913	406,042,529
1914	403,682,593
1915	364,004,178
1916	404,514,144
1916 (year ended Dec. 31)	421,775,812
1917 (year ended Dec. 31)	442,109,862
1918 (year ended Dec. 31)	644,606,618

Ratio of maintenance of equipment to operating expenses—Class I roads.

	Per cent.
1911	23
1912	23
1913	24
1914	24
1915	25
1916	25
1916 (year ending Dec. 31)	25
1917 (year ending Dec. 31)	24
1918 (year ending Dec. 31)	28

Ratio of maintenance of equipment to operating revenues—Class I roads.

	Per cent.
1911	15
1912	16
1913	16
1914	18
1915	17
1916	16
1916 (year ending Dec. 31)	17
1917 (year ending Dec. 31)	17
1918 (year ending Dec. 31)	23

The following tables show that on the Class I roads, during 1915, 1916, and 1917, under private operation, in spite of increased traffic, the railroads had been unable to augment the number of available passenger cars in order to meet the demands made upon them. The same tables show that in 1918, under Government operation, a substantial number of cars was added, and that a much heavier traffic was in 1918 successfully handled under Government operation than under private operation during the preceding years.

Total number of passenger cars in service—Class I roads.

1911	46,905
1912	48,537
1913	49,660
1914	51,373
1915	52,977
1916 (year ended Dec. 31)	52,179
1917 (year ended Dec. 31)	52,977
1918 (year ended Dec. 31)	53,938

Total passengers carried—Class I roads.

1911	938,655,719
1912	944,265,173
1913	983,692,468
1914	1,002,350,385
1915	936,368,539
1916 (year ended Dec. 31)	1,005,954,777
1917 (year ended Dec. 31)	1,006,638,474
1918 (year ended Dec. 31)	1,084,960,449

Total passengers carried 1 mile—Class I roads.

1911	32,371,444,793
1912	32,316,262,549
1913	33,875,085,958
1914	34,566,985,414
1915	31,789,928,187
1916 (year ended Dec. 31)	34,585,952,026
1917 (year ended Dec. 31)	39,476,858,549
1918 (year ended Dec. 31)	42,676,741,000

Total passengers carried 1 mile per mile of line—Class I roads.

1911	151,123
1912	149,442
1913	152,126
1914	153,369
1915	139,226
1916 (year ended Dec. 31)	149,795
1917 (year ended Dec. 31)	170,088
1918 (year ended Dec. 31)	183,112

The following comparisons shed further light upon the condition of the roads at the time they were taken over by the Government in the midst of war: From July 1, 1915, to December 31, 1917, freight traffic increased approximately 50 per cent; from July 1, 1915, to December 31, 1917, passenger traffic increased approximately 25 per cent.

Despite this abnormal increase in traffic, which meant an increased burden upon every mile of line, the railroads, under private operation, increased the number of steam locomotives less than 1 per cent and the number of passenger cars approximately 1 per cent.

Director General McAdoo touched upon this phase of the railroad situation, at the time the roads passed from private to public operation, when he said before the Senate committee, January 3, 1919:

> One of the prime causes for the necessity of Government control of railroads and one of the most serious conditions the Railroad Administration was called on to correct when assuming control was the generally bad condition of locomotives and cars.

Mr. President, I return now to the contention of the friends of this bill that Government operation has had a fair trial, under favorable conditions, during the two years of war-time operation. I dissent absolutely from this contention, and particularly from the view of the chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, who on December 2, 1919, declared:

> I feel no hesitation in saying that the trial of the past two years in the United States has been the fairest trial to which that form of regulation could be submitted.

I have already referred to the deteriorated condition in which the Government found the physical property of the railroads in December, 1917.

To a greater extent than most businesses, successful railroading is dependent upon labor conditions. Can it be said that labor conditions have been favorable during the two years of Government operation? The loss of thousands of skilled workmen who volunteered and were drafted into the service; the drawing of railroad men from this country for the construction and operation of the network of railroads maintained in France; and the loss to the railroads of thousands of men who left their old jobs for the high wages paid in other lines of industry were factors which brought the man power of the railroads to low ebb. The labor "turnover" on the roads was enormous, and the hiring of unskilled employees undoubtedly caused the loss of many millions of dollars.

We were at war. Without effective railroad transportation, overwhelming disaster was inevitable. Speed and output must be regarded as of first importance. The Railroad Administration, therefore, was forced to increase the working hours and to pay time and a half for overtime in extra labor costs. In the locomotive shops the average increase in hours amounted to 16 per cent, an increase made necessary partially because of the bad condition of locomotives and cars at the time they came from the hands of the private owners.

Climatic conditions are a vital factor in the railroad business. No sooner had the Government undertaken the operation of the roads than the country began to experience one of the most severe winters in its history. The severity of the weather continued well into March. In his report for 1918, Director General McAdoo described the effect of the weather upon transportation conditions at this period:

> Roundhouses built 20 or more years ago for locomotives in service at that time were still being used to house locomotives more than twice the size for which they were designed. Repairs had to be made either out of doors or in the open roundhouse with the temperature below zero.

In his report Mr. McAdoo cites the investigation of the Interstate Commerce Commission at Philadelphia on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, which showed that 133 locomotives froze up during the period from December 28, 1917, to January 5, 1918. This condition, according to the report, was common on northern roads.

Carl R. Gray, former director of operations of the Railroad Administration, in the Railway Age, June 6, 1919, wrote:

> We had at Hampton Roads for nearly three months frozen coal in the cars, where they never had a frozen car of coal in all the history of that part of the country.

Another factor which was an insurmountable obstacle to successful private operation of the railroads and which made it necessary for the Government to assume control was the priority of war requirements. Troops and supplies obviously had to be moved before civilian business could be undertaken. This condition made it impossible to obtain a fair test of Federal operation from a business standpoint. From January 1, 1916, to November 10, 1918, 6,496,150 troops were moved over American railways. During 1919 Director General McAdoo estimated that the demobilization of the troops would show the movement of 7,250,000 men. This gigantic burden naturally interfered with the ordinary flow of business and caused the withdrawal of trains devoted to the convenience of the public during ordinary times.

The paramount importance of supplying food to the Allies, by shipment from the southwestern grain States to the Atlantic seaboard, already cited, is only another evidence of the manifest absurdity of the claim that Federal operation during the war had a fair test as to its possibilities from the standpoint of efficiency and revenue.

The Railroad Administration, formed overnight to take charge of the most important industry of the country, labored under many handicaps within its own organization.

The administration was recruited from the managing forces of the private railroad corporations. These men had a natural bias toward private operation. When the President announced in May, 1919, that he intended to turn the railroads back January 1, 1920, officers and employees, uncertain of their future status, suffered a decline of morale. Moreover, railroad officials in executive positions were confronted with a constant temptation to direct policy with an eye to the future private operation of the roads. Under these conditions Government operation could not be said to have had a fair trial.

Senators who favor the pending bill answer every argument in support of Government operation with a hue and cry about the deficit of the last two years.

The conditions already referred to should be a sufficient reply to this argument. But there were yet other reasons why the deficit occurred.

The major part of the deficit piled up after the signing of the armistice. During the months from January to June, 1919, the losses were great. Why? Principally, because business

was getting back to a peace basis. Capitalists hesitated to continue projects which had flourished during the abnormal war period. Munition plants shut down. Construction ceased. Commissioner Wooley summed up the situation—speech at Philadelphia, October 18, 1919—when he said:

When you consider that the products of the mines, chiefly coal and ores and road-building material, constitute 70 per cent of all the freight traffic of the railroads, it is easy to understand that the Savior of man Himself, with the Archangel Gabriel as His chief assistant, could not have earned the standard return without increasing freight rates and consequently making higher and higher the cost of living, unless He had performed a miracle.

And it must be remembered that the Government did not increase freight rates, and hence saved the public from the further increase in the cost of living, which such a policy would have caused during the war.

Since July 1, 1919, the railroads have constantly gained ground under Government operation. In the last four months, notwithstanding the strikes in the steel and mining industry, substantial surpluses have been realized. The Government has "turned the corner" in spite of the handicaps against which it has labored.

The chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce [Mr. CUMMINS] made a striking admission which must be considered in relation to the deficit.

Speaking in the Senate, December 4, 1919, he declared:

Those of you who heard me discuss the Federal control bill heard me say that I thought the compensation which that bill provided for was something like $200,000,000 more than it ought to be. I am of the same opinion still. I have seen nothing to disturb my judgment in that regard. (Cong. Rec., p. 137, Dec. 4, 1919.)

What does the Senator's statement mean?

It means that an overcharge of $200,000,000 has been made against the Government in 1918 and in 1919, a total of $400,000,000. If this tremendous handicap had been removed Government operation, in addition to redeeming the failure of the private owners to serve the war needs of the Nation, would have wiped out almost the entire deficit.

Mr. President, I have dwelt at length on the history of Government operation because I believe the Senate ought to consider facts and figures available from disinterested governmental sources as well as the propaganda disseminated by selfish private interests.

No effort has been spared to establish in the minds of the people the impression that Government operation has failed; that it is costing millions of dollars to maintain it; and that nothing short of an immediate return of the roads will save the transportation system of the United States from complete ruin.

Not one of these contentions has any basis in fact. The deficits incurred, as the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS] points out, have been due in large part to the exorbitant rentals paid to the owners by the Government. Further than that, the deficits have been negligible when compared with the cost to the American people of the increased freight rates which the private owners are now demanding in time of peace and which they surely would have required while the country was at war if the Government had not taken the roads from their inefficient hands in order to prosecute the war.

But even if every claim of the railroad owners were well founded I could not support the present bill. If we are to accept in toto the claims of governmental inefficiency and failure, we shall still find no justification for returning the roads with a guaranty of private profit upon billions of fictitious and fraudulent capitalization. I shall cast my vote against saddling that gigantic burden upon the American people.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES F. BYRNES,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 3, 1920.

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury with reference to the Speedway Hospital. I refer to the former Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. CARTER GLASS:

The letter is as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY,
Washington, January 31, 1920.

MY DEAR MR. BYRNES: What may be the purpose of all the controversy on the floor of the House concerning the so-called Speedway Hospital project at Chicago I am sure I do not exactly know; but if there is anything that the Congress has not decided, but may wish to determine, in connection with the matter, I venture to suggest that action should be taken in the light of actual facts and not upon the misinformation which crops up at every point of the discussion as it is chronicled in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

You may be sure that I am in no degree disturbed over the apparent attempt to have it appear that the Secretary of the Treasury is indifferent about hospital facilities for the men who went to war for their country. Among the combatant troops in France, as you know, were two of my own sons, and now in one of the hospitals is one of my nephews, desperately gassed, and decorated for extraordinary bravery. In the circumstances any intimation that I could be careless of the welfare of American soldiers is a part of the humor or knavery of politics, as one may prefer to view it. I do not take it seriously.

The story of the Treasury's relation to the Speedway Hospital scheme is so simple and unmistakable that there can be no excuse for misrepresentation.

In April, 1919, as I was about leaving Washington for the Victory loan campaign, there came to the Secretary's desk the draft of a proposed contract for the acquirement of the Speedway Hospital at Chicago under an act of Congress passed March 3, 1919. Attached to the papers was a memorandum from the Supervising Architect's office saying, "If the Government should acquire this property under the proposed contract it will buy an extraordinary amount of trouble." There was also in the papers a notation by Assistant Secretary Moyle, saying the proposed contract presented for my approval had been rejected by the War Department for Army purposes. Immediate inquiry of the Supervising Architect's office as to the meaning of its notation elicited the reply that the contract was so loosely drawn and so many alterations were necessary to adapt the Speedway project, originally designed for war-emergency uses, to the permanent needs and purposes of the Public Health Service it was impossible to even approximate what would be the eventual cost of the enterprise to the Government. Immediate inquiry of the War Department as to why that department had rejected the proposed contract elicited from Mr. Crowell the statement that the proposal reeked with suspicion.

Since the act of Congress clothed the Secretary of the Treasury with the option of acquiring the Speedway Hospital property and adapting it to the needs and purposes of the Public Health Service within an appropriation of $3,000,000, or of spending the $3,000,000 for the erection of a new hospital building on some other site, I directed an immediate investigation of the whole matter, meanwhile reading with painstaking care the five or six hundred pages of testimony before a Senate committee bearing on the subject.

I could discover no tangible evidence of wrong, but, with a view to ascertaining whether the Speedway property could be acquired and adapted to the needs and purposes of the Public Health Service, as required by law, within the limit of $3,000,000, I directed the Surgeon General and his staff to state to the Supervising Architect's office what were the needs of the Public Health Service in the Chicago territory, and directed the Supervising Architect's office immediately to prepare plans and specifications, based on representations thus made by the officials of the Public Health Service. It should be perfectly obvious that these preliminary steps were necessary to determine, first, the requirements of the Public Health Service in the Chicago territory, and, second, to ascertain if the Speedway Hospital property could be adapted to these needs within the limits of the appropriation made by Congress.

After some unavoidable delay, due to an inadequate force of experts and draftsmen, plans and specifications were prepared, based on representations made to the Supervising Architect's office by the officials of the Public Health Service, covering the needs and purposes of that bureau. Partially upon proposals made by the owners of the Speedway property and the original contractors, and partially upon estimates made by the Supervising Architect's office, the Secretary of the Treasury was advised that the Speedway Hospital property could not be acquired and adapted to the needs and purposes of the Public Health Service for less than $5,500,000, which would necessitate an additional appropriation of $2,500,000 by Congress.

The Secretary of the Treasury was told by the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service that to acquire the Speedway Hospital property and adapt it to the needs and purposes of the Public Health Service within the limit of $3,000,000 appropriated by Congress would give the Government a hospital plant which would be totally inadequate and an everlasting discredit to the Government. Meanwhile Congress, for reasons of its own, had taken away from the Secretary of the Treasury the option originally given to use the $3,000,000 appropriation for the erection of a modern hospital plant, as suggested by the Public Health Service, on the Marine Hospital site at Chicago, owned by the Government. Upon the definite statement of the Public Health Service as to its reasonable requirements, supplemented by the statement of the Supervising Architect's office as to the minimum cost to the Government of the modern hospital plant urged by the Public Health Service, the law officer of the Treasury Department advised the Secretary that the latter could not acquire and complete the Speedway Hospital project in any manner that would take the cost beyond the limits of the appropriation made by Congress. Thereupon the Secretary of the Treasury reported the facts to Congress and recommended an additional appropriation of $2,500,000 for the acquirement of the Speedway Hospital property and the erection thereon of such a modern hospital plant as the Public Health Service insists is required.

The owners and proposed contractors of the Speedway Hospital project, averse to a reopening of the question, with its consequent uncertainty, opposed the additional appropriation of $2,500,000 as unnecessary, and before the House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds insisted, time and again, that the property might be acquired and the project completed for not 1 penny in excess of the $3,000,000 authorized by Congress. The attorney for the owners and contractors also addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury saying they would complete that part of the hospital plant which the Public Health Service pronounced to be inadequate, but which the Speedway owners and contractors assumed was ample, within the $3,000,000 limit.

Congress disagreed with the Public Health Service as to its requirements in the Chicago territory, and agreed with the Speedway owners and contractors as to the desirability of acquiring the property and completing the plant according to certain identical plans and specifications. It directed the Secretary of the Treasury immediately to take over the property and complete the buildings within the limit of $3,000,000 and according to designated plans and specifications. The debate on the subject clearly revealed that Congress did not expect and would refuse to sanction the expenditure of $1 on this project beyond the $3,000,000 already authorized. In the discussion yesterday the chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the House explicitly said that he would not advocate the signing of a contract that would involve the expenditure of a single dollar in excess of the $3,000,000 limit.

Thus there seems to be no real difference between what Congress directed and what I am anxious to do. There has not been a minute since the passage of the law of December 24, 1919, that the Secretary of the Treasury was not willing to comply literally with its terms by signing a contract to acquire the Speedway property and complete it for $3,000,000. At the very hour yesterday when gentlemen on the floor of the House were insisting that the Secretary of the Treasury was "quibbling" and declining to sign such a contract, the owner of the Speedway property was in my office with Congressman FORDNEY, in whose presence he explicitly declined my offer immediately to sign a contract with him to acquire the property and complete the hospital plant for the sum of $3,000,000 appropriated by Congress, saying it could not be done for that amount.

I here repeat that the owners of the property, the contractors, and their attorney know perfectly well that I have never declined to sign a contract to acquire and complete the Speedway project within the $3,000,000 limit of cost. On the contrary, every one of them knows that I have repeatedly offered to do this, and stand now ready to do it. They also know that they have refused to sign any contract in which there was not embodied a clause which would bind the Government to pay an indefinite sum above the cost limit fixed by Congress. It may be "quibbling," as some gentlemen of the House graciously suggest, but I am not willing, under the pretense of serving American soldiers, to make this gift of Government funds to the owners and proposed contractors of the Speedway Hospital enterprise in contravention of the statute enacted by Congress.

Finally, I note from the discussion it was said that the contract actually submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury contains a clause which would permit the owners and contractors to charge in excess of the lawful limit of cost. Of course, this is not a fact. The clause thus misinterpreted is merely a precautionary provision which has been inserted in Government contracts for 25 years to enable the parties interested to adjust necessary alterations strictly within the total limit of cost. That is all.

Very truly, yours,

CARTER GLASS.

Hon. JAMES F. BYRNES,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Rivers and Harbors Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ROBSION,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 22, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 11892) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, the bill we are now considering we are advised is the smallest river and harbor appropriation bill that has been reported by the Committee on Rivers and Harbors since the policy of annual bills was adopted some 10 or 12 years ago. It carries in the aggregate $12,400,000. The small amount carried in this bill has been the subject of a great deal of criticism on the floor of the House by the Democrats. The Democratic administration asked this Congress to give them about $42,000,000 for river and harbor work for the year ending March 1, 1921. The committee having this bill in charge has cut the estimate something like $30,000,000, and for this splendid act of economy and courage on the part of the committee they deserve the thanks of the Congress and the gratitude of the American people.

The several departments under this Democratic administration have submitted estimates to carry on the expenses of the Government this year, and these total $9,000,000,000. The revenues as fixed by the Democratic Congress in March, 1919, will provide only about $6,000,000,000, and the country is therefore facing a deficit for this year of something like $3,000,000,000. In other words, this Democratic administration has requested Congress to appropriate and authorize them to expend $9,000,000,000 when the total revenues that can be collected this year is only about $6,000,000,000.

They would have this Republican Congress to approve their plan to spend $3,000,000,000 more than the income would be this year and to create a debt in the ordinary expenses of the Government three times as great as the total expenses of the Government for any one year prior to the war, and would have this Congress to appropriate nine times as much as it cost to run the Government any one year before the war. Our country is already in debt something like $30,000,000,000. It would be the worst sort of folly to increase the indebtedness $3,000,000,000 more this year, when the country is on a peace basis. We must begin to decrease our tremendous national debt instead of adding to it. This proposal on the part of the Democratic administration is merely a continuation of its policy of waste and extravagance, pursued until a Republican Congress was elected and put a check upon it.

REPUBLICAN ECONOMY.

The Republican Congress, when it passed the regular appropriation bills at the special session of the Sixty-sixth Congress, 1919, saved the American people something like a billion dollars. This is a saving of about $10 in taxes for every man, woman, and child in America. The Republican Congress proposes to cut down all of these Democratic estimates for the various departments and save to the American people more than a billion dollars this year. To expend $9,000,000,000 would mean $90 in taxes for every man, woman, and child in America and $450 for each average American family of five persons. I stated to this House last August that the high taxes, waste, and extravagance of the Democratic administration were largely responsible for the high cost of living. This view is now generally accepted by all who have made a study of the problem. Secretary of the Treasury Glass in recent interviews and reports to Congress has pointed out that the high taxes now being levied and collected are largely responsible for the high prices prevailing throughout the country. Some of our people have the impression that the corporations and rich people pay these tremendous taxes, but no person is so poor or destitute who does not help to pay them. We pay them on our clothing, our shoes, our food, our medicine, our school supplies, our heat, our light, our water, our prayer books, our songbooks, our tobacco, cigars, soft drinks, ice cream, candy, chewing gum, our railroad and water transportation, telephone and telegraph messages, and, in fact, on everything that enters into our life and work. Since this is true, that Member of Congress and that party can best serve our country at this time by observing the strictest economy consistent with the public service. We must always keep in mind that we are not spending our own money, but the money of the American people.

I AM OPPOSED TO NEW LOANS TO ALLIES AND FAVOR THE COLLECTION OF THE INTEREST WHICH OUR ALLIES OWE US.

Our Allies borrowed from us during the war something like $10,000,000,000 and they still owe us this sum. In December, 1919, the interest on this sum, amounting to nearly $500,000,000, came due, but Secretary Glass, of the Treasury Department, did not require our Allies to pay this interest, and agreed with them that they would not be required to pay it until some time in the distant future. Congress can not control this matter, but I desire to register my protest against this action on the part of the Secretary of the Treasury.

The plea is made that our Allies are hard pressed for funds. It is equally true that the American people and American business have almost been bled white with excessive taxes, and if we do not collect this interest from our allies and apply same to the running expenses of our own Government we must go down into the pockets of the American people and get $500,000,000 in taxes. Indirectly we are taxing the American people $500,000,000 to aid these European countries. I am sure the American people do not approve of this action.

President Wilson had the Democratic Congress to appropriate $100,000,000, and which was appropriated and sent to Europe to feed the Bolsheviki, as he explained, to stop Bolshevism. He gave our hundred millions, but Bolshevism increased. This administration now asks Congress to appropriate another $150,000,000 for substantially the same purpose. I am very much opposed to this, and I am sure the Republican Congress will not grant this request. It appears that this Democratic administration wants to be the Santa Claus for the world. It is all right for an individual to be generous with his own funds, but it is another question when it comes to an official taking the money from the overburdened taxpayer of America and giving it to the people of Europe. They must quit fighting over there and go to work.

THRIFT, ECONOMY, AND INDUSTRY.

For the last two or three years this administration, through the press and on the platform, has preached thrift and economy, but in the affairs of the Government they have indulged in the wildest sort of extravagance and waste. The people have been saving by the spoonful, but those in charge of the Government have been throwing it away by the steam shovelful. If we succeed in leading the people to save and economize, the Government must by example as well as by precept save and economize in administering the Government's affairs. If we succeed in placing the affairs and business of this country upon a safe and sane basis, we must all practice the strictest economy, not only in our private affairs but in the business of the Government. Economy and industry for the next few years will solve nearly all of our troubles.

THE NEEDS OF THE RIVERS AND HARBORS ARE WELL PROVIDED FOR IN THIS BILL.

While it is true that this bill carries an appropriation of only $12,400,000 for the maintenance, preservation, improvement, surveys, and so forth, on rivers and harbors, we must bear in mind that this is not all of the money that is available for river and harbor improvement for this year. There are more than $60,000,000 that has heretofore been appropriated for this work but which has not yet been expended, so that if we add this $12,400,000 there will be available for river and harbor maintenance and improvement for this year more than $70,000,000. There has never been spent in one year more than one-third of this sum, so that the claims of our Democratic friends that this small appropriation will cripple or hinder commerce is without foundation in fact. Notwithstanding that there was heretofore appropriated more than $60,000,000 that has not been spent and not more than one-half of this sum could be spent this year, this Democratic administration wanted this Congress to appropriate an additional $42,000,000, and complained because the Rivers and Harbors Committee had cut from this estimate $30,000,000. The Congress has already this year passed two appropriation bills and each of them has been substantially reduced below the estimates submitted. I understand that it is the policy of this Congress to cut, and to cut deep, every estimate submitted by the various departments of the present administration and to reduce the Army and Navy and to save to the American taxpayers more than a billion and a quarter dollars.

CUMBERLAND RIVER BENEFITED.

The river and harbor bill passed by the Sixty-fifth Congress carried a provision whereby no new project for river improvement could be carried on if it should cost under present high-price conditions more than 40 per cent above the original estimates made before the war. Owing to the immense increase in the cost of labor and material, this would cut out any future work on 17 new river projects, and this includes the Cumberland River. In order to relieve this situation this bill repeals that provision, so that work may go forward on the Cumberland and other river projects, and I most heartily indorse this provision in this bill.

There is a general law that provides that no river can secure locks and dams unless the county governments or the citizens living in the county or counties where the locks and dams are to be constructed enter into a written agreement with the Government and guarantee the Government against the payment of any damages to lands that might be overflowed or covered with water by reason of the construction of said locks and dams. This rule applies to all rivers as well as the Cumberland River in Kentucky and Tennessee. The county government of Tennessee has the power under the laws of Tennessee, as a county, to make this guaranty, and the counties of Tennessee through which the Cumberland flows have made this guaranty. Under the laws of the State of Kentucky the county government can not make this guaranty, but this guaranty must be made by individual citizens or corporations, and for that reason the counties of Wayne, Russell, Clinton, Cumberland, and Monroe, bordering on the Cumberland River in Kentucky, have not made these guaranties. The work on the Cumberland in Kentucky will have to be held up until these guaranties are made. I hope that this provision of the law will be repealed at an early date. It is a difficult matter to get the citizens of any county to enter into this guaranty, although it would not amount to very much. Many men feel like they can not afford to enter into a guaranty when they do not know how much it will amount to. I am assured by the authorities that work will be carried forward on the Cumberland when these guaranties are executed.

RIVERS AND ROADS MUST BE IMPROVED.

We have devoted much time toward building up the railroad transportation of the country. It is the finest system in the world, but I feel that we have neglected the great waterways of the country and have permitted the railroads in a large measure to kill water transportation. I have no sympathy with the policy that has wasted millions on insignificant streams of the country, waterways that do not possess the possibilities of profitable development. This is not true of the Cumberland River in Kentucky. It is the only means of transportation for the counties of Monroe, Cumberland, Clinton, Russell, and a large part of Wayne.

I have reliable statistics showing that nearly half of the perishable products of the country is lost by reason of lack of means of transportation. Water and rail transportation should be coordinated. This country needs the full development of both of these, and the Federal Government should aid the States in building great highways in and through every county of the Nation, so that the people of remote rural sections may be in close touch with either water or rail transportation. This will make better farms and better farmers and greatly increase production, make better schools and better citizens. I trust that the Congress will greatly add to the plan of Federal aid to the public highways of the Nation and adopt and pursue a policy whereby all the people will receive benefits from the Federal appropriations, and the American people will receive $1 in value for every dollar spent by them.

The River and Harbor Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDW. D. HAYS,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 22, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 11892) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, my congressional district has a water front of more than 200 miles on the Mississippi River, and my people are vitally interested in the development of inland waterway transportation. Ordinarily I gladly yield to the advice of the various House committees on pending legislation, but in the present case I am compelled to register a protest against the judgment of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, because the bill now standing for consideration is manifestly unfair to the commercial interests of the great Mississippi Valley.

The committee bill proposes a total appropriation for all the river and harbor projects in the whole United States of only $12,000,000; of this sum but seven million is for new work, while five million is assigned to maintenance of past projects. No specific sum is designated for any particular piece of work. It has been pointed out that $27,000,000 remains unexpended from former appropriations, but I ask you to consider the fact that of all this sum only a small portion is available for development purposes on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. The Missouri River from Kansas City to the Mississippi has to its credit $379,367; the Mississippi River from St. Paul to the Missouri has to its credit $586,875; the Mississippi River from the Missouri to the Ohio has to its credit $367,573. On these three projects combined the certain money available is only $1,333,815; beyond that sum our only chance for drawing a small prize out of the $7,000,000 of construction money in this bill is but a gamble on the arbitrary whim of the Secretary of War. Men who know these rivers gravely doubt whether the total money available after the passage of this bill will maintain navigation in its present unsatisfactory condition, and no one is visionary enough to look for substantial betterment.

In undertaking to justify the meager and wholly inadequate appropriation proposed in this bill the committee chairman and the majority leader have made the plea of economy. Every man who is posted on public affairs knows that the National Treasury is suffering strain on account of having to meet tremendous necessary outlays with relatively limited receipts. Every Member recognizes the imperative obligation of economy. But let us temper our economy with sanity; let us guard against hysterical economy. I want this Congress to avoid the short-sighted policy of being penny-wise and pound-foolish. The true criterion to determine the difference between extravagance and economy is not the mere size of an appropriation. One dollar foolishly squandered is extravagance, whereas a hundred dollars wisely invested is economy.

The prosperity and comfort of our people are measured by the enterprise of their commerce, and the very life blood of commerce is transportation. No better national investment can be made at this time than to develop a comprehensive system of inland waterway transportation. Every dollar of our commerce calls into requisition either railroad or waterway transportation. American business enterprise is being strangled and hampered to-day for want of shipping facilities. The railroad business has not kept pace with other business. Complaint from every quarter proves that the cars can not handle the freight. In many instances the product of the soil or the factory is kept out of market for want of shipping facilities. That means an overabundance of these commodities in one

locality with a corresponding shortage elsewhere. When the shortage occurs the price goes upward in harmony with the law of supply and demand. Freight cars are in such demand that the cost of shipping goes up accordingly. These evils reflect themselves in the retail price that the ultimate consumer must pay for the food he eats and the clothing he wears and the lumber he uses to build his home. Every man who has made an extended study of the high cost of living knows that much of the present price inflation is due to our restricted transportation facilities. The best authorities tell us that the railroads are not as well situated to-day for handling freight as they were five years ago; moreover, they tell us that another five years of most favorable development will be required to put the roads back into the effectiveness they enjoyed five years ago. In other words, railroad development is 10 years behind the growth of our commerce. The railroads of the country have not added a mile to the total of their trackage in recent years, and their present scrambled condition holds out no attraction for the investment of new capital. The railroads can not handle the business of the country and will not be able to do it for many years to come.

The surest and speediest relief for the transportation situation is to open our inland waterways to their fullest capacity. That can not be done on the limited appropriation proposed in the pending bill. If you will afford an adequate amount of money to develop our inland rivers, the result will be such freight reduction as to materially cheapen many of the commodities we have to buy. Every dollar spent for improving our river system will be bread cast upon the waters, and it will come back to the pockets of the people in freight saving manyfold greater than the amount of the appropriation. Likewise the converse of the proposition is true. Every dollar needed for river improvement which Congress withholds imposes an added burden on the people by forcing them to pay exorbitant freight rates. It is our duty as Members of Congress not only to conserve the money in the National Treasury, but likewise to conserve the money in the pockets of the people. It must follow that competing river transportation will cheapen railroad transportation not only on lines paralleling the rivers but also on lines far removed from the rivers. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, a river appropriation of reasonable size is not a gift to certain localities, as some gentlemen have intimated, but is a wise investment for the benefit of the public.

One extremely foolish argument in support of this bill was the statement made and repeated, in substance, that the past commerce on our rivers, particularly the Missouri River, would not justify a large appropriation. But nothing can be more illogical than such a charge. The reports of our Army engineers prove conclusively that where money has been properly expended on the Missouri River the channel has been maintained and that river has been kept open to navigation. Yet no man would have the courage to say that at any time has the Missouri River been put in a finished condition from Kansas City to St. Louis. Always there has been a portion of it left undone, and that portion, however small, has been sufficient to defeat navigation.

It is an old maxim that no chain is stronger than its weakest link; likewise, for the purposes of navigation, no river channel is deeper than its shallowest point. If one sand bar impedes the channel anywhere along the route boats can not ply on the river. That has always been the case of the Missouri River, except in seasons of high water. The reason this great stream has not had a larger freightage in past years is because the earlier Congresses have never put it in a position to handle the freight that was ready to be floated.

What I have said with regard to lack of development of the Missouri River applies with equal force, but in less degree, to that stretch of the Mississippi River between St. Louis and Cairo.

In my judgment the Newton bill, H. R. 5030, is much nearer in line with the necessities of the case than the pending committee bill. For the three river streaches from Kansas City to St. Louis, from St. Paul to St. Louis, and from St. Louis to Cairo the Newton bill proposes improvement appropriations aggregating $9,000,000; it also proposes that the Secretary of War may contract for a three-year improvement plan on each of these projects in anticipation of subsequent congressional appropriations in harmony with the recommendations of the Army engineers. I favor the Newton bill because it is based on the practical investigation and intelligent judgment of expert engineers, who have surveyed and studied the situation; on the other hand, the appropritaion in the committee bill is an arbitrary reduction from the estimate of the engineers and not in harmony with the demands of the situation. The Missouri, the Mississippi, and the Ohio Rivers, with their tributaries, constitute the greatest potential inland waterway system in the world, great not only because of the splendid expanse of territory stretching from the Alleghenies to the Rockies and from Canada to the Gulf, but great because no equal area on the globe approaches it in the variety and abundance of its production from farm, forest, mine, and factory.

In all fairness to the commerce of the great central valley of our Nation we should substitute for this bill some scheme in line with the ideas of the engineers who have worked out this great problem and who have made proper recommendations.

A Primer of the Four Income Taxes in the War Revenue Act for Taxes on Incomes Earned in the Year 1919, and Thereafter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIS C. HAWLEY.

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 28, 1920.

AN ILLUSTRATED INCOME-TAX PRIMER FOR INCOME TAXES PAYABLE FOR THE YEAR 1919 AND THEREAFTER.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is the purpose of these remarks to present plainly in the English of conversation and commerce the income-tax features of the war-revenue act of the Sixty-fifth Congress, chiefly by means of illustrations.

It discusses the income taxes to be paid on incomes for the year 1919 and thereafter.

These taxes are four in number:

Individuals pay—
- First, a normal tax (sec. 210b); and
- Second, a surtax (sec. 211).

Corporations pay—
- First, a normal tax (sec. 230 (2)); and
- Second, an excess-profits tax (secs. 301b, c, d, e, 302, 303, 304, 305, 312).

CHANGES IN THE RATES OF INCOME TAXES FOR THE YEAR 1919 AND THEREAFTER.

On individuals.

The normal taxes on individuals are reduced, as follows:

In 1919, he will pay 4 per cent on the first $4,000, instead of 6 per cent as in 1918; and on the remainder 8 per cent in 1919, instead of 12 per cent as in 1918.

The surtaxes are unchanged.

On corporations.

The taxes on corporations are reduced, as follows:

First. In 1919 a corporation will pay on the first bracket a tax at the rate of 20 per cent, instead of 30 per cent as in 1918; and on the second bracket at the rate of 40 per cent in 1919, instead of 65 per cent in 1918.

Second. The war-profits taxes are eliminated, except in special cases provided for in section 301c.

Third. The corporation tax is reduced from 12 per cent to 10 per cent.

It will be apparent that greater reductions have been made in the taxes on corporations than in those on individuals.

In the computations given below too great detail has not been attempted but the segregations are sufficient to illustrate the application of the principles upon which such taxes are based. Accuracy in the computations and simplicity in their presentation have been the chief aim.

Supposed returns from individuals and corporations have been used as illustrations, and the purpose has been to present illustrations covering typical cases, and to include as nearly as possible all the essential features of each tax without embarrassing the illustrations with multitudes of details.

In the preparation of the statements and charts included in these remarks I have had the expert assistance of Mr. John E. Walker, formerly clerk of the Committee on Ways and Means. I wish to express my sincere appreciation of the valuable assistance he has rendered.

Partnerships (secs. 218a and 224).

Partnerships as such do not pay the normal tax or the surtax. But each member of a partnership will pay both the nor-

mal tax and the surtax upon his pro rata share of the taxable income of the partnership, whether the earnings have been distributed or not.

Personal-service corporations (sec. 218e).

Personal-service corporations as such are not taxed under Title II, but the individual stockholders are taxed in the same manner as members of partnerships.

INDIVIDUALS.

Individuals pay two kinds of income taxes, but on net income only:

1. A normal tax (sec. 210b).
2. A surtax (sec. 211).

Net income (sec. 212) is ascertained by computing the gross income (sec. 213) and subtracting therefrom certain deductions (sec. 214) and credits (sec. 216); certain items not deductible are excluded (sec. 215).

Gross income (sec. 213a).

Gross income (sec. 213a) is the total of all gains, profits, and income derived from salaries, wages, or compensations, from professions, vocations, trades, businesses, commerce, sales, or dealings in property, interest, rent, dividends, or securities, or gains from any business transaction, or gains, profits; or income from all sources whatever.

Items not included in gross income (sec. 213b).

The following items are not included in the gross income:

Life insurance paid to beneficiaries or to the estate of the insured.

Refund of premiums paid on life insurance.

Value of property acquired by gift, bequest, devise, or descent, but income derived therefrom is included in gross income.

Interest on securities issued by State, Territory, or municipalities or obligations of the United States, under certain restrictions, but a statement of such holdings must be made in the return.

Accident or health insurance or money received under workingmen's compensation acts.

Soldiers, sailors, and marines pay income taxes only upon that portion of the compensation received during the period of the war from the Government which is in excess of $3,500.

Deductions (sec. 214a).

Deductions (sec. 214a): From the gross income ascertained as above stated there are subtracted the following deductions arising during the year for which the taxes are paid:

Ordinary and necessary expenses incurred in carrying on the trade, profession, or business.

Interest paid or accrued within the taxable year upon indebtedness, except upon indebtedness incurred to purchase tax-free obligations other than obligations of the United States, issued after September 24, 1917.

Taxes paid or accrued, except income, war-profit and excess-profits taxes levied by the United States, and taxes against local benefits.

Losses sustained and charged off during the taxable year, where not compensated for by insurance or otherwise, under certain limitations.

Debts ascertained to be worthless and charged off during the taxable year.

Allowances for amortization in the case of buildings, equipment, or machinery or other facilities constructed, erected, installed, or acquired on or after April 6, 1917, for the production of articles contributing to the prosecution of the war.

Allowances for losses sustained during the taxable year 1919 from falling inventories.

Reasonable allowance for exhaustion, wear and tear.

Depletion in the case of oil or gas wells, or other natural deposits, or timber.

Contributions or gifts for religious, charitable, scientific, and educational purposes not in excess of 15 per cent of the net income.

Items not deductible (sec. 215).

No deduction shall be allowed for personal, living, or family expenses.

For new building or betterments increasing the value of the property.

For restoring property or making good the exhaustion for which allowance is or has been made.

Life insurance premiums in certain cases.

Credits (sec. 216).

Credits: There is further subtracted from the gross income the amount of the following credits in computing net income for normal tax only:

Dividends received from corporations taxed before being distributed.

Interest on obligations of the United States as provided by law and bonds of the War Finance Corporation. See section 213 (4) and section 214 (a) (2).

One thousand dollars for each single person, $2,000 for each head of family or married persons living together, and $200 for each dependent child.

Dividends.

Amounts received by individuals as dividends from corporations which have paid corporation normal tax prior to distribution are not subject to the normal tax, but are subject to the surtax.

CHART I.

Net income (sec. 212).

Net income means the gross income as defined is section 213, less the deductions allowed by section 214.

This illustration is taken from the experience of John S. Brown, a thrifty and versatile merchant, doing business in a town of 20,000 people, interested in local business enterprises, buying and selling city and farm property, and lending money.

Gross income (sec. 213).

His gross income (sec. 213 (a)) consists of the following items:

Profits as a merchant	$60,000
Compensation as president of the local water company	3,000
Compensation as manager of the electric-light company	2,000
Profit on sale of city property	3,000
Profit on sale of farm	10,000
Rents from city property	1,000
Rents from farm property	2,000
Interest on money lent	3,000
Dividends from corporation securities	6,000
Total gross income	90,000

Deductions (sec. 214).

He is allowed the following deductions (sec. 214) from the gross income ascertained above:

Rent paid for store building	$5,000
Pay of employees	10,000
Numerous incidental items necessary for the conduct of the business	2,000
State, county, and local taxes for the year 1918	4,000
Loss from fire, less insurance	2,000
Debts ascertained to be worthless and charged off	2,000
Wear, tear, and depreciation	1,000
Gifts and contributions—Red Cross, $1,000; church, $600; Y. M. C. A., $400; college endowment, $5,000; other contributions, $1,000	8,000
Total deductions	34,000

Credits for normal tax only (sec. 216).

For the purposes of the normal tax only he is allowed the following credits (sec. 216) as a further reduction of the gross income:

Dividends received on corporation on which the tax was paid prior to distribution	$6,000
Interest on securities issued by public authority (none held).	
$2,000 as married man living with his wife and $200 each for 5 dependent children	3,000
Total credits allowed	9,000

Certain items of which no account is taken in computing the gross income.

He received during the year the following sums which are not included in his gross income, and of which no account is taken in computing his gross income (sec. 213 (b)):

Life insurance carried by his father	$5,000
From bequest of his father	10,000
Refund of premiums on insurance	100
Interest on public or municipal securities (none held).	
From accident and health insurance	1,000

Certain items for which no deduction is allowed.

He is not allowed to deduct these items (sec. 215):

Personal, living, and family expenses	$4,000
Improvements and betterments, adding to the value of the property	10,000
Repairs compensated for under the wear-and-tear allowance	1,000
Premiums on life insurance inuring to his benefit	1,000

THE LAW QUOTED.

The law levying the normal tax upon the net income of an individual is as follows for the incomes earned in the year 1919 and thereafter:

"SEC. 210. That, in lieu of the taxes imposed by subdivision (a) of section 1 of the revenue act of 1916 and by section 1 of the revenue act of 1917, there shall be levied, collected, and paid for each taxable year upon the net income of every individual a normal tax at the following rates:

"(b) For [the year 1919 and for] each calendar year thereafter, 8 per cent of the amount of the net income in excess of the credits provided in section 216: *Provided*, That in the case of a citizen or resident of the United States the rate upon the first $4,000 of such excess amount shall be 4 per cent."

CHART II.

The normal tax to be paid by John S. Brown.

Normal tax: We are now ready to compute his normal tax:

Gross income		$90,000
Deductions allowed	$34,000	
Credits allowed	9,000	
Total items to be subtracted		43,000
Net amount subject to the normal tax		47,000
He will pay normal tax on—		
$4,000 at the rate of 4 per cent		160
$43,000 at the rate of 8 per cent		3,440
Total normal tax		3,600

The first chart deals with the income taxes paid by individuals. It takes the supposed returns made for and the taxes paid by John S. Brown, a merchant in a town of 20,000 people, doing a general mercantile business, buying and selling real estate, city and country, owning a farm and some city property, and having some money at interest. As the income taxes are levied only on net incomes, it is essential to ascertain what such net income is. Mr. Brown has a gross income under section 213 (a) on his profits as merchant, of $60,000; as president of the local water company, $3,000; as manager of the local electric light company, $2,000; as a profit on a city property that he bought and sold, $3,000; as profit on farm property, $10,000; rent on city property, rent on farm property, interest on loans, dividends from corporation securities, making a total gross income of $90,000.

The deductions allowed under the bill are the rent on the store building, the pay of the employees, incidental expenses, city, county, and local taxes, loss from fire, insurance, debts, wear, tear, and depreciation, gifts, and contributions, making a total of $34,000. The credits provided under section 216 and shown in Chart I apply only to normal taxes on the individual and not on the surtax of individuals; such credits are the dividends from corporations, on which taxes have been paid prior to distribution and which he must report in his gross income, but for which he is given credit in the credits; interest on public securities, of which he held none; and, being a married man, living with his wife, he is entitled to a $2,000 deduction, and, having five children, a further deduction of $200 for each child, making $3,000 in all; the total credit is $9,000.

Having ascertained the factors necessary to determine what tax he will pay, we will compute the normal tax on Mr. Brown, which is paid on net income only. The gross income is $90,000. The deductions are $34,000, the credits are $9,000, making a total of $43,000 to be subtracted from the gross income. Deducting $43,000 from the gross income of $90,000 there remains $47,000 subject to the normal tax. He will pay a tax at the rate of 6 per cent, on the first $4,000 of this, or $240; he will pay on the remainder of $43,000 a tax at the rate of 8 per cent, or $3,440. The total normal tax will be $3,600.

His normal tax for the year 1918 on the same amount of income was $5,400.

CHART III.

Surtax to be paid by John S. Brown.

Surtax: The surtax is computed as follows:

Gross income		$90,000
Deductions	$34,000	
Credits (not allowed).		
Total of items to be subtracted		34,000
Net amount subject to surtax		56,000

COMPUTATION OF TAX.

On amounts between—	
$5,000 to $6,000, or $1,000 at 1 per cent	10
$6,000 to $8,000, or $2,000 at 2 per cent	40
$8,000 to $10,000, or $2,000 at 3 per cent	60
$10,000 to $12,000, or $2,000 at 4 per cent	80
$12,000 to $14,000, or $2,000 at 5 per cent	100
$14,000 to $16,000, or $2,000 at 6 per cent	120
$16,000 to $18,000, or $2,000 at 7 per cent	140
$18,000 to $20,000, or $2,000 at 8 per cent	160
$20,000 to $22,000, or $2,000 at 9 per cent	180
$22,000 to $24,000, or $2,000 at 10 per cent	200
$24,000 to $26,000, or $2,000 at 11 per cent	220
$26,000 to $28,000, or $2,000 at 12 per cent	240
$28,000 to $30,000, or $2,000 at 13 per cent	260
$30,000 at $32,000, or $2,000 at 14 per cent	280
$32,000 to $34,000, or $2,000 at 15 per cent	300
$34,000 to $36,000, or $2,000 at 16 per cent	320
$36,000 to $38,000, or $2,000 at 17 per cent	340
$38,000 to $40,000, or $2,000 at 18 per cent	360
$40,000 to $42,000, or $2,000 at 19 per cent	380
$42,000 to $44,000, or $2,000 at 20 per cent	400
$44,000 to $46,000, or $2,000 at 21 per cent	420
$46,000 to $48,000, or $2,000 at 22 per cent	440
$48,000 to $50,000, or $2,000 at 23 per cent	460
$50,000 to $52,000, or $2,000 at 24 per cent	480
$52,000 to $54,000, or $2,000 at 25 per cent	500
$54,000 to $56,000, or $2,000 at 26 per cent	520
Total surtax	7,010

The surtax is computed on the same amounts that the normal tax is computed upon, except that he is not allowed to deduct the credits provided in section 216. His gross income is $90,000; his total deduction is $34,000. This leaves an amount of $56,000 upon which the surtax is to be calculated. The surtax begins at $5,000. He will really pay surtax on $51,000 only.

CHART IV.

Total tax to be paid by John S. Brown.

His total tax will be—

Normal tax	$3,600
Surtax	7,010
Total of taxes	10,610

He paid a total tax of $12,410 for the same amount of income earned in 1918.

CORPORATIONS.

Corporations pay two kinds of taxes. They pay on their net income only—

1. A normal tax (sec. 230(2)), and
2. An excess-profits tax (secs. 301 b, or 301 b and c).

Gross income (sec. 233).

For the purpose of the normal tax, gross income is ascertained in the same manner as that for individuals (sec. 213), with the modifications provided in section 233 for three special cases.

From the gross income so ascertained there is then subtracted the deductions allowed in sections 234, 235, 236, and 238.

The Treasury sheets will contain all the items in detail and with minuteness. It would complicate this explanation and require a large number of pages even to enumerate all the possible items that are deductible arising out of the various trades, businesses, and occupations. Only the general statements are submitted here.

The items in the report of each corporation will depend upon its own business facts, but each computation will follow the lines in general of the illustrations given below.

For the purposes of these taxes the important factor is to ascertain the net income for the taxable year of 1919, and around the various methods for arriving thereat, for determining the average profits for the years 1911, 1912, and 1913, known as the prewar period, and the definition of invested capital the battle of conflicting opinions rages.

Deductions (sec. 234).

Deductions (sec. 234): The following deductions from the gross income are authorized which arise during the year for which the tax is to be paid:

All ordinary, usual, and necessary expenses paid or incurred in carrying on the business, trade, or occupation.

Interest paid and accrued within the taxable year on indebtedness, except that incurred or continued to purchase or carry obligations or securities, other than obligations of the United States, issued after September 24, 1917, exempt from taxation under this title.

Taxes (except indebtedness incurred to purchase tax-free obligations other than bonds of the United States issued after Sept. 24, 1917) paid or accrued, except income, war-profits, or excess-profits taxes, or taxes assessed against local benefits; but the war-profits or excess-profits tax paid by a corporation is deducted from its net income before computing its normal tax.

Losses sustained and charged off and not covered by insurance or otherwise.

Debts ascertained to be worthless and charged off.

Dividends from other corporations which have paid tax thereon.

Allowances for exhaustion, wear and tear of property used in the trade or business.

Allowances for amortization in the case of machinery, buildings, equipment, or other facilities constructed, installed, or acquired on or after April 6, 1917, for the production of articles contributing to the prosecution of the war.

Depletion allowance for oil or gas wells or other natural deposits and timber.

Additions required by law to reserve funds in case of insurance companies, death losses, and annuity payments.

There are other provisions for insurance companies.

Allowances for losses sustained during the taxable year 1919 from falling inventories.

Credits (sec. 236).

Credits (sec. 236): The following credits are also allowed to be deducted from the gross income arising in the year for which the tax is to be paid:

Income from securities issued by public authority and included in the gross income under section 233.

War-profits and excess-profits taxes, for normal tax only.

Special exemption of $3,000 for war-profits and excess-profits tax.

Special exemption of $2,000 for normal corporation tax.
Certain credits for taxes paid to other countries. (Sec. 238.)

THE EXCESS PROFITS TAX LAW QUOTED.

"Part II.—Imposition of tax.

"SEC. 301. (a) That in lieu of the tax imposed by Title II of the revenue act of 1917, but in addition to the other taxes imposed by this act—

"(b) For the taxable year 1919 and each taxable year thereafter there shall be levied, collected, and paid upon the net income of every corporation (except corporations taxable under subdivision (c) of this section) a tax equal to the sum of the following:

"FIRST BRACKET.

"Twenty per cent of the amount of the net income in excess of the excess-profits credit (determined under section 312) and not in excess of 20 per cent of the invested capital.

"SECOND BRACKET.

"Forty per cent of the amount of the net income in excess of 20 per cent of the invested capital.

"(c) For the taxable year 1919 and each taxable year thereafter there shall be levied, collected, and paid upon the net income of every corporation which derives in such year a net income of more than $10,000 from any Government contract or contracts made between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, both dates inclusive, a tax equal to the sum of the following:

"(1) Such a portion of a tax computed at the rates specified in subdivision (a) as the part of the net income attributable to such Government contract or contracts bears to the entire net income. In computing such tax the excess-profits credit and the war-profits credit applicable to the taxable year shall be used.

"(2) Such a portion of a tax computed at the rates specified in subdivision (b) as the part of the net income not attributable to such Government contract or contracts bears to the entire net income.

"For the purpose of determining the part of the net income attributable to such Government contract or contracts, the proper apportionment and allocation of the deductions with respect to gross income derived from such Government contract or contracts and from other sources, respectively, shall be determined under rules and regulations prescribed by the commissioner with the approval of the Secretary.

"(d) In any case where the full amount of the excess-profit credit is not allowed under the first bracket of subdivision (a) or (b), by reason of the fact that such credit is in excess of 20 per cent of the invested capital, the part not so allowed shall be deducted from the amount in the second bracket.

"(e) For the purpose of the act approved March 21, 1918, entitled 'An act to provide for the operation of transportation systems while under Federal control, for the just compensation of their owners, and for other purposes,' the tax imposed by this title shall be treated as levied by an act in amendment of Title II of the revenue act of 1917.

"SEC. 302. That the tax imposed by subdivision (a) of section 301 shall in no case be more than 30 per cent of the amount of the net income in excess of $3,000 and not in excess of $20,000, plus 80 per cent of the amount of the net income in excess of $20,000; the tax imposed by subdivision (b) of section 301 shall in no case be more than 20 per cent of the amount of the net income in excess of $3,000 and not in excess of $20,000, plus 40 per cent of the amount of the net income in excess of $20,000; and the above limitations shall apply to the taxes computed under subdivisions (a) and (b) of section 301, respectively, when used in subdivision (c) of that section. Nothing in this section shall be construed in such manner as to increase the tax imposed by section 301.

"SEC. 303. That if part of the net income of a corporation is derived (1) from a trade or business (or a branch of a trade or business) in which the employment of capital is necessary, and (2) a part (constituting not less than 30 per cent of its total net income) is derived from a separate trade or business (or a distinctly separate branch of the trade or business) which if constituting the sole trade or business would bring it within the class of 'personal service corporations,' then (under regulations prescribed by the commissioner with the approval of the Secretary) the tax upon the first part of such net income shall be separately computed (allowing in such computation only the same proportionate part of the credits authorized in sections 311 and 312), and the tax upon the second part shall be the same percentage thereof as the tax so computed upon the first part is of such first part: *Provided*, That the tax upon such second part shall in no case be less than 20 per cent thereof, unless the tax upon the entire net income, if computed without benefit of this section, would constitute less than 20 per cent of such entire net income, in which event the tax shall be determined upon the entire net income, without reference to this section, as other taxes are determined under this title. The total tax computed under this section shall be subject to the limitations provided in section 302.

"SEC. 304. (a) That the corporations enumerated in section 231 shall, to the extent that they are exempt from income tax under Title II, be exempt from taxation under this title.

"(b) Any corporation whose net income for the taxable year is less than $3,000 shall be exempt from taxation under this title.

"(c) In the case of any corporation engaged in the mining of gold, the portion of the net income derived from the mining of gold shall be exempt from the tax imposed by this title, and the tax on the remaining portion of the net income shall be the proportion of a tax computed without the benefit of this subdivision which such remaining portion of the net income bears to the entire net income.

"SEC. 305. That if a tax is computed under this title for a period of less than 12 months, the specific exemption of $3,000, wherever referred to in this title, shall be reduced to an amount which is the same proportion of $3,000 as the number of months in the period is of 12 months.

"SEC. 312. That the excess-profits credit shall consist of a specific exemption of $3,000 plus an amount equal to 8 per cent of the invested capital for the taxable year.

"A foreign corporation shall not be entitled to the specific exemption of $3,000."

Items not deductible (sec. 235).

The same items as for individuals under section 215.

Method of computing the excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).

It will be necessary to compute this tax before computing the corporation tax, as the amount paid in such tax is deducted from the net income before computing the corporation tax.

The excess-profits tax is computed for each corporation. (Secs. 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 310, 311, and 312.)

Excess profits means the profits in excess of a net return of 8 per cent on the invested capital for the taxable year. In addition there is a special exemption of $3,000.

If the corporation earned less than $3,000 during the taxable year, it is exempt from this tax. There are also other cases enumerated in section 304 in which exemptions may occur.

The excess-profits tax for the taxable year 1919 is computed in the first and second brackets of section 301b with the deductions provided in section 312.

FIRST BRACKET.

First bracket: The rate of tax in this bracket is 20 per cent of the amount found to be taxable in it. If the net income for 1919 is 20 per cent or more than 20 per cent of the invested capital, the taxable amount is ascertained by finding 20 per cent of the invested capital and subtracting therefrom 8 per cent of the invested capital and also the special deduction of $3,000. (See Charts V, VI, VII, and others.)

If, however, the net income is less than 20 per cent of the invested capital, then the taxable amount is found by subtracting from the actual income in dollars 8 per cent of the invested capital and the special exemption of $3,000. (See Chart XVII.)

SECOND BRACKET.

Second bracket: No tax will be levied in this bracket unless the net income exceeds 20 per cent of the invested capital. If the net income does exceed 20 per cent of the invested capital, then the amount taxable in this bracket is found by subtracting from the actual net income 20 per cent of the invested capital. (See Charts V, VI, VII, and others.) The rate of the tax is 40 per cent on the amount found to be taxable in this bracket.

CHART V.

Explanation of method of computing the excess-profits tax.

Original invested capital	$250,000
Capital added in 1919	50,000
Total capital in 1919	300,000
Net income for 1919	150,000

It is necessary to ascertain the above items in order to compute the taxes on corporations under section 301b and c.

Excess-profits taxes (secs. 301b and 312).

First bracket, section 301 (b):		
20 per cent of $300,000		$60,000
Deductions, section 312—		
8 per cent of $300,000	$24,000	
Special exemption	3,000	
Total deductions		27,000
Amount taxable in first bracket		33,000
Tax in first bracket is 20 per cent of $33,000		$6,600

I have taken the case of a corporation whose original capital was $250,000, invested in the business prior to the year 1919. In 1919 it found it necessary to add the sum of $50,000 to its capital, making its total capital $300,000 for the year. Its net income for the year 1919 is $150,000. The excess-profits tax is computed under sections 301b and 312, and is computed before the normal or corporation tax is computed.

In the first bracket the deductions are 8 per cent of the invested capital for the year, plus a specific exemption of $3,000, and the difference between the sum of these and 20 per cent on the invested capital is the amount to be taxed in the first bracket. In the case now being considered, 20 per cent of the invested capital is $60,000. Subtracting from that 8 per cent of the invested capital, or $24,000, plus $3,000 specific exemption, or $27,000, there is left $33,000 to be taxed in the first bracket. This is taxed at the rate of 20 per cent, and 20 per cent of $33,000 is $6,600, which is the tax in the first bracket.

Second bracket, section 301b:		
Net income	$150,000	
20 per cent of $300,000	60,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	90,000	
Tax in second bracket is 40 per cent of $90,000		$36,000
Total of taxes in first and second brackets		42,600

From the net income of $150,000 there is subtracted 20 per cent of the capital. This 20 per cent is the 20 per cent already taxed in the first bracket. Twenty per cent of the invested capital is $60,000. Subtracting that from $150,000 leaves $90,000 to be taxed in the second bracket. The rate of tax in the second bracket is 40 per cent, and 40 per cent of $90,000 is $36,000. Adding the tax in the first bracket to the tax in the second bracket, we find the total tax of the first and second brackets, or the excess-profits tax, to be $42,600.

LAW IMPOSING CORPORATION TAX QUOTED.

"TAX ON CORPORATIONS.

"SEC. 230. (a) That in lieu of the taxes imposed by section 10 of the revenue act of 1916, as amended by the revenue act of 1917, and by section 4 of the revenue act of 1917, there shall be levied, collected, and paid for each taxable year upon the net income of every corporation a tax at the following rates:

"(1) For the calendar year 1918, 12 per cent of the amount of the net income in excess of the credits provided in section 236; and

"(2) For each calendar year thereafter, 10 per cent of such excess amount.

"(b) For the purposes of the act approved March 21, 1918, entitled 'An act to provide for the operation of transportation systems while under Federal control, for the just compensation of their owners, and for other purposes,' five-sixths of the tax imposed by paragraph (1) of subdivision (a) and four-fifths of the tax imposed by paragraph (2) of subdivision (a) shall be treated as levied by an act in amendment of Title I of the revenue act of 1917."

Explanation of method of computing the corporation tax under sections 230 (2) and 236.

The normal corporation tax is computed at the rate of 10 per cent on the difference between the net income for 1919 and the excess-profits tax and a $2,000 special exemption. That is, from the net income subtract the excess-profits tax and $2,000 and take 10 per cent of the remainder. See any chart.

Net income	$150,000	
Deductions, sec. 236:		
Taxes under section 301a	$42,600	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deductions	44,600	
Net taxable amount	105,400	
10 per cent of $105,400, or the normal tax, is		$10,540
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation		53,140

Having ascertained what the corporation must pay under section 301b, we now compute the corporation tax as provided in sections 230 (2) and 236.

It is computed as follows: The net income of $150,000 is taken and from that is deducted, under section 236, the amount of taxes paid under section 301b, $42,600—and then a special exemption of $2,000—making a total deduction of $44,600, which, taken from $150,000, leaves the net taxable amount $105,400. The corporation tax is 10 per cent of this $105,400, or $10,540.

Add $10,540 to the amount ascertained in the two brackets of $44,600, making a total tax that this corporation will pay on this statement of facts of $53,140.

The total tax paid by this corporation is as follows:

Tax in first bracket	$6,600
Tax in second bracket	36,000
Normal tax	10,540
Total	53,140

This corporation paid on the same net income in 1918 a total tax of $82,528.

CHART VI.

A corporation paying in both brackets, affording an opportunity for detailed explanations.

Invested capital for 1919		$100,000
Net income for 1919		35,000
First bracket, excess profits (sec. 301b).		
20 per cent of $100,000	$20,000	
Deductions (sec. 312):		
8 per cent of $100,000	$8,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	11,000	
Amount taxable	9,000	
20 per cent of $9,000, or tax in first bracket		1,800

The term "excess profits" means net profits on the invested capital in excess of 8 per cent thereon. This corporation made 35 per cent net profit on its invested capital in 1919. In the first bracket a tax is levied at the rate of 20 per cent on that portion of the net profit which equals a return of 20 per cent on the invested capital. Twenty per cent on $100,000 is $20,000. But before levying the tax certain deductions are allowed. Every corporation is exempt from taxation on an earning equal to 8 per cent on its invested capital, which in this case is $8,000, and also in addition thereto a specific exemption of $3,000, making in this instance a total deduction of $11,000. A deduction of $11,000 from $20,000 leaves $9,000 to be taxed in this bracket, at the rate of 20 per cent, producing a tax of $1,800.

Second bracket, excess profits.

Net income for 1919	$35,000	
Deductions (20 per cent of $100,000)	20,000	
Amount taxable	15,000	
40 per cent of $15,000, or tax in second bracket		$6,000
Total tax in first and second brackets		7,800

In the second bracket the remainder of the net income for 1919 is taxed. The amount is ascertained by subtracting from the entire net income the amount taxed in the first bracket. The net income of $35,000, less $20,000, dealt with in the first bracket, leaves $15,000 to be taxed at 40 per cent, producing a tax of $6,000.

The total excess-profits tax based upon net profits is $1,800 in the first bracket and $6,000 in the second bracket, or $7,800 in all.

Corporation tax (sec. 230 (2)).

Net income for 1919	$35,000	
Deductions, section 236:		
Excess-profits tax	$7,800	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deductions	9,800	
Amount subject to normal tax	25,200	
10 per cent of $25,200, or normal tax		$2,520

From the net income for 1919, or $35,000, deduct the taxes paid in the first and second brackets, or $7,800 plus also the specific exemption of $2,000, and there is a remainder of $25,200, upon which the corporation tax of 10 per cent is paid, producing a tax of $2,520.

In the charts that are a part of these remarks I have endeavored to select illustrations that will cover the entire field as near as may be possible. They vary from corporations having small capital to corporations with very large investments, and from earnings of a small amount to earnings of very large amounts. They are arranged in the order of the amount of invested capital.

CHART VII.

A corporation whose specific exemption of $3,000 is not exhausted in the first bracket.

Invested capital for 1919		$15,000
Net income for 1919		4,500

Rate of net income, 30 per cent.

FIRST BRACKET.

20 per cent of $15,000		$3,000
Deductions:		
8 per cent of $15,000	$1,200	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	4,200	
Amount taxable		0

NOTE.—Since the deductions amount to $4,200, and this exceeds $3,000 by $1,200, this corporation has the right to deduct this $1,200 in the second bracket in addition to the usual 20 per cent on invested capital.

SECOND BRACKET.

Net income for 1919		$4,500
Deductions:		
20 per cent of $15,000	$3,000	
Additional	1,200	
	4,200	
Amount taxable	300	
40 per cent of $300, or tax in second bracket		$120
Total tax in first and second brackets		120

NOTE.—The "additional" $1,200 is the excess of deductions in the first bracket over the $3,000 to be taxed; this $1,200 is therefore deducted in the second bracket that the corporation may receive exemption for the full amount of $3,000 specific exemption plus the 8 per cent of invested capital.

CORPORATION TAX.

Net income for 1919		$4,500
Deductions:		
Taxes computed above	$120	
Specific exemptions	2,000	
Total deductions	2,120	
Amount subject to normal tax	2,380	
10 per cent of $2,380, or normal tax		238

TOTAL OF ALL TAXES.

Tax computed in first bracket	0
Tax computed in second bracket	120
Normal corporation tax	238
Total tax	358

This corporation paid $471.60 on a like statement of facts in 1918.

CHART VIII.

A corporation paying no excess-profits tax.

Invested capital for 1919		$25,000
Net income for 1919		5,000

Rate of net income, 20 per cent.

Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).

FIRST BRACKET.

20 per cent on invested capital of $25,000		$5,000
Deductions, section 312:		
8 per cent on $25,000	$2,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	5,000	
Amount taxable in first bracket	0	
20 per cent of $0, or tax in first bracket		0

SECOND BRACKET.

Net income for 1919		$5,000
Deduction: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket, that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	5,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	0	
40 per cent of $0, or tax in second bracket		0
Total of excess-profits tax		0

Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).

Net income for 1919		$5,000
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	$0	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deduction	2,000	
Amount subject to corporation tax	3,000	
10 per cent of $3,000, or corporation tax		$300
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		300

CHART IX.

A corporation paying no tax in the second bracket.

Invested capital for 1919		$50,000
Net income for 1919		10,000

Rate of net income, 20 per cent.

Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).

FIRST BRACKET.

20 per cent on invested capital of $50,000		$10,000
Deductions, section 312:		
8 per cent on $50,000	$4,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	7,000	
Amount taxable in first bracket	3,000	
20 per cent of $3,000, or tax in first bracket		600

SECOND BRACKET.

Net income for 1919		10,000
Deduction: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket, that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	10,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	0	
40 per cent of $0, or tax in second bracket		0
Total of excess-profits tax		600

Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).

Net income for 1919		$10,000
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	$600	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deductions	2,600	
Amount subject to corporation tax	7,400	
10 per cent of $7,400, or corporation tax		740
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		1,340

NOTE.—This corporation paid on the same amount of net income a total income tax for 1918 of $1,752.

CHART X.

Invested capital for 1919	$50,000
Net income for 1919	18,000

Rate of net income, 36 per cent.

Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).

FIRST BRACKET.

20 per cent on invested capital of $50,000		$10,000
Deductions, section 312:		
8 per cent on $50,000	$4,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	7,000	
Amount taxable in first bracket	3,000	
20 per cent of $3,000, or tax in first bracket		$600

SECOND BRACKET.

Net income for 1919		18,000
Deduction: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	10,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	8,000	
40 per cent of $8,000, or tax in second bracket		3,200
Total of excess-profits tax		3,800

Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).

Net income for 1919		$18,000
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	$3,800	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deductions	5,800	
Amount subject to corporation tax	12,200	
10 per cent of $12,200, or corporation tax		1,220
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		5,020

NOTE.—This corporation paid on the same amount of net income a total income tax for 1918 of $7,288.

CHART XI.

Special care is to be taken in computing the excess-profits tax in the case of corporations earning less than 20 per cent on the invested capital during 1919.

Invested capital for 1919	$60,000
Net income for 1919	9,000

Rate of net income, 15 per cent.

Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).

FIRST BRACKET.

Net income for 1919		$9,000
Deductions, section 312:		
8 per cent on $60,000	$4,800	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	7,800	
Amount taxable in first bracket	1,200	
20 per cent of $1,200, or tax in first bracket		240

SECOND BRACKET.

Net income for 1919		9,000
Deduction: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket, that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital, $60,000	12,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	0	
40 per cent of $0, or tax in second bracket		0
Total of excess-profits tax		0

Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).

Net income for 1919		$9,000
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	$240	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deductions	2,240	
Amount subject to corporation tax	6,760	
10 per cent of $6,760, or corporation tax		$676
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		916

In computing the excess-profits tax for net incomes which are less than 20 per cent of the invested capital, care should always be taken to use in the first bracket the actual net income for the year instead of the 20 per cent on invested capital. This latter is used only in case the net income for the year is 20 per cent or more of the invested capital.

CHART XII.

Another corporation earning less than 20 per cent.

Invested capital for 1919		$60,000
Net income for 1919		10,800
Rate of net income, 18 per cent.		
Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).		
FIRST BRACKET.		
Net income for 1919	$10,800	
Deductions, section 312:		
8 per cent on $60,000	$4,800	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	7,800	
Amount taxable in first bracket	3,000	
20 per cent of $3,000, or tax in first bracket		600
SECOND BRACKET.		
Net income for 1919	$10,800	
Deductions: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket, that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	12,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	0	
40 per cent of $0, or tax in second bracket		0
Total of excess-profits tax		600
Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).		
Net income for 1919	$10,800	
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	$600	
Specific exemptions	2,000	
Total deductions	2,600	
Amount subject to corporation tax	8,200	
10 per cent of $8,200, or corporation tax		820
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		1,420

NOTE.—This corporation paid income taxes in 1918 to the amount of $1,848 for the same amount of net income.

CHART XIII.

Corporation earning 10 per cent on the invested capital.

Invested capital for 1919		$75,000
Net income for 1919		7,500
Rate of net income, 10 per cent.		
Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).		
FIRST BRACKET.		
Net income for 1919	$7,500	
Deductions, section 312:		
8 per cent on $75,000	$6,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	9,000	
Amount taxable in first bracket	0	
20 per cent of $0, or tax in first bracket		0
SECOND BRACKET.		
Net income for 1919	7,500	
Deduction: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket, that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	15,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	0	
40 per cent of $0, or tax in second bracket		0
Total of excess-profits tax		0
Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).		
Net income for 1919	$7,500	
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	$0	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deductions	2,000	
Amount subject to corporation tax	5,500	
10 per cent of $5,500, or corporation tax		$550
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		550

CHART XIV.

Invested capital for 1919		$100,000
Net income for 1919		30,000
Rate of net income, 30 per cent.		
Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).		
FIRST BRACKET.		
20 per cent on invested capital of $100,000	$20,000	
Deductions, section 312:		
8 per cent on $100,000	$8,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	11,000	
Amount taxable in first bracket	9,000	
20 per cent of $9,000, or tax in first bracket		1,800
SECOND BRACKET.		
Net income for 1919	$30,000	
Deductions: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket, that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	20,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	10,000	
40 per cent of $10,000, or tax on second bracket		$4,000
Total of excess profits tax		5,800
Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).		
Net income for 1919	$30,000	
Deductions:		
Excess profits taxes	$5,800	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deductions	7,800	
Amount subject to corporation tax	22,200	
10 per cent of $22,200, or corporation tax		2,220
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		8,020

NOTE.—This corporation paid, on the same amount of net income, a total income tax for 1918 of $11,456 if it had a prewar earning of $30,000 per annum and $15,328 if it had a prewar earning of $8,000 per annum.

CHART XV.

Taxes to be paid by a corporation which made a very large profit.

Invested capital for 1919		$100,000
Net income for 1919		150,000
Rate of net income, 150 per cent.		
Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).		
FIRST BRACKET.		
20 per cent on invested capital of $100,000	$20,000	
Deductions, sec. 312:		
8 per cent on $100,000	$8,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	11,000	
Amount taxable in first bracket	9,000	
20 per cent of $9,000, or tax in first bracket		1,800
SECOND BRACKET.		
Net income for 1919	150,000	
Deduction: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket, that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	20,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	130,000	
40 per cent of $130,000, or tax in second bracket		52,000
Total excess-profits tax		53,800
Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).		
Net income for 1919	$150,000	
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	$53,800	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deductions	55,800	
Amount subject to corporation tax	94,200	
10 per cent of $94,200, or corporation tax		9,420
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		63,220

NOTE.—This corporation paid on the same amount of net income a total income tax for 1918 of $100,128.

CHART XVI.

Invested capital for 1919		$150,000
Net income for 1919		42,000
Rate of net income, 28 per cent.		
Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).		
FIRST BRACKET.		
20 per cent on invested capital of $150,000	$30,000	
Deductions, section 312:		
8 per cent on $150,000	$12,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	15,000	
Amount taxable in first bracket	15,000	
20 per cent of $15,000, or tax in first bracket		$3,000
SECOND BRACKET.		
Net income for 1919	42,000	
Deduction: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket, that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	30,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	12,000	
40 per cent of $12,000, or tax in second bracket		4,800
Total of excess-profits tax		7,800

Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).

Net income for 1919		$42,000
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	$7,800	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deductions	9,800	
Amount subject to corporation tax	32,200	
10 per cent of $32,200, or corporation tax		$3,220
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		11,020

NOTE.—This corporation paid, on the same amount of net income, a total income tax for 1918 of $15,624.

CHART XVII.

Corporations earning 20 per cent or less on the invested capital pay only in the first bracket.

Invested capital for 1919		$200,000
Net income for 1919		40,000

Rate of net income, 20 per cent.

Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).

FIRST BRACKET.

20 per cent on invested capital of $200,000		$40,000
Deductions (sec. 312):		
8 per cent on $200,000	$16,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	19,000	
Amount taxable in first bracket	21,000	
20 per cent of $21,000, or tax in first bracket		4,200

SECOND BRACKET.

Net income for 1919	40,000	
Deductions: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket, that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	40,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	0	
40 per cent of $0, or tax in second bracket		0
Total of excess-profits tax		4,200

Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).

Net income for 1919		$40,000
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	$4,200	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deductions	6,200	
Amount subject to corporation tax	33,800	
10 per cent of $33,800, or corporation tax		$3,380
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		7,580

NOTE.—This corporation paid on the same amount of net income a total tax for 1918 of $10,104.

CHART XVIII.

Invested capital for 1919		$500,000
Net income for 1919		125,000

Rate of net income, 25 per cent.

Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).

FIRST BRACKET.

20 per cent on invested capital of $500,000		$100,000
Deductions, section 312:		
8 per cent on $500,000	$40,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	43,000	
Amount taxable in first bracket	57,000	
20 per cent of $57,000, or tax in first bracket		11,400

SECOND BRACKET.

Net income for 1919	125,000	
Deduction: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket, that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	100,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	25,000	
40 per cent of $25,000, or tax in second bracket		10,000
Total of excess-profits tax		21,400

Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).

Net income for 1919		$125,000
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	$21,400	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deductions	23,400	
Amount subject to corporation tax	101,600	
10 per cent of $101,600, or corporation tax		10,160
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		31,560

CHART XIX.

Invested capital for 1919		$750,000
Net income for 1919		165,000

Rate of net income, 22 per cent.

Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).

FIRST BRACKET.

20 per cent on invested capital of $750,000		$150,000
Deductions (sec. 312):		
8 per cent on $750,000	$60,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	63,000	
Amount taxable in first bracket	87,000	
20 per cent of $87,000, or tax in first bracket		$17,400

SECOND BRACKET.

Net income for 1919		$165,000
Deduction: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket, that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	150,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	15,000	
40 per cent of $15,000, or tax in second bracket		6,000
Total of excess-profits tax		23,400

Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).

Net income for 1919		$165,000
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	$23,400	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deductions	25,400	
Amount subject to corporation tax	139,600	
10 per cent of $139,600, or corporation tax		13,960
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		37,360

CHART XX.

Invested capital for 1919		$1,000,000
Net income for 1919		400,000

Rate of net income, 40 per cent.

Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).

FIRST BRACKET.

20 per cent on invested capital of $1,000,000		$200,000
Deductions, section 312:		
8 per cent on $1,000,000	$80,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	83,000	
Amount taxable in first bracket	117,000	
20 per cent of $117,000, or tax in first bracket		23,400

SECOND BRACKET.

Net income for 1919	400,000	
Deduction: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket, that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	200,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	200,000	
40 per cent of $200,000, or tax in second bracket		80,000
Total excess-profits tax		103,400

Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).

Net income for 1919		$400,000
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	$103,400	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deductions	105,400	
Amount subject to corporation tax	294,600	
10 per cent of $294,600, or corporation tax		29,460
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		132,860

NOTE.—This corporation paid on the same amount of net income a total income tax for 1918 of $221,168.

CHART XXI.

Invested capital for 1919		$5,000,000
Net income for 1919		400,000

Rate of net income, 8 per cent.

Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).

FIRST BRACKET.

Net income for 1918		$400,000
Deductions, section 312:		
8 per cent on $5,000,000	$400,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	403,000	
Amount taxable in first bracket	0	
20 per cent of $0, or tax in first bracket		0

SECOND BRACKET.

Net income for 1919	$400,000	
Deductions: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket, that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	1,000,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	0	
40 per cent of $0, or tax in second bracket		0
Total of excess-profits tax		0

Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).

Net income for 1919	$400,000	
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	0	
Specific exemption	$2,000	
Total deductions	2,000	
Amount subject to corporation tax	398,000	
10 per cent of $398,000, or corporation tax		$39,800
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		39,800

CHART XXII.

Invested capital for 1919	$15,000,000
Net income for 1919	7,500,000

Rate of net income, 50 per cent.

Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).

FIRST BRACKET.

20 per cent on invested capital of $15,000,000	$3,000,000	
Deductions, section 312:		
8 per cent on $15,000,000	$1,200,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	1,203,000	
Amount taxable in first bracket	1,797,000	
20 per cent of $1,797,000, or tax in first bracket		359,400

SECOND BRACKET.

Net income for 1919	7,500,000	
Deduction: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket, that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	3,000,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	4,500,000	
40 per cent of $4,500,000, or tax in second bracket		1,800,000
Total of excess-profits tax		2,159,400

Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).

Net income for 1919	$7,500,000	
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	$2,159,400	
Specific exemptions	2,000	
Total deductions	2,161,400	
Amount subject to corporation tax	5,338,600	
10 per cent of $5,338,600, or corporation tax		$533,860
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		2,693,260

NOTE.—This corporation paid, on the same amount of net income, a total income tax for 1918 of $4,593,648.

Charts XXIII, XXIV, XXV, and XXVI are illustrations of corporations having the same capital, in a very large amount, but having rates of return on the invested capital varying from 8 per cent to 33 per cent.

CHART XXIII.

Invested capital for 1919	$75,000,000
Net income from 1919	6,000,000

Rate of net income, 8 per cent.

Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).

FIRST BRACKET.

Net income for the year 1919	$6,000,000	
Deductions, section 312:		
8 per cent on $75,000,000	$6,000,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	6,003,000	
Amount taxable in first bracket	0	
20 per cent of $0, or tax in first bracket		0

SECOND BRACKET.

Net income for 1919	6,000,000	
Deduction: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket, that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	15,000,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	0	
40 per cent of $0, or tax in second bracket		0
Total of excess-profits tax		0

Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).

Net income for 1919	$6,000,000	
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	0	
Specific exemption	$2,000	
Total deductions	2,000	
Amount subject to corporation tax	5,998,000	
10 per cent of $5,998,000, or corporation tax		$599,800
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		599,800

A corporation having a net income of not over 8 per cent on its invested capital pays no excess-profits tax.

CHART XXIV.

Invested capital for 1919	$75,000,000
Net income for 1919	9,000,000

Rate of net earning, 12 per cent.

Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).

FIRST BRACKET.

Net income for 1919	$9,000,000	
Deductions (sec. 312):		
8 per cent on $75,000,000	$6,000,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	6,003,000	
Amount taxable in first bracket	2,997,000	
20 per cent of $2,997,000, or tax in first bracket		$599,400

SECOND BRACKET.

Net income for 1919	9,000,000	
Deduction: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket, that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	15,000,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	0	
40 per cent of $0, or tax in second bracket		0
Total of excess-profits tax		599,400

Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).

Net income for 1919	$9,000,000	
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	$599,400	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deductions	601,400	
Amount subject to corporation tax	8,398,600	
10 per cent of $8,398,600, or corporation tax		839,860
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		1,439,260

CHART XXV.

Invested capital for 1919	$75,000,000
Net income for 1919	16,000,000

Rate of net earning, 21 per cent.

Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).

FIRST BRACKET.

20 per cent on invested capital of $75,000,000	$15,000,000	
Deductions, section 312:		
8 per cent on $75,000,000	$6,000,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	6,003,000	
Amount taxable in first bracket	8,997,000	
20 per cent of $8,997,000, or tax in first bracket		1,799,400

SECOND BRACKET.

Net income for 1919	$16,000,000	
Deductions: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	15,000,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	1,000,000	
40 per cent of $1,000,000, or tax in second bracket		400,000
Total of excess-profits tax		2,199,400

Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).

Net income for 1919	$16,000,000	
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	$2,199,400	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deductions	2,201,400	
Amount subject to corporation tax	13,798,600	
10 per cent of $13,798,600, or corporation tax		1,379,860
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		3,579,260

CHART XXVI.

Invested capital for 1919		$75,000,000
Net income for 1919		25,000,000
Rate of net earning, 33 per cent.		
Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).		
FIRST BRACKET.		
20 per cent on invested capital of $75,000,000	$15,000,000	
Deductions (sec. 312):		
8 per cent on $75,000,000	$6,000,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	6,003,000	
Amount taxable in first bracket	8,997,000	
20 per cent of $8,997,000, or tax in first bracket		1,799,400
SECOND BRACKET.		
Net income for 1919	25,000,000	
Deductions: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket, that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	15,000,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	10,000,000	
40 per cent of $10,000,000, or tax in second bracket		4,000,000
Total of excess-profits tax		5,799,400
Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).		
Net income for 1919	$25,000,000	
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	$5,799,400	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deductions	5,801,400	
Amount subject to corporation tax	19,198,600	
10 per cent of $19,198,600, or corporation tax		1,919,860
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		7,719,260

Attention is called to section 302, which states: "The tax imposed by subdivision b of section 301 shall in no case be more than 20 per cent of the amount of net income in excess of $3,000, and not in excess of $20,000 plus 40 per cent of the amount of net income in excess of $20,000." It is apparent that this limitation will apply only when the corporation is earning several hundred per cent on its invested capital. I give below a chart which illustrates the application of this portion of the law:

CHART XXVII.

A corporation paying under the limitation of the amount on the excess-profits tax.

Invested capital for 1919		$30,000
Net income for 1919		120,000
Rate of net income 400 per cent.		
Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).		
FIRST BRACKET.		
20 per cent on invested capital of $30,000	$6,000	
Deductions, sec. 312:		
8 per cent on $30,000	$2,400	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	5,400	
Amount taxable in first bracket	600	
20 per cent of $600, or tax in first bracket		120
SECOND BRACKET.		
Net income for 1919	120,000	
Deduction: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket, that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital	6,000	
Amount taxable in second bracket	114,000	
40 per cent of $114,000, or tax in second bracket		45,600
Total of excess-profits tax		45,720

Section 302 provides that the total excess-profits tax shall not exceed 20 per cent of that part of the net income represented by the difference between $3,000 and $20,000, or $17,000, plus 40 per cent of the remainder of the net income, which in this case is $100,000.

Computing the tax according to this provision, we have:

20 per cent of $17,000	$3,400
40 per cent of $100,000	40,000
Total	43,400

Since this amount is less than the amount of the excess-profits tax computed in the ordinary manner, we use this amount of $43,400 as the excess-profits tax in computing the corporation tax:

Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).

Net income for 1919		$120,000
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	$43,400	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deductions	45,400	
Amount subject to corporation tax	74,600	
10 per cent of $74,600, or corporation tax		$7,460
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		50,860

CHART XXVIII.

Illustrating the method of computing the excess-profits taxes when the net income of a corporation is derived in part from Government contracts and in part from private contracts.

Section 301, subdivision c, reads as follows:

"(c) For the taxable year 1919 and each taxable year thereafter there shall be levied, collected, and paid upon the net income of every corporation which derives in such year a net income of more than $10,000 from any Government contract or contracts made between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, both dates inclusive, a tax equal to the sum of the following:

"(1) Such a portion of a tax computed at the rates specified in subdivision (a) as the part of the net income attributable to such Government contract or contracts bears to the entire net income. In computing such tax the excess-profits credit and the war-profits credit applicable to the taxable year shall be used.

"(2) Such a portion of a tax computed at the rates specified in subdivision (b) as the part of the net income not attributable to such Government contract or contracts bears to the entire net income.

"For the purpose of determining the part of the net income attributable to such Government contract or contracts, the proper apportionment and allocation of the deductions with respect to gross income derived from such Government contract or contracts and from other sources, respectively, shall be determined under rules and regulations prescribed by the commissioner with the approval of the Secretary."

The law above quoted provides that the portion of the net income obtained from Government contracts shall be taxed under the provisions of the law for the year 1918, but that the portion earned from private contracts shall be taxed under the law for 1919.

Under regulation No. 45, articles 716 and 719, the excess-profits tax to be paid by a corporation under section 301c is found by computing the tax under section 301a and section 301b. The tax is apportioned between the net income from Government contracts and the net income from private contracts in the proportion that the net income from each bears to the total net income. If three-fourths of the net income is derived from Government contracts, then three-fourths of the tax as computed under section 301a is taken, and one-fourth of the tax computed under section 301b; or, to state it in per cents, if 65 per cent of the net income is derived from private contracts, then 65 per cent of the tax as computed under section 301b is taken and 35 per cent of that computed under section 301a.

The following illustration shows the method of computing the tax where one-half of the net earnings of the corporation were derived from Government contracts and one-half from private contracts:

Method of computing that portion of the tax due to profits on Government contracts.

Invested capital, 1919		$1,000,000
Net income, 1919		400,000
Prewar earning		150,000
Excess-profits tax (sec. 301a).		
FIRST BRACKET.		
20 per cent of $1,000,000	$200,000	
Deductions (sec. 312):		
8 per cent of $1,000,000	$80,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions	83,000	
Amount taxed on first bracket	117,000	
30 per cent of $117,000, or tax in first bracket		$35,100
SECOND BRACKET.		
Net income	$400,000	
Less 20 per cent of $1,000,000, or	200,000	
Amount taxed in second bracket	200,000	
65 per cent of $200,000, or tax in second bracket		130,000
Total of first and second brackets		165,100

War profits.

THIRD BRACKET.

Net income		$400,000
Deductions (sec. 311a):		
Prewar earning	$150,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
		153,000
		247,000
80 per cent of $247,000 is $197,600; $197,600, less $165,100 (the total of the tax of first and second brackets), is tax in third bracket		$32,500
Total war-profits and excess-profits taxes		197,600
One-half of this amount is		98,800

Method of computing that portion of the tax due to profits on private contracts.

Invested capital for 1919	$1,000,000
Net income for 1919	400,000

Excess-profits tax (sec. 301b).

FIRST BRACKET.

20 per cent on invested capital of $1,000,000		$200,000
Deductions (sec. 312):		
8 per cent of $1,000,000	$80,000	
Specific exemption	3,000	
Total deductions		83,000
Amount taxable in first bracket		117,000
20 per cent of $117,000, or tax in first bracket		23,400

SECOND BRACKET.

Net income for 1919		$400,000
Deductions: Since that part of the net income equal to 20 per cent of the invested capital is taxed in the first bracket that amount is now deducted from the net income to ascertain the amount to be taxed in the second bracket, 20 per cent on invested capital		200,000
Amount taxable in second bracket		200,000
40 per cent of $200,000, or tax in second bracket		80,000
Total of excess-profits tax		103,400
One-half of this amount is		51,700

Adding together the tax to be paid on the part of the net income due to Government contracts, and that due to private contracts, we have—

One-half of tax under 301a	$98,800
One-half of tax under 301b	51,700
Excess-profits tax	150,500

Corporation tax (sec. 230a (2)).

Net income for 1919		$400,000
Deductions:		
Excess-profits taxes	$150,500	
Specific exemption	2,000	
Total deductions		152,500
Amount subject to corporation tax		247,500
10 per cent of $247,500, or corporation tax		24,750
Total of all taxes to be paid by this corporation in 1919		175,250

A CORPORATION HAVING A NET INCOME IN 1919 OF LESS THAN $3,000.

A corporation having a net income of less than $3,000 in 1919 will not pay the war-profits and excess-profits taxes.

CHART XXIX.

What income taxes would have been paid had the business in Chart V been owned by an individual instead of a corporation.

It is difficult to make a comparison of this kind as the deductions and exemptions for normal and surtaxes for individuals are different from those for corporations for the normal and war-profits and excess-profits tax. But supposing that an individual had an income of $150,000 upon which he pays both normal and surtax.

Normal tax (sec. 210b).

Net income		$150,000
Deductions:		
Credit under section 216 A	$6,000	
Credit under section 216 C	2,000	
Total deductions		8,000
Amount on which normal tax is computed		$142,000
$4,000, at 4 per cent		160
$138,000, at 8 per cent		11,040
Total normal tax		11,200

Surtax (sec. 211).

Net income subject to surtax	150,000

On amounts between—

$5,000 and	$6,000, or	$1,000 at	1 per cent	$10
6,000 and	8,000, or	2,000 at	2 per cent	40
8,000 and	10,000, or	2,000 at	3 per cent	60
10,000 and	12,000, or	2,000 at	4 per cent	80
12,000 and	14,000, or	2,000 at	5 per cent	100
14,000 and	16,000, or	2,000 at	6 per cent	120
16,000 and	18,000, or	2,000 at	7 per cent	140
18,000 and	20,000, or	2,000 at	8 per cent	160
20,000 and	22,000, or	2,000 at	9 per cent	180

On amounts between—

$22,000 and	$24,000, or	$2,000 at	10 per cent	$200
24,000 and	26,000, or	2,000 at	11 per cent	220
26,000 and	28,000, or	2,000 at	12 per cent	240
28,000 and	30,000, or	2,000 at	13 per cent	260
30,000 and	32,000, or	2,000 at	14 per cent	280
32,000 and	34,000, or	2,000 at	15 per cent	300
34,000 and	36,000, or	2,000 at	16 per cent	320
36,000 and	38,000, or	2,000 at	17 per cent	340
38,000 and	40,000, or	2,000 at	18 per cent	360
40,000 and	42,000, or	2,000 at	19 per cent	380
42,000 and	44,000, or	2,000 at	20 per cent	400
44,000 and	46,000, or	2,000 at	21 per cent	420
46,000 and	48,000, or	2,000 at	22 per cent	440
48,000 and	50,000, or	2,000 at	23 per cent	460
50,000 and	52,000, or	2,000 at	24 per cent	480
52,000 and	54,000, or	2,000 at	25 per cent	500
54,000 and	56,000, or	2,000 at	26 per cent	520
56,000 and	58,000, or	2,000 at	27 per cent	540
58,000 and	60,000, or	2,000 at	28 per cent	560
60,000 and	62,000, or	2,000 at	29 per cent	580
62,000 and	64,000, or	2,000 at	30 per cent	600
64,000 and	66,000, or	2,000 at	31 per cent	620
66,000 and	68,000, or	2,000 at	32 per cent	640
68,000 and	70,000, or	2,000 at	33 per cent	660
70,000 and	72,000, or	2,000 at	34 per cent	680
72,000 and	74,000, or	2,000 at	35 per cent	700
74,000 and	76,000, or	2,000 at	36 per cent	720
76,000 and	78,000, or	2,000 at	37 per cent	740
78,000 and	80,000, or	2,000 at	38 per cent	760
80,000 and	82,000, or	2,000 at	39 per cent	780
82,000 and	84,000, or	2,000 at	40 per cent	800
84,000 and	86,000, or	2,000 at	41 per cent	820
86,000 and	88,000, or	2,000 at	42 per cent	840
88,000 and	90,000, or	2,000 at	43 per cent	860
90,000 and	92,000, or	2,000 at	44 per cent	880
92,000 and	94,000, or	2,000 at	45 per cent	900
94,000 and	96,000, or	2,000 at	46 per cent	920
96,000 and	98,000, or	2,000 at	47 per cent	940
98,000 and	100,000, or	2,000 at	48 per cent	960
100,000 and	150,000, or	50,000 at	52 per cent	26,000
Total surtax				$49,510
Normal tax				11,200
Surtax				49,510
Total tax				60,710

In 1918 an individual paid a total income tax of $66,310 on the same amount of income as given in Chart V.

A corporation paid in 1918, $82,528, and in 1919, $53,140 as income taxes on the net income as given above.

The provisions of the income-tax law for 1919 reduce the taxes to be paid by corporations to a greater extent than they do for individuals or partnerships.

"America First."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 3, 1920.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit the following address by my colleague, Mr. CROWTHER:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE AMERICAN LEGION AT FORT PLAIN, N. Y., JANUARY 8, 1920, BY REPRESENTATIVE FRANK CROWTHER, OF NEW YORK.

"Americanization is an all-American job, and every live-wire citizen, man or woman, is eligible for a place on the 'America First' team.

"During the last half century particularly we have been blithering and prattling about our wonderful melting pot, and we suddenly discover on removal of the lid that the contents have not melted. There has been a great deal of sentimental gush disseminated, largely by political tricksters to further their own selfish ends, but until very recently there has been no organized effort to bring about real Americanization. We felt secure in the fact that the public schools of this great Nation would serve as a cure-all for what is now heralded as Bolshevism. Magnificently have our educational institutions measured up to the demands made upon them and the percentage of graduates who were children of foreign parentage, their remarkably high rating and success in the business and professional world, is, indeed, a tribute to the public school system of America.

THE WEEDS OF ANARCHY.

"But this feeling of security has received a severe jolt during the past few years and especially during the last few months. We are confronted with facts and figures that cause us to regret-

fully realize that a tremendous percentage of the active leaders in these various cults which all lead toward anarchy in the final analysis were born and bred in America of American parents. We have been alseep while the weeds of anarchy have grown to such a height that they bid fair to choke the wheat of good citizenship. These weeds grew and flourished in the soil of the muckraking campaigns in sensational magazines and yellow newspapers. Successful men constantly held up to ridicule, their characters assassinated, mean insinuations as to how they made their money, until a certain element looked frowningly upon every man who had seemingly an unjust proportion of this world's goods. Corporations and so-called 'trusts' have been hounded and pounded, and even the various branches of the Government have been attacked as being oppressive and unjust. And all this in America, where we sang 'The Star-Spangled Banner' and were positive that there was no such country, and no such flag in all the world.

"It became a fad to take up these various cults, and men and women of standing in various communities allied themselves with this rapidly growing army of Philistines. They helped to build a modern Frankenstein that now threatens to trample our American ideals and devastate the best country in the world. There must be many a troubled conscience in this broad land now that they realize what the harvest is to be from the seed that they as Americans sowed. But we are not dismayed. The great majority of the people in these United States are loyal, well balanced, and not easily frightened, and fully realize that unless we eradicate this spirit of anarchy we shall stand discredited before the world. During the war we boasted of our melting pot and its share in producing the finest Army in the world, and results confirmed our judgment. Sons of English, Irish, Scotch, Italian, Slav, Scandinavian, German, Pole, and French all answered the Nation's call when the dial of time registered the hour for America to take her place on the field of battle. Not a man of them that ever wants a hyphen used to describe his nationality; he helped to bury that hyphen with the bones of autocracy at Chateau-Thierry and in the Argonne Forest, where he conveyed the knowledge to the world that he was possessed of what is sometimes delicately referred to as initiative, but when I was a boy in old New England was more forcibly described as 'guts.'

THE AMERICAN LEGION.

"Who has the temerity to suggest that any one of these stalwart Americans will ever ally himself with any organization that has for its objective the destruction of our Government; as well might we expect to see the heavens fall. Every soldier in America will remember as long as he lives that four of his comrades were shot at Centralia, Wash., on Armistice Day; the most dastardly act ever committed in our home land, and if in the coming years we are threatened with destruction by reds from within, as we were lately threatened by the Huns from without, and all efforts at Americanization have failed, then once more every member of the American Legion will demonstrate that in defense of his country, her institutions, and her flag he is never 'too proud to fight.'

"America has been described as an 'international boarding house,' and among the boarders that have come to us are some of the best and some of the very worst element from the European countries. It is almost beyond comprehension that in a land so fraught with opportunity, where royal blood or birth count for nothing, where four-square manhood and sweet, virtuous womanhood are the prerequisites of society's demand; where fortune beckons from the hilltop to climb the paths of capability and efficiency, and find there the laurel from which victory weaves her garlands, that there should be an alien element intent on sowing seeds of anarchy and destruction. Have we neglected to treat them as neighbors, have we stood aloof too long, have we created false lines of social distinction, have we developed an American snobbishness augmented by the power and influence of the almighty dollar, or have we stood afar off, as did the Pharisee, and exclaimed, 'I am holier than thou'?

"Fruitless will be the endeavor to search out our failure unless we are to face the situation boldly and with determined purpose. Various alien groups have segregated themselves and turned a deaf ear and a blind eye to our national ideals, language, and citizenship. They have fostered anarchy, I. W. W'ism, socialism, communism, while we have been chasing dollars by day and jazzing till the wee sma hours of the morning. Now that we are fully awake we find that 2,000,000 of our boys were across the seas making the Stars and Stripes the most welcome sight in Europe; we have been dancing on the edge of a volcano which has lately shown signs of becoming exceedingly active. What is the cure? Surely not the shotgun, not the militia, not State constabulary; only in the direst emergency should such methods prevail, for in this favored land of ours we hope and pray that civil war shall never again raise its bloody hand, neighbor against neighbor. Let us put more fire under the great American melting pot, the fire of enthusiasm and united effort; forbid the printing and distribution of seditious documents in foreign languages; let our immigration laws add to the quality of citizenship rather than the quantity. Let's practice the democracy we have boasted so much about and sacrificed so many glorious young lives in defense of; let's remember that every year there are born many millions of real Americans and that the traditions of America shall serve as inspiration for the generations yet unborn; that Christianity with its multitude of creeds, fraternity with its hosts of exemplars, and humanity with all its blessings still prevail.

AMERICA FIRST! LET'S GO!

"And 'mothers.' Mothers who give boys and girls to the world and train them, watch over them, and pray for them, glorifying in their contribution to the Nation's citizenship, and then fold their hands in sweet content and journey to the undiscovered land. Mothers such as gave us the great American expeditionary forces; 2,000,000 men in France, aye, and 2,000,000 mothers' hearts. Let's try once more—yes; 10,000 times more—to have every self-respecting alien become a citizen; to greet him as friend and neighbor; to make him realize that America is the land of opportunity. Then if all this effort fails and force seems the only expedient veterans of the American Legion, reinforced by the support of every other loyal American, will cry, 'America first; let's go.'"

Helium.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRITZ G. LANHAM,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 3, 1920.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, the following brief statement with reference to the discovery, production, and use of helium was prepared by direction of the Bureau of Mines at my request for information concerning it. The conservation of this noncombustible gas is a matter of great importance, and under leave granted by the House to extend my remarks I am inserting this interesting statement for the information of the Members of Congress:

STATEMENT CONCERNING HELIUM PRODUCTION.

In connection with the recommendation made in report 484, on H. R. 8819, to the effect that the practicability of securing helium at a reasonable price in large quantities be inquired into before further experiments are made at Fort Worth, the following information concerning the development of the helium program in the United States is herewith submitted.

It is desired first, however, to state that the program for helium production was entered into by the Government only after it had been exhaustively considered from every angle and had been approved by engineers of international distinction. Representatives of the British Government conferred with officers of the Army and Navy and with experts of the Bureau of Mines upon the subject, and the advice and cooperation of some of the country's most eminent technical men were secured.

Up to the present time hydrogen has been practically the only gas used for filling balloons. As far as buoyancy is concerned, it is the ideal gas for this purpose, as it is the lightest of known substances. On the other hand, however, hydrogen is extremely inflammable, and before the war had progressed very far it was discovered that airships filled with it were so easily destroyed by incendiary bullets that such craft could be used only where they could be effectively protected from attack by this weapon.

The officers responsible for the air-service activities of the belligerent countries had been continually seeking for some noninflammable substitute for hydrogen, but the various attempts made to utilize noninflammable gases in balloons were unsuccessful on account of their relatively great weight. Then the possibility of obtaining helium in practicable quantities appeared.

Helium is next to hydrogen in buoyancy. Its weight is but twice that of hydrogen, so that in balloons, compared with the far heavier enveloping air, it exerts a lifting power of about 92 per cent of the lighter gas. Since it is also absolutely noninflammable, in it has been discovered the all-round ideal balloon gas so long sought by scientists.

Before the war the price of helium was approximately $1,700 per cubic foot, and only extremely small amounts of it could be obtained even at this figure. After the British entered the war they considered the feasibility of obtaining helium from their mine gases and of separating it from the natural gas issuing from certain wells in Canada. It was not found in the former, and the small helium content and nature of the latter made the separation very difficult.

Helium was first found in natural gas in Kansas in 1907. Very soon after the United States entered the war the Army, Navy, and Bureau of

Mines became interested in the project of obtaining it from this source for the use of the lighter-than-air service of the United States. This work was considered of the first importance on account of the great tactical advantage which the allied forces would possess equipped with aircraft so vastly superior to those of the enemy that attack by the latter would prove extremely difficult and hazardous. On July 31, 1917, the first allotment of $100,000 was made from Army and Navy funds for helium production on an experimental scale, this measure being recommended by the Aircraft Board. Various other allotments for this purpose have been made since that time. The total sums involved, which have been spent or are allotted as sufficient to carry on the helium program up to July 1, 1920, are approximately as follows:

Plants Nos. 1 and 2 and laboratory	$641,700.00
Plant No. 3	751,375.88
Production plant No. 1	5,201,951.55
Conservation and research program	50,083.50
Pipe line	90,000.00
Grand total	6,735,110.93

The most marked improvement in the methods of obtaining helium has been made since the Government's program was originally started, and the present cost of its separation on an experimental basis is so low that in time of war, aside even from the tactical advantages its use in balloons will afford, money will actually be saved by its large-scale production and substitution for hydrogen, by reason of the greater immunity from fire risk. And it is probably not too much to say that in the not distant future the production cost will be so much further lowered that even in time of peace its use will be indicated both on account of the greatly reduced fire risk just mentioned and the reduction of hazard to human life.

Since the world's supply of helium is apparently limited, however, it is probable that hydrogen will continue to be employed by the Air Service in certain types of balloons, while helium will be used only in other types in which its peculiar characteristics insure decided advantages. It has also been found that hydrogen in certain percentages can be mixed with helium and so used as a balloon gas without risk of inflammability, and helium may be employed as an inclosing safety envelope for hydrogen-filled balloons.

What has been said above relates but to one of what may be many important uses of helium in war and in peace. Up to recently the amount produced was so minute in quantity that helium was not much more than a laboratory curiosity. Therefore its range of properties and the consequent possibilities for its useful application in science and the arts could not be fully determined and developed, and only now is such research work made a reality.

In view of the above considerations, and of the progress already made in the production of this remarkable gas, it would be a disastrous policy on the part of the Government to in any way discourage further developments of the helium program, as this program offers the possibility of ultimately reducing the expense incident to the maintenance of the armed forces of the country, while at the same time, furnishing a weapon of the greatest value.

DEVELOPMENT IN HELIUM PRODUCTION.

As above stated the price paid for helium before the entry of the United States into the war was approximately $1,700 per cubic foot. It is probable that not over 100 cubic feet had been isolated in the world.

After our entry into the war three experimental plants for the production of helium from natural gas obtained from the Petrolia pool, at Petrolia, Tex., were erected. Two of these, known as plants 1 and 2, were located at Fort Worth, the gas being supplied through a pipe line from the former place, and the last plant, known as plant No. 3, was established at Petrolia. Plant No. 1 was erected and operated in cooperation with the Linde Air Products Co., plant No. 2 with the Air Reduction Co., both of New York.

During the operation of these plants approximately 225,000 cubic feet of helium was separated from the natural gas, this helium being contained in mixtures varying from 60 per cent to 92 per cent purity. While helium of 92 per cent purity is suitable for use in balloons, that of lower purity must first be brought up to approximately this percentage before it can be so employed.

The cost of producing 1 cubic foot of helium in a mixture of 92 per cent purity in plant No. 1, the most successful plant to date, was about 39 cents. This shows an extremely remarkable reduction in the price of producing helium, especially when the fact that this was an experimental plant and was not of such proportions as to give lowest cost is taken into consideration.

After helium of 92 per cent purity was produced in experimental plant No. 1, the Navy, acting for the Army and Navy, entered into a contract with the Linde Co. for the erection of a large production plant at Fort Worth. This is now practically completed, and it is expected that it will be in operation in the near future. Plants 1 and 2, having served their experimental purpose, have now passed out of existence.

The cost of producing helium in the new production plant, as estimated by the Navy Department, which is in charge of its construction and operation, is 5.22 cents per cubic foot. This indicates that this plant will produce helium at about one-seventh of the cost of production in the experimental plant. This figure is so low that in time of war the Government will save money by using a maximum of helium as a balloon gas, as the reduced loss of balloons will more than offset the increased cost of the gas over hydrogen. This statement is based on estimates prepared in France by the Air Service during the World War.

Plant No. 3, located at Petrolia, Tex., is still in the stages of experimental development. It is, however, of such a size that, if the experiment is successful, the plant can be used without further change for the commercial production of helium. In this plant an attempt is being made to develop an entirely new process of gas separation, and those in charge of its operation have reason to believe that it will bring the cost of producing helium down to a very low minimum.

The cost of hydrogen used by the Air Service during the World War was, on the average, 1 cent per cubic foot. While hydrogen can, under favorable conditions, be produced at prices considerably less than this, the figure of 1 cent per cubic foot gives the actual cost of the hydrogen used during the war as obtained under war conditions.

In view of the fact that the cost of helium has been very remarkably reduced in the last two and a half years, and, further, in view of the fact that its probable cost as produced in the gas plant at Fort Worth will be so low that, everything considered, it will be cheaper for the Government to fill balloons with helium rather than with hydrogen; again, since helium provides the United States with a weapon of warfare which, so far as is known, is not available to any other nation, because nearly all of the practicable supplies of helium so far discovered are contained within the borders of the United States, and on account of the anticipated further considerable reduction in the cost of helium below the present figure, it seems that it is extremely inadvisable to take any action at the present time which would in any way delay or interfere with the proper carrying out of the helium program of the Army and Navy.

In addition to the above, it must be remembered that the natural gases containing helium are being continually consumed for domestic and industrial purposes. It therefore behooves the Government to expedite in every possible way the development of processes for separation of helium before it is irretrievably lost.

Real Economy Versus False Economy in Maintaining the Efficiency of the American Navy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLFRED W. LUFKIN,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 5, 1920.

Mr. LUFKIN. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of this appropriation solely on the ground of a naval necessity. I want to say at the outset in reply to the remarks on Saturday of my colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts, that I have no navy yard in my district. Neither have I any large number of constituents employed in any yard. At all events I have none sufficiently interested to write and ask my support of this appropriation. So, unlike the gentleman from Massachusetts, I have not heard the voice of organized labor calling upon me to support this proposition lest some of its members residing in my district lose their jobs. But, Mr. Speaker, I have heard another voice calling—the voice of the Navy Department. It was not the voice of the Secretary of the Navy, who might, perchance, be accused of playing politics, but it was the voices of the admirals at the head of the various bureaus, the professional managers of the American Navy, the officers who are charged under the law with the responsibility of keeping the fleet up to fighting trim. It is no especial concern to these officers whether a man loses his job or not. They are not in politics, and it would be of no especial concern to them if an entire yard were closed down altogether, so far as the employees are concerned; but it is of especial concern to them that these ships should be put back in condition at the earliest possible moment. That is their job, and they are responsible for it.

Mr. Speaker, there are two kinds of economy—real economy and false economy. Real economy consists in saving money, not for to-day alone but for all time, while false economy consists in saving $1 to-day and having to spend $2 to-morrow as a result of that saving.

The latter is exactly the kind of economy which this House will be guilty of practicing if it denies this appropriation. If we are to have an up-to-date Navy—and I do not believe that there is any gentleman on this floor who believes that we should not have a Navy of the very highest standard—these ships must be repaired sometime. If they are not repaired this year the work will have to be done next year, or possibly the year after. Admiral Taylor, of the Bureau of Construction and Repair, is probably the greatest and most successful shipbuilder in the entire world. He will tell you to-day, just as he has told the Naval Committee, that the longer this work is delayed the more expensive it will be. Nothing deteriorates more rapidly than a modern battleship. They wear out fast enough, God knows, at best; but once they get run down and out of condition this deterioration increases by leaps and bounds.

Now, just one word as to the reason for the necessity for this large deficiency. Many arguments have been advanced in the debate on Saturday and to-day, but I have heard no one as yet exactly hit the nail on the head. It is true that the Naval Committee last summer, in the short time at its disposal in which to prepare a bill and in its anxiety to economize, may have cut down these appropriations a little too far. It is likewise true that the cost of labor and of materials have increased enormously since that time. But to my mind the underlying reason which makes this appropriation necessary is the fact that no one in the Navy Department began to realize how much would be taken out of the ships engaged in the transport service. For months and months these ships were in constant commission, first in carrying troops and supplies to Europe and then in

bringing the men back. There was no time, there was no opportunity to give these vessels even a partial overhauling. The orders were, "Drive them just as hard as you can and get all you can out of them, regardless of the consequences," with the result that during the period when our soldiers were being brought home there was case after case where the entire stop at each terminal was simply a matter of hours. The men were unloaded or loaded, as the case might be; coal and supplies were hurried on board; and the great ship started on its return voyage, often on the same day on which it had arrived in port. The results were disastrous to the condition of these ships. They did their work well, and now let us make it possible to put them back into shape again. Let us pass this appropriation at once and thus put our Navy back where it was 18 months ago, not, perhaps, the largest, but the best kept, the best officered, the best manned, and the most efficient of any Navy in the entire world.

Repair the Navy Ships Now.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD OLNEY,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 4, 1920.

Mr. OLNEY. Mr. Speaker, I strongly advocate an immediate appropriation of $10,000,000 for the repair and upkeep of scores of United States Navy vessels which are rapidly disintegrating and rusting away from negligence due to lack of funds. If this fund is not forthcoming in the near future it means the disorganization of 14,000 skilled mechanics well adapted to repair Navy ships. If this appropriation in contemplation is delayed for even a year, this splendid body of employees will have become disintegrated and skilled shipbuilders will not be available, and many fine Navy ships which were indispensable during the war will of necessity be consigned to the scrap heap. This is not entirely a question of keeping men under employment, but primarily concerns the maintenance of a permanent and efficient Navy establishment. The United States Navy is just as much a part of Oklahoma and Minnesota as it relates to Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, New York, Texas, and California, where navy yards may exist.

It is false economy to-day to neglect the maintenance and repair of the many fine ships which, driven under full steam during the war and since the signing of the armistice, have had no time and opportunity to be put into "shipshape," so to speak.

Therefore, let us think and act to-day in a broad, patriotic manner and pass without equivocation these amendments granting $10,000,000 for purposes of repairing United States Navy vessels. "A stitch in time saves nine," and if you believe in the maintenance of an efficient Navy it is incumbent upon the Members to-day to take a stitch to-day, appropriate this sum for repair work in the Navy, and thereby save many millions of dollars by postponing the Navy program.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. S. D. FESS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 5, 1920.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address before the Indiana Editorial Association, Indianapolis, January 2, 1920.

The address is as follows:

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE INDIANA EDITORIAL ASSOCIATION, INDIANAPOLIS, JANUARY 2, 1920, BY HON. S. D. FESS, OF OHIO.

Gentlemen of the Editorial Association, I have come to talk to you on the national situation as it appears to me. At this time I would not have left Washington were I not convinced of the need to embrace this opportunity to get before you specific information upon which you can better form a judgment of the character of propaganda now in vogue under the present régime to cloud the people's minds to the frightful incompetency of Democratic administration. The source of the activity of the Democratic press is well known. The timidity of the Republican press under threats of sedition legislation is equally well known.

The entire machinery of the Government has been converted into publicity agencies for Democratic propaganda for self-perpetuation in power. The President was not aloof from this propaganda. His attitude toward Republicans in the prosecution of the war demonstrated that he was attempting to make it a Democratic Party war. His palpable determination to exclude the council of men of ability not belonging to his inner circle until he was compelled to call upon Republican leaders of the House to put through his major war measures against the violent opposition of Speaker CLARK; Chairman KITCHIN, of the Ways and Means Committee and floor leader; Chairman DENT, of the Military Committee; and others is not in dispute.

His assumption of the direction of the campaign for the continuance of Democratic control of both the House and Senate, in which war agencies such as the Hoover Food Administration joined, was the sensation of our political history. Republicans were compelled to witness the agencies created by them for the defense of the Nation in her greatest crisis employed to perpetuate the most curious polyglot of self-advertisers and political theorists in the name of patriotism ever collected in one center. Public information emanating from Washington upon which the people were to base judgment was such as the impossible George Creel allowed to pass his socialistic bureau.

CRITICISM PREVENTED.

Freedom of criticism in speech and the press was such as would pass the Department of Justice in the light of the espionage act, and Postmaster General Burleson in control not only of the mails but the wires, telephones, and cables as well.

An example of this freedom is the threat from American headquarters in Europe that if European criticism of the proposed League of Nations was not stopped the peace council would be removed from France; of course, we heard nothing more than fulsome praise of the work of the commission thereafter. Another example is the case of the demand of dismissal of a Washington correspondent of a great newspaper in a great city because of a certain dispatch published touching certain unofficial conduct of a distinguished Democrat.

The more than 30 bulletins published at the Capital at Government expense by the departments under the execution ostensibly for the dissemination of information, but actually and more distinctively as mere Democratic publicity sheets for the promulgation of the present régime, have reached the stage of nausea. Over 30,000,000 copies of speeches of the President and members of the Cabinet were printed and distributed at public expense in this propaganda. One million copies of McAdoo's speech to railway men in Altoona, Pa., is an example of this campaign.

HOW NEWS IS MADE IN WASHINGTON.

Notwithstanding the distaste of the American people for such official prostitution, as was evidenced by the last election, this same sort of distortion of facts is still going on with headquarters in Washington whence make-believe dispatches are regularly sent out by the reporters, as is so notorious in the dispatches touching the league status, where the public is led to conclusions without warrant of fact. More than one reporter, knowing the character of news items touching such and such question that is wanted by the policy of his paper, includes with his story a private note to the editor correcting the statement, and leaving it to the publisher's decision as to what to print. This explains why the most that has been written from Washington on the league status has to be corrected by subsequent dispatches.

THE FAMOUS FILIBUSTER RECALLED.

This same propaganda is seen in the Democratic charge that this Congress has done nothing. Let us look at the situation as revealed by the facts. The charge by the Democrats that Republican filibuster in the Senate defeated the appropriation bills in the last Congress is an example. Eight bills failed. The Democrats controlled both House and Senate. Some of the bills did not reach the Senate until March 3, the day before adjournment. Some of the bills were not even reported from the Democratic Senate committees. Finally, many Senators becoming disgusted, knowing there was not a physical possibility of passing eight supply bills in the 18 hours remaining, three men—two Republicans and one Democrat—decided that they would compel an extra session, which the exigencies of the World War demanded and which the country well knew the President did not want to call. These three Senators held the floor for 18 hours. This was the famous filibuster. What was the result? An extra session was called for May 19. Republicans took the helm. The end of the fiscal year, June 30, after Congress had been in session but six weeks, saw not only the

eight supply bills through both Houses but a saving from the estimates of the former Democratic Congress of $40,000,000 per day each day the Congress had been in session. So much for that Democratic misrepresentation.

WORK OF THE SPECIAL SESSION.

What was accomplished in the special session about which the Democratic publicity department is working overtime? The total number of public laws enacted was 93—more than were enacted in the last session of the Democratic Congress. Besides this, there were 21 public resolutions passed. The total number of committee reports was 368, as against 145 reported by the last Democratic session. Of the 368 reported, 239 were acted upon by the House, as against 101 in the last session of the Democratic Congress. Among the most important measures will be found the various deficiency bills, woman suffrage, national prohibition, rehabilitation of wounded soldiers, return of the wires, including the cables, several protective measures on dyes and other American industries, facilitation of export trade, regulation of alien rights, law to facilitate agricultural marketing, provision to complete the Alaskan railroad, reclamation of arid regions in the West, and the enforcement of the prohibition act. Among measures which have passed the House and awaiting action in the Senate are the Esch railroad bill, the Greene merchant-marine bill, the Good budget bill, the Smoot-Sinnott gas, oil, and coal land leasing bill, the water-power bill, the Fess rehabilitation of cripples bill, and many others. During this time the Senate has had before it the problem of ending the war without the loss of American sovereignty.

I challenge the history of legislation to show a better record of work accomplished.

There is nothing so influential in molding public opinion as facts. Before them propaganda does not get far. It is the province of the editor as well as his duty to lay before the public the facts and allow the citizen to draw his conclusions which he will not hesitate to do. Republican Members of Congress from the first were aware of the problems, complicated and cumulative, under Democratic incompetency, and did what they could to get the facts before the country, in which the Republican press gave valiant assistance. The country, in spite of the organized effort to manufacture public clamor for Democratic support and in spite of the incredible partisan effort of the President, decisively rebuked the Democratic administration by returning a Republican majority in both branches of Congress.

PROGRESS OF THE PRESENT SESSION.

What did the new Congress find? A national debt, which before the war was less than a billion, now beyond twenty-five billion, to which will be added three and one-half billion more by next June. An annual outlay was required for all the Government's needs of a billion dollars before the war; now a greater sum than that is demanded to pay the interest on the public debt. Last year the Democratic Congress provided $4,000,000,000 for this year's expenditures, and against our urgency that that sum would not be enough to care for all unliquidated obligations, we were assured that if the executive departments would employ economy it would be sufficient. To-day the Democratic Secretary of the Treasury notifies us that we have spent the $4,000,000,000 and now face a deficit of three and one-half billions. At the same time we have a message from the White House asking Congress to reduce taxation. Republicans are not familiar with that school of finance which teaches how to pay a deficit of three and one-half times as great as the total expenditures of the Government for any one year before the war by reducing taxation. Of course, we can not reduce taxation while this expense persists, but we must find new sources of revenue; and we must take steps in due time toward a sounder system of taxation and finance, and by all means avoid the danger of drying up the sources of revenue by destroying the impetus for business. We must remember that the power to tax is the power to destroy.

Our chief concern should be to offer such encouragement to business as to insure investment of capital that labor may be steadily employed. Too much interference and too heavy burdens will defeat our very purpose. Income tax can not go much higher. It would drive the incomes into investment in nontaxable securities, such as municipal, State, and Federal bonds. The excess-profits tax, unsound and unscientific as it is, is here until we find something better. Much talk is heard of a sales tax. This problem Republicans will meet as they will solve other problems, not by vagaries but by sound principles of finance.

GLARING INCONSISTENCIES.

The President's advice to reduce taxation in the face of this stupendous deficit reminds the country of his promise of no more war, and even while yet in Europe insuring the world against war, cabling to his Secretary of the Navy to promote a naval program which would place us equal to Britain in three years. His Secretary of War, the other military arm of the Government, urges an Army of 576,000 men, which would cost, it is estimated, at least one and one-half billion dollars. Of course, Congress will listen to no such vagaries. Even with a small Army and Navy our expenditures for next year are placed by the Secretary of the Treasury at the mammoth sum of four and one-half billions, and that two years after the war closed. The fear is that this figure will be greatly increased before the estimates are finally in. This means that through the wasteful extravagance of the administration, some of it inevitable and some of it absolutely unpardonable and indefensible, we have pushed up the cost level all along the line until what cost our Government before we had entered upon this wild orgy of expenditure the sum of $1,000,000,000 is from now on to cost three to four times that amount, with less service rendered.

OUR DUTY—HOW RESPECTED.

Our duty here is clear. We must retrench on expenditure and refuse every unnecessary drain both by the Government and by the people. It is proper that the Government should set the example. The public will not lose sight of the fact that these Government expenditures are not of Congress but of the executive departments. In the special session we reduced the expenditures below the estimates of the executive departments over one and one-half billions. In this present session thus far we have saved millions in the four appropriation bills already passed—Indian, Post Office, Diplomatic, and rivers and harbors. In the last we cut from forty-two to twelve millions, or a reduction of 71 per cent. In the Agricultural bill just reported we have cut from forty-two millions to thirty-one millions. We will not enact a public buildings bill this session, notwithstanding the needs of some localities. We will cut to the bone, and the present indications are that we will save another billion dollars this year below the estimates sent in by the executive departments.

This Congress has pressed upon the Executive the necessity of certain economies. We have demanded an immediate dismantling of the war machine. This proves to be a slow process. We have demanded the discontinuance of various war agencies called into existence for war, many of them of doubtful value even for that purpose. This is not progressing as it should. There were brought to Washington alone over 100,000 clerks for war work. Sometime after the armistice this number instead of decreasing had increased. Every such agency is clamoring for continuance in the name of progressive legislation. It appears if one agency is discontinued the beneficiaries are transferred to some other Government department. Once attach a man or woman to Uncle Sam's pay roll, and it will take an earthquake to separate him from the service. Legislation is now pending to compel this economy. In one bureau where recently it was stated 19,000 clerks were employed, it is declared that the work can be done by one-third of the force. A bill introduced by Senator SMOOT is now before Congress looking for such reduction, and will certainly become law unless vetoed by the President, and even in that case, it may be made law dependent on whether the Democrats will continue to resist economy. The only way Congress can reach this situation, if the Executive does not act, is to refuse to make the appropriations; hence the importance of cutting to the bone every appropriation.

SURPLUS WAR MATERIAL.

The vast surplus war material collected during the war must be salvaged, and the proceeds covered into the Treasury. This is a third economy we are pressing upon the Executive. There was over $100,000,000 voted for the Housing Corporation to house war workers. This corporation instead of taking steps to salvage this property, proposed without authority to make itself a permanent Government bureau, and go into the real estate business to handle houses for rental on behalf of the Government. One of the first steps taken was to raise salaries, and this after the armistice was signed. One salary was raised from $5,000 to $12,000. After investigation of this agency, whose conduct was no more glaring than numerous others, Congress, in the House, unanimously abolished the corporation. On this vote the Democrats joined the Republicans, largely because the fight was led by a Democrat from Florida [Mr. CLARK], who had begun his investigation of this bureau in the previous Congress. Unfortunately in nearly if not all the other cases of exposure and efforts to correct them, the Democratic minority almost solidly resist what we attempt to do and make the charge that we are playing politics. Their conduct in resisting the exposure and defending the waste on the ground of necessity, and their efforts to increase appropriations on every hand, are under suspicion.

The puerile efforts of KITCHIN to resist the economy program and the readiness of Democrats to add items of expense show

their hand. This exposure must be made in the interests of the country, not for the purpose of bringing the administration into disrepute but to bring the guilty parties under the law and lay the foundation for a discontinuance of the wasteful extravagance that still persists. This Congress forced the Secretary of War to put upon the market vast stores of surplus foods. We also forced vast masses of other material on the market, but not until frightful loss was suffered in various ways from exposure.

GOVERNMENT MUST GIVE BUSINESS A CHANCE.

We insist that the Government must lose no time to get out of business into which it entered under the stress of war and give enterprise a chance to return to an efficient and economic management rather than continue in an inefficient and extravagant political management which has so marked this administration from the very beginning. The most dangerous and hurtful experiment yet made is the substitution for efficient management this socialistic and paternalistic control so prominent under President Wilson.

We have already ordered back the telephone, telegraph, wireless, and cables. We have taken all but the final steps to return the railways to private ownership, which will be done before the 1st of March. We in the House have also taken the final step to supersede political management and operation of our merchant marine by efficient and economic, because responsible, management. This measure has already passed in the House and is now in the Senate and will soon have action.

Congress must turn a deaf ear to the promoter who assures us that in order that we may not lose all we have already paid in we must continue to pour out the people's money into various ventures. Congress voted $20,000,000 for a nitrate plant as a war measure. It was invested in the famous Muscle Shoals project in Alabama, which had been decisively turned down by Congress annually for the past 15 years. To the $20,000,000 was added $40,000,000 out of the President's emergency fund voted him to be used in possible unseen emergencies that might arise. The unfinished plant is there, the money is gone, and now we are told that we must appropriate still more to finish it or lose what we have already put in; yet no man believes that it will ever be a success as a nitrate plant. This is but one example of Government business, which can be duplicated in other lines. This Congress is aware of this seductive argument whether from an executive department or a local interest.

BUSINESS BUDGET.

Another step Congress has taken to guard the Treasury is the adoption of a business budget system to place our expenditures on a rational basis, by which we take from the executive department, which is the spending department, the right of audit, and give this right to Congress, the authorizing department. We also make the Executive responsible for the estimates submitted. We have passed such a measure through the House and it has already been favorably reported in the Senate.

INCREASE THE PURCHASING POWER OF THE DOLLAR.

Another step the Government must take is to increase the purchasing power of the dollar. This is not the function of the legislative but of the executive department. With the wild expenditure of public money the Treasury Department undertook to keep step. It borrowed and expended over $30,000,000,000. This vastly expanded the credit of the country. It was an inevitable result of the war, and as such is not subject to criticism, save in the lax methods employed in the estimates and contracts. But while the business of the country expanded 20 per cent, which was the real measure of money needs, the Federal reserve notes increased in circulation 63 per cent. That means over 40 per cent inflation of our currency, which further inflated our overexpanded credit. The result is the dollar to-day buys 56 per cent of what it did before the war.

Our per capita circulation, which was about $34 before the war, reached at one time as high as $57, and is still $54. Over $3,000,000,000 of this circulation is in Federal reserve notes, and based upon $1,000,000,000 of gold, the rest in commercial paper of variable value. Our danger here is to avoid a paper basis, upon which all Europe early in the war went, and is now in an insufferable stage, calling upon us to help her out of the slough of despond. Our duty now is to take steps to reach normal or disaster awaits us. We must guard against the sob pleas of Europe to further endanger our financial situation by attempting to finance them, which may force us into the same crisis. The increase of the purchasing power of the dollar is not the province of Congress but of the Treasury Department, through the Federal Reserve Board. This warning has been given in Congress time and again, and at last steps are being taken to offer some relief.

A WARNING SOUNDED.

Another serious question confronting us is the pressure from all Europe and many of our own financial centers for further financing of Europe. I want now to sound a warning to what we are bound to face in the not distant future. It will be a demand already quite vocal for our cancellation of the loans we extended to Europe. These reach $9,660,000,000. Up to date Europe has not paid any interest. We have deferred collecting it because of their inability to pay even that much. If we include the interest due as a portion of the loan, Europe's obligation to us will reach beyond $10,000,000,000. Clemenceau recently officially announced he wanted an early meeting of the League of Nations to take steps to internationalize the war debt. A member of the Chamber of Deputies recently and openly declared on the floor that the United States must be compelled to pay its share. If, say these statesmen, the United States fought to make the world safe for democracy its duty is not performed until it has shared the cost of the war. Overtures are being made to cancel these obligations throughout the foreign press on the ground that our duty is equal to our ability in wealth. These are finding responses in this country; first, from among financial leaders who from a business point of view are anxious to help finance Europe's needs; secondly, emotional souls who think with their feelings; and, thirdly, men and women who enjoy proving themselves the world's Santa Claus by using the peoples' money for charitable purposes. They accept the President's view of a war for democracy instead of in defense of American honor and American rights.

CONTINUED PRESSURE FROM EUROPE.

For myself I am through voting further Government extension of credit. I voted for the Edge bill which is now a law, which the proponents declared would permit financial interests to do this work and avoid having the Government take it up. We were assured that the Government would not be further called upon. Sir George Paish, the British representative of a movement to induce the United States to assume Europe's burdens, made in New York only a few days ago the fanciful proposition that the nations, through the authority of the League of Nations, issue international bonds to the amount of $35,000,000,000 to be guaranteed by all the nations in the league. This failing, we are now asked to join an international financial conference to consider the problem. The country owes Secretary Glass a debt of gratitude for his statesmanlike declaration that we could not enter such a conference except under specified conditions. In spite of all the facts we were recently asked to extend to Europe credit to the amount of $4,000,000,000, we are now urged again by the White House to extend a loan of $500,000,000 at first, but now reduced to $150,000,000. Press dispatches tell us of huge piles of food rotting on the docks at Danzig. The remedy in Europe is the same as it is here. They must go to work. Lloyd-George stated recently that there were 400,000 men in England who decline to return to work. Let the benevolent of our land distribute their alms through the Red Cross but go slow in Government policy of spending public funds.

HIGH COST OF LIVING AND DEMAGOGIC TREATMENT.

The most distressing feature to-day grows out of the high-cost level of living. The attitude of this administration toward that question is the most culpable. It is a political play with the possibility of dire results. Last session, after Congress had passed all the appropriation bills and the committees were at work holding hearings on reconstructive measures, such as the railroads, their work was continuously interrupted by a Member on the Democratic side, acting for the Democratic minority, making points of no quorum, when the committees would have to adjourn to come to the floor of the House. There were 184 Members on committees which were sitting during the sessions of the House, by order of the House, in order to report the measures to the House for consideration. This filibuster on the part of one Member defeated expeditious work and led to a decision to take a month's recess to allow the committees to get ready and report for consideration. The matter was presented to the Senate. It was agreed to take that plan. The resolution was adopted on Tuesday for the recess to begin the following Saturday. Both CLARK and KITCHIN joined in the proposal. On the afternoon of Friday the Speaker of the House received a letter from the President requesting that Congress cancel its plan of recess and remain in Washington to reduce the cost of living by enacting more laws. Ladies and gentlemen, I regard that political play of the Executive on a level with "He kept us out of war."

CAUSES OF THE HIGH-COST LEVEL.

It is to be deplored that false hopes are created by the assumption from high authority that the high-cost level is a matter of legislation, and if it is not lowered Congress is at fault.

This political play was overworked by the Department of Justice, which published its success in lowering the cost while the price current was steadily rising. The high level of cost is not due to lack of legislation. It is due to a policy of inaction of the executive department on the one hand and methods of business on the other. In the building of the war machine the Government became the responsible builder. It scoured the country for labor, the wages of which constitute at least 80 per cent of the cost of any article, taking both skilled and unskilled in aviation fields, cantonments, shipyards, munition plants, and all industries doing war work. It thus became the major employer of labor. It dealt in borrowed money. It never asked the cost. It simply ordered the work. It took at least six distinct steps, each one of which pushed higher the cost level:

1. Abnormally increased wages.
2. Shortened hours of work.
3. Time and a half for overtime, double for Sundays.
4. Increased number of workers to the piece.
5. Entered upon housing of labor.
6. Paid transportation from outlying districts to the center.

Every industry not engaged in war work was compelled to meet the Government in competition for labor, hence the Government's wage scale became the scale of all industries and the added cost was passed on to the public. These items alone would more than double the cost of work. This was not Congress, but the executive departments.

In addition the Government adopted the cost-plus contract, which at once was a signal for a new and higher schedule; the higher the cost, the higher the plus. No man will ever know how much this vicious contract added to the cost of production. Then Congress assisted in adopting the Democratic excess-profits tax which virtually said, "Profiteer all you wish and the Government will take 60 or 80 per cent of it." No man will ever know how much this item added to the level of cost. All together we see a very abnormally high cost. The cost of living always goes higher than the cost of labor. Wages consequently can not come down with living higher than wages. Of course, living can not come down much without lowering wages.

The reports of the Government agencies scouring the country for labor for Muscle Shoals, the promises made, the character of labor obtained, and the style of work secured leave nothing wanting to explain the cost level of Government work. It is a worse orgy of wild expenditure than that at Hog Island.

PLAYING THE ENDS AGAINST THE MIDDLE—INEVITABLE RESULTS.

This policy of wage boosting was pleasing to labor. The cost-plus contract was satisfactory to capital. Every thinking person knows why living cost is up, but how to reduce it is a difficult problem. The claim that Congress is at fault because it does not provide authority to reduce it, is a type of demagogy hard to believe that anyone holding a high position would adopt. I defy any man to show where the Government has interfered that prices have not gone up. The suggestion that the remedy lies in legislation is fraught with great danger. It would not be so considered were it made by an irresponsible politician seeking public favor. But when made by the President, it at once gives courage to the radical agitator, the revolutionist, the I. W. W., and the anti-Government promoters. It stimulates their attacks upon the Government, which they charge in quoting high authority is responsible for the inequalities among men, instead of the real causes, such as indolence, extravagance, or lack of obeying the simple laws of success. It gives ground for the demand that government by law must cure the ills of life. It serves as the foundation of their complaints. In turn it causes ambitious leaders to use the Government to further their ends on the make-believe of relief. It thus gives the politician a new issue to harangue the populace on the shortcomings of the Government.

The fault is not a lack of law, but a failure to enforce what law we have. Recently this fact was brought forcibly before the country.

We passed an act forcibly deporting all alien enemies interned during the war. The arrests were made, the subjects were corraled at Ellis Island, but no deportations were made, and some of them were soon out at large again. Congress authorized the House Immigration Committee to go to Ellis Island and ascertain why the deportation did not take place. The committee was armed by resolution of Congress with the necessary authority to get the facts. It was in this way that the sympathy of such men as the former immigration commissioner, Fred. Howe, with the very classes we were attempting to corral was learned. It was there learned how difficult it was to deal with these antigovernment elements with the apparent if not established bolshevik sympathy of the authorities who must enforce the law if it is enforced. If laws are not enforced, it is not because of the want of law but rather the laxness of the officers with whom the enforcement must rest. Congress has not hesitated in its duties in legislation. Its work is a matter of record. The cost of living is not due to any lack of legislation.

GOVERNMENT WASTE AND ITS RESULTS.

The high cost level is chiefly due to the frightfully wasteful methods of production and the great losses by frequent changes of plans and contract where the cost was marked off as so much loss due to the war. The destructiveness of war in itself, where all production was for unproductive consumption or actual waste, had much to do with the high cost of living.

This cost level was also greatly stimulated by our wild incompetency in business. The wasteful methods employed are suggested by pertinent facts, a few of which may be mentioned. For example, we spent $1,055,000,000 for airplanes, and at the time of signing the armistice we had 196 American-built planes, all told, on the front—$5,275,000 for each plane is the price we pay for this management. Notwithstanding this, we are told we must supply vast sums to purchase private plants built in war time. We have thus far refused to do it. The War Department spent $191,182,850 for artillery and delivered on the firing line 72 American-made guns—$2,500,000 for each gun. The procurement division ordered 845,000 saddles and 1,000,000 sets of harness for 391,000 horses.

GOVERNMENT AND PERSONAL EXTRAVAGANCE.

The fabulous prices paid for Government operation inculcated a stage of extravagance among our people difficult to realize. Borrowed money in the billions was lavishly distributed among the people who in turn entered a revelry of expenditure never before experienced. The remedy here is not so much law as change of habit. We must produce more and spend less. There is no other way. We must abandon the policy of restricting production either by shorter hours or decreased efficiency. The law should be "decreased cost and increased efficiency," but, unfortunately, it is "decreased efficiency and increased cost." The most obvious illustration is the political operation of transportation where the first nine months of 1919 saw an increased operating expense over the first nine months of 1917 of $1,240,000,000, and a decrease in traffic of 39,000,000,000 ton-miles. Notwithstanding this startling inefficiency, the Plumb plan is still urged in some circles.

STRIDES OF SOCIALISM STIMULATED BY WOODROW WILSON.

This administration, markedly socialistic from the beginning, has used the war to capitalize its theories. President Wilson talks freely and frequently of the necessity of "putting wages on a new footing." The present footing of wages is that of contract. Of course, he means from the footing of contract between employer and employee to the soviet scheme in which the employer is displaced by the committee of employees in which there is no contract. His much-talked "democratization of industry," in which he demands that industry must be compelled to admit labor in the management is, of course, the open door to sovietizing industry; for if labor of its own right can demand representation in the directory of a business, it can of its own right and will demand a majority of it, which is complete sovietization. The President's fondness for socialism is seen in the most motly group of self-advertisers collected about the administration ever before given prominence. The roll is a long one. The Department of Labor especially is overloaded. The public readily recalls Frank P. Walsh, Louis Post, Fred Howe, Densmore, and George Creel at the head of a bureau full of socialists, if not of Bolsheviki beliefs. It is not unfair to mention the Secretary of War in connection with peculiar isms. It will be recalled that the President wrote his felicitations to the Soviet conference at Brest-Litovsk, the first Bolsheviki venture, and in that connection it would be well to read the reply, as printed in the New York Times. The fondness of the present head of the Government for such men as Bullitt, Steffens, Herron, Hale, and the crew of satellites taken to Paris, and his willingness to advise the Prinkipo conference with the Bolsheviki, all indicate the strides this Government has taken recently in unstabilizing the institutions of America. In a brief space of time the most substantial of all Governments has become a topic of concern, in which Russian Sovietism is favored by high authority.

RADICAL MENACE IN AMERICAN LABOR LEADERSHIP.

In the face of these facts no one should be surprised at the ominous movement of radical syndicalism in labor circles. Foster and Fitzpatrick and leaders of their type undoubtedly join other radical of radicals in looking to the President as their own, as was indicated by the recent convention of radicals who looked to him as their standard bearer. This intervention on behalf of Mr. Mooney was not a matter of surprise. It was President Wilson who stimulated the brotherhoods to demand the Adam-

son law back in 1916. The brotherhoods still persist that they did not want to take their case to Congress. That was sowing to the wind, and we have been reaping the whirlwind ever since.

I warn American labor against the dangers of radical leadership which demands a change in the law of contract. I also warn the Republic against this class legislation. Anything that is against the public welfare can not be in the interest of labor. That is why in the solution of such questions as the rail problem the Plumb plan is simply impossible. I will admit that profit on behalf of ready investment must be respected; income on behalf of the security holder must also be respected; and wages on behalf of the laborer must be respected. But beyond all these, economic management and efficient service must be respected on behalf of the vast public which pays all the bills. Any policy against the public can not from the nature of the case be in the interest either of labor, capital, or security holders. The public being the chief factor explains why we must find a way to prevent the tie-up of transportation incident to quarrels between the employer and the employee without resort to either the strike or lockout. This and other industrial problems will be solved and by this Congress and without undue delay. I assure you they will be solved in the interest of the greatest good to the greatest number.

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK.

Ladies and gentlemen, in the face of the most ominous problems ever presented to this country—financial, industrial, economic, and governmental—we must not lose sight of the supreme duty of the hour. The people will soon be called upon to decide whether they wish to continue this experiment of paternalistic and socialistic administration, this orgy of incompetency. They will decide it this year. The decision goes not only to the executive but to the legislative also. Here is the legislative situation: The present House consists of 435 Members—240 Republicans, 192 Democrats, and 3 independents. Two of the independents—RANDALL of California and CARSS, of Minnesota, vote with the Democrats; the third, KELLER, of Minnesota, votes with the Republicans. This gives a Republican majority of 47.

PROSPECTS OF THE NEXT HOUSE.

A change of 24 votes from the Republican to the Democratic column would give the Democrats the control of the House by 1 vote if the Independents remain in Congress and continue their present affiliation. In the coming campaign the Democrats start with 108 Members from the solid South, not including the States of Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland. In the latter States the Republicans have broken the ranks. In the election last year they made an even break in the State of Maryland, won 5 of the 16 districts of Missouri, and 4 of the 11 in Kentucky. In the election just closed, where we elected a Republican governor of Kentucky by over 40,000, we cast a majority vote in 7 of the 11 congressional districts. In our last congressional elections the people decisively rebuked the incompetency of the present régime, and in States like Indiana the voters not only retained all the sitting Republican Members, but excluded every vestige of Democratic membership from the House, thus carrying over into the Republican column districts hitherto always regarded as safely Democratic. We will have a fight to continue this unanimous representation in Indiana. A similar situation is found in four States—Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, and West Virginia. It is also present in some isolated districts throughout the country.

DISTURBING ELEMENTS.

The Nonpartisan League's activity has somewhat unsettled stable conditions in Minnesota, the Dakotas, and other portions of the West. The Berger agitation is a factor in Wisconsin. The liquor agitation is figuring in New Jersey. Some of these contingencies favor the Democrats, while others the Republicans. The advantage is with the Republicans.

The Republican record on the liquor and suffrage questions is a distinct advantage to the Republicans. The play of the present administration to purchase by special favor the radical union-labor vote will have a decided reaction, a fact already established by the recent elections, as evidenced in Massachusetts, where law and order became the deciding issue.

I do not expect to lose any districts unless there becomes a decided drift away from the Republicans toward which the tide is now running. On the other hand, I confidently expect to win at least one in Massachusetts, three in New York, three in New Jersey, four in Pennsylvania, two in Ohio, two in Kentucky, two in Missouri, one in Kansas, one in South Dakota, one in Nevada, two in Utah, and two in California. We have a fighting chance to win an additional Member in Alabama, North Carolina, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Missouri, Arizona, Kentucky, West Virginia, Virginia, Ohio, Michigan, and Massachusetts. If the present drift is continued, we will control the next House by at least 90 majority. We have a better chance of winning 24 seats now occupied by Democrats than of losing 17 in which the Democrats claim advantage. We have an equal chance in at least 12 other districts to offset their chance in an equal number on which they are depending. In every recent contest the issue was favorable to the Republicans. In the eighth Kentucky we changed a Democratic majority from 3,000 to a Republican majority of 1,700. In Oklahoma a similar change. In Alabama we cut a Democratic majority of 3,663 to 406. In North Carolina from 4,000 to about 1,000. This shows the drift in the face of the greatest fight ever put up by the Democrats.

PROSPECTS OF THE NEXT SENATE.

The Senate presents an interesting situation. Thirty-two States will elect this year. Eight of them are now Democratic and conceded to remain so: Florida, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. Eleven will return Republicans: Connecticut, Iowa, Kansas, North Dakota, Indiana, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, and Utah. In four States now held by Republicans the Democrats are centering fights: Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, and Ohio. It is my judgment they will not win in either State, while each State presents a local situation Republicans will win. In seven States now Democratic the Republicans will have the best chance for victory: Kentucky, Idaho, California, South Dakota, Nevada, Colorado, and Maryland. We expect to control the Senate by at least 16 votes.

Ladies and gentlemen, every consideration of country calls upon the editors to get before the people the necessity of a united front to elect not only the President, the Senate, and the House, but to insure the States as well. Our greatest danger is overconfidence. The dissatisfaction over the present régime is so universal that citizens think there is nothing to it. Herein lies the danger. Our slogan must be to strike the line hard; we must not fumble, and we will not foul. We must go down the line from President to local official. This of all years every citizen must do his duty.

Agricultural Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. McKINLEY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 5, 1920.

Mr. McKINLEY. Mr. Speaker, man can get along very comfortably without a watch or a piano or an automobile. He can even live without a horse and wagon. My grandfather lived happily for 50 years before a railroad was built in the United States. A man must have food regularly. If he does not get it, he dies. Food, therefore, is absolutely the essential thing so long as mankind stays on earth.

While some departments of the Government are being severely criticized for reckless waste of money, I am glad to say that the Department of Agriculture is not so charged. The department that was to develop fighting planes, that never flew, spent more money in two years than has been expended by the Department of Agriculture in the 140 years the Republic has been organized. Although an army can not exist without food, I fear you will find some Members of Congress opposing an appropriation of $30,000,000 for development of agriculture and voting a thousand millions for war. It has been my observation that very little party politics has crept into the Department of Agriculture. The heads of the bureaus and the scientists are a group of earnest, hardworking, and sadly underpaid men. We would like to increase their salaries, but are faced by a deficit of three thousand millions of dollars caused by indiscriminate, useless war waste in other departments during the past three years.

The life of the Nation comes from the food of the farms. Therefore it does seem as if we were saving by the pint cup and expending by the barrel when we limit the appropriation for the improvement of agriculture to $30,000,000 and spend over thirty times that much for Army and Navy.

Permit me to itemize the Agricultural appropriation bill for 1920 and give the department estimate for needs of 1921. The latter will doubtless be reduced before we pass the pending bill:

Statement showing appropriations for the fiscal year 1920 and estimates for the fiscal year 1921.

Appropriation items.	Appropriation, 1920.	Estimate, 1921.	Increase (+) or decrease (−).
Office of Secretary	$500,520	$475,860	− $24,660
Bureau of Farm Management and Farm Economics	302,590	611,990	+ 309,400
Weather Bureau	1,880,210	2,228,150	+ 347,940
Bureau of Animal Industry	5,783,231	6,118,451	+ 335,220
Bureau of Plant Industry	3,379,638	3,606,898	+ 227,260
Forest Service	5,966,869	6,597,650	+ 630,781
Bureau of Chemistry	1,391,571	1,424,511	+ 32,940
Bureau of Soils	491,235	620,095	+ 128,860
Bureau of Entomology	1,371,360	1,324,260	− 47,100
Bureau of Biological Survey	742,170	978,005	+ 235,835
Division of Accounts and Disbursements	44,620	50,620	+ 6,000
Division of Publications	240,140	362,480	+ 122,340
Bureau of Crop Estimates	371,102	967,782	+ 596,680
Library	50,160	61,080	+ 10,920
Miscellaneous expenses, Department of Agriculture	175,500	141,000	− 34,500
Rent in the District of Columbia	100,000	150,000	+ 50,000
States Relations Service	4,905,520	4,968,540	+ 62,720
Bureau of Public Roads	594,320	748,120	+ 153,800
Bureau of Markets	2,811,365	3,023,395	+ 212,030
Enforcement of the Insecticide Act	123,940	141,910	+ 17,970
Federal Horticultural Board	129,000	236,500	+ 107,500
Miscellaneous, including demonstrations on reclamation projects, fighting and preventing forest fires, cooperative fire protection of forested watersheds of navigable streams, experiments and demonstrations in live-stock production in the cane-sugar and cotton districts of the United States, experiments in dairying and live-stock production in semi-arid and irrigated districts of the western United States, eradication of foot-and-mouth disease and other contagious diseases of animals, eradication of pink bollworm, and plant-dust explosions and fires	2,544,400	2,835,560	+ 291,160
Total	33,899,761	37,672,857	+3,773,096

In Illinois, where I live, the farmers perhaps appreciate most the men county agents, of whom there are about 2,000 in the United States, and the women farm demonstrators, numbering about 800. This work was first begun in the South some years before there was any special appropriation for it, money being used from funds provided for the extermination of cotton pests, and these funds being supplemented by State and local appropriations.

I understand at this time every county in South Carolina has a county agent, more than half of whose pay comes from the State and counties. Of the 2,850 agricultural counties in the United States, more than 2,000 now have county agricultural agents or county home demonstration agents, or both, and an average of $4,000 per county is provided by the State and Nation for this work. The Northern States must look to their laurels on agriculture or the South will outstrip them. I was much surprised to learn about eight years ago that the banner corn yield of Illinois was 150 bushels per acre and of South Carolina 228 bushels per acre. The reason for that is the longer season of hot weather, which has permitted a certain kind of corn to be grown that would not mature in the North. I remember traveling through Mississippi, Georgia, and Florida 40 years ago and seeing cattle that would weigh about 400 pounds and worth about $10 per head. In 1919 the South produced the United States champions of the Shorthorn, Hereford, and Angus breeds. There are 75,000,000 hogs—I mean on four legs—in the United States at this time, the value of these hogs being estimated at fifteen thousand millions of dollars. This indicates the magnitude of the industry. When I was a boy the farmer expected, over a period of five years, to lose a good percentage of his hogs from cholera. Well do I remember when, at the age of 11 years, I lost my entire fortune of $17 that I had invested in two hogs just shipped in from Missouri. They died of cholera.

In 1913 the department actively took up the work of cholera eradication. In that year 118 out of every 1,000 hogs died of cholera. In 1916, 66 per 1,000 died, and in 1919, 37 only out of 1,000, a reduction of two-thirds in six years. Various hog-cholera serums, of an estimated value of $6,000,000 per year, are now being manufactured by private firms. These factories are all under strict regulation by inspectors from the Department of Agriculture.

Tuberculosis has long been known to exist in cattle, particularly among cows and dairy herds. From the cattle it is communicated to the hogs that are feeding with them. As a result, 10 per cent of the 40,000,000 hogs slaughtered last year, valued at $1,000,000,000, were affected by tuberculosis. Two years ago the department, in connection with the States, commenced investigation and prevention work on a large scale so that last year a million and a half dollars was appropriated for this work by the Federal Government, and they were assisted by appropriations from 45 of the 48 States. It is confidently expected that within a few years as good a showing can be made in the reduction of tuberculosis in cattle and hogs as has been made in the reduction of deaths from hog cholera.

The Department of Agriculture is authorized to expend during the present and the next fiscal year, in cooperation with the highway commissions of the various States, approximating $150,000,000, aside from the unexpended balances from previous years, in building good roads throughout the country. Some six years ago a Bureau of Markets was organized in the department with an appropriation of $50,000. Its budget this year is nearly $3,000,000. It is actively studying all the more important marketing problems and is endeavoring to facilitate the distribution and handling of farm products by making promptly available accurate and dependable information regarding prices, supplies, and demands in the great city markets like New York, Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco, to which points vast amounts of fruits, vegetables, and perishable products are sent. Its leased wires, operated in connection with its market news services, carry the information to producers, dealers, and consumers in all sections of the country, bringing about the more orderly and systematic marketing of farm products. The bureau also is charged with the administration of the cotton futures act, the grain standards act, and the Federal warehouse act.

The Office of Farm Management gives attention to matters relating to the business side of farming, including cost of production, financial arrangements, organization methods, and the like. The Bureaus of Plant Industry and Entomology and the Federal Horticultural Board have rendered the greatest service in eradicating or controlling plant diseases and insect pests in this country, and also in preventing the introduction into the United States from foreign countries of new diseases and pests. A great work has been done in the South in connection with the eradication of the pink boll worm, which made its way into Texas from Mexico, and also in combating citrus canker in Florida and the other Southeastern States. In short, through its various agencies, the department is endeavoring in all feasible ways to make agriculture profitable and to improve rural life generally.

In conclusion I will be candid and say that my remarks have been prepared as much with my farmer friends in view as they have for Members of Congress who have equal facilities with myself for collecting data. Therefore I give the Government expenditures for 1915 and the estimates for 1921:

Government expenditures for 1915 and estimates for 1921.

Objects.	Estimates for 1921.	Total appropriations for 1915.
Legislative	$19,844,934.95	$13,495,774.02
Executive	2,221,224.00	3,848,786.67
State Department	12,920,600.91	5,846,110.16
Treasury Department	1,674,203,922.85	148,823,222.86
Independent offices	506,740,449.59	5,341,828.20
District of Columbia	20,285,316.03	13,054,157.28
War Department	1,208,901,505.92	155,525,932.07
Panama Canal	18,245,391.00	21,849,525.00
Navy Department	294,370,826.81	211,164,901.16
Post Office Department proper	2,093,870.00	1,885,169.65
Postal Service, payable from postal revenues	391,713,673.00	313,364,667.00
Department of Agriculture	72,568,102.00	27,103,334.15
Department of Commerce	33,705,038.40	11,290,702.00
Department of Labor	8,974,574.00	3,785,712.84
Department of Justice	17,946,471.35	10,484,060.18
Total	4,865,410,031.62	1,094,168,102.30
Deduct Postal Service, payable from postal revenues	391,713,673.00	313,364,667.00
Total	4,473,696,358.62	780,803,435.30
The above items do not include amount due railroads, estimated at	600,000,000.00	
Nor the sum made necessary by enactment of the Sweet bill	80,000,000.00	
Nor the water-power bill	25,000,000.00	
Nor the Fuller bill	68,000,000.00	
Nor $300 bonus for the 5,000,000 soldiers and sailors of the World War	1,500,000,000.00	
Nor the amount estimated necessary for universal military training	700,000,000.00	
Total	7,446,696,358.62	

Total estimated income, $6,000,000,000, provided we do not reduce taxes.

Connecticut's Interest in the Agricultural Appropriation Bill—Value of Crops for 1919—End of Technical War Earnestly Desired.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 11, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 12272) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921.

Mr. LONERGAN. Mr. Speaker, we can not be too liberal in providing funds for the work of the Department of Agriculture.

All during the great conflict the slogan, "Food will win the war" confronted us on every side; and there is no gainsaying the fact that in these uncertain times food will go a long way to beating the Bolsheviki. A good bath, a new suit of clothes, work, and a good meal will do more to make respectable and law-abiding citizens out of some of the so-called red element in the country than all the machine guns can. Just because a man wants something to eat is no reason why he should be eager to take a bite out of the Constitution.

Recently in Connecticut a number of the radicals were arrested and sent to Ellis Island for deportation.

I do not say that the connection between the work of eliminating the reds and improving agriculture is so close as to be in logical sequence, but when men see that the Government stands ready to assist the agricultural development of the country in every way they are going to inquire further into the matter, and in so doing will be impressed with the honor and dignity of honest toil.

Connecticut, even though it is not generally called an agricultural State, is intensely interested in the pending measure. Her farm products during 1919 entitle her to a hearing.

More than 55,000 acres were given over to corn in that year, and the crop of 3,300,000 bushels was valued at $5,940,000, or $108 an acre; 20,000 acres were planted with oats, and the crop was valued at $546,000; more than 11,000 acres with rye, valued at $440,000; more than 5,000 acres with buckwheat, valued at $200,000. Connecticut's potato crop for the year reached 1,680,000 bushels, valued at $3,276,000; her tame hay, harvested from 340,000 acres, was valued at $16,429,000; and her wild hay, cut from 16,000 acres, valued at $396,000. Her orchards yielded 1,572,000 barrels of apples worth $2,672,000; her peaches reached a total value of $500,000; and her pears a value of $113,000.

By far the greatest crop of the State, however, was her tobacco crop, which amounted to 39,000,000 pounds, and was valued at $18,057,000, or $722 an acre.

It is pleasing to note that the present bill makes provision for the eradication of diseases and pests of the tobacco districts, and I trust the department will continue its splendid efforts along this line.

The total value of the 13 leading crops reported from Connecticut in 1919 was $44,888,000, as compared with $37,592,000 in 1918, and as against the figures for 1909 of $22,488,000.

During the war the Board of Agriculture of the State of Connecticut, the County Bureau of Hartford County, which I have the honor to represent, and the Hartford County League, and members of the Patrons of Husbandry throughout the county cooperated in every way possible, assisted by the State and United States Food Administrations, in increasing production, in eliminatng waste, and in otherwise throwing all available resources into the scales for a speedy winning of the conflict. Since the armistice was signed, while the tension has been relaxed, the same spirit to work and labor, as contrasted with a prevalent spirit in some quarters to retire and live on Bolsheviki hopes, has characterized the work of the Hartford County farmers. They want no cure-alls, or isms, or anything else.

What they want is a recognition on the part of the Government that the war is over, a consequent reduction in war-time taxes, the elimination of war-time bureaus and committees and conferences and councils in Washington, and an early readjustment to an actual peace. The real war is over. The technical war should disappear, and Connecticut farmers think the time has come for its disappearance.

I trust the present bill will pass without further delay.

Abraham Lincoln.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD S. ECHOLS,

OF WEST VIRGINIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 12, 1920.

Mr. ECHOLS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address delivered by Hon. WELLS GOODYKOONTZ at Harpers Ferry, W. Va., on Sunday, February 9, 1920.

The address is as follows:

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY HON. WELLS GOODYKOONTZ AT HARPERS FERRY, W. VA., ON SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1920.

When Judge Tracy L. Jeffords, your distinguished fellow townsman, whom I have known for years, and whose splendid reputation is as well known in southern West Virginia as it is here or in the city of Washington, came to the Chamber of the House of Representatives and on your behalf extended the invitation to visit your peaceful and restful and historical community and to deliver an address upon the life and character of Abraham Lincoln I did not hesitate to accept the invitation, and so I am here, and glad to be here for several reasons.

First, I am glad to come into the district represented by my honored colleague, Hon. GEORGE M. BOWERS, of the city of Martinsburg, whose public life has extended over a period of more than 20 years and whose present high position—he being a member of the great Committee on Ways and Means—gives him as a representative of your district a position of great power and influence in his party and in the affairs of the Nation.

Secondly, I feel that I have been more than repaid for coming here in being privileged to listen to the beautifully eloquent address delivered to-day by Dr. A. R. Snedegar, pastor of Bolivar Methodist Episcopal Church. He mentioned something that I had not before heard, namely, that the commissioners who negotiated the treaty of peace with Germany, after having considered the matter, expressly refused to allow their sessions to be opened with prayer, and he contrasted this action with that of the American patriots assembled in convention at Philadelphia for the purpose of writing a Constitution for the United States, pointing out that one of the first things done was to order that their sessions be opened and closed with prayer.

Again, I am pleased to get back on the soil of West Virginia. Some time ago while traveling on a train through Ohio I met up with a man, evidently a toiler, judging from his horny hands and his corduroy suit, who was carrying a watch charm about as large as a silver dollar, and the legend on it in large letters was "West Virginia," with the motto and seal of the State. I said to the man, "You are from West Virginia," and he replied, "Yes; and it is the best State in the Union." Beneath the jacket of that man beats a patriotic heart and one that throbs with love for his State and his country.

The anniversary of Lincoln's birthday will occur on next Thursday. That day in West Virginia has been made a public holiday. The bill that was enacted into law was introduced by a gentleman who is now one of my neighbors—Senator Henry S. White, of Matewan. Senator White is a Union veteran of the Civil War, and in military and civil life has rendered a distinguished service to the State and Nation, and is still active and healthy in mind and body.

Now, proceeding to my subject. The position that a notable man will occupy in the history of the world can not be determined until long after the career of the man has ended.

Contemporary judgment may not be sound, yet history is accurate and just and will appraise and record at its true value the character and accomplishments of the man.

The balances in which the work of the celebrity is weighed may go up and go down, but in the fullness of time they will rest and indicate with precision the measure of that man's success.

Wherefore we are told that "though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small," which is only another way of saying that remorseless time, slow and plodding though it may be, in the end will inexorably arrive at a decision invulnerable to challenge.

Now, more than five decades have passed since Lincoln met his tragic fate, and he has been the subject of a thousand books. Investigators have exhausted every available source of information that might shed light upon the origin, character, develop-

ment, and performances of this most remarkable man. Historians, statesmen, biographers, essayists, orators, teachers, and debaters all over the civilized world have meditated, reflected, and discoursed about Lincoln. But the verdict of history has been returned. That verdict was arrived at in an orderly way—the evidence of living witnesses, the circumstances of the times, the declarations of men from the different walks of life, the testimony of the dead, all were heard and considered, and judgment has been pronounced and entered thereon. That judgment may be reviewed, but it will not be reversed. It is final. It is the verdict and judgment of all mankind, recorded in the history of the world, and will stand for so long as time may last.

By that judgment Lincoln has been placed upon a pedestal alongside the very greatest men of all time.

Of continental mountain ranges there are to be found, usually at great distances apart, isolated peaks that rear their lofty heads far above the general mass and the clouds and into thin ether.

And so, of the children of men, may we liken Lincoln to one of these mountain peaks, few in number, that stand pure and white, sublime and eternal.

The world has produced many men who are catalogued as great. Elbert Hubbard classified some of them as great reformers, great teachers, and the like, but excepting Jesus of Nazareth, as to whom it would be sacrilegious to place in the category of men because of His divine origin, and perhaps Washington, no greater man than Lincoln ever lived on earth.

It is not necessary to consider the much-debated question, Which was the greater, Washington or Lincoln? Washington led the forces of the Revolution to victory, helped to write the Constitution, and to organize the Government, and was our first Chief Executive, and shines in history as a star of the first magnitude. It is enough to say that all that Washington had fought for and gained—liberty, independence, and free government—all, I say all—were in imminent danger of destruction when Lincoln was called by his country to defend them. Turning the pages of history to discover the equals of Lincoln, what do we find? We find Julius Cæsar, at the head of the Roman legions, conquering a country to-day, going into winter quarters and waiting for good weather to come, in order that he might again by military force subdue some other nation, and thereby extend the boundaries of the empire and the jurisdiction of Rome, bringing home loot and men to be slaves, but sowing the seeds of disunion that eventually brought about the disruption and disintegration of a degraded empire.

There was Napoleon Bonaparte, whose star appeared in the heavens at Austerlitz and set forever at Waterloo. What did he accomplish? That he was in all human probability the greatest military genius of the world is likely true, but with the exception of some military roads and the "Code Napoleon" he left no legacy of value to posterity.

At this juncture, in order to refresh your memories, may I not call your attention to the salient facts relating to the birth, life, and death of Lincoln? I think that a brief textbook on Lincoln should be prepared and admitted as a part of free school education. The Civil War is now sufficiently in the distance to permit this to be done without the slightest opposition from any section of the country, for the people of the South have long since fully realized not only that the preservation of the Union and of free government were necessary to their happiness, but also, had Lincoln lived, many of the vicissitudes through which they passed in the dark days of the reconstruction would not have been.

Lincoln's parents, his father, Thomas, and his mother, Nancy Hanks, came from Rockingham County, Va.; their families migrated about the same time to Kentucky; they were married in the latter State; they settled on Nolins Creek, and there in a log cabin, on February 12, 1809, was born Abraham Lincoln. Poor were his parents. Wretched were their environment. The land was poor, just one little rye field. The thriftless father, who could neither read nor write, planted a few fruit trees, never paid for the land, and four years later moved over to another place on Knobs Creek; three years later, when Lincoln was 7 years of age, the father moved his family, taking with him a few pots and pans and a quantity of liquor, into Indiana, where he settled on Little Pigeon Creek in Spencer County; two years later the mother, at the age of 34, died. Speaking of her, Lincoln tenderly said, "All that I am or hope to be I owe to my mother." When 11 years of age Lincoln walked 9 miles to and from school; when he was 20 he was known as a backwoods orator. In 1830 Lincoln moved with his father, the latter having taken a second wife in the person of Sarah Bush Johnson, this time to Macon County, Ill. Lincoln on this journey drove the ox team which drew the family and its scanty possessions. The wagon wheels were without spokes, being rounded blocks of wood sawed from the trunk of a tree with a hole in the center for the axle.

When Lincoln was 21 he made a trip on a flatboat to New Orleans, and there witnessed a slave auction, which made a powerful impression upon his mind. Returning home he was chosen as captain of a company of volunteer soldiers in the Black Hawk War.

At various periods of his life Lincoln found employment as a clerk in a store, merchandising on his own account, deputy surveyor, postmaster, ferryman, flatboatman, wood chopper, mauler of rails.

On September 9, 1836, Lincoln was licensed to practice law. He read only a few books, including the Bible, Shakespeare, and Blackstone's Commentaries on the law of England. He entered politics and served for four terms, from 1834 to 1842, in the Illinois Legislature. During this time, in 1837, he located at Springfield; after going there he became involved in a newspaper controversy with Gen. James Shields and accepted a challenge to fight a duel, which was aborted at the last minute by the intervention of friends. On September 20, 1843, he formed the law partnership of Lincoln & Herndon, which continued until Lincoln's death.

In 1846 Lincoln was elected to the lower House of Congress and served for one term. While in Congress he introduced a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. He did not stand for reelection to this office and resumed the practice of law at Springfield.

His father died in 1851, aged 73 years. In 1856 Lincoln became the leader in Illinois of the Republican Party. Shortly thereafter he participated in the memorable joint debates with Stephen A. Douglas in a campaign for the United States Senate, resulting in the election of Douglas. Two years later he delivered a famous address at Cooper Union, New York City.

On May 18, 1860, he was nominated for the Presidency by the Republican convention at Chicago, and on November 6 was elected, defeating John C. Breckinridge, John Bell, and Stephen A. Douglas.

On February 4, 1861, he delivered a farewell address to his neighbors at Springfield, went to Washington, and was inaugurated the sixteenth President of the United States.

On September 22, 1862, he issued his preliminary emancipation proclamation, and on January 1, 1863, the final form of that document.

On June 8, 1864, at Baltimore, he was again nominated for the Presidency and was elected, defeating George B. McClellan.

On March 4, 1865, he was inaugurated for a second term. On April 9, 1865, Gen. Lee surrendered to Gen. Grant at Appomattox, Va.

At 20 minutes past 10 on the evening of April 14, 1865, while attending a performance of "Our American Cousin" at Ford's Theater, in Washington, Lincoln was shot in the head by J. Wilkes Booth. He was carried to a house across the street, where he remained unconscious until he died the next morning at 22 minutes past 7 o'clock.

Thus briefly have I detailed in chronological order the more important events in the life of Mr. Lincoln. It now remains for me to deal in a broader way with our subject.

The first principle to be deduced—one that every school boy and girl should be impressed with—is that Lincoln succeeded in spite of every handicap; that although he came from lowly people, parents ignorant and lacking good birth; although he was a child of poverty and son of toil; although he was reared in the wilderness and on the frontier; although he was denied the benefits of even a common-school education, yet that by his own effort he went from a log cabin to the White House.

The next lesson Lincoln's life should teach the youth of the land is that it is only under a free Government, a republic, where such an opportunity exists, where birth and wealth and caste do not restrain, where every boy has an equal opportunity with every other boy to reach the very highest station in social, political, and industrial life.

The next lesson to be learned is the lesson of kindness. Gentle and courteous, considerate and sympathetic, yet withal firm, these were some of the attributes of Lincoln. Such characteristics were indicated by the following examples:

On the streets of Richmond, after the evacuation, he met an aged Negro who took off his hat; thereupon Lincoln, with equal courtesy, lifted his own hat. Upon being asked why he took off his hat to a Negro, he said he did not want a Negro to be more polite than he was.

His tender-heartedness and sympathy were shown by his firm refusal to allow the execution of the death sentence imposed by courts-martial, and by his own words—"with malice toward none, with charity for all * * *," to be found in his first inaugural.

As an evidence of his deep feeling, compassion, and sympathy for those afflicted with sorrow, permit me to read from the exquisitely beautiful letter which he wrote to Mrs. Bixby, the mother of five sons who had died on the field of battle:

I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the adjutant general of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any word of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I can not refrain from tendering you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

The next lesson is that of firmness of character.

Lincoln could never have been the great leader of men that he was had he lacked force of character. Even the gifted and polished Seward, his great Secretary of State and who at first assumed to take charge of and run the entire administration, was soon subdued and loyally followed his renowned leader. Lincoln was not a compromiser of questions affecting principles. Recognition of the Confederacy, involving disunion, was utterly abhorrent to his mind.

Lincoln had a goal, and in pressing forward to it had to deal with many impediments; these he sometimes removed, at other times he climbed over them, but if neither of these could be done he went around them; "plowed around," as he expressed it.

He had an object and to that object he went as rapidly and assiduously as circumstances and conditions would permit.

His tenacity, his unswerving determination, is exhibited in his second inaugural address, where, with almost fanatical zeal, he said:

Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondsman's 250 years of unrequited toil shall be sunk and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said 3,000 years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

I now come to the greatest element in the life and soul of Lincoln—his democracy.

Springing from the soil, he was the farthest thing in the world from an aristocrat or an autocrat; his past life, he said, quoting from Gray's Elegy, was but "the short and simple annals of the poor."

Christ was born in a manger at Bethlehem, and is described in the Bible as "A man of sorrows," and who went about doing good.

Lincoln's place of birth was no less lowly. His life was full of sorrow. He was an instrument for the accomplishment of good. When he loosened the shackles and set free millions of bondmen and gained for himself the name "The Great Emancipator," he did good, and when by the arbitrament of arms he saved from dismemberment and dissolution the union of States that had formed the Republic, founded by Washington and ruled by a democracy, he again did good.

The most perfect definition ever given of the word democracy is to be found in the brief address made by President Lincoln in dedicating the battle field at Gettysburg. As long as time shall endure the memorable words which he there uttered, remarkable for their beauty, for they were as chaste as the rhetoric of Aristotle, as they were for the profound and undying principles of government which they enunciated, will remain as an inspiration to all mankind, a never-failing spring where patriots may drink and renew their faith.

The address came at the conclusion of an oration by Edward Everett. The latter had been selected as perhaps the best qualified man in the country for such a task—highly educated, he had served as ambassador to England, Secretary of State, governor of Massachusetts, and United States Senator—he had made exhaustive preparation for the greatest effort of his life; and when he had spoken for two hours and sat down, amid great applause President Lincoln arose in response to a request from the committee to make "a few appropriate remarks" in dedicating the field to the dead.

The address had been partially written at the White House, but was not completed until he was at Gettysburg and about to start for the cemetery. The closing sentences were hastily scribbled with a pencil. The address was delivered in the presence of 100,000 people. In it he modestly declared that the world would little note nor long remember what he said. In this statement we all know how vastly mistaken he was. In concluding my remarks it is fitting that I read you the address. It is as follows:

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that Nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place of those who here gave their lives that that Nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a larger sense we can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.

Diplomatic and Consular Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. RAINEY,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 12, 1920.

Mr. JOHN W. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, during the debate on the Diplomatic and Consular appropriation bill the following colloquy took place:

Mr. JOHN W. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Yes.

Mr. JOHN W. RAINEY. The gentleman from Kansas was interrogated by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] as to whether or not this rule takes into consideration the Irish question. I presume he referred to the Mason resolution. I want to know if the chairman will permit an amendment to this rule now to take into consideration the Mason resolution so that it will be brought before the membership of this House?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. The matter was not incorporated in the bill by the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Rules does not take jurisdiction of legislation.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Kansas said that the Mason resolution on the Irish question was not incorporated in the bill by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and that the Committee on Rules does not take jurisdiction of legislation. Mark you, Mr. Speaker, that this technical objection was all the sympathy that the chairman of the Rules Committee offered for the resolution in answer to my question whether he would permit an amendment to make the Mason resolution in order so that it may now be brought before the membership of the House.

Did the gentleman from Kansas, assuming his objection is valid, express one word of regret that the Mason resolution can not now be brought before the House? Did he volunteer a single suggestion as to how it could be done in the immediate future? Did he promise his cooperation to bring the Mason resolution from its present graveyard, where it is dead and buried, if the Republican steering committee of this House succeeds in keeping this resolution from coming to a vote?

The gentleman from Kansas is chairman of the important Rules Committee. The Rules Committee is in a measure subject to the Republican steering committee, that invisible committee of the Republican Party, the party that controls this House. Without the sanction of the Republican steering committee no legislation can take place in this House. The gentleman from Kansas no doubt has influence with his Republican brethern on the steering committee. If he is favorable to the resolution and wants to see it pass, his anxiety for its passage will prompt him to point out to the Republican steering committee that the House is controlled by the Republicans; that the Republicans by their failure to bring the Mason resolution before this House are laying the Republican Party open to the charge of playing politics; that the Republicans are impliedly guilty of sharp practices by deceiving the friends of Irish freedom, by pretending to be favorable to the resolution when, as a matter of fact, they are betraying the confidence of the friends of Irish freedom by allowing the Foreign Relations Committee, which is also controlled by Republicans, to pigeonhole the Mason resolution until after next election. Perhaps the Republicans to save their faces, intend to allow the resolution to come before this House so late in the session that a legislative jam will prevent a vote being taken on it, but that will not work with the friends of Irish freedom even if it saves the Republicans of this House and the Senate from going on record as to how they stand on the resolution. If the Republicans are sincere

and want the Mason resolution to come to a vote, they will do it now, so that the resolution may be passed by this House and forwarded to the Senate in time to be acted upon by the Senate and become a law at this session of Congress, and not play politics until after next November.

The Republican Party, through the Committee on Foreign Affairs, permitted Bourke Cockran, Judge Cohalon, and many others interested in the Irish question to come to Washington a few weeks ago. Extensive hearings were held and the front pages of the newspapers carried "scare" headlines, stating what the Republican Party was going to do for the Irish people and the Irish cause. The truth is that the hearings, the newspaper advertisements, and everything else done by the Republican Party in connection with the Irish cause was done simply for political purposes. The Republicans are hoping and trying to induce the friends of Irish freedom to leave the Democratic Party, and the Republicans are pretending to favor the Mason resolution.

Now is the time for the Republicans to show their sincerity; now is the golden opportunity for the Republicans to translate pretense into action by bringing a resolution before this House and passing it, for the Republicans have sufficient votes in this House, and can do it. Bring a resolution before this House, and you will find the majority of the Democratic Members voting for it. The Republicans—and only the Republicans—can bring the Mason resolution before this House. The Republicans have had a majority in this House and in the Senate since May, 1919, and they can report out the Mason resolution or any other measure favorable to Irish freedom. But the Republicans have not done it and the Republicans will not do it, unless they are driven to do it by the fear that the friends of Irish freedom will remember the betrayal of the Mason resolution next November.

Why the failure of the distinguished Republican leaders and pretended friends of the Irish people in their reservations on the League of Nations to incorporate an article favorable to Irish freedom? The Republican leaders outside this House have done for the Irish what their Republican brethren in the House have, are, and will continue to do—absolutely nothing.

In a speech I made in Chicago—January, 1920—I told the friends of Irish freedom that the Democratic Party is bigger than any one man; that they should not allow their disappointment in one man to be made over into a Republican bait or snare, whereby the friends of Irish freedom will be led to vote for Republican candidates on the hollow pretense that the Republicans were going to help the cause of Irish freedom. The Republicans have not yet shown that they are ready to go as far as I, a Democratic Congressman, have pointed out as their plain duty in the matter of the Mason resolution. I do not want the friends of Irish freedom to be hoodwinked by Republican straddling, pretense, and propaganda. I want the friends of Ireland, including the millions of them in this country who have no Irish blood in their veins, together with the other millions of American men and women of Irish extraction, to know the facts about the Republican failure to act on the Mason resolution or any other matter which would be beneficial to the cause, and I confidently leave it to their good judgment to say whether the Republicans can be trusted to do any more for Ireland after next November than they have done to date.

Use of Forest Reserves.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. EVANS,
OF MONTANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 12, 1920.

Mr. EVANS of Montana. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. SMITH]. This identical provision, except as to amount, has been carried in this bill for years. The amendment is as follows:

For experiments and investigations of range conditions within the national forests or elsewhere on the public range, and of methods for improving the range by reseeding, regulation of grazing, and other regulations, $35,000.

If you inspect the present law you will find it a verbatim copy. This year the Secretary of Agriculture recommended $60,000 for this work, but afterwards told the committee he would get along with $35,000. The mistaken policy of false economy no doubt influenced the committee to eliminate the item entirely. Mr. Speaker, I venture there is no item in this bill where an expenditure of that amount of money will bring a better return to the Government. The trouble now is that this matter is not being considered on its merits; gentlemen who on yesterday spent the day trying to attach a rider to this appropriation bill to amend the forest reserve act and compel the Secretary of Agriculture to increase by 300 per cent the grazing fees charged for grazing in these reserves, and failing in that, attempted to put all the vacant public lands into grazing lands without success, are now trying to cripple the Forest Service by denying the necessary appropriations.

Mr. Speaker, it is to be deplored that so much bitterness has crept into this discussion. I am sure if men from the great Mississippi Valley, from Kansas, Iowa, Illinois, and other States were acquainted with the real conditions and facts, they would not suggest that we from the mountain States, where the reserves are situated, are trying to rob the Treasury. I am sure such criticisms come from a lack of information rather than a belief in the lack of integrity and fidelity of those of us who come from the public-land States.

These forest reserves are not primarily grazing reserves. The grazing is only incidental to the preservation of the forest. The reserves are supposed to be covered with timber; yet it is a fact that about two-thirds of the annual revenue derived comes from the grazing privileges. Twice as much is thus derived as comes from the sale of timber with which these great areas are supposed to be covered. Gentlemen complain that this grazing charge is not high enough. Perhaps it is not; but what investigation has been made to warrant this committee in saying it should be increased 300 per cent? The hearings reveal no testimony that warrants such a raise. The Secretary of Agriculture or any of his experts and advisers did not so testify. If the Secretary believed this service was worth any such figure, he would fix the charges accordingly; he has the power now to do so. No farmers or stockmen who use the privileges were called before the committee that their views might be obtained, so until some investigation is made this House is not warranted in imposing such a charge on the people who use these reserves. Nor should the Members of this House who come from the forest-reserve States be pilloried or charged with lack of fidelity to their country.

Failing to fasten what we believe to be an unjust burden upon the stock interests of these States, you next attempt to put 300,000,000 acres of the public domain into great grazing reserves, on the theory, as the chairman says, it will bring the Government $15,000,000. Mr. Speaker, such a proceeding would practically annul the homestead law. There is not a State west of the Ohio River that was not built up and made great under the beneficent homestead law. What the West needs and what every new country needs is settlers. We want homes and home builders; thus only can that country grow and develop. Men who live on the rich alluvial lands of the Mississippi Valley, on well-developed farms growing timothy, clover, and alfalfa, must not compare their situation or their lands and grasses to the growth on the mountainside of the Great Rocky Mountains. If the members of the Agricultural Committee will visit these States and these reserves, they will return with a broader vision on this important subject.

I am sure the $35,000 asked for in this amendment is needed, and it will be a false economy on the part of this Congress to deny it.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. RUBEY,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 4, 1920.

Mr. RUBEY. Mr. Speaker, for the information of the House, and to be used by the Members during the consideration of the Agriculture appropriation bill, I have compiled the following table. This table contains the various items for which appropriations are made. It shows for each item the amount appropriated for the current year 1920, the sum estimated for by the department, and the amount recommended by the House committee. The table also shows the increases and decreases as compared with 1920, and the increases over and the decreases under the department estimates:

Department of Agriculture—Recommendations of the House committee as compared with appropriations for 1920 and department estimates.

	Appropriations for 1920.	Estimates for 1921.	Increase of estimates.	Decrease of estimates.	Reported by committee.	Increase over (+) decrease under (−) 1920.	Increase over (+) decrease under (−) estimates.
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY.							
Statutory salaries	$500,520	$475,860		$24,660	$446,940	−$33,580	− $8,920
Decrease under 1920, $33,580.							
OFFICE OF FARM MANAGEMENT.							
Statutory salaries	84,430	105,740	$12,210		72,130	− 12,300	− 33,610
Farm management, cost of production	218,160	506,250	297,190		250,000	+ 31,840	−256,250
Increase over 1920, $19,540.	302,590	611,990	309,400		322,130	+ 19,540	−289,860
WEATHER BUREAU.							
Statutory salaries	342,890	349,310	6,420		346,910	+ 4,020	− 2,400
Central office expenses	109,250	116,190	6,940		109,250		− 6,940
Printing office	12,800	15,000	2,200		12,800		− 2,200
Expenses outside Washington	1,304,230	1,373,430	70,400		1,303,030	− 1,200	− 70,400
Traveling expenses	26,000	28,200	2,200		26,000		− 2,200
Aerological stations	85,040	281,020	195,980		81,020	− 4,020	−200,000
Forest-fire warning service		15,000	15,000				− 15,000
Marine meteorological work		50,000					− 50,000
Decrease under 1920, $1,200.	1,880,210	2,228,150	299,140		1,879,010	− 1,200	−349,140
BUREAU OF ANIMAL INDUSTRY.							
Statutory salaries	553,150	658,790	105,640		656,390	+103,240	− 2,400
Inspection and quarantine	525,000	557,660	32,660		519,640	− 5,360	− 38,020
Tuberculosis of animals	1,500,000	1,480,440		19,560	1,300,000	−200,000	−180,440
Eradicating cattle ticks	741,980	731,160		10,820	681,160	− 60,820	− 50,000
Dairy industry	350,370	390,800	40,430		300,000	− 50,370	− 90,800
Animal husbandry	327,680	519,040	191,360		269,180	− 58,500	−249,860
Diseases of animals	124,560	141,450	16,890		106,400	− 18,160	− 35,050
Eradicating hog cholera	641,045	658,945	17,900		510,000	−131,045	−148,945
Eradicating dourine	68,800	85,200		3,600	65,200	− 23,600	− 20,000
Administrative expenses	26,686	26,686			26,686		
Meat inspection	903,960	868,280		35,680	892,580	− 11,380	+ 24,300
Decrease under 1920, $445,995.	5,783,231	6,118,451	404,680	69,660	5,327,236	−445,995	−791,215
BUREAU OF PLANT INDUSTRY.							
Statutory salaries	491,280	529,760	38,480		526,960	+ 35,680	− 2,800
Pathological laboratory	62,020	77,020	15,000		62,020		− 15,000
Fruit diseases	80,935	87,935	7,000		80,935		− 7,000
Citrus canker	196,320	109,720		86,600	109,720	− 86,600	
Forest pathology	82,315	81,115		1,200	81,115	− 1,200	
Blister-rust control	220,728	214,168		6,500	214,168	− 6,500	
Cotton and truck diseases	87,800	108,900	21,100		95,400	+ 7,600	− 13,500
Crop physiology	48,460	46,860		1,600	40,060	− 8,400	− 6,800
Bacteriology and nutrition	39,060	49,060	10,000		39,060		− 10,100
Soil-fertility investigations	35,060	55,060	20,000		45,060	+ 10,000	− 10,000
Crop acclimatization	104,410	104,410			86,410	− 18,000	− 18,000
Drugs and other plants	58,820	59,820	1,000		59,820	+ 1,000	1,000
Crop technology	24,940	24,940			24,940		
Biophysical investigations	32,500	32,500			32,500		
Seed-testing laboratories	36,680	49,580	12,900		36,680		− 12,900
Cereal investigations	452,505	524,705	72,200		359,705	− 92,800	−165,000
Cereal disease control	50,000	50,000			50,000		
Tobacco investigations	32,000	32,000			32,000		
Alkali and drought resistant crops	24,280	23,080		1,200	20,080	− 4,200	− 3,000
Sugar-plant investigations	94,115	94,115			85,000	− 9,115	− 9,115
Economic and systematic botany	22,200	22,200			22,200		
Dry-land agriculture	159,000	169,000	10,000		150,000	− 9,000	− 19,000
Western irrigation agriculture	73,580	82,380	8,800		52,380	− 21,200	− 30,000
Nut culture	20,000	20,000			20,000		
Fruit investigation, grape culture	83,200	88,200	5,000		110,200	+ 27,000	+ 22,000
Experimental gardens and grounds	11,690	11,690			11,690		
Horticulture	73,340	101,940	28,600		71,940	− 1,400	− 30,000
Nursery investigations		30,000	30,000		20,000	+ 20,000	− 10,000
Arlington farm	21,900	25,500	3,600		20,500	− 1,400	− 5,000
Foreign seed and plant introduction	132,700	114,200	18,500		82,700	− 50,000	− 31,500
New and rare seeds, forage crops	139,780			139,780	130,000	− 9,780	+130,000
Purchase of new and rare seeds		56,600	56,600				− 56,600
Investigation of forage crops		148,480	148,480				−148,480
Administrative and miscellaneous	29,040	25,980		3,060	25,980	− 3,060	
Purchase and distribution of seeds	358,980	355,980		3,000	239,416	−119,564	−116,564
Decrease under 1920, $340,999.	3,379,638	3,606,898	507,320	242,940	3,038,639	−340,999	−508,259
FOREST SERVICE.							
Statutory salaries	2,485,660	812,120		1,673,540	2,488,180	+ 1,520	−1,676,060
Supervisors, rangers, and guards		1,673,540	1,673,540		125,000	+125,000	−1,548,540
Maintenance of national forest units	2,069,201	4,000,627	1,931,426		2,068,762	− 439	−1,931,865
Agricultural land classification	107,000	107,000			87,000	− 20,000	− 20,000
Fighting forest fires	150,000			150,000			− 150,000
Insect control		25,000	25,000				− 25,000
Equipment and supplies	161,100	173,600	12,500		150,000	− 11,100	− 23,600
Forest products	173,260	348,260	175,000		173,260		− 175,000
National forest range investigations	35,000	60,000	25,000			− 35,000	− 60,000
National forest planting	145,640	145,640			120,640	− 25,000	− 25,000
Silvical investigations	78,728	153,728	75,000		35,000	− 43,728	− 118,728
Reconnaissance	80,000	125,000	45,000		105,000	+ 25,000	− 20,000
Miscellaneous forest investigations	31,280	56,920	25,640		25,000	− 6,280	− 31,820
Improvements, roads and trails	450,000	550,000	100,000		400,000	− 50,000	−150,000
Decrease under 1920, $189,027.	5,966,869	6,557,895	4,088,106	1,823,540	5,777,842	−189,027	−819,808

Department of Agriculture—Recommendations of the House committee as compared with appropriations for 1920 and department estimates—Continued.

	Appropriations for 1920.	Estimates for 1921.	Increase of estimates.	Decrease of estimates.	Reported by committee.	Increase over (+) decrease under (−) 1920.	Increase over (+) decrease under (−) estimates.
BUREAU OF CHEMISTRY.							
Statutory salaries	$411,670	$428,090	$16,320		$426,190	+$14,520	− $1,900
Agricultural investigations	42,400	42,400			[1] 38,400	− 4,000	− 4,000
Collaboration with departments	14,000	50,000	36,000		14,000		− 36,000
American food products	4,280	4,280			[1] 4,280		
Poultry and egg investigations	45,000	42,880		$2,120	[1] 37,880	− 7,120	− 5,000
Fish, oyster, and other investigations	20,000	20,000			[1] 15,000	− 5,000	− 5,000
Biological investigations	25,000	25,000	10,000		[1] 15,000		− 10,000
Citrus by-products investigations	13,000	13,000			[1] 13,000		
Color investigations	100,000	99,280		720	68,260	− 31,720	− 31,020
Table sirup	12,000	12,000			15,000	+ 3,000	+ 3,000
Enforcement of the food and drugs act	620,221	605,081		15,140	[1] 579,361	− 40,860	− 25,720
Naval stores investigations	10,000	10,000			10,000		
Insecticide and fungicide investigations	25,000	25,000			20,000	− 5,000	− 5,000
Drying vegetables, fruits, etc	50,000	23,500		26,500	23,500	− 26,500	
Utilization of wool-scouring waste	9,000	9,000			6,000	− 3,000	− 3,000
Leather and tanning investigations		15,000	15,000				− 15,000
Tea testing			40,000		40,000	+ 40,000	
Decrease under 1920, $69,980.	1,391,571	1,424,511	117,320	44,480	1,321,591	− 69,980	−102,920
BUREAU OF SOILS.							
Statutory salaries	74,160	80,860	6,700		78,060	+ 3,900	− 2,800
Chemical investigations	25,610	25,610			23,110	− 2,500	− 2,500
Physical investigations	12,225	17,225	5,000		12,225		− 5,000
Investigations of fertilizer resources	31,340	50,000	18,660		36,840	+ 5,500	− 13,160
Soil survey investigations	198,200	231,400	33,200		178,900	− 19,300	− 52,500
Classification of agricultural lands	18,100	18,100			15,000	− 3,100	− 3,100
Potash investigations	127,600	192,900	65,300		192,900	+ 65,300	
Administrative expenses	4,000	4,000			4,000		
Increase over 1920, $49,800.	491,235	620,095	128,860		541,035	+ 49,800	− 79,060
BUREAU OF ENTOMOLOGY.							
Statutory salaries	124,010	138,190	14,180		132,810	+ 8,800	− 5,380
Deciduous fruit insects	105,780	103,500		2,280	178,500	+ 72,720	+ 75,000
Cereal and forage insects	147,060	155,660	8,600		145,660	− 1,400	− 10,000
European corn borer	250,000			250,000		−250,000	
Southern field crop insects	103,400	178,400	78,000		125,000	+ 24,600	− 53,400
Forest insects	48,790	47,590		1,200	40,000	− 8,790	− 7,590
Truck crop insects	134,960	131,760		3,200	110,000	− 24,960	− 21,760
Bee culture	35,000	33,800		1,200	33,800	− 1,200	
Tropical fruit insects	16,500	24,500	8,000		[2] 16,500		− 8,000
Mediterranean fruit fly	32,000	32,000			[2] 30,000	− 2,000	− 2,000
Camphor thrip	5,000	5,000			[2] 5,000		
Miscellaneous insects	62,330	62,330			52,330	− 10,000	− 10,000
Administrative and miscellaneous	5,480	3,880		1,600	3,880	− 1,600	
Preventing spread of moths	304,050	302,650		1,400	200,000	−104,050	−102,650
Decrease under 1920, $297,880.	1,371,360	1,324,260	108,780	260,880	1,073,480	−297,880	−250,780
BUREAU OF BIOLOGICAL SURVEY.							
Statutory salaries	55,970	68,870	12,900		68,870	+ 12,900	
Maintenance of reservations	34,600	39,735	5,135		34,600		− 5,135
Sullys Hill game preserve	5,000	5,000			5,000		
Investigations, predatory animals, etc	464,440	575,000	110,560		456,040	− 8,400	−118,960
Biological investigations	24,400	24,400			24,400		
Protection of migratory birds	147,000	250,000	103,000		142,500	− 4,500	−107,500
Reindeer and fur-bearing animals in Alaska					40,000	+ 40,000	+ 40,000
Administrative expenses	10,760	15,000	4,240		10,760		− 4,240
Increase over 1920, $40,000.	742,170	978,005	235,835		782,170	+ 40,000	−195,835
DIVISION OF ACCOUNTS AND DISBURSEMENTS.							
Statutory salaries	44,620	50,620	6,000		48,220	+ 3,600	− 2,400
Increase over 1920, $3,600.							
DIVISION OF PUBLICATIONS.							
Statutory salaries	196,070	265,130	69,060		240,500	+ 44,430	− 24,630
Labor-saving machinery	5,000	6,000	1,000		6,000	+ 1,000	
Stationery and materials	7,500	9,000	1,500		9,000	+ 1,500	
Furniture and fixtures	1,320	1,600	280		1,320		− 280
Photographic equipment	22,000	22,000			22,000		
Transportation service	750	900	150		900	+ 150	
Wagons, horses, etc	1,000	1,000			1,000		
Miscellaneous expenses	4,000	4,350	350		4,350	+ 350	
Agricultural exhibits		50,000			70,000	+ 70,000	+ 20,000
Emergency employments	2,500	2,500			17,500	+ 15,000	+ 15,000
Increase over 1920, $132,430.	240,140	362,480	72,340		372,570	+132,430	+ 10,090
BUREAU OF CROP ESTIMATES.							
Statutory salaries	129,060	175,740	48,680		129,300	+ 240	− 46,400
Administrative expenses	25,480				25,480		25,480
Field investigations	216,562				168,076	− 48,486	168,076
Field investigations, crop estimates		792,040	792,040				−792,040
Decrease under 1920, $48,246.	371,102	967,780	840,720		322,856	− 48,246	−644,884
LIBRARY, DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.							
Statutory salaries	32,160	34,880	2,720		32,880	+ 720	− 2,000
General expenses	18,000	26,200	8,200		18,000		− 8,200
Increase over 1920, $720.	50,160	61,080	10,920		50,880	+ 720	− 10,200

[1] Items consolidated.

[2] Items combined; appropriation $51,500

Department of Agriculture—Recommendations of the House committee as compared with appropriations for 1920 and department estimates—Continued.

	Appropriations for 1920.	Estimates for 1921.	Increase of estimates.	Decrease of estimates.	Reported by committee.	Increase over (+) decrease under (−) 1920.	Increase over (+) decrease under (−) estimates.
MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSES.							
Operating expenses	$175,500	$141,000		$34,500	$136,000	− $39,500	− $5,000
Decrease under 1920, $39,500.							
RENT IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.							
Rent	100,000	150,000	$50,000		164,666	+ 64,666	+ 14,667
Increase over 1920, $64,666.							
STATES RELATIONS SERVICE.							
Statutory salaries	203,840	263,260	59,420		235,840	+ 32,000	− 27,420
Experiment stations	720,000	720,000			720,000		
Experiment stations	720,000	720,000			720,000		
Colleges and stations	69,600	71,500	1,900		61,500	− 8,100	− 10,000
Farmers' demonstrations	751,280	715,720		35,560	715,720	− 35,560	
Farmers' demonstrations—South	645,040	634,800		10,240	634,800	− 10,240	
Cooperative extension work	1,500,000	1,500,000			1,500,000		
Farmers' institutes	20,600	16,360		4,240	16,360	− 4,240	
Agricultural experiment stations (Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Guam, Virgin Islands)	215,000	230,000	15,000		205,000	− 10,000	− 25,000
Home economics	46,280	74,300	28,020		44,300	− 1,980	− 30,000
General expenses	14,180	22,600	8,420		12,600	− 1,580	− 10,000
Decrease under 1920, $39,700.	4,905,820	4,968,540	112,870	50,040	4,866,120	− 39,700	− 102,420
BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS.							
Statutory salaries	113,640	120,400	6,760		117,900	+ 4,260	− 2,500
Road management	38,240	36,200		2,040	36,200	− 2,040	
Investigating road building	138,220	132,300		5,920	102,300	− 35,920	− 30,000
Road material	47,020	77,020	30,000		77,020	+ 30,000	
Field experiments	60,000	60,000				− 60,000	− 60,000
Farm irrigation	82,440	102,440	20,000		62,440	− 20,000	− 40,000
Farm drainage	73,760	103,760	30,000		53,760	− 20,000	− 50,000
Rural engineering	25,000	100,000	75,000		25,000		− 75,000
Administrative expenses	16,000	16,000			16,000		
Decrease under 1920, $103,700.	594,320	748,120	161,760	7,960	490,620	− 103,700	− 257,500
BUREAU OF MARKETS.							
Statutory salaries	671,810	802,270	130,460		715,130	+ 43,320	− 87,140
Marketing farm products	317,520	347,980	30,460		275,980	− 41,520	− 72,000
Collecting and distributing information	250,000	269,600	19,600		[1] 219,600	− 30,400	− 50,000
Stockyards regulation	75,000			75,000		− 75,000	
Reports on live stock and meats	105,320	139,320	34,000		89,320	− 16,000	− 50,000
Reports on dairy and poultry	80,600	69,780		10,820	[1] 50,000	− 30,600	− 19,780
Reports on grain, hay, etc	50,000	44,600		5,400	[1] 35,000	− 15,000	− 9,600
Food-supply investigations	48,800	45,620		3,180	45,620	− 3,180	
Market reports on peanuts	12,000	12,000			[1] 10,000	− 2,000	− 2,000
Inspection of perishable foods	150,000	191,700	41,700		141,700	− 8,300	− 50,000
Cotton-standards investigation	45,920	43,920		2,000	40,000	− 5,920	− 3,920
Rural cooperation	15,780			15,780		− 15,780	
State cooperation in marketing	77,750	100,000	22,250		40,000	− 37,750	− 60,000
Grain standardization	86,050	81,150		4,900	71,150	− 14,900	− 10,000
The standard-basket act	3,800	4,800	1,000		3,800		− 1,000
Administrative expenses	20,635	20,635			20,635		
Enforcement, cotton-futures act	131,780	198,920	67,140		142,611	+ 10,831	− 56,309
Enforcement, grain-standards act	598,600	571,100		27,500	538,623	− 59,977	− 32,477
Administration, warehouse act	35,000	80,000	45,000		24,400	− 10,600	− 55,600
Wool Division	35,000	15,000		20,000	15,000	− 20,000	
Decrease under 1920, $332,796.	2,811,365	3,023,395	391,610	164,580	2,478,569	− 332,796	− 544,826
ENFORCEMENT OF THE INSECTICIDE ACT.							
Statutory salaries	29,150	30,350	1,200		30,350	+ 1,200	
General expenses	94,790	111,560	16,770		85,000	− 9,790	− 26,560
Decrease under 1920, $8,590.	123,940	141,910	17,970		115,350	− 8,590	− 26,560
FEDERAL HORTICULTURAL BOARD.							
Statutory salaries	31,300	41,050	9,750		33,300	+ 2,000	− 7,750
Enforcement of the plant quarantine act	47,700	145,450	97,750		100,450	+ 52,750	− 45,000
Extermination of the potato wart	50,000	50,000			35,300	− 14,700	− 14,700
Increase over 1920, $40,050.	129,000	236,500	107,500		169,050	+ 40,050	− 67,450
MISCELLANEOUS.							
Reclamation projects	48,600	47,000	1,600		30,000	− 18,600	− 17,000
Fighting forest fires	150,000	1,000,000	850,000		250,000	+ 100,000	− 750,000
Cooperative fire protection	100,000	200,000	100,000		75,000	− 25,000	− 125,000
Demonstrations in live stock	60,000	60,000			46,500	− 13,500	− 13,500
Experiments in dairying and live stock	40,000	40,000			30,000	− 10,000	− 10,000
Motor-propelled and other vehicles	75,000	95,000	20,000		60,000	− 15,000	− 35,000
Eradication of foot-and-mouth disease	1,000,000	1,000,000			50,000	− 950,000	− 950,000
Eradication of pink bollworm	595,800	388,560		207,240	288,560	− 307,240	− 100,000
Investigation of plant dust explosions		100,000	100,000		25,000	+ 25,000	− 75,000
Purchase of land—Weeks Act	600,000			600,000		− 600,000	
Decrease under 1920, $1,814,340.	2,669,400	2,930,560	1,071,600	807,240	855,060	−1,814,340	−2,075,500
Summary	33,899,761	37,672,857			30,540,034	−3,359,727	−7,132,823
Decrease under 1920, $3,357,727.							

[1] Items combined; appropriation, $314,600.

Bring Home the Bodies of Our Heroic Dead.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. KING,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Wednesday, February 11, 1920.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, the French Government, without any serious protest on the part of American executives, has placed an embargo on the removal of American dead buried in France to their native land.

The sobs and tears of the distressed American parents are of no avail. They plead in vain and cry for mercy—for the return of all they care for on earth. But no! There is money to be made, and they are crushed in the onward rush beneath the wheels of golden chariots.

Dispatches from Paris say that French hotels are preparing for summer tourists; that hotels requisitioned for Government offices are to be returned to their owners as soon as possible, according to a decision by the French cabinet; that it is believed they will be ready to accommodate the flood of American visitors expected next summer.

These dispatches further state that there are 600 large hotels and 2,500 smaller hostelries in Paris; of the latter 1,000 being suited to the tourist trade, and hotel men believe they can handle the tide of excursionists this year and intend to open a central bureau where strangers may be directed to satisfactory quarters.

WHO ARE THESE TOURISTS?

Who are the tourists? Who are these gay excursionists? They are the sorrowing American fathers and mothers, wives and sweethearts, compelled by the exigencies of greed to make a long and expensive pilgrimage to view the sacred places where rest the expatriated dead.

Not alone are they gay in Paris over the prospect for the summer, but on this side of the ocean the canyons between the skyscrapers echo with loud hosannas. There is to be no stop in the work of gathering up any loose change the people may have left—there will be dividends for the humble and downtrodden stockholders in ships, profits for the patrioteer, and swag for the money exchange robber. Yes; there will be lots of good business this summer, because Americans will go to visit the graves of their dead in France—some in first cabins, but more in the steerage. But "there's a good time coming boys" when this great game of national body snatching will be at an end.

Mr. Speaker, the organized propaganda designed to suppress the cries of America for its dead children by misleading the people into the thought that those who prepare the dead for burial are back of this demand is a sentiment fit only to emanate from the mind of a demon.

Any Member of this House knows that the desire proceeds from the hearts of the afflicted. Here, read one letter:

BOSTON, MASS., *February 9, 1920.*

Congressman KING,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: My only child, Lieut. Edwin A. Daly, Company D, One hundred and sixty-fifth Regiment Infantry, was killed in action July 29, 1918. Have tried ever since to get his body home. Kindly help me get it at once. If Baker, Pershing, and the rest had kept out of it the bodies would have been home long ago. I am not interested in any honor that France can do the body of my boy. I want it at once.

Sincerely, yours,

GEORGE T. DALY.

How can anyone who is a parent read that letter and be not moved. He gave all he had to his country—his only son. Yet he is deprived of his one request, that he may have returned to him the most precious thing on earth—his son's remains. Think of it, you men who have sons! Put yourself in this father's place. How many times have you, as he has done, at close of day kissed your son good night, and in the morning hailed his bright eyes and red cheeks as the "best bet on earth." Slowly he grew to boyhood, to young manhood. Ah, how often have you seen yourself reflected in him! How often have you looked deeply into his eyes and almost seen the prolongation in him of your own life and exclaim, "This is immortality!"

And if perchance this night the little white cross over his grave glitters in the dim light of a foreign moon in a strange and far-away land, you, too, will cry out with Daly, "I want the body of my boy! I want it now!"

Uniform Clothing and Equipment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. ASWELL,
OF LOUISIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, February 12, 1920.

Mr. ASWELL. Mr. Speaker, the following is the record of the fight for the legislation that gave 4,000,000 service men their uniform clothing and equipment:

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Dec. 3, 1918.]

PERSONAL EQUIPMENT, ENLISTED MEN IN ARMY AND MARINE CORPS.

"Mr. ASWELL rose.

"The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Louisiana rise?

"Mr. ASWELL. To ask unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Louisiana asks unanimous consent to address the House not to exceed three minutes. Is there objection?

"Mr. WALSH. Well, what about, Mr. Speaker? Reserving the right to object——

"Mr. ASWELL. To make some suggestions regarding the enlisted men in the Army and Marine Corps.

"The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

"There was no objection.

"Mr. ASWELL. Mr. Speaker, in the last few days I have conferred with a number of enlisted men who are being discharged from the Army and the Marine Corps in several sections of the country, and I am impressed with the great desire on the part of these men to retain their uniforms. It will be a good investment for patriotic purposes as well as a proper and right thing to do. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution which I send to the Speaker's desk.

"Mr. MANN. Well, I object, not knowing what it is. That is not the way to bring it up.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois objects.

"Mr. ASWELL. I would like to ask the gentleman that it be read.

"Mr. MANN. If the gentleman is going to ask unanimous consent then for its consideration, that is not fair to the House.

"Mr. ASWELL. I will ask that it be read for information.

"Mr. MANN. It is proposed then to ask for its immediate consideration?

"Mr. ASWELL. Mr. Speaker, I have two minutes left, and I ask that it be read in my time.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks that the resolution be read in his time. Is there objection?

"There was no objection.

"The Clerk read as follows:

"Joint resolution (H. J. Res. —) to dispose of the personal equipment of enlisted men in the Army and Marine Corps.

"*Resolved, etc.,* That the personal equipment of each enlisted man in the Army and in the Marine Corps in the service of the United States on November 11, 1918, shall, upon his honorable discharge, automatically become the personal property of said enlisted man in the Army and the Marine Corps.

"Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

"Mr. ASWELL. Yes.

"Mr. DUPRÉ. Why not include men of the Navy?

"Mr. ASWELL. The personal equipment of men of the Navy already belongs to them."

I then presented the matter to the War Department and it came to the House through the Committee on Military Affairs, in bill 13366, which did not include all the articles of clothing provided in the original Aswell resolution.

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Dec. 16, 1918, p. 521.]

"Mr. ASWELL. Mr. Speaker, the first day Congress proceeded to business at this session I introduced a resolution directing that the enlisted men of the Army and the Marine Corps be given their uniforms, the other departments of the Government all being included without any additional law, and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] promptly objected to my resolution and prevented its consideration. I proceeded immediately to present the matter to the General Staff of the War Department, and I was requested to submit the resolution and to offer suggestions to the proposed resolution that I had introduced upon the floor of this House. I did so. I was informed that a bill would be prepared by the War College. * * *

"I merely call the attention of the House to the fact that my resolution provided that the enlisted men be permitted to keep their uniforms. It is stated in the resolution as 'personal equipment,' which means all the uniforms—their underclothes, shoes, overcoats, and hats or caps. I submit to this House that it is ridiculous and absurd for the shoes and one or two suits of underclothing to be salvaged by the War Department or destroyed when they would be of great value to these soldiers if permitted to be retained.

"Gentlemen of the House, it is absolutely absurd to talk about the top clothes and take the other suits away from these young men. I am for the bill if you do not give them anything but one shoe. I am for anything that you give these boys, but it is clear that they should have their entire personal equipment."

The bill was then amended to include the personal equipment as provided in the original Aswell resolution, passed the House December 16, 1918, and became a law February 28, 1919. All honorably discharged soldiers and marines under this legislation are entitled to receive their personal equipment.

I make this brief statement for the benefit of service men who may not have had their attention called to the matter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. ASHBROOK,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 13, 1920.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address delivered in the Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial Hall at Pittsburgh, Pa., last evening to the Veteran Guard of Allegheny County, Pa., by our colleague, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. O'CONNOR].

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY JAMES O'CONNOR IN THE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS' MEMORIAL HALL, PITTSBURGH, ON LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1920, ON THE INVITATION OF THE VETERAN GUARD OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY, PA.

On February 12, 1809, Almighty God, the creator of heaven and earth, sent into this world one of His greatest children to do noble things, not dream them all day long, and so make life, death, and that vast forever one grand, sweet song. No comet appeared at his birth, there was no hurtling of battle in the air, no new light on land or sea to announce the arrival of the foremost figure of his age. The sun rose in all his glory as on billions of morns before, and set in sadness at the death of that day in the same sublime colors of a million years ago. Other children came in on that day, played their parts in the grand drama of life, and then passed over into that other country from whence no traveler ever returns. Born as the Nazarene in lowliness, but far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife, he grew up under circumstances, surroundings, and conditions that would have subdued any but a man sent into the world to perform its highest office and glorify the ideals of humanity.

Tried at once by pain, danger, obscurity, appalling poverty, sorrow and sadness, and a great grief, he meditated undisturbed by the tremendous turmoil of the times, a chapter in human affairs so holy and sublime that it would not have misbecome those ethereal virtues whom he saw throughout his Christian life flinging down upon the jasper pavements crowns of amaranth and gold at the foot of the great white throne of God. How oft this poor unknown lad must have meditated upon the lines—

Ah! How hard it is to climb the steep where fame's proud temple shines afar.
Ah! Who can tell how many a soul sublime has felt the influence of a malignant star.
Checked by the scoff of pride, by envy's frown, and poverty's unconquerable bar
In life's low vale remote has pined alone
And then dropped into the grave unpitied and unknown.

How oft that poor lad of pioneer days must have staggered at the fearful journey ahead, over which he went with malice toward none, with charity for all, and reached the summit of human greatness, glory, and grandeur. What vistas must have been opened to the gaze of the boy that read in the loneliness that would have tried any but a dauntless soul and one possessed of the divine fire again and again, the "Pilgrim's Progress," "Æsop's Fables," "Robinson Crusoe," and the "Life of Washington."

God moves in mysterious ways His wonders to perform. And whenever it is necessary in the history of the race that heroism of the highest order and virtue sublime should lead mankind out of the darkness and wilderness, he answers that cry of the soul and the man comes from a Nazareth. He comes from a mother, the world likes to forget—from a father we ignore.

Nothing is known of Shapkespeare's mother except that she bore the beautiful name of Mary Arden; nothing much is known of the mother of the great emancipator and unionist, except that which is enough to give everlasting glory to her, that she was an American girl named Nancy Hanks and was the mother of him who belongs to the ages.

Soldiers, sailors of the blue, members of the Grand Army of the Republic, my countrymen and women, I am proud of the honor of this great privilege that has been bestowed upon me, for it is the greatest distinction that can be conferred upon one to be selected as the orator on such an occasion. I shall never forget it, nor shall my children ever cease to boast of this red-letter day in their father's career. Perhaps it is appropriate that one who was born in poverty and obscurity, and who longed from his childhood days to take his place among his countrymen in the greatest Legislative Assembly in the world should be the speaker on the anniversary of him whose birth and struggles should be an inspiration to American boys and girls until the last chapter is written in our country's history, the anniversary of him whose unparalleled career shows that this is a land of opportunity for the child born in the hut as well as one born in a palace with silver spoon in his mouth and rocked in a golden cradle; and that ours is a country of men and women who enshrine in their affections the heroes and heroines who by service to humanity and love of their native land win for themselves this imperishable place in the hearts of their countrymen. The life of Abraham Lincoln is a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night to the youth of all the ages that will pass over the United States of America. It teaches the great lesson that nothing is impossible to him who will toil and moil for his country's welfare and for the vindication of the purest ideals and highest motives the great lesson that there is no royal road to glory or triumph, that by struggling for the right and an unswerving adherence to God's commands do we bring ourselves nearer to justifying our existence and nearer, nearer to the invisible choir.

I come to you, my countrymen, from New Orleans, the city that Abraham Lincoln went to in 1828 on a raft when only 19 years of age to sell the produce he brought down the Mississippi; a city he visited again on a raft of his own three years later, in 1831. How often have I pictured that poor boy standing on the river front in the city of my birth selling his produce. How often, when all the world seemed dark to me, have I thought of his wonderful rise from raft boy to the intellectual giant that won for himself forensic glory in his never-to-be-forgotten debate with Douglas, of the magic flight on wings of genius to the Presidency of the United States, and to Olympian heights of grandeur and nobility of soul in his incomparable address at Springfield, the immortal first inaugural, and the transcendent Gettysburg that will shine through the mist and clouds of the centuries to come, and the crowning glory of the English language of his second inaugural address.

What nobler utterance is to be found in sacred or profane literature, in the masterpiece of Grecian or Roman eloquence, in the ancient or modern letters and rhetoric, than these patriotic words bursting from his aching heart and throat? In his second inaugural stands out this sublime expression of American patriotism:

I am loath to close. We are not enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory stretching from every battle field and patriot grave to every living hearthstone all over this broad land will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

He belongs to the ages—yes, to the forevermore.

I come to you to sing a pæan of glory for our own Abraham Lincoln, for he no longer belongs to any one Commonwealth but to the Nation. I come to you from the far South, from Louisiana, the mother of States, to offer my poor tribute to the memory of the anointed—one of the exalted figures of the race—for the South is as much your native land as the North is my country. We mourned the death of Lincoln with a great grief, and our woe to-day is as your woe. It meant not only a great grief to our Southland but entailed a great suffering. For, as Jefferson Davis said, "Next to the destruction of the Confederacy, the death of Lincoln was the darkest day the South has ever known."

It was a day wet with tears and choking with heart sobs. All that a nation could murmur in its tragic sorrow was "Thine, not my will be done, O Lord."

My tears will mingle with yours at "Captain, oh, my captain!" and the recantation of London Punch. The Nation North, East, South, and West will reverence his memory until time is no more. Aye, truly, does "God move in a mysterious way His wonders to perform." The War of the Roses finally united the followers of the houses of York and Lancaster and made for a greater England. The dreadful conflict of four years and more that tried men's souls bound a Nation in fraternal ties and patriotic bonds that means the perpetuation of "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people" on the Western Continent. We of the South can never forget Lee and Stonewall Jackson and Davis and those other illustrious heroes who have gone with the conquered banner to join your heroes of the blue—Lincoln, Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and their glorious followers who died on many a hard-fought battle field or who passed away after having served their country well. We can no more forget the survivors of the gray, whose ranks are rapidly thinning, than can your kinsmen forget you.

They fought for the right as God gave them the light to see the right. In the years to come some Walter Scott will write the romantic history and appealing story into the literary life of our country, and the heroes of the Civil War will be regarded as the heroes of a common land. You of the blue and those of the gray are one to-day, divided only as the waves but one as the sea.

Your blood and ours commingled have made for the young heroes that saved the world and its civilization when Europe was staggering to its destruction and fall.

Your daughters have married our boys and our girls have married your sons. We are one in blood, in ideals, in hopes, in patriotism, and aspirations. These lines, which found their way into millions of American hearts, shows that we are one in soul, heart, and spirit. Shoulder to shoulder and heel to heel for America, the land of our birth and our dreams, the home of our children, over which will always float the Stars and Stripes, in which will always be sung America and the Star-Spangled Banner.

Here's to the blue of the wind-swept North,
As they'll meet on the fields of France;
May the spirit of Grant be with them all
As the sons of the North advance.

And here's to the gray of the sun-kissed South
As they'll meet on the fields of France;
May the spirit of Lee be with them all
As the sons of the South advance.

And here's to the Blue and Gray as one,
As they'll meet on the fields of France;
May the spirit of God be with them all
As the sons of our flag advance.

My song hath ceased, my theme is ended, my voice will soon be but an echo. Would that my humble effort on this great day were a worthier tribute to one who has been to me the

Rainbow to the storm of life
The evening beam that smiles the clouds away.

To me Abraham Lincoln stands out as one of the choice spirits of the world, a great martyr, and next to the apostles of Jesus Christ as a man of sorrow, one who lived to bless mankind. All of the great warriors and conquerors of the earth that fought for the enslavement of man and their own military glory, who waded through slaughter and shut the gates of mercy on mankind, will pass away and be forgotten. But Lincoln will live on forever, his fame undimmed by age, his careworn face and creed the dream of numbered millions, "as the sands of the sea," who will go through life inspired by his fortitude, his humbleness of heart and spirit, in adversity and prosperity, in disaster and in triumph, in defeat and victory. For he stands out, high above this host of spear and blood, a great lighthouse by which his storm-tossed countrymen will steer the ship of state on the nights when we may pray for that kindly light to lead us on o'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent until the night is gone and with the morn those angel faces smile which we have long loved and lost awhile.

In a few years more, ye men of the blue, your spirits will be with that ever venerated shade. Again you will meet the boys of the gray, not in combat, but as brothers that were estranged, and there will be the great joy of a happy reconciliation—there you will meet those gallant souls who fought the good fight on land and sea for their native land, because it was their own and scorned to give aught other reason why. Then it will be to those that are left behind to remember the past with its heartache, its trials and its suffering, and the great joy that resulted from a reunited country; that you are with the mighty souls of the ages that have joined the scroll of eternity. Then it will be for us and our children to remember you as we remember your comrades who have answered the great command, the final order to "fall in."

The muffled drum's sad roll has beat
The soldier's last tattoo;
No more on life's parade shall meet
That brave and daring few.
On fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead.

Their shivered swords are red with rust;
Their plumed heads are bowed;
Their haughty banner, trailed in dust,
Is now their martial shroud;
And plenteous tears have washed
The red stains from each brow;
And their proud forms in battle gashed
Are free from anguish now.

Rest on, embalmed and sainted dead,
Dear as the blood you gave;
No impious footsteps here shall tread
The herbage of your grave;
Nor shall your glory be forgot
While fame her record keeps,
Or honor points the hallowed spot
Where valor proudly sleeps.

Centuries will roll their way into eternity. Generation after generation of Americans will come and go. But each and every generation, through numberless years will dwell upon your virtues and your patriotism all over this broad land, and on Lincoln's birthday and the other great days in our history when they will assemble as Americans to listen reverently and proudly to their countrymen's achievements orators on the Atlantic and Pacific, on the Lakes and the Gulf coasts will proudly look back to the days of the great conflict as days that showed that the North and the South were the homes and the firesides of brave and chivalrous men, heroes all, of gentle, God fearing, noble, and dauntless women, heroines all.

Methinks I can hear from my land of dreams these future speakers of America's thought, hope, and patriotism declare, as they point to the monuments that will rise up all over our splendid country to commemorate the valor of Americans on the battle field and their dauntless heroism on sea:

Yon marble minstrel's voiceless tone
In deathless songs shall tell,
When many a vanquished age hath flown,
The story how ye fell.
Nor wreck, nor change, nor winter's blight,
Nor Time's remorseless doom,
Shall dim one ray of holy light
That gilds your glorious tomb.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN JACOB ROGERS,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 12, 1920.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with leave granted me, I am herewith inserting in the RECORD the speech of Hon. FREDERICK H. GILLETT on the Problems of the Day, delivered at Springfield, Mass., last Sunday, as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. FREDERICK H. GILLETT AT SPRINGFIELD, FEBRUARY 8, 1920.

This is one of the most critical times in the whole history of our country, and, indeed, of the world. A man must be very self-confident who holds important office and does not feel oppressed by the tremendous responsibility. A year ago we were all rejoicing in the return of peace, and we looked forward to resuming speedily the comfortable and progressive life which seemed lying plain before our country. But I think few reckoned on the depth and breadth of the effects of the terrific convulsion which had shaken us. We knew that the war had taken away from our industries several millions of the flower of our youth, that it had diverted production into new lines which would have to be abandoned when peace came, that it had tremendously stimulated some industries and had annihilated others, but I do not think anyone appreciated the relaxation and demoralization which would ensue when the spirit of patriotism, which the war kindled and which had inspired the country to endure without grumbling all kinds of privations, lost its ardor with the return of peace. Then the abnormal conditions and privations which we had borne willingly when we thought they were helping our brave soldiers who had subjected themselves to

so much more terrible ordeals became subjects of criticism and indignation. And there have followed a restlessness and discontent which have seemed to invade every kind of occupation and have seriously impaired our efficiency and our production.

What is true in America seems to be true in a far greater degree in Europe, and conditions there, as I see them, are utterly appalling.

Of Russia we know little that is authentic, but apparently that enormous country is in the throes of civil war, with no government except a military despotism, and with its whole industrial organization and transportation system demoralized if not ruined. Elsewhere we see new republics organized with new boundaries where the people have had no experience in self-government, and with jealous and hostile neighbors causing a constant state of insecurity and uneasiness.

Over all of them hovers the dread, if not the actual pressure, of hunger and want, and some of them are faced with the peril of immediate starvation. In nearly all of them the financial condition, the soundness of which is a prerequisite for any permanent prosperity, seems hopeless. We have learned to look upon the people of Germany as conspicuous examples of that orderly and organizing spirit which would revive most quickly from the exhaustion of war. To-day their mark, which normally is worth 24 cents, is worth but 1 cent. There is a domestic debt of $6,000,000,000. By the terms of the treaty they must pay the victors $5,000,000,000 in the next 18 months, and at the same time there have been taken away from them their colonies, their merchant ships, and a large part of their railroad equipment. And yet to start once more the great industries on which their prosperity was founded they must buy from the rest of the world quantities of raw materials in order even to begin production. How can they procure it? What can they offer as security? Who will trust them when the mark is worth but 1 cent? Yet, unless in some way this is accomplished, Germany must relapse into helplessness and penury.

The condition of Austria is far worse. I am not making these suggestions to excite sympathy for our enemies, who certainly brought their woes on their own heads and whose punishment can not be heavier than they deserve; but I am trying to point out to you the state of Europe as it affects us and our trade.

Look at France. There the franc, which was worth in normal times 20 cents, is now worth but 8 cents. During the war France suffered unutterably, and her courage and fortitude have won universal admiration. But perhaps the problems of peace will test her courage as much as those of war. Her national expenses and the burden of debt are enormous, and yet to-day, more than a year after the war ended, she is paying her running expenses, not by tax levies but very largely by borrowing. Last year her expenditures were over 32,000,000,000 of francs, while her income from taxes was only 11,000,000,000. The Government apparently does not dare to impose the necessary taxes. The people seem to hope that the indemnity paid by Germany will supply the deficiencies. I fear that is a delusive hope, as it will be impossible to collect it from Germany, and that there is a terrible crisis impending.

The condition of Italy is no better. It seems to me England is the only European Nation whose fiscal system is not pointing to national bankruptcy. The only means of salvation which I can see for these countries is to levy a substantial capital tax; that is, to confiscate a good part of every man's property to the State. That is a fearful remedy, a last resort—it is not permitted by our Constitution—and it will require stern courage and patriotism to make it succeed. Europe faces us torn by internal strife and international hate, desperate, pleading, starving.

And in considering how Europe is to recover her former condition in the business and trade of the world we must not forget that most of the nations there were unable for many years before the war to produce their own food. They became factories and workshops with the products of which they paid America for the enormous quantities of foodstuffs on which they lived. Now, with their factory life disorganized and ruined, how can they procure and pay for their necessary sustenance? Germany before the war imported each year over $350,000,000 more than she exported. She could afford this because by her shipping and her foreign investments she earned enough to make good the balance. But stripped of these by the treaty of peace how can she meet the adverse balance of trade? France to-day is importing in a year over three hundred millions more than she exports. With what can she pay this deficit, particularly when the best customer for her wines has by constitutional amendment signed the pledge? The United States, on the contrary, is exporting now $4,000,000,000 more than she imports. A large share of this goes to Europe. How can Europe pay for it? How can we collect the debt? And is the apparent marvelous balance in our favor stable or will it involve us in new obligations and dangers? We should not plume ourselves too much on this large balance, for the very fact that most of the exports go to Europe, which in normal times is our trade rival, proves that the condition is but temporary and due to the destruction and exhaustion of Europe by the war, and the very expansion which such an abnormal condition excites has its danger. How much firmer would be our status if we had developed some of this enormous export to South America.

In considering the economic policy of the United States we should bear in mind that we have loaned to European governments ten billions of dollars. To repay it at present is, for them, quite impossible, I believe, and I do not think we can reckon on any income from that debt for some time. England, to be sure is solvent, and our loans to her amount to $4,000,000,000. But she in turn has loaned to France, Russia, Italy, and Belgium twice as much as that. They can not pay her, and until she can collect the eight billions which she lent to our allies for the great cause she will doubtless urge us to relieve her of the payment of the four billions which we advanced to her for the same cause.

Compared with Europe, we are prosperous, abounding in wealth and comfort, and as we contemplate the fallen monarchs and ruined dynasties which only six years ago looked so powerful and enduring it brings to mind the graphic simile used by Fisher Ames 100 years ago: "A monarchy is a man of war, stanch, iron ribbed, resistless under full sail, but a single hidden rock can bring her to the bottom. A republic is a raft, hard to steer, your feet always wet, but nothing can sink her."

And so to-day, while we naturally grumble over our wet feet, while we sometimes wonder whether we are keeping our raft on the right tack, let us cheer ourselves with the confidence that she will not sink and brace ourselves to keep her on the true course; and as we survey the horrors of Europe congratulate ourselves on our present comparative happiness and try to make it greater and enduring. To accomplish that will be some strain on our effort and our self-control.

There is much in our condition to excite present discontent and forebodings for the future. First is our financial status. We issued during two years $21,000,000,000 of bonds and $4,000,000,000 of Treasury certificates. Before the war such an amount was unheard of and unbelievable. We borrowed it, practically all, right here from our own people. The interest on that debt is over a billion dollars a year; and while ten billions of it was loaned to foreign Governments, yet I think it will be long before they will be able to pay even any interest on it. That our people have voluntarily and cheerfully loaned these enormous sums to their Government is a magnificent tribute to their loyalty and patriotism. They could not have done it as an investment. Nothing could have brought forth from the savings and resources of the American people such a prodigious contribution except the ardent patriotism which stirred them to their depths, and of which this was only one of many demonstrations.

But those loans seriously affected our financial and economic status. There has resulted an inflation which has upset normal values, enormously increased prices, and greatly changed economic conditions. We all feel it in our daily life. One manifestation of it, which we speak of and suffer from constantly, we call the high cost of living. The burden of it is undeniable and its inequalities exasperating, and when we see the profiteering that has taken place, particularly by war contractors, while all the rest of us are contributing more than we can afford to the war expenses and bonds, it is hard to keep our indignation within bounds. But that is only one of the evidences of the inflation and economic disturbance which is the root of our present troubles. We all want to see the profiteers punished; and yet, although that would be grateful to our feelings, it would be insignificant in its effect on our condition.

The greatest sufferers, I think, are not those who cry the loudest, but are the men and women on moderate salaries—clergymen, teachers, clerks—who can not readily shift their occupation, and yet whose salaries change slowly.

The war upset the whole system of supply and demand on which our business life was founded. The sudden withdrawal into the Army of millions of our most efficient workers, the sudden demand for war supplies, and the creation of new industries entirely overturned existing conditions. What is known as the "cost-plus" contract, where the Government paid the contractor all his expenses and then a certain percentage of profit upon them, was a direct inducement to every unscrupulous contractor to increase the cost and thereby increase his profit. And yet, with the uncertainty as to costs,

with the constantly rising market, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for the Government to make contracts in the ordinary way. Therefore it was necessary under the abnormal conditions for the Government to interfere directly and no longer allow the old law of supply and demand, under which our prosperity had been built, to govern.

In Washington over 100,000 new Government employees were suddenly summoned into the city. That caused such a demand for lodgings that, under the old rule of supply and demand, those who were fortunate enough to have a supply of vacant rooms could demand almost any price, and so the Government was obliged to interpose and put a restriction upon rents.

There came a world demand for wheat, which far outran supply, and if left to the old rule the wheat farmers could have demanded almost any price. And so there, too, the Government interposed, and by purchasing the whole supply limited the price. The same was true as to labor. There was such an extraordinary demand for war production, and such a sudden diminution of the supply, that there, too, almost any price could be demanded. And so when a combination of labor threatened to stop production of our coal mines and the operation of our railroads, two of the great factors on which the industrial life of this Nation absolutely depended, the Government again was obliged to interpose.

We have become accustomed in the days of war to a new exercise of Government activity and a new interference with that system of individualism which has been the mainspring of our marvelous development. And side by side with this has grown up a movement which if not checked will prove fatal, I think, to our prosperity. I refer to the agitation and propaganda which, under various names and with more or less directness, all aim at the overthrow of our present form of government and tenure of property, and would set up in its place paternalism and communism. That, to my mind, is an issue which we can not ignore and which our economic condition makes particularly dangerous just now, because we have become somewhat used to Government intervention, we are oppressed by the fearful burdens of the war and by an abnormal weight of taxation, and by a vast debt, and expansion of credits, which hover like a cloud over us, with a constant menace of breaking into a deluge of panic and ruin.

Such conditions make the country a fertile soil for the seeds of any doctrines which promise alleviation. And so we have been deluged with suggestions and theories, barren, I believe, without any germinant principle of healthy growth and development, but heralded with unlimited promises and appealing to discontent and hope rather than to reason. Legislation is claimed to be a panacea for ills which nothing but individual effort and industry can cure, and you are taught to demand assistance and support from the National Government as a substitute for your own work and production, which is the only permanent foundation of prosperity.

And, taking its inspiration and perhaps some of its financial support from the revolution in Russia, there is an organized movement, sometimes open and avowed, sometimes subtle and indirect, aiming at a radical change in our form of government and the overthrow of the fundamental system of private ownership of property. The foreigners who are planning and directing this movement appeal especially to wage earners and coat their doctrine with attractive accompaniments. To those suffering under present conditions, as almost everyone is, any such change is momentarily alluring. To the poor it sounds good to say, "Take away the property of the rich and divide it among yourselves." That argument has been made for thousands of years and has always been appealing. But who would benefit by such a revolution? I need not point to Russia or to all the failures of this attempt in history. It is enough to appeal to common sense. If you throw it all into a common pool, the immediate beneficiaries will be the shiftless, the lazy, the frazzled edge of humanity, who try to live on others without producing themselves; and even they will not long benefit, for their new masters and their own incompetence will soon reduce them to their level. There are, of course, many unfortunates who by no fault of their own have fallen far behind in the race of life, but the vast majority in our country have the hope and reasonable expectation of themselves becoming owners of property which they and their children may enjoy and enlarge. Never in all history has there been a place or a time when a man of intelligence and industry could be so secure of comfort and independence as in our beloved country. And the temporary instability of our finances, our industry, and our prices ought not to shake our faith that this will still be the land of promise and of realization. And these ideals of communism which have been attractive in theory and fatal in practice all through history ought not to appeal to our hard-headed countrymen even though at moments conditions seem unendurable and any desperate remedy seems attractive. It was tried here in Massachusetts, and if ever it could have succeeded it was then, but its failure was absolute.

If communism failed in that small, intimate, conscientious, and industrious community could it ever succeed in our great Nation? Lincoln with his marvelous prescience compactly illustrated the argument. He said: "Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built." And yet that is the one most alluring appeal which is now being made to the discontent and restlessness caused by the upheaval of the war. That appeal we must meet by argument. In this free Republic it is by the compulsion of reason, and not of force, that doctrines must prevail. Socialism, communism, bolshevism, so long as it endeavors to change our form of government by the peaceful means provided in the Constitution and does not resort to force and violence, has a right to be heard. It is by meeting its arguments in fair debate, and not by suppression, that it will be defeated. It is only when its advocates urge revolution, the overthrow of our Government by violence and not by ballots, that the strong hand should suppress them.

In that connection I would like to say a word about the action of Congress in expelling Victor Berger, because it has been much misunderstood and his friends charge that he was unseated by force and without argument. Berger was excluded not because he was a Socialist, but purely because he had been disloyal to his country. He had been indicted, tried, convicted, and sentenced in the court of the United States. A congressional committee went over the same evidence for months, gave him every opportunity to be heard, and finally came to the same conclusion as the jury, and reported to Congress that he was guilty, and by a vote of 311 to 1 the report of the committee was approved and he was excluded from the House. He was treated not only with fairness but with generosity. All the witnesses he desired were heard and every argument presented. During nine months, although he was not a Member of the House, he was permitted to draw his salary and clerk hire, amounting to over $7,000, and was given a room as if he had been a Member. After his rejection his district again elected him, and upon his return to Washington, after an absence of only two months, he was immediately rejected again by the House by a vote of 330 to 6. His friends claim that this was not giving him a fair trial and that if his constituency wished to be represented by a traitor they had that right.

But there is a phase of the question to which they never allude and which I think is not generally understood, and upon which the second speedy action of Congress was based. The United States Constitution provides that if a man has once taken the oath as a Member of Congress and thereafter gives aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States, he is ineligible for reelection and can never again take his seat until Congress by a two-thirds vote removes his disability. Berger had been a Member of Congress several years ago and had taken the oath of office. Accordingly, when during the late war he gave aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States he brought himself within that provision of the Constitution and was ineligible to office. So when he presented himself the second time the House needed no new evidence or hearing, but in conformity with its former action voted that he was ineligible and excluded him. With a few exceptions a district can elect anyone it pleases to Congress, and Congress will recognize its choice. But under the Constitution it can not elect an alien or a man under 25 years of age, or a man who is not an inhabitant of that State, or a man who having once taken the oath of office gives aid and comfort to the enemy. Berger was just as much ineligible and his district in Wisconsin had no more right to elect him than if he had been an alien, a boy of 15, or an inhabitant of Massachusetts. He was not rejected, as their propaganda tries to show, because he was a Socialist or because he was a German by birth or by sympathy, but he was excluded for the sole reason that he, a former Member of Congress, had given aid and comfort to the enemy, and therefore under the Constitution was ineligible.

I do not think we should exclude a man for opinions or political beliefs. The way to combat opinions is by argument and logic, not by suppression. Freedom of speech is one of the inalienable rights of American citizenship, and I would rather err by giving too broad rather than too narrow scope to the freedom of speech and freedom of the press. There is only one kind of argument that I think should be suppressed, and that is argument in favor of violence. One of the chief distinctions of our Constitution is that it provides for its change and amendment by peaceful methods so that it can always be kept modern, and

as long as men wish to change it and confine themselves to those methods, they are within their rights and ought not to be interfered with. We do not wish to imitate the course of Russia, the only country where Berger's socialistic theories are now in full force, and where, if he should endeavor by peaceful argument to favor a change of government he would be shot offhand without a trial. Here we make no war on free speech, but when men, either citizens or aliens, try to take advantage of the generosity and forbearance of this Republic and advocate its overthrow by force and violence, then, in my opinion, the stern arm of the law should be put forth unsparingly, and they should be deported or imprisoned.

And it is peculiarly exasperating that nearly all of these radical agitators are aliens or of foreign birth, who have come to this free country to escape restrictions of their own, and to enjoy the splendid opportunities we offer, and who repay our hospitality by trying to undermine the very form of government which attracted and protected them. They have become dissatisfied with mere liberty and now want license, and no longer are content with work and high wages, but want your property. They add ingratitude to their other crimes and when convicted I would not spare them.

There is one source of discontent which is always with us, and I suspect always will be with every government as long as man earns his bread by the sweat of his brow, and that is the conflict between employers and employed. My sympathies, as those of most men, naturally go with the employed, with the under dog, with those who in the struggle of life have had the least success, and who, as a rule, get less than their share of the product of their toil. I always hope instinctively that those striking for higher wages will win, but the subject just now is too important and too vital to our industrial life to be decided by sympathy. A generation ago the employers had the upper hand, and it was against their power and oppression that the State needed to interfere. Corporations had combined into trusts, which had become monopolies so strong that the Federal Government felt bound to interfere and by legislation to break their power and divide them into less formidable fractions. To-day we have another problem. It is a question whether the combinations of the employed are not more threatening to our business life than of the employers. I am a believer in labor unions. I think they are essential to protect the men from the overreaching avarice of their employers. They have accomplished a vast amount of good in improving working conditions and wages and self-respect. But when they go so far as to threaten, for their own advancement, to stop the wheels of the railroads and close the output of the mines, without which our whole industrial organization would collapse, they, in their turn, are exercising a power which no government can safely permit. For the pressure such a strike would exert would be so great that no matter what their demands, they must be granted, and the State can not allow any organization or class to be the dictator of the terms upon which the people may live. The sympathy which the public, because of the tyranny of the great corporations, has given to the labor unions is liable to turn to hostility if they, in the pride of power, exhibit the same selfish indifference to the public interest. The complex conditions of our life and the great extension of labor organizations have brought about a condition whose dangers everyone ought to admit and which ought to be discussed rationally, temperately, and with a view to the advantage of no class but of all the people. That is one of our vital domestic problems. The crises it precipitates are all so sudden and accompanied by so much heat and temper that a fair decision at the time by the parties involved is almost impossible. The law must provide against any sudden outbreak so that there shall always be time for passions to be allayed, the class spirit moderated, and the good of the public as well as those immediately interested be considered. For nine months Congress has been wrestling with our intricate railroad problem. The conferees appointed by the Senate and House have just reached an agreement, and I believe their settlement will be approved by both Houses of Congress. Probably no one is entirely satisfied with it. But it provides elaborate machinery for settling all labor disputes, ending with a board of appeals, where the representatives of the general public control, and I hope in practice it will accomplish the results at which its authors aim.

The shortening of the hours of labor has been one of the glories of the labor unions, and yet even that most laudable purpose can run too far. To-day the one exhortation the American people need is work. And while I would not urge any permanent abandonment by labor of its ideal of constantly lessening hours, yet to-day the laboring man and every other man as he sees the world short of everything which man produces ought to say, "It is no time for leisure or for laziness or for complaining of long hours. What the world needs is production." A part of Europe is starving. All of Europe lacks some essentials and even in the United States—which compared with the rest of the world is a Garden of Eden—even here, unless our people abandon their ease, their reluctance to labor, their readiness to strike or to profiteer, we are likely to have panic and disaster. Our National Treasury is in a precarious condition. Besides the funded debt of twenty-one billion, there is a floating debt represented by Treasury certificates of about four billions. That is not only a huge sum for the United States to carry as a temporary debt, but it is a menace to the country's financial health. We can not safely issue any more bonds. It was with great difficulty that the Victory loan was floated. And I may say here that we can not be too grateful to Gen. Pershing and his associates who determined that the war could be ended in the fall of 1918, and abandoned the first plan of not finishing it until the summer of 1919, for that would probably have been not only more expensive in lives but would have overtaxed and wrecked our finances.

This floating indebtedness of four billions can only be paid by the excess of our revenues over our expenses, and it must be paid soon and steadily. It can not safely run indefinitely. But for the next fiscal year commencing July, 1920, the Treasury estimates that the expenses of the Government will be five and a half billions and the revenues will be six billions. How, then, are we going to extinguish that debt so that our financial status will be sound? We can not well increase our revenues. Already the income taxes are so great that it is a question whether they do not really, in some instances, cost more than they return. It is not simply a question of taking more from the rich individual or the rich corporations, as sounds so easy, but it is in so taking as not to drive them into investments which will dry up our greatest sources of revenue. Experts say we have reached that limit. There is only one way of increasing our net revenue, and that is by remorselessly cutting down expenses. It is a disagreeable, unpopular, repulsive task. There are so many avenues opening out where money could be usefully spent, and the country seems so rich that no one likes to apply the pruning knife.

Right here in Springfield is a specimen of the difficulty. Our post office is utterly inadequate for its business. What is perhaps more apparent to you all, the railroad station, which has been a Government building, is just as inadequate. Many other places in the country claim to be suffering equally. But we can do business, however unsatisfactorily, as we are, and I am obliged to approve the decision of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds that until our revenues can absorb our dangerous floating debt we must cut to the bone—seem parsimonious and mean and postpone new buildings. That is the only escape from financial and industrial disaster.

And what is wise for the Government is wise, too, for the individual. Economy, saving, even parsimony, is the duty of every patriotic citizen. The twenty-one billions of bonds issued in two years was far beyond the savings power of the people. It was taken up only by a patriotic appeal. It now gorges our banks and threatens our financial stability. Until the legitimate savings can absorb it our solvency is in danger. Therefore thrift, saving, is a duty of the hour. Extravagance and luxury and useless consumption are a crime when the world is stripped of goods and needs to conserve every article. And above all we need work, production. That is the one great cure for the world's present poverty, and yet that is what people all over the world seem least willing to undertake. The reaction from the war seems to have caused a general relaxation of effort.

In this country, although there has been crying need of labor in every line, with high wages, I doubt if there has ever been more voluntary idleness. I often wonder if the nefarious propaganda of the Bolshevist, trying to do us damage, has not occasioned much of it. It seems to me every one ought to recognize that this is no year to be idle except from imperative necessity. A part of the world is starving and cries "Produce." We are more fortunate; but though our necessity is not so extreme, yet we, too, are urged by motives of self-interest and self-protection, by the danger of inflation and panic and disaster, to produce and to save. "Work and save" should be the maxim of every individual. Extravagance and luxury and waste should have the condemnation of every thoughtful man. Our municipalities and our States, as well as our Nation, should curtail expense, and for another year at least "Work and save" should be our national maxim.

I am sorry to bring before you such an appeal. It would have been easier and pleasanter to have talked to you on less serious topics and avoided what I think are the vital realities of the day. But I thought here, with my constituents and friends, it was my duty to point out the dangers which threaten.

I hope I am mistaken and that no such ominous cloud as I imagine darkens the world. When you see such evidences of wealth and prosperity on every hand you may think I am a pessimist. But it is easy for any speculator to get rich when prices are going up. Every merchant and trader makes a profit as long as commodities in his hands increase in value. All then looks prosperous. But it is when the fall in prices sets in that danger lurks. Contraction must follow the war's expansion if the body politic is to regain normal health. We want that contraction to be gradual and not come in a crash, as in 1893. If we systematically work and produce and save, the process may be easy and we may reach safety without acute suffering. But if we are reckless and extravagant and idle disaster must ensue. Our industrial system is so complex that in times of inflation one single failure may precipitate a panic and like a house of cards the whole structure which seemed so strong may fall in ruins. Then follow collapse of prices, unemployment, and misery. And then will be the halcyon time for the Bolshevist. Then men's minds, discontented with the present, discouraged for the future, will be open to any new doctrines promising relief.

But even in that event, which I trust may never happen, I am not fearful of the result. Our form of government has endeared itself too much to the American citizen to be held responsible for misfortunes which may befall him now. Under it and through the system of individual enterprise which it has encouraged, there has developed on this continent an industrial system which in its wealth, its energy, and the spread of universal comfort has far surpassed any civilization our world has ever witnessed. And its most striking and glorious feature is that it has reached down and given to the poor man more independence, comforts, and possibilities than have ever been known before. We have indeed still our slums to disgrace us, and it is there that the spirit of bolshevism finds its congenial home and festers, but we are restricting and curing these sore spots, and every young and intelligent and industrious man to-day has no limit to his future. It has been the poor boys who have become our great men. Here in Massachusetts particularly, a population noted for its thrift and industry will listen to no siren song of giving up what they have in hopes of getting more by dividing with others, and here in the Connecticut Valley, the home of the skilled mechanic, who for three generations has been the backbone of our citizenship, and whose ingenuity and intelligence has made this city of homes famous and kept its government pure; here I feel confident that the constitutional system under which we have prospered will never be forsaken, and the admonition to work and save, which our fathers have both preached and practiced for generations, will not be abandoned now when it is most needed.

"It Makes Me Shudder"—The Davey-Palmer Sedition Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 16, 1920.

[Excerpts from Davey (Palmer) bill.]

Be it enacted, etc. * * * Whoever, with the intent to * * * cause the change * * * of any of the laws, * * * or to * * * hinder, or delay the execution of any laws of the United States, or the free performance by * * * any one of its officers * * * or employees of * * * his public duty * * * or threatens to commit any act of force against any person or any property, or any act * * * revenge, or injury against the person or property of any officer * * * or employee of the United States, shall be deemed guilty of sedition, and * * * shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $10,000, or by imprisonment for a period not exceeding 20 years, or by both * * * in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 2. Whoever makes, displays * * * or circulates, or knowingly aids or abets the making, etc. * * * of any sign, word, speech, picture, design, argument, or teaching which advises, advocates, teaches, or justifies any act of sedition as hereinbefore defined, or any act which tends to incite sedition as hereinbefore defined * * * or becomes or remains * * * affiliated with, any * * * organization * * * which has for its object, in whole or in part, the advising, advocating, teaching, or justifying of any act of sedition as hereinbefore defined, or the inciting of sedition as hereinbefore defined, shall be deemed guilty of promoting sedition, and * * * shall be punished by a fine of * * * $10,000, or by imprisonment of * * * 10 years, or by both * * * in the discretion of the court.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the following:

SPEECH OF HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, OF ALABAMA, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1920.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, my views on the policy of legislation such as that which is proposed are pretty well known to you, I suppose, and I do not wish to discuss that feature of the matter.

This committee is composed wholly of lawyers, and I address myself as a lawyer to lawyers.

My purpose is not to instruct you—that would be presumptuous—but to endeavor to sharpen criticism of the measures proposed, particularly the Davey bill, by pointing out some features of it and urging on the members of the committee that they examine its details with the greatest care.

BROAD TWILIGHT ZONE BETWEEN GUILT AND INNOCENCE.

The great difficulty in legislation of this kind lies in the form and terminology in which it must be couched. It is exceedingly difficult to draft a bill on a subject of this kind. It is difficult, primarily, just as it is in all cases where new crimes are created, because of the deficiency in accurate and well-defined terminology—in the room for doubt which may exist about the meaning of the words that may be used.

It is peculiarly difficult to draft a bill to deal with a subject of this kind, because of the inherent nature of the subject. There is, of necessity, in offenses of the kind created by these bills, a broad twilight zone between guilt, absolute and undoubted, and unquestionable innocence. That is true, first, because much of the guilt is partial and much of the innocence is partial. Few men are utterly and wholly disloyal and unpatriotic. And few, on the other hand, do not occasionally entertain some thoughts that the man whose patriotism "leans always to virtue's side" might not consider unpatriotic. Hence, of necessity, such a bill must denounce as criminal men who in their hearts are innocent; and it must result in the acquittal of others who in their souls are guilty.

NEED FOR EXTRAORDINARY CAUTION.

Now, that is a difficulty that you have at the outset; and for that reason it is of the very highest importance that, conceding that the principle back of this bill and the policy which it speaks are proper and correct, extraordinary care—care which reaches the extreme verge of legislative caution—should be used in framing the language of the bill and in criticizing every phrase in it before it is put out.

The first thing that must be done is to find out what kind of crime or offense or act or speech we are aiming at; and we must settle that definitely and clearly in our minds before trying to draw a law.

Is it the purpose of the legislation that the committee has in mind, or would approve, to make "direct action" unlawful—direct action, which includes the strike, either general or local, for the purpose of influencing political action or the performance by public officials of their duties? Does the committee think well of making a criminal out of any man who says, "I do not like the law that has been passed, and therefore I will not work until that law is repealed"? Is it the purpose to go after a conspiracy to strike for consideration of that kind? Now, that is up to the committee to decide at the outset.

Mr. GARD. Well, I think right there you can be assured that there is no desire on the part of the committee, so far as I have ever heard, to intrude the provisions of this bill into any questions of the right to labor, or the right to strike, or the right of voluntary labor, or the right of cessation from labor. The whole thing that the committee has had under consideration, so far as I am advised, is the desire to place legislation upon the statute books to correct any omission in the present statute which would safeguard the Government of the United States of America from attack by physical force and violence.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. That I have heard stated before, and I am happy to believe that the committee will not tolerate any such measure. But it is of the very highest importance that the committee approve no measure which could be so construed.

WHAT IS "DIRECT ACTION"?

Many people do not know what "direct action" is. They think it means taking up arms against the Government or using the bomb, or something of that kind. Well, direct action in the sense I now use it, and in the sense in which it is usually used in such radical propaganda as I have seen, means any strike for political purposes. It does not include physical force or violence against persons.

Mr. IGOE. This committee has been informed, if you will pardon me, and I think the Secretary of Labor held in that recent deportation case, that direct action—certainly in that case—meant something else besides peaceful action.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. In the manifesto of one of the communist parties—I do not remember whether it was the Communist

Party of America or the Communist Labor Party of America—there occurs equivocal language in connection with the use of the term "direct action," which the Secretary of Labor has held to mean the advocacy of physical force against the Government. Just what that whole connection is I do not now recollect.

Mr. IGOE. I do not think it was based upon the words "direct action," but it was based upon the use of those words in connection with other expressions in their documents, which——

Mr. HUDDLESTON (interposing). Yes; and I think also the words "mass action" were used.

Mr. IGOE. Yes; those two expressions, "mass action" and "direct action."

BILL AIMED AT LABOR DISPUTES.

Mr. CLASSON. I just want to ask you if you find in any of the bills that are being or have been considered by this committee anything to indicate that there was any attempt to procure a law against strikes of labor?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Yes; the bills are full of stuff which might be so interpreted. I fancy their authors did not have that in mind.

Mr. CLASSON. Certainly not.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. And that is one cause of my appearing before the committee, to urge the committee that they have that in mind.

Mr. IGOE. If you will pardon me, I can say this: That in all the meetings that we have had, executive and otherwise, it has been stated time and time again, in express terms, by the members that they wanted to confine it to physical force and violence.

The CHAIRMAN. As a means of overthrowing the Government.

Mr. IGOE. As a means of overthrowing the Government; and they have repeatedly tried to put that in language, and, undoubtedly, as I find in going over some of these sections, some times in repeating language they have omitted clauses that ought to have been put in.

POORLY DRAWN BILLS.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I hope the committee will understand that there is no implied criticism of the committee in what I say. These bills are very poorly drawn, every one that I have seen that is before the committee, and ought not to be reported out by the committee without very careful scrutiny.

Now, to go further with my train of thought, if the committee intends to punish "syndicalism" and "sabotage," that is one thing. If you do not, that is quite a different thing. If you do not intend to punish acts which may be so classed, it is of the very highest importance that you should not allow anything to remain in this bill that could be construed as making it a crime to commit an injury to property, done under circumstances which might properly be defined as sabotage or syndicalism.

Now, I come to this conclusion: That it is the sole purpose of the committee, and the only scope that such legislation should have, to address itself against the mere advocacy of the use of physical force to overthrow the Government.

In my view we have no law which now makes that unlawful. The mere expression of the opinion or desire of an individual that physical force should be used to overthrow the Government is not a crime now. But if it is attended with any result whatsoever it becomes a crime.

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I think you go too far there.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Well, I am merely expressing my own opinion; I do not question that you have good grounds for your opinion; I am merely trying to state mine.

There is no law, in my opinion, against a man advocating the use of physical force to overthrow the Government if it is attended with no results. If it is attended with results, it is a crime, either as an incitation to insurrection under section 4 or as a conspiracy under section 6 of the Criminal Code. If anything should result from a speaker's words, then it is a crime.

The only kind of a case that needs to be reached by law—if any kind needs to be reached—is that of the man who speaks and nothing at all results from his speech. I hope the members of the committee will consider that thought carefully, and will consider section 6 of the Criminal Code, and the scope of its operation, with great care.

EXISTING LAWS ARE AMPLE.

I will say, by way of illustration, that if I say to a man, "This Government is tyrannical and unjust, and it ought to be overthrown"; and thereupon that man resorts to violence, as I have incited him to do, there becomes, according to the decisions of the courts, a conspiracy between that man and myself to do that thing. That principle was adhered to in the decisions in the Berger-Germer case, and in other cases that we had in the West during the war. In those cases there was held to be a conspiracy among people who had never seen each other, who had had no meeting of minds; but because one of them had read what the other said—and then proceeded to carry it into effect—that was held to be a conspiracy to do the act and to violate the law.

And that is good law. It is not necessary that a man should say, "I propose so-and-so," and the other should say, "I agree to your proposal," in order to constitute conspiracy. That is a mere legalistic formula and to so hold would make an absurdity out of the law. If there is an effect by one man's mind upon another man's mind until they assent to an unlawful mutual purpose, then that conspiracy is complete and they are subject to punishment, and under section 6 no overt act is necessary.

And I want to call the attention of the committee to the fact that, as the members of the committee know, section 6 of the Criminal Code is not the only conspiracy statute. We have another statute which is much broader; it is section 5440 of the Revised Statutes. And I want to tell you that it is one of the most difficult statutes in the world to defend a man against; you open up everything. I have had some experience with it, and it is a most dangerous situation when a client is charged with the violation of that statute.

Mr. IGOE. Our experience here, from what district attorneys have told us in hearings that we have had, has been that the district attorneys resorted almost exclusively to the conspiracy statutes and never brought individual indictments where they could avoid it.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. That is quite true. Many district attorneys' offices do that. And in the course of my twenty-odd years' practice as a lawyer, much of which was in the Federal courts, I have been very greatly alarmed many times by prosecutions under that statute, because it is so hard to defend against it; you never know what to depend on; they may prove what one man says against another man, and vice versa; and in that way build up proof of offenses. A defendant's lawyer is completely at sea.

A BILL TO PUNISH MERE WORDS.

Now, I want to take up this Davey bill in particular. I heard what Attorney General Palmer said here the other day. He said this bill was for the purpose of meeting the case of a man who merely advocates, without results, the use of physical force. But as it so happens that is the very thing that is not punished by this bill. Pass this bill as it is now drawn and a man may go on advocating the overthrow of the Government by the use of physical force without committing a crime.

The CHAIRMAN. He said that was what he wanted, but he overlooked putting in two or three words that should have gone in.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. This bill does not forbid advising the use of physical force. It does prohibit a man from threatening to use physical force. Now, I want to call attention to a few of the terms of this bill. I will not attempt to cover all its objectionable features. It makes a criminal of any man who, with a certain intent, "threatens to commit" any act of force "against any person or any property"—not a public officer and not public property, but anyone who threatens to commit any act of force against any person or any property—is guilty under this act.

It goes even further; it makes a criminal of any person who "threatens to commit" any act of "terrorism, hate, revenge, or injury"—not by the use of physical force; not any act of violence, but any act whatsoever—where the act is directed against public property or any public "officer, agent, or employee."

"IT MAKES ME SHUDDER."

The Attorney General, speaking before the committee a few days ago, said that the Graham bill made him shudder. It makes me shudder, too; but this bill makes me shudder more; because I want to assure you that, in many respects, this bill is more dangerous than the Graham bill.

Mr. IGOE. I think it is generally conceded that those words as stated in the bill are impossible.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I am glad to know that is the view of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee would have no hesitation in omitting those words from any tentative draft of a bill.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Now, if it is expected to strike out those words, "any act of terrorism, hate, revenge, or injury," then the remainder of that clause of the section, "against the person or property of any officer, agent, or employee of the United States," should also be stricken out, because it would have no meaning.

As I say, the remainder of that clause should be stricken out; then it remains an offense, with a certain intent, to threaten physical injury "to any person or any property what-

soever." I want to call attention to that phrase. That is going to a remote extreme; an extreme that the committee ought not to tolerate.

The CHAIRMAN. We would not do that under any circumstances; nobody in the committee is in favor of that.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Then, let me devote myself for a moment to another word—the word "threaten." And what I am going to say with reference to this word applies with equal force to other expressions that will be used in these bills—that must be used in them—because, as I started out by saying, the lack of accurate and well-defined terminology is a great difficulty in drawing this kind of legislation.

WHAT DOES "THREATEN" MEAN?

What is meant by "threaten"? It does not necessarily mean by words; a threat may just as well be made by a look, by a gesture, or by any other action.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, a look or a gesture probably would not overthrow the Government, would it?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. A look or gesture would not, but I think either would be just as effective as a word, because not yet have the foundations of government crumbled before mere words. But that relates to an aspect that I am not addressing, to the matter of policy.

Suppose the word "advise" had been used there, what would have been meant by that? If you pass any such law at all, you have got to use some such words as "advise," "advocate," "threaten," or something of the kind; and the first thing for you to ask yourselves is, what does this word mean and what does it include? What may a man do and be innocent, and what may a man do and be guilty under such a word?

Now, manifestly, no phrase that can be used will necessarily imply the use of any particular formula of words in advocating force. You are aiming a statute here at words. Now, what words are you aiming at? It certainly is at no particular formula; it is not necessary that a man should make a certain set speech in order to be a criminal under such a law as this; it is only necessary that he shall say or do something with this bad intent, which may possibly have the effect to produce the result that he intends.

If it is "advise," how is he to advise it? If I should stand on a street corner and harangue the crowd and say, "Congress is corrupt; the administration of the Government is base and partial; this is not a government of the people but a government of the few—it ought to be overthrown; it is un-American—we ought to destroy it. But remember, my auditors, not by force, not by force. We must adopt an amendment to the Constitution; we must go to the ballot box to correct these evils"——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You could do that under any of the bills we have been considering.

TO CALL A GOVERNMENT "UNWORTHY" IS TO ADVOCATE FORCIBLE CHANGE.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Why, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, it is clear beyond argument that such a speech, although it has the qualifying expression in favor of peaceful methods, is really an advocacy of force. If I point out the propriety of force, I have advocated force, although I may protest "I do not mean force; we must go to the ballot box." Whenever I call attention to abuses, inadequacy, and injustice of government I am advocating that it should be overthrown, although I do not say, "Take up arms," or anything else of the kind.

Now, that is where the difficulty comes in with this kind of legislation. What may I say under the influence of strong feeling and the consciousness of wrong? What may I say without having the possible effect on some man to cause him to use violent methods?

If a given speech were addressed to you, gentlemen, it would not have such effect. If addressed to men of other environment and temperament, it might have effect to incite them to violence. Therefore the question always is, What effect was it calculated to have? Thereby my intent is found, and upon that I am convicted and made a criminal.

We heard this morning the statement of a gentleman who related that a socialist had said in a speech to an audience of workers on a New York street corner:

> The workers ride through crowded tunnels, breathe bad air, and stand hanging to straps, and sweat and strain after a day's toil, in order to make profits for a rich corporation, while above ground, in God's sunlight, the rich in their luxurious carriages roll to their palaces—

And so on in that vein. He thought the speaker ought to have been jailed.

TRUTH IS SOMETIMES TROUBLESOME.

But you gentlemen can readily see that the real trouble about that speech was that it was true. It dealt with facts. What is coming out of that sort of speech? Some men will say, "We will go to the ballot box—we will prevent the dangerous accumulation of wealth; we will put a tax on the men who have got those millions; we will forbid profiteering; we will correct the inequality by lawful means." But a man of different mold may say to himself, "We can not correct these conditions by peaceful means. I will take the matter in my own hands. I will end some of these conditions by force." And as a result there is violence.

There is nobody that has got any sense that would contend that everything is just as it should be; that conditions even in America are ideal; or that things can ever be made just as they should be. Humanity struggles onward and upward. We go forward. We suffer to-day that we may live to-morrow. We pass from lower into higher things. We fall under the car. I am crushed to-day in order that those who come after me may stand and live.

That is the appeal of humanity; that is the course of progress. I believe in God, and I believe that He will make this world perfect. But when that is done——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Then we would have Heaven here. You do not expect that, do you?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. That is what we should aim at, and when that is done, of course, humanity will have ceased to exist and we will have passed into the eternal substance.

ONWARD UNDER THE DIVINE WILL.

Since I have struck that thought, I trust I may be allowed to say that I believe that, under the influence of the Divine will, we are proceeding according to His utter and absolute knowledge in the way He wants us to go, onward and upward. Of course, conditions are not perfect now; and a thousand years hence some "wild-eyed radical" of that day will be clamoring and complaining of the abuses of that era which we would now regard as the utmost expression of felicity.

As I say, these conditions which are admittedly wrong exist. Are men not to be allowed to point them out? They will not be remedied if they are not pointed out. Yet in a measure of this kind, with the use of words of that kind—"advise," "teach," "advocate"—you will readily see that what may be said will fall, some of it, on barren ground, some of it on fruitful ground where it will mean peaceful change, and some of it on ground that is over-fertilized with suffering and injustice and will produce the rank and noxious weeds of violence and disorder.

Now, that is the great difficulty that confronts the committee. We must deal with it intelligently and carefully and with a view to allowing the expression of discontent and dissatisfaction calculated to provoke desire for change and improvement and all kinds of orderly constitutional progress and economic, political, and religious development.

I could not think of anything that I would rather not hear than a man blaspheming on a street corner. Surely I love my God more than I love my country. I am not more jealous of some man criticizing my country than I am of him criticizing all mankind, the earthly expression of Deity. Yet, we purpose to allow that to continue.

CRITICISM TO BE STRICKEN DEAD.

Those who are crying out for this bill, if there be any such—and I have not heard of many of them—they are willing that men shall blaspheme; they are tolerant toward moral delinquencies of all kinds, and all kinds of immoral teachings; but they have an idea so it seems that the laying of the hand upon our political structure is touching the ark of the covenant, and that a man must drop dead as the result.

Now, to proceed to the second section. I am only calling attention to these phrases as samples, as illustrations, of the expressions that you are bound to find in any bill that you consider. There are no other words to be used; it is impossible to report a bill that has not got these equivocal expressions in it.

Section 2 makes a criminal of whoever circulates any printed matter which "justifies" any act of force against the Government of "any person," or against "any property," with the intent denounced in the bill.

UNLAWFUL TO DEFEND CONFEDERATES.

Let me give an illustration: I come from a part of the country that was once in active insurrection against the United States. Our libraries there contain books written by sympathizers with the Confederate States which "justify" the South in the Civil War. Every one of those books is unlawful under this statute. They are clearly and plainly made unlawful, not by implication but by its actual terms, because they justify an act of force against the Government of the United States. There was force and violence used against the Government of the United States in the War of the Confederacy. And these books justify that and defend it; why, many of them, gentlemen, glorify it and call the men who did it patriots——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). And we have got busts of one or two of them over at the Capitol. [Laughter.]

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Yes. Gentlemen will pardon me; I consider myself a good American. I lost an ancestor at Brandywine and I have myself followed the flag as a common soldier, yet I am compelled to believe that men could have fought against the Government of the United States in the Civil War and still be patriots. I would be false to the very milk that I was nourished on if I did not feel so.

Understand this, that justifying the Confederacy is a direct violation of this law, for it does not merely make unlawful the justifying of acts of violence which are to be done in the future; it applies to justifying acts of violence done in the past. Those books would come directly within the law.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think any court would so construe it, although perhaps you may be right that that is theoretically against the law.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Possessing such books is clearly a violation of the law as this bill would enact it.

Now, let me go a little further: Advice may be given just as effectively by implication and innuendo as directly, and men can justify acts of violence against our Government, both future and past, by the use, as illustrations, of acts of violence against other governments. I could defend a revolution against the United States, by implication, by recounting the exploits and achievements of our Revolutionary ancestors.

WOULD OUTLAW DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

This country had its birth in revolution. It is in our Declaration of Independence. That declares the right, and not merely the right but the duty, to destroy a government when it ceases to perform its proper functions. Suppose I stand on the street corner and read the Declaration of Independence, and I cry, with a loud voice, "That to secure these rights—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—governments are instituted among men; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it," I would really be a criminal under this statute. I would be guilty, because my intent would be bad, and the effect would be there, and the commission of the crime would be complete under the statute.

And I might stand on the street corner and recount the story of the Russian revolution, the cruelties of the Czar, and what the people did over there, and by doing that, without referring to our own Government, or any abuse or defect in it, I might be encouraging people to rebel against the Government of the United States. I could be doing it actually, and yet I might be doing that with the utmost innocence.

IMPOSSIBLE TO PREVENT ABUSE OF SUCH LAWS.

So that the point I present to the committee—and I hope I have not taken an unnecessary length of time in doing it—is that, no matter what language you use in this bill, it is absolutely impossible for you to prevent cases where men may use exactly the same words and do exactly the same thing, and one of them be innocent and the other guilty.

And after all, it will come about, just as it did under the espionage act, that men will be tried by public opinion. If their standing is bad in the community, if their previous history is bad, if they are known not to be patriotic, and this and that, all of which facts can and will be laid before the jury, they will be convicted, for from such facts will the jury be required to find whether the accused really made the utterance with criminal intent.

Now, that was the administration of the espionage act. I voted against that act. Thank God that I did. It was unnecessary; its consequences are afflicting us to-day; it will continue to afflict us. The occasion for the measure that we are now considering is to cure conditions caused in part by the espionage act.

The CHAIRMAN. There is some doubt about that. This same condition exists the world over.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Not the same condition but other similar conditions, brought about by other and similar acts of repression and other and similar wrongs and abuses.

I accord to the chairman, of course, the right to his opinion; but I have mine, too, and I do believe that this espionage act has come home—and will come home—to plague us.

NOT A SPY CONVICTED UNDER ESPIONAGE ACT.

Under that act not a single spy, not a single enemy agent, has been convicted, not a man who tried to aid the Germans in the struggle with the United States; but, on the other hand, some thousands of American citizens, some of whom would have died for our country had they believed it necessary, but who did not think well of the war, or of conscription, or did not like Mr. Hoover and his processes, or did not like to be hammered by bond-selling committees and forced to subscribe to this, that, and the other thing—they said this and that; they made foolish speeches or said unpatriotic things—went to jail, convicted by public opinion. That is what convicted them. They were convicted by public opinion; and any law which makes it possible for men to be convicted upon their standing in the community simply legalizes lynching; and that is what it does, it legalizes lynching. Those who have good reputations and many friends and the ability to defend themselves get acquitted; on the other hand, the man who is under a cloud, has a bad character, and so on, is convicted on the general muster. It is legalized lynching; it legalizes mobbing by public opinion.

Now, as I said, these difficulties in framing a law upon this subject are inherent; they can not be escaped; and they point the necessity that the committee should exercise extraordinary caution in approving any language for this bill.

I repeat that, because of the inherent nature of the subject, any law aimed at the freedom of speech must be couched in equivocal, doubtful, and uncertain language under which it is inevitable that innocent men, who are ignorant and poorly defended, will be convicted, while guilty men who have high position and numerous friends will be acquitted. Such a law must inevitably be subject to grave administrative abuses and prove an instrument of oppression and tyranny in the hands of overzealous or arrogant officials. Such a law leaves the door open for the exercise of the widest discretion or whim upon the part of prosecuting attorneys and department agents. They will have it in their power to harass and indict innocent persons.

DESTRUCTIVE OF LOYALTY AND LOVE OF COUNTRY.

But it is not for those who may be convicted under a sedition law that I feel the deepest concern. Nor even is it for the innocent who may be unjustly charged and who may be acquitted. Rather is it for the common, average man who will be intimidated under such a law. I dread the effect of such a law upon the people generally. They are not lawyers—they do not know where the line between guilt and innocence is—they do not know what they may or may not say under such a law. They will be hushed up. They will be afraid to criticize, to discuss, or to speak upon political and public issues for fear they may transgress the law. It is bound to follow that their loyalty and love of country will be weakened. Again, I realize that the passage of a law against free speech will open the door to meddlers, busybodies, and eavesdroppers who will be incited to spy on their neighbors and to inform on them. There will be less of mutual confidence among men, less of trust and free intercourse. The solidarity of our community life will be impaired as the result.

The consequences which I have pointed out are inevitable. Can it be possible that this committee can not see them but will yield to the demand of the few who insist upon the passage of a sedition law?

Control of the Cotton-Boll Weevil.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RILEY J. WILSON,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 16, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 12272) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921.

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives has rendered the country a most excellent service in voting down the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SNELL], which reduced the amount carried in the Agricultural appropriation bill for the investigation of insects affecting southern field crops, and especially for the control of the cotton-boll weevil. The results of the investigations and experiments for the control of the boll weevil made by and under the direction of the Delta Laboratory, located at Tallulah, Madison Parish, La., have been most encouraging and hold out, so far as I know, the only substantial hope for the ultimate control of this pest to such an extent as to make the production of cotton profitable in certain sections of the South at this time.

Some three years ago an amendment offered by myself to increase this very same appropriation was adopted by the House, and on account of the fund thus made available the investigations and experiments were made which produced the very in-

teresting results forming the basis of the request of the Department of Agriculture for an additional increase this year. While the full amount requested by the department was not recommended by the committee, still the amount is sufficient to continue in a limited way the work of control for the coming year.

RESULTS OF EXPERIMENTS.

Experiments and tests made during the years 1917 and 1918 in Madison Parish, La.; Washington and Bolivar Counties in Mississippi; and Chicot County, Ark., indicated gains in production, due to the methods of control adopted, amounting to from 250 to 1,000 pounds of seed cotton per acre. These counties are all in what is known as the Mississippi Delta.

Experiments made in the Lower Rio Grande Valley in Texas in the counties of Cameron and Hidalgo also show very interesting and profitable results. For example, in this locality one farmer conducted a plat experiment where one-half of the cut was poisoned and the remainder left untreated as a check. I quote the result of this as reported: "On May 15, 1919, the two plats in this cut averaged 31 per cent of the squares punctured by the weevils. Poisoning was started on May 16 and on May 23, 17 per cent of the squares were punctured in the poisoned cut and 34 per cent on the check. On May 28 only 10 per cent were punctured in the poisoned cut and 37 per cent in the check. This work was continued, and a report of the examinations made on June 12 showed 5.6 per cent of these squares were punctured in the poisoned cut and 57 per cent in the check." In the same locality and in the same way another test was conducted on a separate farm and a report made June 12 showed an average infestation of 7 per cent in the poisoned cotton and 45 per cent in the unpoisoned. Other tests were conducted in that section and all indicated like results, and proved conclusively that the method of control being worked out by the Delta Laboratory may be successful under conditions other than those prevailing in the Mississippi Delta. An additional test was also made in south Louisiana, where conditions surrounding the production of cotton are somewhat different from those in the upper valley, and the results there were that the poisoned cotton made 463 pounds of lint cotton per acre and the unpoisoned 159 pounds of lint cotton per acre.

LOCALIZED CONDITIONS.

Since different conditions and circumstances surround the production of cotton in various localities, methods of weevil control which may be successful and practical on the large plantations of the Mississippi Delta and the Black, or prairie, Lands of Texas may have to be modified in the hill section of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, and other cotton-producing States; therefore in order that the full value of these methods now in vogue under experiments heretofore made may be demonstrated and thoroughly determined, stations like that at Tallulah, La., should be established in many sections of the cotton belt. So it has been the purpose of the Department of Agriculture to locate such additional stations, and to make such tests and investigations in order to develop the proper methods for each particular section.

For instance, it has been found that the production of sea-island cotton under boll-weevil conditions is the most uncertain of all, if not impossible. In 1918 300,000 acres of land was planted to sea-island cotton; during this year the boll weevil invaded the sections where this cotton is grown. In 1919 only 65,000 acres was planted in sea-island cotton, and it is reported that in 1920 the entire crop may be abandoned. Some provision should certainly be made for experiments in this part of the cotton district.

THE INSECTICIDE.

The form of poison developed and now being used for the control of the boll weevil is dry powdered calcium arsenate. During last year this mixture cost about 25 cents per pound and is now being manufactured by a number of concerns throughout the country. When the demand has developed to such an extent that this mixture is used on a large scale the price will unquestionably be reduced.

THE MACHINERY.

The character of machinery for applying this poison is a very important feature in connection with its use. The production of this machinery is also in the experimental stage, with a present status about as follows: On large plantations power dusters have been used successfully, but these have been found too expensive for the man farming on a more modest scale. With this character of machinery it is possible to cover with one machine 70 to 80 acres per day. The applications are made at least once a week and sometimes oftener, depending upon weather conditions. A hand-gun duster has been found practicable for use in distributing the poison. With one of these it is practical to cover some 8 or 10 acres per day. This kind of duster can be manufactured to sell for about $15, and may serve the purposes of a man farming on a very small scale. It is highly important that an intermediate machine be produced to meet the needs of the average farmer cultivating from 80 to 200 acres. Such a machine is now in course of construction under the direction of the Delta Laboratory and when completed, according to estimates, should cover 20 to 30 acres per day, and sell for approximately $75.

The amount of the mixture saved by the new machinery now in course of development is also an important feature, as with the old machinery some 20 pounds per acre would be distributed whereas 4 or 5 pounds per acre will serve every purpose.

SUMMARY.

To sum up the needs of the department in this connection are as follows:

A continuation and enlargement of the services now being rendered by the station at Tallulah, La.

The establishment of like stations in various sections of the cotton belt, for the investigation and control of the boll weevil under conditions peculiar to each locality.

To proceed with the development of the machinery necessary for the proper and economical application of the insecticide.

To put within reach of the farmers in every section of the cotton belt the services of experts in the methods of controlling the weevil.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. ANDREWS,
OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 17, 1920.

Mr. ANDREWS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address delivered before the Nebraska constitutional convention, at Lincoln, Nebr., February 13, by Hon. C. F. REAVIS.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE NEBRASKA CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, AT LINCOLN, NEBR., FEBRUARY 13, BY HON. C. F. REAVIS.

"Your work would be less difficult if conditions were more stable, if the problems which we somewhat vaguely characterize as the problems of reconstruction were better defined, if a better understanding of the needs of the future obtained. The very presence of this added difficulty inspires the thought I wish briefly to express to you. There is danger in a rigid and inflexible constitution; danger not only that it may prove inadequate for the future, but danger as well because of public resentment that the State can not function in response to manifest needs. As illustrating the point I have in mind, permit me to call to your attention the almost universal discontent in the industrial condition. Widespread dissatisfaction permeates the councils of labor. Never in the five years I have served in Congress has my mail been so burdened on any subject as it is now with expressions of resentment against existing conditions of labor. On the other hand, the great public is apprehensive regarding continued production of public necessities and is appealing for and demanding repressive legislation of the most drastic character. The situation is one for legislative consideration along the lines of a sympathetic understanding of the rights of all concerned in the difficulty.

FEARS A RAILWAY STRIKE.

"The recent strike in the bituminous coal fields made manifest the rights of the great unorganized public. Great as was the suffering and loss occasioned by this strike, it would be inconsequential as compared with a general strike on the railroads. Hundreds of milk trains carry the food to thousands of children in the cities each morning, who would starve within the week if transportation were tied up, and the first children to feel the hunger would be the children of labor. The loss to the agricultural and manufacturing interests and to labor would approximate national bankruptcy within 60 days. The condition resulting from such a calamity would be intolerable; and a nation too weak to prevent it is a nation too weak to maintain its own existence.

"The fear of such an event has resulted in a nation-wide demand for antistrike legislation. I am fully cognizant of the economic wastefulness of strikes. I recognize the validity of

society's protest against them when directed at public necessities; but one thing which should be always borne in mind is that the very social order now protesting against strikes is the social order which in large measure is responsible for strikes. What remedy has organized society offered to labor to redress its wrongs other than that of the strike To what tribunal provided by law can labor carry its complaints of long or short hours, inadequate wages, or insanitary conditions surrounding employment? Suppose the employer refuses to treat with labor—and an instance of this character has been quite recently disclosed—what has society done to require both parties to state the condition and provide a remedy? The public has the right to continued production of those things essential to the public welfare, but common justice requires the public, in the exercise of its right, to protect the interests of all others concerned. To require men to work for inadequate wages and under insanitary conditions under penalty of the law is to be guilty of a system of peonage which is out of harmony with the spirit of our institutions. If we are to deny the right to strike in any public necessity, we must by the same legislation provide a tribunal to hear the merits of the controversy and to remedy whatsoever of wrong exists.

KANSAS LAW IS GOOD.

"Under the present constitution no such court as this can be provided. The action taken by the State of Kansas in providing what is known as an industrial court would be impossible in Nebraska. The only way in which this need could be accommodated would be by the legislature adding the jurisdiction to the district courts, which for obvious reasons I believe to be both unwise and inexpedient. I greatly prefer the language of the Federal Constitution which empowers the legislative branch of the Government to ordain and establish such courts inferior to the Supreme Court as the needs and exigencies of the people may require. I have examined the Kansas law with some degree of care, and while I believe experience will disclose the need for changes, nevertheless the principle is sound. Under the terms of this enactment strikes are forbidden in public necessities, but a court is created to hear and determine the issue between labor and capital, so that in the end the rights of all, including the rights of the public, are fully protected.

"I did not favor the antistrike provision of the so-called Cummins bill, because no adequate or workable provision was contained in the measure to protect either the rights of the public or labor. I favor the provision contained in the conference report on the railroad bill if it is as reported by the press.

"I am entertaining no illusions regarding the popularity of this proposal, but I am far more concerned with its righteousness than with its popularity. I realize that when the public provides for labor some means other than the strike to obtain its just rights that the walking delegate, strike leader, and trouble fomentor will be out of employment, and I am very certain that he will not submit tamely. I have always been sympathetic with organized labor. I have always believed that the conditions of his employment should be sanitary; that his hours should be moderate, and that his wage should be sufficient to permit him to rear his family in comfort and to adequately educate his children, for if this is to continue an efficient Government the children of each generation must have the advantage of our schools.

"I believe that one is a better friend to labor who advocates tribunals where justice will be granted him than is one who incites strikes that would starve and freeze 110,000,000 people and compel the Nation to face bankruptcy and revolution. To produce such a condition would result in an inflamed public sentiment that would be all powerful in its demands for drastic legislation destructive of organized labor.

BUILDING FOR A LONG TIME.

"I have cited this one illustration of a probable need that could not be supplied under the inflexible terms of the old Constitution. I feel that you gentlemen are building for a long future whose requirement no man may forecast. I believe that the people can be trusted to govern this State safely and sanely, and I believe that the constitution you prepare should so far as possible grant them the opportunity to do so. The sense of humor and common sense of our people are the greatest safeguards we have, and I trust to them implicitly.

"Nebraska will advance in the next half century far more than in the last half century. Things will be commonplace during the life of this instrument unthought of now. A higher civilization carries with it its own demands, a larger population creates many new requirements. Behind the curtain of the future the myriads await their hour, and if you but listen you may hear the 'tread of the coming millions.'

"You are building for all of these."

Agricultural Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN McDUFFIE,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 18, 1920.

Mr. McDUFFIE. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I have listened with much interest to the arguments for and against the various items carried in this bill, and I have been astounded at the attitude assumed by some gentlemen on the Republican side with reference to this very important legislation.

This bill, caring for all the work in the Department of Agriculture throughout these United States, and for some work which probably is not a part of the Department of Agriculture, calls for only $30,000,000—a very modest sum when we contemplate the valuable services rendered to the country by this department.

If there ever was a time in the history of this Nation when we should encourage the production of food and raiment; if there ever was a time when the Congress should lend its every effort and appropriate every penny that is possible, in keeping with the condition of the Treasury, for the welfare of our agricultural interests, that time is now. In my judgment, gentlemen, one of the most serious conditions confronting this Government to-day is the movement of our people from the farms into the cities. Only a few years ago the majority, and the vast majority of our people, were in the country, while to-day a majority is in the cities. This is not a healthy condition for any Government. We should do everything in our power to make the farm attractive, and in order to make it attractive it must be made profitable. We can make it comfortable and profitable and more attractive by legislation like this which will provide experts and information at the hands of the Government for those engaged in the farming industry.

About all, Mr. Speaker, that the farmer gets directly from the Government to-day is a few garden seed, a few letters, and some information sent out from the Agricultural Department. Surely we should not, even in our madness to economize and in our anxiety for the Public Treasury, we can not afford to minimize the small service given the farmer by the Government to-day by cutting the appropriations for the various items in this bill. I have heard you talk about economy and how the country was crying for economy, all of which is true; yet, in my judgment, that economy which strikes at the basic, the fundamental, and paramount industry in all the life of the Nation will work irreparable injury to every man, woman, and child in this Nation.

Surely you gentlemen who continue to talk about the high cost of living and have not lowered it for the people of the country should appreciate the fact that the demand for food products, the demand upon the agricultural industry of the country, has become more and more intensified.

There are several items in this bill to which I would especially call your attention. For instance, the appropriation for the elimination of hog cholera. You gentlemen have actually cut the appropriation recommended by the Committee on Agriculture $100,000. Following the leadership of the gentleman from Massachusetts, who hails from that section of country which produces so many firearms, yet a country which uses much pork, seemingly unmindful of the effect of your rigid economy, you have hampered one of the greatest industries in the country. On one or two occasions during the consideration of this bill, when some one on the Democratic side asked that some item of appropriation be increased just a little, you have actually seen fit to decrease that appropriation, even though it be recommended by the Committee on Agriculture. Was it done for the sake of economy or simply to make us accept without question your suggestions as to this bill, and to punish us, if you please, if we saw fit to increase any item of appropriation in this bill? You have the majority and the power; but remember that you must answer in the future to the farmers of this land, who depend so much upon this legislation. Let us economize, but let us economize somewhere in our legislation other than in that which deals with the welfare of the farmers of the country.

I would call your attention to another item in the bill which, to my mind, is very important, and that is the item which makes appropriation for the Bureau of Crop Estimates. The department asked your committee for $967,782. In this bill you are carrying an item of $322,856, which is about $48,000 less than

the amount available for the present fiscal year. This bureau performs a most important work. Demands are made on it from everywhere. The States Extension Service, transportation companies, banks, manufacturers, newspapers, farmers' organizations, individual farmers, and commercial bodies all call on this bureau. Especially was this demand great for the estimates of crops of various food products, cotton crops, and other crops during the war. You gentlemen can readily see the necessity of carrying on this work. For estimating nearly $7,000,000,000 worth of cereals the present appropriation carries about $87,350; for hay and forage, nearly $3,000,000,000 worth, it carries $16,000; for live stock, $11,000,000,000 worth, it carries $20,000; for cotton, worth nearly $2,000,000,000, it carries $18,100; for over half a billion dollars' worth of potatoes you carry only $10,000; for a billion dollars' worth of vegetable oil, in which my State is intensely interested, and the South as a whole, not a single dollar is appropriated to get and publish this information. For estimating $500,000,000 worth of fruit you appropriate $25,000; for estimating $157,000,000 worth of sugar you appropriate $2,900; for estimating $375,000,000 worth of tobacco you appropriate only $7,500. I wish to submit here the figures showing these estimates which I have roughly mentioned. I invite your attention to this statement giving the value of the crops named and the amounts available under the present appropriation for estimating them, as well as the amounts asked for by the department, with the view that the service might be enlarged to an extent commensurate with its vast importance:

	Value of crop.	Present appropriation.	Asked for 1921.
Cereals	$7,771,482,000	$87,350	$139,100
Hay and forage	2,741,657,000	16,400	53,275
Live stock	10,975,671,000	20,710	165,428
Cotton	1,587,445,000	18,100	38,970
Potatoes	595,000,000	10,400	33,990
Vegetable oils	1,000,000,000	.....	15,420
Truck crops	185,429,000	26,200	50,160
Fruits	530,401,000	25,225	61,480
Sugar	157,000,000	2,975	18,270
Tobacco	375,000,000	7,500	20,015

The State of Alabama leads all the States in the production of peanuts. She furnishes her share of cotton seed, from which vegetable oil to the value of a billion dollars is produced in the United States, and the farmers of my State are anxious indeed that some appropriation be made to have the value and the output of these oils estimated. The funds available for this bureau for the work in the State of Alabama during the remainder of this year are to-day less than $200. This fund is not sufficient to make one trip over the State between now and the 1st day of July. This is a very serious matter, gentlemen, and I beg of you not to overlook nor underestimate the importance of this work to the farmers of this land.

Again, I say, let us not only encourage the farmer but do something to keep our young men out of the cities, where they have gone to seek not only the white lights and a different life, but the unusually high wages, which to-day are offered by all industries, and which can not be met by the farmer. The fourteen millions of farmers in this country are looking to this Congress for legislation that will aid them in developing and extending and making more profitable the most important phase of all our industrial life. The farmer has patiently toiled from daylight until dark in order to meet the demands upon him for food. He has not demanded an eight-hour day, thank God, and will never do so. He hasn't followed the false gods who are to-day worshipped by the radicals, the Bolsheviki, the socialists, and all others who would destroy the fundamental principles of our Government. Is he to be rewarded at the hands of a Republican Congress for his patriotic services, for his untiring labor, by a stinting economy which strikes at his very existence? You will find, gentlemen, probably more conservatism, more genuine love of his home and his country, and I dare say more love of God Himself in the rural sections of this Government than you can in the cities. The farmer is the very balance wheel of all of our governmental machinery. I verily believe, come what may from those who would clog the wheels of our industries and tie up the arteries of commerce for selfish purposes, come what may from those who boldly say that they would not obey the law if it interfered with them in their purpose—I believe it will be the farmer, after all, with his conservative thought and action, who will save this country from disaster or ruin.

I do not mean to say that all of the intelligence, patriotism, and best thought of the country is in the rural sections, but the man in the country who is close to nature and nature's God, who sees the sun rise and set, hears the birds sing, breathes the pure air, and sees the flowers bloom is a genuine lover of his country, his home, and his flag. He believes in upholding the majesty of the law and he has profoundest respect for constituted authority. This Congress can render no bigger and better service than to encourage and stimulate to its maximum the progress of the American farmer.

"The politician talks and talks,
The actor plays his part;
The soldier glitters on parade,
The goldsmith plies his art.
The scientist pursues his germ
O'er the terrestrial ball.
The sailor navigates his ship;
But the farmer feeds them all.

"The preacher pounds the pulpit desk,
The broker reads the tape;
The tailor cuts and sews his cloth
To fit the human shape.
The dame of fashion dressed in silk
Goes forth to dine or call,
Or drive, or dance, or promenade;
But the farmer feeds them all.

"The workman wields his shining tools,
The merchant shows his wares;
The aeronaut above the clouds
A dizzy journey dares.
But art and science soon would fade,
And commerce dead would fall,
If the farmer ceased to reap and sow,
For the farmer feeds them all."

Grazing Fees on the Forest Reserves and Control of the Public Domain.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD T. TAYLOR,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 11, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 12272) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture [Mr. HAUGEN] on yesterday offered an amendment to the pending bill, which appears on page 2717 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

Provided further, That no part of any appropriation in this act for Forest Service shall be expended on any national forest in which the fees charged for grazing shall be at a rate less than 300 per cent of the existing rate.

I have already, I think, shown in my remarks—pages 2764 and 2765 and 2775 to 2777 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 11, 1920—the very great and unwarranted hardship which such a provision as that would inflict upon the stockmen throughout the West. According to the reports of the Forest Service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, there were some 39,252 permits issued by the Forest Service to people for grazing their stock in the national forests.

Those permits represented over 2,000,000 head of cattle, nearly 8,000,000 sheep, nearly 100,000 horses, and over 60,000 goats. Over 5,000 of those permittees live in the State of Colorado, which I have the honor in part to represent, and there are over 1,000,000 sheep and nearly 400,000 head of cattle that graze the 17 national forests in Colorado. The grazing fees now paid by the stockmen into the Forest Service amount to $2,600,000 a year; and by this amendment the chairman of the Agriculture Committee seeks to increase that amount to $7,800,000 a year.

I would not discuss this matter further at this time—because that particular amendment has been temporarily defeated in the committee—were it not for the fact that the chairman and other members of the committee have announced their determination of continuing this fight to raise the grazing fees. This effort to arbitrarily, and without any hearing, raise the grazing fees 300 per cent and compel the stockmen of the West to submit to it or get off of the forest reserves is so plainly unjust and self-evidently wrong to anyone who knows anything about the conditions of the West that it would seem to me to need no further arguing.

The cost of administering the grazing branch of the Forest Service is about a million and a half dollars a year, and the cash receipts from the stockmen amount to about $2,600,000 a year, so that the Government is making nearly a million dollars a year profit now on the stock growers of the West. But this

sudden and high-handed move is being made for the purpose of compelling the people of the West who graze their stock in the national forests to pay for all the general public policy of conservation in this country, including the administration of all the timber activities and operations upon the reserves, and the thousand and one other things that money is expended for, and which are not in any proper sense chargeable to the grazing upon the forest reserves.

But this effort is not only an injustice but it is unconscionable and utterly lacking in good faith and fair dealing, because the stockmen of the West were given no notice or hearing upon this subject, and there is no authority in law for this action and this amendment has no proper place in this bill. If a hearing were had, the stockmen could easily have shown the vast difference that there is in conditions between raising stock in the national forests and raising them in the rich clover pastures of the Central States. I have already shown some of those conditions of disadvantage, and there might be many others mentioned. But I desire to insert in the RECORD a telegram I have just received from the Colorado Stock Growers' Association, which briefly voices their protest, as follows:

DENVER, COLO., *February 11, 1920.*

Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Ninety per cent of the membership of the Colorado Stock Growers' Association are permittees of Colorado national forests. In behalf of their interests we protest against any change in grazing charges on national forests until 1914, on grounds that present conditions are abnormal and would not furnish fair basis.

COLORADO STOCK GROWERS' ASSOCIATION.
By JOHN P. KLUG, *President.*

I want it distinctly understood that I am not at all criticizing the Forest Service, or blaming any of its officials or the Department of Agriculture in any way for this matter. I am criticizing this Agriculture Committee for this attempted arbitrary, high-handed, unwarranted, and outrageous action.

In the hearings before the committee last December both Col. Graves, the Chief Forester, and Mr. Potter, the associate forester, explained the situation very frankly and thoroughly. Mr. Potter, who is actively in charge, and has thorough personal knowledge of the grazing situation throughout the West, emphatically told the committee repeatedly that owing to the restrictions in the use of the national forests the grazing privileges on them are not actually worth as much as grazing on private lands without those restrictions, and that after making a thorough investigation they raised the price of the grazing fees in 1918 25 per cent and that again in 1919 they doubled the former charge, so that for the last year the increase in receipts from grazing in the forest reserves was $883,347.91 over what was collected in 1918. Mr. Potter further stated as follows:

Uncertainties in regard to the charges for grazing privileges have tended to unsettle many persons in the stock industry, particularly smaller men, who hesitate to assume obligations in improving ranch property—in other words, in building up their business—when there is likelihood of sudden changes in the rate of charge. To reduce these uncertainties announcement was made that it would be the policy to make readjustments periodically—in five-year periods, rather than from year to year. In addition, where the conditions on the forest are sufficiently settled as to the number of stock which can be allowed without injury to the forest or watersheds the issuance of five-year permits was authorized, and permits have been issued on this basis to a large portion of the permittees. These permits require the payment of a like amount in fees during the five-year period, but the permittees have been informed that at the end of this period the rates will be adjusted, either up or down, in accordance with values at that time. It is not contemplated that there will be any change in the base rate up or down between now and 1923. * * * We are trying to stabilize range conditions and do not believe the fees should be readjusted on the basis of the present abnormal conditions. * * * Our charge was based on the prices paid on about 3,800,000 acres of lands of similar character to those in the national forests, the greater part of which was owned by the States and the railroad companies. * * * I consider that we have been handling this in the right way.

Secretary Houston and Forester Graves have both advised the stockmen that "the policy of the Forest Service would be to recommend material changes in the grazing fees only at five-year periods, and has based its five-year permits on that policy." "Unless such a policy is adopted the five-year permit would be little more valuable than an annual permit, since it would be subject to radical increase in charges at any time, which charges might entirely upset stockmen's plans."

That last increase of 100 per cent, just last year, was agreed to by the stockmen upon condition that they be given a five-year permit, which was very largely done; and neither the Agricultural Department nor its Forest Service, nor Congress, nor the chairman of this committee "wants to repudiate a contract."

Congress can not either reduce the high cost of living or increase the beef supply of this country by imposing additional burdens at this time upon the stock raisers of the West, and I earnestly hope that the committee, before making any further attempt of this kind will go out through that western country and personally visit the forest reserves and hold hearings in each one of the States, and get the viewpoint of the people on the ground. If they do, I know they will ascertain that the Secretary of Agriculture and the Forest Service are correct in not recommending this raise in the grazing fees. And the committee will learn that the western stockmen are as fine a class of men as there is in the world, and that they are patriotically paying all they should be justly called upon to pay for the grazing privileges on the forest reserves.

I want to insert in the RECORD some statements submitted by the Department of Agriculture showing receipts and expenditures of the Forest Service during the past fiscal year, as follows:

Grazing permits issued and number of stock grazed.

State.	Cattle, horses, and swine.				Sheep and goats.		
	Permits issued.	Number of stock grazed.			Permits issued.	Number of stock grazed.	
		Cattle.	Horses.	Swine.		Sheep.	Goats.
Alabama	2	59					
Arizona	1,570	360,011	6,509	637	160	364,853	6,604
Arkansas	452	4,591	80	494	15	49	230
California	3,021	208,683	7,019	3,324	551	606,526	13,283
Colorado	4,455	380,460	9,503		872	1,044,208	1,322
Florida	23	787		6			
Georgia	48	440	14	15	3	23	
Idaho	4,213	190,608	13,794		1,093	1,758,877	
Michigan					2	91	
Montana	2,865	170,674	16,524		521	835,224	134
Nebraska	54	12,757	713				
Nevada	502	77,432	4,320		109	390,753	
New Hampshire	15	158	12				
New Mexico	2,020	174,979	5,309	467	576	440,302	39,051
North Carolina	186	1,157	52	56	5	82	
Oklahoma	57	3,304	294				
Oregon	2,478	162,004	10,066	88	537	753,418	52
South Dakota	785	38,185	3,184		8	12,200	
Tennessee	47	431			5	75	
Utah	7,249	172,246	9,914	67	1,641	811,510	110
Virginia	273	2,614	15		1	6	
Washington	1,031	30,743	2,318		196	236,307	
Wyoming	1,181	143,204	3,611		329	680,670	
Total	32,528	2,135,527	93,251	5,154	6,624	7,935,174	60,789

Classification of grazing permits by grades, season of 1919.

Cattle, horses, and swine.			Sheep and goats.		
Grades (number of stock).	Number of permits.	Number of stock.	Grades (number of stock).	Number of permits.	Number of stock.
1 to 40	21,181	353,634	1 to 1,000	3,815	1,452,429
41 to 100	6,625	442,873	1,001 to 2,500	2,114	3,233,131
101 to 200	2,590	377,483	2,501 to 4,000	382	1,223,760
Over 200	2,132	1,059,942	Over 4,000	313	2,086,643
Total	32,528	2,233,932	Total	6,624	7,995,963

Year-long rates for grazing on the national forests, season of 1919.

State.	Cattle.	Horses.	Sheep and goats.	Swine.
Alabama	$1.50	$2.00	$0.45	$0.90
Arizona	1.00	1.25	.25	.75
Arkansas	.80	1.00	.20	.60
California	1.00 to 1.40	1.25 to 1.75	.25 to .35	.75 to 1.05
Colorado	1.00	1.25	.25	.75
Florida	.80	1.00	.20	.60
Georgia	1.50	1.87	.37½	1.12½
Idaho	.80 to 1.20	1.00 to 1.50	.20 to .30	.60 to .90
Michigan	1.00	1.25	.25	.75
Montana	.80 to 1.20	1.00 to 1.50	.20 to .30	.60 to .90
Nebraska	1.50	2.00	.45	.90
Nevada	1.00 to 1.20	1.25 to 1.50	.25 to .30	.75 to .90
New Hampshire	1.50	2.00	.45	.90
New Mexico	1.00	1.25	.25	.75
North Carolina	1.50	2.00	.45	.90
Oklahoma	1.50	1.87	1.12½	.37½
Oregon	1.00 to 1.20	1.25 to 1.50	.25 to .30	.75 to .90
South Dakota	1.00	1.25	.25	.75
Tennessee	1.50	2.00	.45	.90
Utah	1.00 to 1.20	1.25 to 1.50	.25 to .30	.75 to .90
Virginia	1.50	2.00	.45	.90
Washington	1.00 to 1.20	1.25 to 1.50	.25 to .30	.75 to .90
Wyoming	1.00 to 1.20	1.25 to 1.50	.25 to .30	.75 to .90

Timber cut under sales, fiscal year ended June 30, 1919.

State.	Board feet.			Value.		
	Commercial sales.	Cost sales.	Total.	Commercial sales.	Cost sales.	Total.
Alaska	44,764,000	.....	44,764,000	$99,893	.....	$99,893
Arizona	41,174,000	333,000	41,507,000	95,135	$204	95,399
Arkansas	21,772,000	242,000	22,014,000	62,224	195	62,419
California	84,703,000	1,210,000	85,913,000	189,785	666	190,451
Colorado	46,762,000	1,320,000	48,082,000	87,827	995	88,822
Florida	578,000	.....	578,000	1,234	.....	1,234
Georgia	1,725,000	.....	1,725,000	4,744	.....	4,744
Idaho	63,550,000	4,252,000	67,802,000	160,011	3,170	163,181
Michigan	236,000	.....	236,000	344	.....	344
Minnesota	8,468,000	.....	8,468,000	33,107	.....	33,107
Montana	66,031,000	5,971,000	72,002,000	144,768	4,958	149,726
Nevada	1,504,000	61,000	1,565,000	2,110	45	2,155
New Hampshire	4,116,000	.....	4,116,000	21,268	.....	21,268
New Mexico	40,633,000	419,000	41,052,000	91,139	367	91,506
North Carolina	4,876,000	.....	4,876,000	15,506	.....	15,506
Oregon	114,911,000	2,060,000	117,580,000	233,781	1,576	235,357
South Dakota	14,663,000	757,000	15,420,000	33,323	697	34,020
Tennessee	1,711,000	156,000	1,867,000	3,874	117	3,991
Utah	13,759,000	915,000	14,674,000	31,044	699	31,743
Virginia	6,709,000	16,000	6,725,000	17,708	15	17,783
Washington	78,073,000	576,000	78,649,000	119,013	308	119,321
West Virginia	2,000	.....	2,000	10	.....	10
Wyoming	25,436,000	700,000	26,136,000	57,573	598	58,171
Total	686,156,000	19,597,000	705,753,000	1,505,481	14,670	1,520,151

Timber sold fiscal year ended June 30, 1919.

State.	Board feet.			Value.		
	Commercial sales.	Cost sales.	Total.	Commercial sales.	Cost sales.	Total.
Alabama	.....	15,000	15,000	.....	$82	$82
Alaska	47,650,000	.....	47,650,000	$81,216	.....	81,216
Arizona	69,967,000	494,000	70,461,000	139,249	396	139,645
Arkansas	10,627,000	286,000	10,913,000	47,096	217	47,313
California	239,919,000	1,981,000	241,900,000	565,006	1,087	566,093
Colorado	54,536,000	1,501,000	56,037,000	123,158	1,130	124,288
Florida	1,911,000	.....	1,911,000	4,825	.....	4,825
Georgia	1,977,000	.....	1,977,000	4,927	.....	4,927
Idaho	79,898,000	6,329,000	86,227,000	151,532	4,727	156,259
Michigan	268,000	3,000	271,000	292	2	294
Minnesota	4,043,000	.....	4,043,000	19,086	.....	19,086
Montana	28,462,000	8,256,000	36,718,000	60,642	6,662	67,304
Nevada	854,000	72,000	926,000	1,060	54	1,114
New Hampshire	2,580,000	.....	2,580,000	11,376	.....	11,376
New Mexico	15,299,000	541,000	15,840,000	42,826	399	43,225
North Carolina	36,549,000	.....	36,549,000	112,350	.....	112,350
Oregon	92,192,000	2,866,000	95,058,000	237,355	1,636	238,991
South Dakota	24,843,000	811,000	25,654,000	68,905	698	69,603
Tennessee	4,776,000	200,000	4,976,000	15,404	150	15,554
Utah	11,983,000	1,399,000	13,382,000	27,998	1,092	29,090
Virginia	4,509,000	16,000	4,525,000	9,886	15	9,901
Washington	32,312,000	637,000	32,949,000	71,728	334	72,062
West Virginia	2,000	.....	2,000	10	.....	10
Wyoming	8,952,000	860,000	8,912,000	19,493	770	20,263
Total	773,299,000	26,267,000	799,476,000	1,815,420	19,451	1,834,871

Summarized statement of receipts from the national forests, fiscal year ended June 30, 1919.

Timber sales	$1,503,367.37
Timber trespass and settlement	17,562.15
Turpentine sales	13,220.08
Turpentine trespass	691.88
Grazing permits:	
Cattle, horses, and swine	1,607,006.85
Sheep and goats	949,955.35
Grazing trespass	52,207.65
Special uses:	
Water power	72,322.06
Occupancy of lands	136,112.56
Occupancy trespass	689.43
Fire trespass	5,258.48
Property trespass	21.00
Total	4,358,414.86

Comparison of receipts, 1910 to 1919.

Net receipts, fiscal year—	
1910	$2,041,181.22
1911	1,968,993.42
1912	2,109,256.91
1913	2,391,920.85
1914	2,437,710.21
1915	2,481,469.35
1916	2,823,540.71
1917	3,457,028.41
1918	3,574,930.07
1919	4,358,414.86

TRANSFER OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN FROM THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT TO THE AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT.

For several years the American National Live Stock Association and a number of other stock associations have been advocating the Government control and supervision of all of our unoccupied public lands, and appealing to Congress to pass a bill transferring those lands from the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture and having them placed in the forest reserves, or at least having the lands controlled by the Agriculture Department as grazing commons similar to the laws and rules and regulations of its forest reserves.

I have many good friends and prominent constituents among these stockmen, who have appealed to me to advocate that kind of a measure. And I may say that for several years I have felt that there ought to be some systematic regulation or authority to make reasonable rules and regulations for the control of the grazing on the public lands outside of the forest reserves, subject, however, to the limitations that the lands may always remain open to prospecting, and exploration, and settlement, and entry by citizens under the various public-land laws and under the jurisdiction and control of the department that has charge of the public-land laws, so that the prospecting, settlement, and disposition of the lands and their use for grazing prior to such disposition may be consistently and harmoniously administered in the interest of the general welfare of the public development. But I am not in favor of hermetically sealing up those public lands and preventing settlement thereon and stopping the development of the West. I do not feel that that is wise or necessary or for the best interest of the general public's welfare, and yet that would be the result if the efforts of this Agriculture Committee were carried out.

The greatest need of the West is and always has been more people, more substantial citizens, more settlers and homes upon the public lands. With that object in view, I worked very hard and diligently for several years upon, and in fact I am credited with being largely responsible for, the passage of the 640-acre stock-raising homestead law; and the fact that during the short time since the lands have been classified for entry under that law nearly 50,000 homesteads have been taken and settled upon—and applications are being made at the rate of a thousand a month—conclusively demonstrates that the history of the West will overwhelmingly and forever approve of the passage of that act. I am also the author of the present isolated tract law. Both of those laws, and also the 320-acre enlarged homestead law, known as the dry-farming act, also the desert-land law, and, in fact, all but one of all the public-land laws for the settlement of the public domain would be immediately wiped out and thrown into the scrap heap if the public lands of the West were put under the Forest Service, because none of those laws apply to the forest reserve. No western Congressman who would seriously advocate such a proposition would ever dare go home and look his constituents in the face. And yet that is exactly what the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN], the chairman of the committee, is trying to do by the introduction of an amendment which appears at page 2722 of the RECORD of February 10, as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. HAUGEN: Page 37, after line 8, insert: "For the purpose of protecting, improving, and securing the fullest possible use of the public grazing lands of the United States, and promoting the production of live stock, $50,000; and the President of the United States is hereby authorized to establish, from time to time, by proclamation, grazing commons upon any of the unreserved, unappropriated public lands of the United States chiefly valuable for grazing; and thereafter such grazing commons shall be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, the violation of which shall be punished as is provided for in section 56 of the Penal Code of March 4, 1909 (35 Stat., p. 1900); and all laws applicable to the national forests, including appropriations for and the distribution of moneys received, the entry and survey of agricultural homesteads, and the right to prospect for and acquire mineral lands are hereby extended and made applicable to such grazing commons."

That amendment, with slight transposition, is a literal copy of Senate bill 1560, introduced on June 6 last by Senator KING of Utah, "by request," which is as follows:

A bill (S. 1516) for the regulation and improvement of grazing on the public lands, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That for the purpose of protecting, improving, and securing the fullest possible use of the public grazing lands of the United States and promoting the production of live stock, the President of the United States is hereby authorized to establish, from time to time, by proclamation, grazing commons upon any of the unreserved, unappropriated public lands of the United States chiefly valuable for grazing; and thereafter such grazing commons shall be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe; and all laws applicable to the national forests, including the distribution of moneys received, the entry and survey of agricultural homesteads, and the right to prospect for and acquire mineral lands, are hereby extended and made applicable to grazing commons created under this act. And any violation of the provisions of this act or such rules and regulations shall be punished as is provided for in section 56 of the Penal Code of March 4, 1909 (35 Stat., p. 1099).

SEC. 2. That the sum of $50,000 is hereby appropriated, to be available until expended, for payment of expenses necessary to execute the provisions of this act.

That bill is the one that is indorsed by the American National Live Stock Association. It was referred by the Senate Public Lands Committee to the Interior Department for investigation and a report, and on October 24, 1919, Secretary Lane made an exhaustive report thereon, which so completely covers this whole subject and considers it in such a broad, public-spirited way that I will insert that report in full, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, October 24, 1919.

Hon. REED SMOOT,
Chairman Committee on Public Lands,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am in receipt of your request for report on Senate bill 1516, entitled "A bill for the regulation and improvement of grazing on the public lands, and for other purposes."

(1) The purpose of the bill, as stated therein, is to protect, improve, and secure the fullest possible use of the public grazing lands of the United States and promote the production of live stock.

(2) To accomplish this purpose the President is authorized to establish from time to time, by proclamation, grazing commons upon any of the unreserved, unappropriated public lands of the United States chiefly valuable for grazing, such commons to be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture.

(3) All laws applicable to the national forests, including the distribution of moneys received, the entry and survey of agricultural homesteads, and the right to prospect for and acquire mineral lands, are made applicable to said grazing commons.

The purpose of this bill, as defined in the title thereto, as well as in the formal declaration contained therein, can not fail to call attention to legislation already enacted by Congress covering practically the same fields, to wit, the act of December 29, 1916 (39 Stat., 862), known as the stock-raising homestead act. This act, entitled "An act to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes," declares that it shall be lawful for any person qualified to make homestead entry under the homestead laws of the United States to make a stock-raising homestead entry for not exceeding 640 acres of unappropriated, unreserved public land in reasonably compact form, provided, however, that the land so entered shall theretofore have been designated by the Secretary of the Interior as stock-raising lands. The definition of the lands that may be so designated is lands the surface of which, in the Secretary's opinion, are "chiefly valuable for grazing and raising forage crops, do not contain merchantable timber, are not susceptible of irrigation from any known source of water supply, and are of such character that 640 acres are reasonably required for the support of a family."

Comparing the purposes set forth in the stock-raising homestead law with those in the present bill, as well as the definitions found in the two measures as to the character of the lands under consideration, it will be seen that in effect no substantial difference exists between the present and the proposed law in either respect. In both cases the ultimate purpose is the same—the production of live stock; in both cases the character of the land is practically the same, to wit, lands chiefly valuable for grazing.

I am inviting attention to the similarity between the law we now have on the statute books and the proposed measure, for the reason that if it is found that the law as it now stands makes ample provision for the appropriation, control, and use of the public lands of the character under consideration, and for the same purpose, then it is certainly a matter of doubtful policy to provide a new measure to accomplish the same purpose which will without question operate effectively to largely defeat the purpose of the existing law.

The scope of the present bill, in connection with the foregoing, is a matter which should not be overlooked in so far as it authorizes the reservation of all unreserved, unappropriated public lands of the character designated to be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture with all laws relating to the national forests made applicable thereto. When it is remembered that of our remaining public domain the greater part is better suited to grazing purposes than other agricultural use, it will be seen that in effect this bill authorizes practically the inclusion of all of our remaining public domain in grazing commons subject to all the limitations incident to lands within national forests. Calling these reservations grazing "commons" does not in any degree relieve them from the restrictions attendant upon the reservation of public lands for any definite purpose. Here the paramount purpose will be grazing interests to the exclusion of the settler, the miner, or other applicant for title to the public domain except in so far as his case may not be found to be in conflict with the greater interests of the grazing commons.

The homestead privilege provided for in the bill, it will be noticed, is the forest homestead, for which provision is made in the act of June 11, 1906 (34 Stat., 233), applicable only to lands "chiefly valuable for agriculture and which in his—the Secretary of Agriculture—opinion may be occupied for agricultural purposes without injury to the forest reserves and which are not needed for public purposes." Of those lands entry may be made, in the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture, in tracts not to exceed 160 acres in area.

So it will be seen that so far as the settlement laws are concerned the homestead privilege as it stands to-day will have but little operation within the domain of grazing commons except as it may find recognition in isolated instances without injury to the grazing commons and where the lands are not otherwise needed for public purposes; nor will there be any place for the operations of the timber and stone act or the law authorizing the sale of isolated tracts within the area designated as "grazing commons." In fact, in so far as the agricultural laws are concerned, they will be reduced to the forest homestead act, and the exercise of rights under the mining laws will be subject to the same restrictions that are now thrown about the administration of such laws in the national forests.

A reference to the proceedings in Congress, both in committee and in debate, on the stock-raising homestead law, discloses the fact that when it was under consideration the proposition of establishing grazing commons, or grazing districts, was then discussed with much insistence as a better use of our remaining public lands than their devotion to stock-raising homesteads. It was the view then of this department, a view which found acceptance at the hands of Congress, that the man of small means who desired to engage in stock growing upon public lands should be given an opportunity, and to that end the provisions of the stock-raising act were formulated and are now in course of administration. As an evidence that Congress properly understood the public needs and desires at the time it enacted the stock-raising homestead law, attention is called to the fact that since its passage there had been designated at the end of the last fiscal year an area of stock-raising lands of 20,181,868 acres, all embraced within applications, with applications pending for over 12,000,000 acres more. During the last fiscal year 14,248 petitions were received asking for the designation of lands under this act. Since the passage of the act 48,897 such petitions have been filed, and they are still coming in at the rate of over 1,000 per month. During the fiscal year 1918, 734 entries were allowed under this act, embracing an acreage of 236,578 acres. During the fiscal year just passed the total number of entries allowed are 15,037, covering an area of 5,559,235 acres. From the foregoing it will be seen that this law is being taken advantage of to the fullest extent and is well on its way to solve the problem of the best disposition of our grazing lands, for certainly no better use could be made than placing their ownership in the hands of small investors, who are thus personally identified with the stock production of the country. It was believed by the department and by Congress that the call for these lands for this purpose was genuine and deeply founded in a sound theory for the permanent development of our public lands, which, exclusive of their mineral content, can only be secured by uniting ownership with settlement and use with taxation under the laws of the State.

As against this policy adopted by Congress, after the most thorough consideration of the whole subject, successfully inaugurated, and before sufficient time has elapsed to give it a fair trial, it is now proposed practically to abandon the whole program by placing all lands of the same character, in so far as they have not already been appropriated under this or other laws, in grazing "commons," where the man without means, whether he be homesteader, desert-land claimant, or miner, will labor under the disabilities inevitably encountered where lands are reserved for a specific purpose, even though exceptions be made thereunder.

No report on any bill that proposes to control our grazing lands through the establishment of grazing districts, or commons, would do the subject justice without calling attention to the various "grazing bills" that have heretofore been under consideration in Congress. The report of this department of June 14, 1912, on Senate bill 3462, in the Sixty-second Congress, contains a historical sketch of this tentative legislation, as follows:

"This bill is based upon and differs only in minor particulars from the bill recommended by the American National Live Stock Association at its Denver meeting, January 22, 1902, which was, I believe, introduced in the Sixty-first Congress, second session, Senate 6345, by Senator CURTIS. The association bill was an adaptation of the Burkett bills of the Fifty-ninth and Sixtieth Congresses, which were drafted in the Department of Agriculture after a painstaking investigation by experts (see appendix to report of Public Lands Commission, pp. 5–61, S. Doc. 189, 58th Cong., 3d sess.), and in the light of the experience of the Forest Service in the control of grazing in the national forests. The Lever bill in the present Congress, H. R. 19857, is in almost the same words as Senate 3462, differing in but a few points. The measures now before the two Houses are, therefore, the products of long and painstaking studies of the problem of range conservation and embody the general conclusions of careful students and experienced administrators of the range-control policy, with which the most influential representatives of the industry affected have agreed."

The bill then under consideration, however, did not receive favorable consideration at the hands of Congress, it having prior thereto enacted the enlarged homestead act of February 19, 1909 (35 Stat., 639), authorizing homesteads of 320 acres of "nonmineral, nonirrigable, unreserved and unappropriated, surveyed public lands which do not contain merchantable timber," otherwise known as the "dry-farming bill," operations under which would have been seriously restricted, if not prevented, by the passage of the proposed grazing bill, Senate 3462. The wisdom of this line of legislation as affording an opportunity for and inducement to settlement and establishment of homes is apparent from the fact that in the last five years patents have issued for nearly 40,000,000 acres under the homestead law, the larger part of which was taken under the provisions of the enlarged homestead act, that otherwise would have remained undeveloped. All this goes to the conclusion that legislation which denies the intending settler an opportunity of acquiring a home on our agricultural lands is not founded on a sound policy for the development of our national resources.

In my judgment, there is no room for the operation of the stock-raising homestead law and this bill within our public domain. Either one or the other must yield precedence, and the enactment of the present law should be accepted as the final verdict of Congress on this question. But if the measures were not incompatible I should be averse to any legislation that contemplates such a broad withdrawal of our remaining public lands from the general operations of the settlement laws on which alone the Federal Government must rely for their actual development, and to which the States must ultimately look for their reduction to private ownership and due assumption of the burdens of taxation with other lands of like character.

Congress will, of course, consider this measure in the effort to reach that conclusion, which will be best for the general public interest and not for the interest of a limited number of citizens, to the detriment of a larger number. In this connection I note that the bill was introduced "by request."

I have before me the verbatim report of the proceedings of the live-stock producers of certain Western States at a meeting held at Salt Lake City, July 22–23, inclusive, 1919, and note that a resolution was introduced and passed urging the enactment of this measure, and that the people present there decided to raise funds and take the necessary steps to urge the enactment of such legislation. A form of contribution blank for those who desired to contribute money to be used by the stockmen's association in support of a campaign for the control of Federal grazing lands was provided.

I do not question the propriety or right of these gentlemen to take any steps which they deem necessary to further their financial and other interests, but I do think it important that consideration should be given to the question as to whether their interest is one which is paramount to that of thousands of citizens who are seeking claims and homes on the remaining public domain. One of the delegates to the meeting above mentioned said:

"I feel that the public domain is fully occupied and that there is not any room for the beginner. I think the men in the stock business to-day, whether it be sheep or cattle, should be protected."

It appears from this that the idea is that the remaining public lands should not continue open to disposition to citizens generally, nor should opportunity for their grazing use be accorded to other citizens who may desire to engage in the live-stock industry, but that the vast area still remaining undisposed of should be reserved for the benefit of those in the stock business at the present time.

Another delegate urged that the convention should go on record as being "opposed to the 640-acre grazing homestead act."

At another point in the proceedings one of the delegates criticized this department because in creating the stock driveways authorized under the stock-raising homestead act they were not made large enough "to furnish any grazing."

The proceedings at the meeting in question clearly indicated the attitude of those who were urging the enactment of this bill. The other citizens of the United States, approximating 110,000,000, have not directly expressed themselves upon the subject, but as indicated on page 7 of this letter, 48,897 applications for stock-raising homesteads have been filed since the passage of the act of December 29, 1916, and applications are now being presented at the rate of more than 1,000 per month. This certainly evidences a demand for lands of this character by citizens of the United States who wish to acquire them under the homestead laws, and indicates a feeling on the part of those citizens that they will be able to engage in the live-stock business in a small way.

It was the theory of the stock-raising homestead bill that it would promote and encourage the production of live stock in the West, and that theory has not been disproven up to the present time. Moreover, the last few years, because of the war and war conditions, have necessarily curtailed to a large extent the seeking of homesteads on the public domain and the development thereof. It may be safely assumed that there will be an increased demand for some time in the future for homesteads from returning soldiers and other citizens relieved from war activities. In my opinion, they should not, in this situation, be denied the opportunity through the creation of a vast grazing reserve within the limits of which not a single homestead entry under any of the homestead laws of the United States could be made, except the so-called forest homestead, not exceeding 160 acres in extent, and only allowable in the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture.

I believe that the public domain should be open to legitimate development and use, and not reserved and held out by the making of large withdrawals in the future. Congress has recognized the advisability of releasing large areas already withdrawn by its action upon the bill for the development of deposits of coal, oil, gas, phosphate, and sodium, and the water-power bill.

I am therefore of the opinion that instead of adopting the policy proposed in this bill, of practically reserving from disposition the remaining public domain for the benefit of the few, that it should continue open to acquisition by the general public under the homestead and other public-land laws, at least until such time as the bona fide demand therefor shall have ceased or greatly diminished.

It should be remembered that the use of the public lands by those engaged in the live-stock industry is not a right, but has been permitted only by sufferance, and that nothing has been paid or is being paid therefor. Consequently those who have enjoyed this bounty for many years are not in position or possessed of such rights or equities as warrant the exclusion of their fellow citizens from the opportunity of acquiring a portion of this land. If it be the desire of Congress that the grazing on public lands pending their disposition should be regulated and controlled, that end could be accomplished by granting authority to make reasonable rules and regulations for the grazing thereof and the payment of a moderate fee for the privilege, leaving the lands, however, always open to prospecting, exploration, settlement, and entry by citizens under the various public-land laws. Any such regulation of grazing on the public lands should also include reserved lands of like character, and be under jurisdiction and control of the department now charged with the administration of the public-land laws, so that the prospecting, settlement, and disposition of the lands and their use for grazing prior to such disposition may be consistently and harmoniously administered in the interest of all concerned.

In my opinion, S. 1516 should not be enacted.

Cordially, yours,

(Signed) FRANKLIN K. LANE,
Secretary.

Republic or Democracy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES J. THOMPSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 17, 1920.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the following:

SPEECH DELIVERED AT LINCOLN DAY BANQUET AT DEFIANCE, OHIO, FEBRUARY 12, 1920.

"There are some people who involuntarily assume a belligerent attitude at the sound of the word 'Defiance.' The good old Saxon tongue had no part or parcel in its conception or projection; some warlike genius hitched it into our language by the wedlock of two little French and Latin words, in themselves harmless and of good report, but in combination producing an English word with a bellicose meaning. The French prefix 'De' married the Latin word 'fides.' Thus we have it, 'De'—meaning from or out; and 'fides' (faith)—out of faith with those who oppose us—'Defiance,' the act of defying; a challenge to meet in combat or contest; hence, a call upon some one to prove an assertion or accusation; opposition or disregard openly expressed in words or actions. Within a couple of blocks from the spot whereon we now stand, 126 years ago, Gen. Wayne, of Revolutionary fame, by an act defied British soldiers by building a fort; that was defiance by action. He also defied them by words, for tradition saith that Gen. Wayne, as the walls of the fort assumed their desired form, remarked that he could here safely defy the savages, the British, and all the devils in hell to take him. 'Then,' said Gen. Charles Scott, who was present, 'call it Fort Defiance.'

"Proceeding from this very spot, August, 1794, Gen. Wayne and army passed down the Maumee River to a point where was fought the Battle of Fallen Timbers. The valley of the Maumee between Defiance and that historic field is as superb in scenic beauty as the River Rhine in Europe and almost as historical. The banks of the Rhine bristle with historic monuments. The Maumee Valley has none. The history that Gen. Wayne made at Defiance and vicinity marks, in fact, the closing scenes of the War of the American Revolution.

"Gen. Wolfe handed to the British Empire Canada in its present geographical form; but how many people, my friends, realize that Gen. Wayne handed the American Nation all that vast domain north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi Rivers, embracing four mighty States, of which Ohio alone is greater to-day in wealth and population than the entire British Empire was in the days of Queen Elizabeth. The work of Gen. Wayne was not fully appreciated in his day, and has not been so far by posterity.

"Pompey the Great, when he presented to the Senate and the people of Rome the submission of Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine as the trophies of his conquering armies, and when the illustrious Cæsar forced Egypt, Africa, and Gaul to bow to the supremacy of Roman authority, by the voice of public gratitude they were made masters of Rome.

"At the confluence of these splendid rivers at Defiance Gen. Wayne should at least have a memorial shaft towering toward high heaven as a mute and eloquent witness of the empire that was here, by the heroic efforts of him and his legion, added to the great American Republic and given over to a noble civilization.

OBJECTS OF THE MEETING.

"The whirligig of time covering so great a period of 126 years has produced wondrous changes, and here, to-day, upon this historic ground, hallowed by the tread of the soldiers of the Revolution, in this beautiful and growing city of Defiance, representatives of another generation of Americans are assembled, not to defy but to deify and extol the memories of great Americans.

"Robert J. Ingersoll paid the memory of Lincoln a mighty tribute in 17 words when he said, 'Abraham Lincoln is the one in American history of whom the last word will never be written.'

"Lincoln and Washington each have a birthday in February. What a magnificent contrast between the lives of the two men, and yet what perfect unity they present. Washington, the aristocrat; Washington, the slaveholder; Washington, the proprietor of a vast domain of magnificent acres; and Lincoln, born in the midst of the humblest conditions. Washington was by birth, by association, by education, by lineage, and by possessions the conservative man of his time and the conservator of property. He could, of course, when the occasion demanded, and when he believed the rights and liberties of the country were at stake—he could pledge his life, his honor, his fortune, for the salvation of the rights and the liberties of his country; and when it came to put a new institution into process—the writing of a constitution, the founding of a genuine republic—he planted in them such conservations and preservations for posterity and for personal liberty against revolution as exist in no other system of government in the world.

"Lincoln was born in a log cabin of one room with an earthen floor among the poor whites of the South, where the conditions were such that they paralyzed hope, ambition, and work, but if he had been born under similar conditions in a foreign land, even with his ambitions, his indomitable energy, his magnificent brain power, and his superb faculty of reaching and appealing to the people, he would have seen that above him was the crust of social and political conditions which would permit no man of his class to rise except that crust were broken into pieces and ground to powder by social revolutions. And for this purpose Lincoln might have been a Bolshevist or an anarchist. And yet, under the institution which aristocracy founded, this man of the people, this great commoner, born under such conditions, reached the same place from that cabin that George Washington reached from his palatial mansion and his baronial acres on the Potomac. And Abraham Lincoln gave to the preservation of his country the same magnificent energy, the same superb patriotism, the same genius that George Washington did for the foundation of the same institution. One at the social property extreme, the other at the social poverty extreme—these two men, more than any others in the

world, illustrate the magnificent opportunities, the superb hopefulness of American liberty. What one, coming from the top, did for the foundation of the Republic, the other, coming from the bottom, did for the constitution of the States and the salvation of the Republic.

"Their story, their lives, their opposition, and their union, illustrate that in America there is no place, no time for anarchists; no place, no time for bolshevism, which is but another name for pure democracy and chaos, but always a place and everywhere a time for energy, for pluck, for ambition and brains. Therefore, let none of us be misled by that crafty term 'make the world safe for democracy'; let us rather dedicate ourselves here to-day to a mighty campaign of education which will make America safe for the Republic.

1920 CAMPAIGN.

"The World War is over, but the war of 1920 is on. Again we are on the field of battle where 'thought contends with thought—the field of battle where facts are bullets and our arguments are swords.' We Republicans are to appeal to the good sense, to the conscience, to the patriotism of the American people, and right here at Defiance is as fitting a place as any to hurl defiance at those who would overturn the Republic and feed the sullen fires of revolution. To the Sixty-fifth Congress was assigned the tremendous task of saving civilization—namely, the prosecution of the World War. To the Sixty-sixth, or present Congress, is committed the task of ascertaining whether or not civilization was worth saving; how far we have departed from the landmarks of the National Constitution; and to interpret the meaning of that crafty catch phrase 'make the world safe for democracy.' We did not go to war to make the world safe for democracy but that American citizens, American ships, and American commerce might sail in safety the seven seas.

POLITICAL UNREST SINCE 1896 AND RESULTS.

"For years this country has been on a political spree. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan, theorists, opportunists, and idealists, as they apparently are, and the great political party which they now assume to represent and lead, all are jointly more or less responsible for present conditions, because the people have been misled. Those political leaders belong to a school to the doctrines of which none of us here to-day should unreservedly subscribe. There has been much prating about democracy and a hue and cry raised about making the world safe for democracy. Lincoln, whose memory we meet here to-day to revere, was not a Democrat. He never used the word democracy. This may seem a startling assertion, but it is said by those who have searched the pages of history that it is true.

"Early in 1896 it was the consensus of opinion that all that was necessary for the Republican Party to do was to name the candidate for President and that his subsequent election in November would be but a simple matter of ratification by the electors. But the then young orator from the Nebraska prairies, the apostle of populism, set the country on fire at Chicago by his famous speech known as the 'Crown of thorns and the cross of gold.' In the campaign which followed instead of a walkaway as the managers of the Republican Party had anticipated, it was all they could do to defeat the election of Mr. Bryan for President on his 16 to 1 platform. Mr. Bryan's first nomination for the Presidency, in my opinion, marked the end of the old, or real, Democratic Party, the principles of which were discarded at that memorable convention and nothing left but the name Democrat. The true-blue Democratic Party in protest against the political rape of the Populists nominated the national Democratic ticket of Palmer and Buckner. All the Populists were not farmers; they lived in the villages and towns—in the great cities. All the failures—no matter for what reason—were on the Populist side; they wanted to get rich by law; they were tired of work in 1896. They are tired of work now. Many of them are the idealists, the dreamers, the mild Bolshevists of America to-day which is but another way of saying that to-day they are trying to make the world safe for democracy. Then came the national administrations of McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, followed by the Progressive movement in 1912, which split the Republican Party and assured the election of the nominee of the Baltimore convention, which had been swayed by the eloquence of Mr. Bryan, to name Mr. Wilson for President. I have recited thus, briefly, recent political history, as I wish to make the point that for 24 years from the date of the Chicago convention in 1896 the country has been more or less in a state of unrest, and it has been on a wild debauch during the eight years that Bryanism has been permitted to function and exemplify officially in governmental affairs under the guise of Wilsonianism which has been making wild appeals that the world be made safe for democracy. The events of war have accelerated the unrest smoldering in this country the past 24 years. As a consequence, the world is in a state of flux, and we are in the midst of a period of inflation rather than prosperity. We are swinging away from respect for our national Constitution. America is hysterical with wild theories largely as a result of the teachings and leadership of idealists, both in and out of office.

OUR GOVERNMENT A REPUBLIC, NOT A DEMOCRACY.

"The framers of our Constitution made our Government a 'government of laws and not of men,' which means that no man's authority, that no exercise of arbitrary power of any kind shall deprive the citizen of his life or liberty or property without 'due process of law.' It is the very antithesis of a rule of might and of the exercise of autocratic power. It places the law above kings and presidents and governors; above generals and armies and military power; above all earthly authority not exercised and in accordance with the Constitution of the United States.

"Lincoln understood his country to be a Republic and not a democracy, and it is an innovation in the life of this country to refer to our Government as a democracy. Up to 19 years ago we scarcely—I might say never—referred to our country as a democracy. The men who founded this Government were more fearful of democracy than they were of autocracy, and said so just as clearly as I am talking now. For a thousand years prior to the writing of our Constitution government in Europe was swinging back and forth from one extreme to the other, just as it is now doing in Russia and Germany, swinging back and forth from the extreme of autocracy, which has always resulted in tyranny, to the extreme of democracy, which has always resulted in chaos. The Government of the United States is neither an autocracy nor a democracy. It is the happy medium. It is a Republic, founded by Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, and their peers. The men who founded this Republic did not believe in the divine right of kings to rule. They were afraid of the mistakes of kings. Neither did they believe in the divine right of ten thousand times ten thousand kings to rule, because it meant pure democracy, and democracy meant confusion and chaos. They founded the happy medium—a representative Republic. They delegated their power; they provided not for initiatives nor referendums, but concentrated their power in representatives with full authority to act as agents of the people. The main thing they had in mind was to stop the swinging of the pendulum from one extreme to the other and protect the individual rights of person and property; and, while it may not be popular to say so, yet it is quite evident that there was no intention by the men who founded this Government and wrote our Constitution that any question would be submitted to the people, and during the first 100 years there were no questions submitted to the people.

"After the Constitution had been written, Hamilton, Jay, and Madison were appointed to interpret the work. They made a very clear distinction between a republic and a democracy and said they had founded a republic.

"Forcefully, in the Federalist, Madison called attention to the gross misuse of the word 'republic' in his day. He was very jealous of the use of the term. He was extremely conscious and justly proud of having played an important part in helping found the first genuine republic in history. He knew the difference between an autocracy and a republic, and he objected to having autocracies spoken of as republics. He also understood quite clearly the difference between a republic and a democracy. His description of democracy in the Federalist is a splendid word-picture of the Russia of to-day.

"The men who founded this Government had no thought of founding a democracy or of making the world safe for democracy. Perhaps 75 per cent of the ills from which this Nation has suffered during the last several years are due to the prevalent misuse of the word 'democracy.' Aristotle, the ancient, is quoted more on the science of government than all the other men who ever lived before our national Constitution was written. He said that autocracy was one extreme and must result in tyranny, because the element of heredity enters in. Then he said that democracy resulted in chaos, because it was based upon emotion and mob spirit. The world has been growing mob-minded during recent years through the mob appeals made by men in all countries and all parties. What Aristotle had in concept Alexander Hamilton and his followers created. They provided for a representative government, the golden mean between autocracy and democracy. When these men founded this Government they evolved the standard form of government. Our Constitution was to the science of government exactly what the Golden Rule is to the morals of philosophy. Gladstone observed that our Constitu-

tion was 'the greatest piece of work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man.'

"William Pitt, the greatest statesman England ever produced, and the greatest ever produced in the world outside of American soil, said, when he read our Constitution: 'It will be the wonder and admiration of all future generations and the model of all future constitutions.' He could not possibly have put it stronger than that; which was saying, in effect, that it was a standard and should have been adopted by every country in the world.

BANEFUL EFFECTS OF DEMOCRACY.

"It was about the year 1905 that the people began talking about the initiative, the referendum, the recall, and recall of judicial decisions, and boards and commissions. This agitation caused some States of our Union, which had adopted republican forms of government, to begin drifting away from their moorings. Ohio is one of those States which we all know seems to be suffering from an overdose of Coxism and that peculiar brand of commission government and socialistic democracy exemplified by the present State administration, backed up by the State constitution of 1912, which less than 50 per cent of the voters of Ohio adopted. Our State constitution is embellished and decorated and festooned with all the frills and futilities of pure-democracy fads, many of them fashioned after the Wisconsin constitution. It is a well-known fact that prior to 1912 Gov. Cox sent a commission to the State of Wisconsin to study its State constitution as a model for Ohio.

COMMISSIONS AND LEAGUES WRONG.

"One of the present troubles in Congress is the pressure brought to bear to have it perpetuate and create commissions, boards, and bureaus. Many functions established by exigencies of the war are seeking to perpetuate themselves by endeavoring to induce Congress to appropriate and to legislate and thus to continue the function or duties of this or that board or commission. This method of government belongs to the unwritten constitution of the United States, which is being built up by reason of the influences from which spring slogans such as 'make the world safe for democracy.' Should war-time boards or commissions be encouraged only slightly by this Congress, it amounts to simply permitting the camel to stick his nose under the tent.

"The logical sequence will be that the succeeding Congress will discover that the camel had walked squarely into the tent and will be demanding appropriations of the taxpayers' money to feed, nurture, and maintain him. The commission system of government had become intolerable in the great State of Illinois until a Republican governor and a Republican legislature, by one enactment, struck out 128 boards and commissions, and they were scarcely missed, while the taxpayers of that great State were saved millions upon millions of dollars. Objection to the commission system is that it really establishes a fourth department of the Government, which is responsible neither to the voters nor to the legislature nor to the Executive. Alexander Hamilton was perhaps the greatest governmental genius the world ever knew. When he saw Congress appoint the first board he said, 'This, in my opinion, is a bad plan.'

"I think we will concede that Abraham Lincoln had as much to do as anyone with saving the Republic; he said he would do it under the Constitution, whether he freed the slaves or not, and the last thing he said, on the night of his assassination, just before he started for the Ford Theater, was to Mr. Ashmun, who had presided over the convention in 1860 which had nominated Lincoln for President. Mr. Ashmun called on him and reminded him that he still had the gavel he wielded in that convention and how highly he prized it, and after a short conversation he said, 'Mr. Lincoln, I am interested in a cotton claim, and I want you to appoint a commission to investigate the matter and report.' Lincoln replied with so much earnestness and warmth that he afterwards apologized to Mr. Ashmun for his abrupt manner, 'Ashmun, I have done with commissions; I think they are contrivances to cheat the Government.'

"That is apparently the best definition ever given of a commission, and it applies to all of them without exception. It is almost as perfect an illustration of the usefulness of a commission as Russia is of the benefits of democracy. It is well that Lincoln said on that last night of his life after he had had all the earthly experience he could and after he had reached the sanest judgment that is possible, and I wish that those words might be written all over this country in letters of fire by day and with moving electric lights by night as the last solemn warning of the mighty Lincoln against the wholesale appointment of boards and commissions which is threatening this country and this State and threatening the safety of the world. The League of Nations is nothing more nor less than an international board or commission to regulate the peace of the world, endowed with great executive power amounting to a super-government, responsible to no government and threatening the very Constitution of the United States unless its teeth are drawn by the United States Senate.

IDEALISTS, DREAMERS, ANARCHISTS.

"On the 20th of last October I had occasion to visit the committee room of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, and as I opened the door of that splendid, spacious chamber I beheld it filled by a body of fine looking men—Senators, clerks, and witnesses. An investigation was being held concerning the strike in steel industries in the United States. Senator KENYON was presiding, seated at the head of a large and long wooden table, at the opposite end of which was seated a handsome man of perhaps 40 years of age, well groomed, bright, intelligent, and a witness. The name of the witness, I subsequently learned, was Jacob Margolis, of Pittsburgh, one of the attorneys of the I. W. W. organization. His parents were Russian Hebrews, but he was American born—a native of the city of Pittsburgh. In early life he had been a newsboy, a graduate from the Central High School of Pittsburgh, and later a graduate of the Pittsburgh law school—a brilliant and ready public speaker, quick at repartee—a man of pleasing appearance and brilliant mind. But he, like many others in this country with brilliant minds and high and lofty ideals, seemed to have but little respect for the Republic and the Constitution. He is one of the class that rather believes in the birth of a new freedom and making the world safe for democracy. The first question I heard as I entered the door was asked by Senator MCKELLAR:

"Mr. Margolis, do you believe in truth?

"Mr. MARGOLIS. As Spencer defines it.

"Senator MCKELLAR. How about truth as Webster defines it?

"Mr. MARGOLIS. Truth is an abstract word. It is an abstraction. If you mean absolute truth, we know nothing about it. We talk about relative truth. Spencer, for instance, defines truth to be the inability to conceive of the negative of a proposition. Whenever I can conceive of the negative of a proposition, then I call it 'truth,' but whenever you say to me, 'Do I believe in truth,' I can not say 'yes,' because I do not know what truth you are referring to.

"Senator MCKELLAR. But you do not believe in truth?

"Mr. MARGOLIS. Not as an abstract thing.

"Senator MCKELLAR. Do you believe in honor?

"Mr. MARGOLIS. That is another abstraction.

"Senator MCKELLAR. I understand you do not believe in God?

"Mr. MARGOLIS. I do not.

"The CHAIRMAN. You are an atheist?

"Mr. MARGOLIS. I am.

"Senator MCKELLAR. You do not believe in any churches?

"Mr. MARGOLIS. I do not.

"Senator MCKELLAR. You do not believe in any government?

"Mr. MARGOLIS. I do not. I believe that human society can get along without government, and that if certain conditions prevailed that the people of this country, or, for that matter, of any other country, can do away with the causes for government, and then they would not have to have any government.

"The CHAIRMAN. What are those conditions?

"Mr. MARGOLIS. I believe that the reason for the existence of government—these are my beliefs—that the reason for the existence of government is the fact that there are two distinct groups in our society, one group which owns things and derives rewards from such ownership, and the class of producers, and by reason of that division between those two classes that government exists in order to protect the property interests of the owning class, and I believe that the elimination of classes in our society, that there would be no need for any divisions into such groups, and when such conditions prevail government will be superfluous and unnecessary.

"Senator MCKELLAR. Don't you think that this is the best Government in the world for a man to be allowed to live under, for anybody to be allowed to live, where he or she to be——

"Mr. MARGOLIS (interrupting). No, sir; I can not think that at all, Senator.

"The CHAIRMAN. How would you describe yourself?

"Mr. MARGOLIS. First, syndicalist. I put the syndicalist first, because it is the important thing; syndicalist-anarchist would be my position.

"The CHAIRMAN. And what are they?

"Mr. MARGOLIS. They are communist anarchists. They believe that all that is needed is education.

"A clergyman who wrote freely to his Congressman concerning governmental affairs used this remarkable language:

"I desire to say, my dear sir, that I am for the treaty and league pact, though I did not vote for President Wilson, and at every opportunity I support both the treaty and the league. It is silly and mere twaddle to say that the dicta of George Washington are applicable to present-day national and international problems.

"I am sorry that I must characterize the 'irreconcilables' as victims of a narrow, selfish, provincial nationalism, lacking in vision and statesmanship and giving no consideration whatsoever to the idealism and statesmanship of Jesus Christ.

"I have quoted these two distinguished professional gentlemen because I wish to show that the country is honeycombed with able, well-educated, and brilliant idealists who take Wilsonianism on faith and aspire to make the world safe for democracy. They lurk everywhere. They are in the pulpit; some of them members of the bar. All trades and professions have them. A percentage of so-called educators are tainted. The newspaper profession has a large percentage who, in many instances, for circulations' sake, forget their duty to their coun-

try and fail to mold a public opinion in the right direction. Seventy per cent, it is estimated, of the men in public life do not adhere to the Constitution and are constantly playing the popular fallacies, appealing to the mob mind and making class appeals. All these citizens would resent being called Bolshevists. In Russia the Bolsheviki is simply a political party and Bolshevism is extreme democracy.

CONSTITUTION INSPIRED.

"Mr. Margolis, the able and distinguished lawyer from Pittsburgh, the attorney for the Industrial Workers of the World, openly and defiantly and brazenly, in the teeth of the United States Government on Capitol Hill at Washington, advocates that there is no necessity for any political government—industrial government is all that is needed. He belongs to the class of dreamers and idealists in this country who are talking about nationalizing and democratizing all your industries. It's the new catch phrase to fool the people. It's the first step toward Russianizing them. The gentleman of the cloth undoubtedly honestly hopes that the League of Nations may lead up to the millennium, but most respectfully to him, as well as to the Pittsburgh lawyer, and to all others of their class, everywhere and wherever situated, I proclaim and say that I think—and I would like to have the preacher do a little thinking on this subject—that I think that the Constitution of the United States was inspired, that it is a sacred document and as vital to our interests to-day as it was when first written. For four weeks, day after day, the convention labored in vain. Not a word nor a single sentence had been written when, on the first morning of the fifth week, Benjamin Franklin, one of the wisest men who sat in the convention, arose and, addressing Gen. George Washington, who was in the chair presiding, said:

"Mr. Chairman, we have been groping for four weeks in the darkness searching for political truth and have not found it. How is it that we have not invoked the divine guidance of the Father of light upon our proceedings? The longer I live and the more I know the more I believe that God governs in the affairs of men, and if the sparrow can not fall without His notice is it possible that an empire can rise without His assistance? Except the Lord build the house they labor in vain who built it. I firmly believe this, and I also believe that without His concurring aid we shall succeed in our political building no better than the builders of Babel. I therefore move you that from henceforth we open our daily deliberations with morning prayer.

"And from that moment they began to make progress in the framing and adoption of that fame-crowned old document.

DUTY OF AMERICAN PEOPLE.

"The American people should endeavor to preserve and cherish that which Aristotle had in concept and what Hamilton and his followers created and what John Marshall interpreted, what Daniel Webster expounded, what Abraham Lincoln saved, and what, in my opinion, McKinley tried to perpetuate.

"A distinct house cleaning is needed at Washington and Columbus, where commissions galore, bureaucracy, and lofty disregard for the popular will and the Constitution itself have become intrenched.

"The classes and elements in this country hiding behind the slogan, 'Make the world safe for democracy,' if not removed from full power in the State and Nation will eventually lead, in my opinion, to revolution and the overturning of the Republic of our fathers. Even now there is an attempt to sovietize by indirection the Congress and the Government of the Republic at Washington. Only the common sense and patriotism of the majority of the people have the power to prevent such a catastrophe. It is high time that the Republic itself be made safe from further attacks upon its integrity. Genuine Americanism should prevail.

TRIBUTE TO SOLDIERS OF WORLD WAR.

"On the 17th day of last September, the one hundred and thirty-third anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States of America, I was impressed by the happy coincident which enabled me officially to participate in the review of the parade of returning soldiers, under the leadership of Gen. Pershing. I stood upon the reviewing stand with uncovered head and observed the ceremony of the parting of the streaming laurels of victory that had been stretched across the entrance of the triumphal arch on Pennsylvania Avenue at Washington as Gen. Pershing, at the head of his magnificently mounted staff, proudly rode up to the arch and under and through it, followed by that victorious Army of seasoned men representing 2,000,000 of the best and noblest young manhood ever placed in arms across the seas. We Congressmen greeted them with joy on that occasion, with joy and gratitude, proud of their achievements, grateful for their service, and with a welcome that comes from the heart of every loyal American citizen to every American soldier called to service at home or abroad. And I could not refrain from nurturing the fervent hope that as that magnificent Army melted into civil life, surrounded by the peace and plenty of this blessed country of ours, that they would support the Constitution and its established principles of liberty and justice as worthily and devotedly in peace as they had in war."

Grazing Fees on National Forests.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL HAYDEN,
OF ARIZONA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 11, 1920.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, as I have stated before, the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RUBEY] does not infringe in the slightest degree upon the discretion now lodged in the Secretary of Agriculture with respect to the rates to be charged for grazing on the forest reserves. All of the other proposed amendments which would have required the stock growers on the national forests to pay double or triple the existing grazing fees, an increase over what they are now paying of from $2,600,000 to $5,200,000 each year, have been defeated by the points of order which I raised. I am confident that the Secretary of Agriculture will use the Rubey amendment as a pretext to abrogate the existing five-year grazing permits. Between now and the time when such permits expire by limitation in 1923 the Forest Service, in cooperation with the cattle growers and flockmasters, will be able to work out a new policy which I trust will be fair and equitable to all concerned. I doubt very much whether the Secretary of Agriculture will needlessly expend the additional $25,000 to make the appraisals called for by that amendment, because any data collected this year would probably be valueless by 1923.

In order to demonstrate that this is not a new question, I shall avail myself of the privilege granted me and extend my remarks by reprinting in the RECORD a colloquy between the then chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and myself when the Agricultural appropriation bill was under discussion in the House on January 5, 1917, a little over three years ago:

"Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word, in order to bring to the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture a serious protest which I have received from the stockmen in my State relative to the proposed increase in grazing fees on the national forests. As I understand the situation, the cost of administering the grazing on the national forests is now more than repaid by the grazing fees received, but it is proposed by the Secretary of Agriculture to increase the rates, in order to place the grazing within the national forests on a commercial basis. At the time the national forests were created it was never contemplated that the grazing fee should be based upon what the traffic would bear, and, as a matter of fact, if cattle and sheep were not grazed within the forests and the grass was allowed to grow, there would be greater injury to the timber by fire than exists. Therefore, the grazing of live stock tends to preserve the timber. But the Forest Service has of late changed its policy and now proposes to place the grazing on the national forests on a commercial basis; in other words, to get all out of it that it is possible to obtain. Now, when the live-stock interests in my country, on the national forests of Arizona, are paying enough to cover the cost of administration and more, the stockmen feel that they should not be further taxed to make up a deficit that occurs elsewhere in the administration of the Forest Service. I would like to inquire of the chairman of the committee whether the Committee on Agriculture has recommended this increase or is in any way responsible for it?

"Mr. LEVER. The Committee on Agriculture does not have power by straight legislation to regulate these fees. That power has been delegated to the Forest Service. It was brought to the attention of the committee by the gentleman in charge of the forest work in this country that it was contemplated in the future to raise the grazing fees in the Forest Service probably 100 per cent, covering a period of about three years. The impression made upon my mind by those gentlemen who presented the case for the department was that this proposed increase in the grazing fees upon the national forests was entirely satisfactory to the bulk of the cattle and sheep men of the West.

"Mr. HAYDEN. I can state to the gentleman that such is not the case so far as the cattle growers and woolgrowers of Arizona are concerned.

"Mr. LEVER. If the gentleman will permit. And I understood that they would be gratified, as a matter of fact, if the department adopted the policy of increasing more largely the grazing capacity on ranges by proper fencing and digging of water holes, and the like of that—matters that go in the cattle business. Now, the committee has acted upon that theory, and in another section of the bill has made provision for increasing the usefulness for grazing of the national forests by allowing an increase in that item of $50,000. It was brought to the attention of the committee, as I said a moment ago, that the cattlemen and sheepmen, if those conditions were met, would be entirely satisfied with the raise proposed by the Department of Agriculture. The present grazing fees are almost nominal, as the gentleman quite well understands.

"The present charge ranges from 48 cents to $1 a year upon cattle, with a charge of 25 per cent of that rate for sheep, and more than that rate for horses. Now, to the minds of the committee those are quite reasonable fees. In fact, to the minds of the committee they are almost a nominal fee, and the committee, I think, feels that if a reasonable increase of the grazing fees can be had without any undue hardship upon anybody, at the same time carrying with it the idea of increasing the grazing capacity of the ranges, it would not be a bad thing to do.

"Mr. HAYDEN. But what I wanted to ask——

"Mr. LEVER. And if the gentleman will permit me further, we have testimony to the effect that the cattlemen and the sheepmen would agree to that proposition. Let me read a letter addressed to the Secretary of Agriculture recently. I read:

"'The honorable the SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE,
"'*Washington, D. C.*:

"'The members of the Blue Mountain Cattle & Horse Raisers' Association, Umatilla County, Oreg., offer no objection to the proposed increase in grazing fees, provided, first, that after this proposed increase is made the stockmen be assured that no further increase will be made; and, second, that an adequate percentage of the increased fee be appropriated each year for range improvements, etc.'

"As I said at the beginning of my statement, the impression made by the officers of the Forest Service upon the committee was that if the department adopted the policy of improving the range conditions, the cattlemen and the sheepmen would have no particular objection to a reasonable increase in the grazing fee.

"The CHAIRMAN (Mr. CONRY). The time of the gentleman from Arizona has expired.

"Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two minutes more.

"The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the gentleman's request?

"There was no objection.

"Mr. HAYDEN. What I wanted to ascertain was whether or not the Committee on Agriculture of the House and the members of the committee were responsible for this raise?

"Mr. LEVER. Oh, no. The raise has not gone into effect as yet, as a matter of fact.

"Mr. HAYDEN. In proposing such a raise in grazing fees?

"Mr. LEVER. Oh, no.

"Mr. HAYDEN. I ask that question because of the statement given out by the Forester that, stung by the criticisms in Congress to the effect that the Forest Service is not securing from the national forests all the revenue that should be produced, he has recommended this increase in the grazing rates.

"Mr. LEVER. I want to be entirely fair with the Forest Service. There has been undoubtedly in the past very severe criticism of the Forest Service because the receipts from that service have not been greater. Individual Members of the House have come to me, even this morning, complaining that the forests ought to be self-sustaining, and that the fees and the rents and the like of that are too small. Members have complained to me as to these grazing fees—complained to me personally, and probably the statement of the Forest Service, as given to us by the gentleman from Arizona, is based upon the truth. I am satisfied that members of the committee, probably in the cross-examination of the witnesses before it, have indicated more or less they thought these fees were too small. We have not suggested to them the raising of the fees outright at all, but——

"Mr. HAYDEN. The objection made by the stock raisers in Arizona is that the fees now collected more than pay the cost of administering the grazing in the forests of my State, and by doubling that fee the Forest Service is going to collect much more money and make a great profit off the grazing in that State—money which will be used to cover up the deficit occasioned by the necessity of conserving timber or other resources in other States and in other places in which they have no interest.

"Mr. LEVER. There may be something in the gentleman's complaint, and I am satisfied that the department would be willing to make allowance for things of that kind.

"Mr. HAYDEN. I realize that this proposed increase in grazing fees is to be made by a regulation issued by the Secretary of Agriculture, and that it is not a matter contained in this bill. I also know that it would be both vain and useless for me to offer an amendment prohibiting the Secretary from making the proposed advance, because such an amendment would be subject to the point of order that it was an attempt to legislate on an appropriation bill, which is prohibited under the rules of the House.

"Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield right there?

"The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Arizona yield to the gentleman from Washington?

"Mr. HAYDEN. With pleasure.

"Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Do I understand the gentleman to say that the fees for grazing have been raised?

"Mr. HAYDEN. No; but it is proposed to raise them by increasing the rate in three annual increments, so that at the end of three years the rate will have been doubled.

"Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. So far as the Forest Service being stung by the criticisms that have been made of its administration, is it not a fact that the Forest Service, in order to devote the money which Congress is appropriating for roads in the forests, in order to make a showing in behalf of the grazing reserves, had to arbitrarily double the figures of the amount received from grazing?

"Mr. HAYDEN. Evidently they are trying to get the money from somewhere, and the grazing fees seemed to be an easy place to get it."

"Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. And naturally they are called upon to produce the sums necessary to cover the deficit arising on account of the expenditures they are making for roads.

"Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

"The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Arizona asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

"There was no objection.

"Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, under the permission just granted me I desire to have printed in the RECORD the following letter from one who is fully conversant with the methods of the Forest Service, and which clearly sets forth the position of the stockmen of Arizona:

"Mr. WILLIAM BABBITT,
"*President Coconino Cattle Growers' Association,*
"*Flagstaff, Ariz.*

"MY DEAR MR. BABBITT: You have no doubt recently received correspondence relative to the proposed increase in the grazing fees on national forests until in 1919 the fees will be double the present rate.

"This I believe to be of vital importance and a question upon which some immediate action should be taken.

"From a letter recently signed by the Secretary of Agriculture relative to this proposed increase is the following:

"'One of the leading criticisms of the management of the national forests is that they are not self-supporting and are a burden upon the National Treasury.'

"Our national-forests areas were originally withdrawn and are still maintained to conserve the great natural resources of the West. This has placed in Government control beyond individual exploitation, except under Government regulation, unknown millions of dollars in natural wealth which is and will continue to be increasingly of vast importance to the Nation.

"In California there are forests withdrawn for no other purpose than the protection of watersheds on which the grazing of live stock is such a negligible factor that it could not be considered.

"In Florida areas have been withdrawn under Forest Service management to protect the turpentine industry.

"In Oklahoma is a forest withdrawn for the purpose of perpetuating the buffalo, and in the Northwest are forests withdrawn to conserve the timber, and on which practically no stock graze.

"In spite of the fact that the national forests were withdrawn and are now maintained to conserve the great natural wealth of the West, which grows more valuable at a tremendous rate as time goes on, and which is a national investment of incalculable value to the whole people,

"In spite of the fact that the moneys derived from grazing on the forest more than offsets the cost of its administration.

"In spite of the fact that there are turpentine forests in Florida, buffalo forests in Oklahoma, hardwood forests in the Appalachians, and softwood forests in Washington in which the stockman has no interest except such as any other citizen would have, yet they are asking the grazing permittees to make up the fiscal deficiencies on these forests from Palm Beach to Seattle and from the Appalachians to the Pacific coast; and that this is the purpose of this proposed increase is most conclusively borne out by the following quotation from District Forester Reddington's letter in support of this advance in fees:

"'The great criticism of national forest administration is that they are not self-supporting. This change will make them so.'

"If the great timber forests of the Northwest, the watershed withdrawals on which the grazing of live stock is prohibited, that the water may not be polluted nor the valleys flooded, and all the others that are not self-supporting, are worth conserving and maintaining, then this great Government of the United States should bear the expense of the maintenance of such units as are of no direct benefit to specific communities, and the cost of administering those units withdrawn for the benefit of separate communities should be borne by those directly benefited and not attempt to wring from the meat producers of the West this deficit under the guise that grazing privileges on national forests are worth double what they now are compared with the price paid on Indian reservations and private lands, thus placing the arbitrary value on the privileges with no more argument or study in support of it than has so far come to light.

"Relative to the 'bonus' paid on stock using the forests, this same statement can be made to apply to the public domain, the Indian reservations, and wherever stock are grazed, and when the time comes that a bonus can not be paid for located stock over and above their market value on board the cars a period is reached in the use of that range which shows most surely that other conditions are unfavorable in the extent that it would not pay to locate there, because everyone knows that it costs money to locate stock on an unfenced range and can not be done without loss.

"I have read with interest the article by T. S. Woolsey, jr., in the June, 1916, issue of the Forest Quarterly, 'National forest revenue and organization.' He makes the statement that grazing fees on national forests should be two or four times as much as at present, and to prove this he cites the following, which I quote:

"'For example, on the Apache Indian Reservation, the 1916 year-long rates for cattle were $2.50 and 50 cents for sheep. These rates were the result of competitive bids. Forest Service timber sale rates are in theory at least also fixed by competitive bids. On the Sitgreaves, which joins the Apache Indian Reservation, the year-long rate for cattle is 48 cents and for sheep 12 cents.'

"Such an unqualified statement I believe to be misleading to the public and should not go unchallenged.

"Just what is the comparison between grazing on a national forest and an Indian reservation?

"Sheep and cattle are not allotted to the same range on an Indian reservation, nor do they allow on the same area more than one permittee, which is of great advantage in the economic use of the area.

"On a national forest they do.

"On an Indian reservation a permittee may buy the stock and grazing privilege of the whole reservation if he so desires.

"On a national forest he can not.

"On an Indian reservation you may construct as many small inclosures as you desire without extra charge for the forest material necessary for its construction or the area involved.

"On a national forest you can not.

"On an Indian reservation the permittee is reimbursed for permanent improvements made on his allotment by the deduction of that amount from his grazing tax. On a national forest he is not.

"On an Indian reservation the lease and privilege is for a term of five years, and no advance can be made during that time, which is of immense value to the lessee. On a national forest only an annual lease can be obtained, and a raise in fees possible each year.

"Do permittees on an Indian reservation own patented land and water 'commensurate' to their stock? On a national forest they are compelled to own land and sufficient water which, on the Coconino Forest mentioned in Mr. Woolsey's article, is more than enough to destroy the use of this forest for grazing purposes should the stockmen close their own water, at least until such time as more could be developed, which would be years, and then only in uncertain quantities. The stockmen have made the full utilization of the Coconino Forest possible at their own expense; and on the Canyon division of the Tusayan Forest, which joins the Coconino on the west, there is not a drop of water except that developed by the stockmen. This also applies to the northern portion of the Coconino of approximately one-half million acres. Furthermore, as you know, a drift fence was completed last summer at a cost to the cowmen alone of $10,000. Not only that, but the contract with the Government was so drawn that the cowmen must keep this fence in good repair for 10 years, at the end of which time it becomes the property of the United States. This fence was constructed to prevent the overstocking of national forest ranges and is in the interior of the forest and entirely on forest land. Mr. Woolsey also fails to mention the fact that the Coconino National Forest pays a net return over and above the cost of its administration of from $65,000 to $100,000 annually.

"The live stock on the Indian reservation may change hands as often as desired without reductions, thus permitting the stockman to take every advantage of the live-stock market.

"A grazing permit on a national forest must be held at least three years before it is transferable, and is then subject to a cut of 20 per cent.

"And so on and on one restriction follows another until in actual fact and in actual operation there is no comparison between grazing privileges on a national forest and on an Indian reservation from a commercial standpoint, and the very best proof of this is that grazers on both the Sitgreaves and Coconino National Forests are making every effort to dispose of their holdings on these forests and go to the Indian reservation instead, but are hampered by the drastic regulations governing the transfer of their holdings on the forests.

"The Forest Service has to this time expended hundreds of thousands of dollars to perfect and maintain a system for preventing and fighting forest fires; yet this would not be a 'drop in the bucket' to what would have to be expended were it not for the live stock that keep the excess under cover and grass down to a point where the spread of fire is minimized. These areas would not be forests, but fire traps instead, which means a direct saving to the Government of vast sums of money in actual cash, besides an incalculable amount of valuable timber. I understand that the service is seriously considering the placing of live stock on parts of some forests where they do not now graze as the cheapest and most effective way of combating that greatest of all menaces to a forest—fire.

"The Forest Service has spent thousands of dollars in an exhaustive study of the timber business, which goes into great detail as to the cost of logging, the cost of transportation, the cost of milling, the depreciation on the plant and rolling stock, capital invested and interest on same, and then sells the timber so that the manufacturer can have a fair profit, which to my mind is sensible and fair.

"Has the stockman ever had such a study made of his business?

"No. Yet the department has more than doubled the present rate on live stock and has set the last date of hearing for February 1, 1917.

"The semiarid States of the West must always be the great breeding ground of the United States. National forests in these States will therefore always be a very important factor in the production of live stock and its products. The forests now embrace the high timberland principally adapted for summer use as a grazing ground, and they do not control winter forage land in a sufficient quantity to support the summer areas, and they are fully utilized now only because the woolgrowers find winter pasture far removed from the summer areas.

"With the 640-acre homestead bill, with the constantly increasing difficulty experienced in trailing to their winter range, the time can not be far distant when there will be grazed on the forests only that amount of stock that can winter on the lands immediately adjacent to it; therefore I am of the opinion that the department should be urged to protect their summer areas by including enough winter range to support them.

"When this is done and the Government obtains control of the land and water now owned by the stockmen, then, and not until then, in my opinion, can the grazing resources of the national forests be successfully commercialized in a manner that will rebound to the public good.

"The Forest Service has promulgated and have now in force a regulated system of grazing on their forests of which they may justly be proud, covering an almost unbelievable range of conditions as wide as this great country itself. This has been pos-

sible through the very closest cooperation of the stockmen and the service, a condition enjoyed in no other branch of the Government service, irrespective of its age or worth. Shall this most beneficial condition be destroyed by placing this proposed arbitrary advance upon the grazing resources of our national forests without that measure of consideration and study as is employed in other forest commodities?

"The cooperation and support extended the service in the past shows most conclusively that the stockmen not only do not fear but favor the regulation of their business based upon fairness and 'the greatest good to the greatest number'; but they do fear regulation such as this proposed one, based, it pleases me to believe, on prejudice and misinformation in asking the stockmen to pay the interest on a Government investment of increasing value to the whole people.

"Very truly, yours, E. H. CRABB.

"FLAGSTAFF, ARIZ., *December 4, 1916.*"

Fourth Anniversary of the Battle of Verdun—Homage of the French Government to the American Dead—Efforts of France Culminating in Her Great Victory in the World War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. LONERGAN. Mr. Speaker, to-day being the fourth anniversary of the Battle of Verdun, which was begun February 21, 1916, and which was one of the pivotal battles of the war, I think it proper at this time to refer to the efforts of France in the World War, especially as the French Government is presenting to the nearest of kin of our heroic dead at this time testimonials of the homage of the French Government. Nothing could more typify the spirit of France in the war than the Battle of Verdun did.

Begun on February 21, 1916, it lasted until July 1, 1916, or 131 days. During that period France passed 65 divisions through the battle, and of these divisions 3 were used, after a period of rest, twice, making a total of 68 divisions used in the battle. The numerical strength of these divisions which were used is estimated to be 1,100,000. The Germans passed 42½ divisions through the battle with the strength of approximately 900,000 men.

The battle was a costly one for the Germans, and was one of the greatest victories of French arms. I desire, Mr. Speaker, in extending my remarks to include my speech in Bridgeport, Conn., which I am leaving Washington to-day to deliver.

"Mr. Chairman, members of the American Legion of Bridgeport, invited guests, and friends, I thank you for the great honor extended to me to-day to present to the next of kin of our heroic soldier and sailor dead the testimonials of the French Government. I feel, as you all do, that the spirits of the dead are with us to-day and that, in the greatest sense of the word, we are come together in a hallowed place apart. Thrilled as you have been by the self-sacrifice of our men on land and sea, inspired, like you, with their devotion to duty, I address myself to a short statement of their deeds with humility and with pride.

"To you who are the next of kin of those whose memory we enshrine I extend the sympathy of two nations—of France and of the United States. But with that sympathy you have a priceless heritage that no man can take from you. 'It is a sweet and a noble thing to die for one's country,' wrote the Latin bards of old; and in the sweetness and the nobility of the death of your crusaders—for they were crusaders—you will find the calm repose for your sorrows that the world can not give.

"The thoughtfulness of the French Government in preparing the memorials is characteristic of it. France, the world has always said, knows how to do things. She knows from her long experience with men and with nations that behind the panoply of war and above the smoke of battle and beyond the sufferings of the field of honor there is, in every land, among all peoples, recognition of the duty to support one's country, if need be, with the last drop of blood. It was found of old in the hearts of those who faced the rising sun to liberate the Holy Land from the Saracens; it was expressed in the actions of her chivalric knights of the Middle Ages; even in the disorders and bloodshed of the revolutionary days the passions of men did not engulf it; in the last seventies it fought a losing fight against a superior and prepared foe; and to-day this central theme of nationality in French history stands out as vindicated in a victory purchased at a horrible cost. France knows, as the world knows, that there is no adequate recompense suitable for the individual. The glory of victory for each is the glory of victory for all. With her energy spent, with the graves of her sons crowding her fields where once heavy harvests grew, she thinks in her sorrow of this, her sister Republic, and in her characteristic manner she prepares a parchment that will be honored with a place in every home from which our men went quick with life, never to return.

"Like France, her memorial is noble in its simplicity. She gives to their memory her homage, than which she has no greater gift. 'The people should come to pray at the graves of those who died for their country,' she quietly reminds us, and she knows we will do her bidding.

"Why is it that our heart thrills with the thought of France? Friendship, alone, is the great answer. When in our youth, without resources, without aid, without even a cohesive plan of action, we endeavored to throw off the oppression of an unfriendly ruler, in France alone did we find a friend of strength. Herself a stumbling block to neighbors surfeited with the hoary doctrine of the divine right of kings; herself recognizing liberty, fraternity, equality as the fountains of government (even if secured only through travail), she saw in the Colonies friends in need, and came to us with men, money, and material.

"Lafayette came! Born to royal blood, nurtured in the highest traditions of the aristocracy of France, he saw, as Jefferson saw, in every man a free citizen and a bulwark of the Nation.

"He placed his whole resources at the disposal of Washington, and brightened an otherwise dark hour for the early colonists. The field of Brandywine ran red with his blood, but he considered it a privilege to shed it for a liberty-loving people. Like Washington, he was a revolutionist. He was for constituted authority as long as that authority voiced the will of the people, but he was against such authority when it lost sight of the common people and steeped itself in autocracy. At Mount Vernon, Va., to-day, the birthday of the Father of Our Country, one of the prized relics of the shrine of freedom is the key of the Bastille, presented by Lafayette to Washington in memory of their friendship.

"Rochambeau came with the fleet of France and strengthened at sea the waning power of the fighting Revolutionary Army. The memory of Washington and Rochambeau made more easy the sacrifice of the men whose memories we honor to-day.

"France, my friends, has come through the war with the same unsullied record that we have. When the fateful days of the summer of 1914 brought crisis upon crisis in the affairs of Europe—when the Austrian ultimatum was sent to Serbia and Armageddon was threatened—Sir Edward Grey, secretary of state for foreign affairs for England, proposed to ask for the cooperation of the German Government with a view to the mediation of the four powers not directly interested in the Serbian question, namely, England, France, Italy, and Germany.

"France was ready to accept this mediation. But the plan failed.

"It was a dark day for France when the die was cast, but it was the darkness that comes before the dawn.

"Her foe thought France weak, but found her strong; she was considered surfeited with ease, but was found courageous in trial. Her enemies looked for disaster, but found her a giant in strength. The mailed fist thought it would write the last page of French history, but instead it wrote only the prologue to a glorious new chapter. There were those who thought France had forgotten her God, but behold, her champion dedicated her armies to the Almighty!

"She emptied herself for the cause of liberty.

"With an army of but 585,000 men in three classes, she recruited from her population of less than 40,000,000 a mobilized strength in the army and navy during the conflict of 8,655,000. Her dead and missing numbered 1,365,735. More than 3,400 were totally blinded, and 42,000 suffered amputations. Think of it, my friends—3½ per cent of her total population killed or missing and 16 per cent of her war strength gone! Had we suffered in the same proportion, we would have had nearly 4,000,000 dead.

"These figures were prepared for me by the Chief of Staff's office of our War Department.

"In addition to supplying her own forces, France was called upon, and responded willingly, to supply England, Italy, Roumania, Russia, Serbia, Belgium, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Czechoslovakia, Finland, and others with what war materials they needed to keep their mobilized strength effective.

"And when the United States threw her weight into the scales of justice and sent her great army to France, that country supplied the forces of Gen. Pershing with artillery beyond number, with 57,000 machine guns, with 206,000,000 cartridges, with 22,500 rifles, with 7,600 vehicles, 807,000 gas masks, and 948,000 gas shells.

"She made possible the American Army's participation in the battle of 1918. She furnished us 3,800 cannon, 3,800 aeroplanes, 10,000,000 shells, and 240 tanks. She placed at our disposal 1,500 officers in France and sent 500 more to America as instructors; she gave us 35 cantonment zones and 17 rest camps; 30,000 hospital beds; and 300 railroad trains a day. Her advancement to us of food supplies represented a volume of weight which corresponded to 3,381,000 shipping tons.

"This in spite of her taxed strength at the Marne, wherein she saved civilization, and her supreme efforts at Verdun and in the East.

"Of the total forces mobilized by America men of French birth numbered 33,000, and more than 18,000 of these served with the American Expeditionary Forces.

"France's war debt, when liquidated, will reach $40,000,000,000, and in addition she had paid to the Allies 12,000,000,000 francs for maritime freight charges.

"At all times her efforts among the Allies were the greatest. When the armistice was signed she held 59 per cent of the line, the United States 22 per cent, and England 19 per cent. Her artillery batteries were 54 per cent of the whole, the United States' 14 per cent, and Great Britain's 32 per cent. Her aeroplane strength was 57 per cent of the total of the Allies. On all fronts in 1918 she fired 52 per cent of the total artillery shells used, and had 130 aeroplanes per every 100,000 men, as compared with 102 for Great Britain.

"What a story of achievement, my friends, and how worthy an ally for the sturdy soldiers of America. What a glow comes to us as we think of the efforts of the men beside whom the troops of Connecticut fought.

"From all over the State, and many from your own community, men served under the Stars and Stripes whose fathers fought with the heroes of France of 1870. Even from Canada Frenchmen went forth eager to be numbered among the hosts of the Allies. Of the 595,441 men mobilized by the Dominion for service a large proportion was of French stock, and French blood was spilled among her 218,433 dead. And the French Provinces of Canada helped in every way in contributing to the loans of $1,436,000,000 raised by the Dominion.

"Statistics, my friends, are sometimes cold and dry, but how the imagination thrills at these figures in realizing what a nation, fighting for liberty, can do, if need be.

"You men of the American Legion, mourning to-day your comrades, will go out to-morrow again into your place in the community. On you rests the future of the Republic. Whenever the Nation would forget your work, do not be afraid to remind them of it. You were part of the great crusade. The country owes you much. It should repay you in whatsoever it can. Nothing it can do will begin to show you its appreciation of your work.

"Keep the flag unsullied for which you fought so long. If men come among you who would tear it down and raise in its place the red flag of anarchy, cast them out from among you and tell them to return to the land they left. This is a country of free men, governing free men, with liberty under the law, where the ballot is supreme and constituted authority must render an account of its stewardship.

"Your opportunities are innumerable. Let no man, preaching false doctrines, take them from you.

"You have followed your flag to Cuba, to the border, to France, to Italy, to the plateaus of Russia. You have seen men die for it under every sky and in every clime, and you know the thrill of saluting its red, its white, and its blue at early dawn and when the setting sun casts its last gleam upon it.

"You have stood at the grave of Lafayette and said, 'We are here.'

"I salute you as Joffre did the Congress of the United States:

"'Long live France! Long live America!'"

APPENDIX.

EFFORTS OF FRANCE DURING THE WAR, AS COMPILED BY THE OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF.

The army of France in 1914.

TROOPS COMPOSING THE ARMY IN 1914.

In 1914 the French Army was composed of the metropolitan troops, stationed in France proper and northern Africa (Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco), and the colonial troops, of which the principal part was stationed in colonies and a secondary part kept in garrisons in France to relieve the principal part from time to time.

RECRUITMENT OF PERSONNEL.

The recruitment of the metropolitan troops had for its basic principle obligatory service with the colors for all Frenchmen of the proper age and physical ability to carry arms. The duration of this service was for a total of 28 years, composed as follows: Three years in the active army, 11 years in the active army reserve, 7 years in the territorial army, and 7 years in the territorial army reserve.

There is also a system of obligatory service with the colors in the colonial army, but in a lesser sense than carried out for the metropolitan army.

In addition to this, there was also a system of voluntary enlistments in both the metropolitan and colonial armies, whereby individuals could enlist as soldiers and could reenlist as soldiers and noncommissioned officers.

TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION.

For the purposes of administration and recruiting, and training and grouping of the tactical units of a tactical command, France, in much the same way as the United States is divided into military departments, is divided into 21 regions, the nineteenth being in northern Africa, and the military governments of Paris and Lyons. The latter is, however, included within the fourteenth region.

In addition to the mobile tactical units assigned to these regions, there were in certain regions, principally those bordering on the frontier, what are known as "places fortes." The term "places fortes," which can not be translated, may be defined as the forts which are grouped around a fortified area of a city, such as Verdun, Toul, etc., which are of strategic value in the defense of the country.

PEACE STRENGTH OF ACTIVE ARMY (1914).

The effective total of the active army on a peace basis in July, 1914, was:

Annual contingents (classes with colors).

	Men.
Class 1911	205,000
Class 1912	210,000
Class 1913	170,000
Total of 3 classes	585,000

NOTE.—The 1914 class would not have been called to the colors until the fall had peace continued.

Permanent personnel (volunteer enlistments).

	Men.
Noncommissioned officers and privates enlisted or reenlisted in the metropolitan troops	105,000
Enlisted or reenlisted in the colonial army	25,000
Native soldiers and foreigners (in Foreign Legion) in northern Africa	36,000
Total of voluntary enlistments	166,000
Contingent (3 classes) with the colors	585,000
Total	751,000

To this should be added 29,000 officers.

TACTICAL ORGANIZATION.

In 1914 the major part of the metropolitan army was tactically organized into 21 corps, each corps being geographically located within the territorial region of similar numerical designation, the Nineteenth Corps being stationed in northern Africa.

The corps of occupation in Morocco was a provisional one, its elements being borrowed from the several permanent army corps, and particularly from the Twenty-first, located in southern France.

The general officer commanding the corps was also the commander of the territory of the region in which the corps was stationed.

In addition to the above 21 army corps there were 10 cavalry division stations in the various regions. These were not part of the several corps, but were considered as army troops.

The troops assigned to the places fortes were not part of the mobile army corps, which was stationed in the region in which the places fortes were located, but were under the general command of the general officer commanding the corps.

Before the war no peace organization higher than the army corps existed. The French started off after mobilization with 5 armies, the sixth being formed just prior to the Battle of the Marne. By the end of the war 10 armies had been organized, but the ninth had gone out of existence due to its elements having been sent to theaters other than the western front.

The army mobilized.

THE TACTICAL ELEMENT.

When on July 31–August 1, 1914, war occurred, the army as then constituted was in a position to mobilize as follows:

The 20 metropolitan army corps were complete with all their elements on mobilization. The Nineteenth Corps, stationed in Algeria and Tunis, mobilized two divisions of infantry, without having the necessary corps troops.

Each of the 20 metropolitan corps comprised two divisions, except the Sixth, which had three divisions.

One division called the Division of the Alps existed in the southeast and was independently mobilized.

From the Corps of Occupation in Morocco were borrowed and brought to France the necessary units to constitute a division.

The colonial troops stationed in France formed an army corps, with headquarters in Paris. This corps was not confined to any particular region, but was stationed at various points throughout France.

Thus with its army, its active reserve, and territorial army, France had as follows:

ARMY CORPS, ACTIVE ARMY AND ITS RESERVE.

	Men.
19 metropolitan army corps of two divisions each, there being 45,000 men per corps	855,000
1 metropolitan army corps (the Sixth) had three divisions	60,000
1 colonial army corps—two divisions	45,000
Divisions not belonging to corps:	
1 division from the Alps	18,000
2 divisions from Algeria	36,000
1 division from Morocco	18,000
Total active army (47 divisions of infantry)	1,032,000

	Men.
Reserve divisions:	
21 field divisions; 4 divisions for places fortes (25 divisions of infantry)	450,000
Army formations; 10 independent cavalry divisions; 10 divisions of cavalry	52,500
Army elements, heavy artillery, staffs, services, etc	187,500
Total of the active army and its reserve (10 divisions of cavalry and 72 divisions of infantry)	1,722,000

TERRITORIAL ARMY.

To the foregoing forces should be added the major territorial units formed on mobilization, viz:

	Men.
7 territorial infantry field divisions	120,000
4 territorial infantry place-command divisions	58,000
Total, 11 divisions	178,000

Outside of these units constituted from the younger classes, the territorial army furnished:

First. The principal part, and from time to time the total garrison, of the places fortes of the frontier, the seacoast, and the interior.

Second. The troops of the lines of communications formed in the rear of the army.

Third. Guards for the lines of communications, railroads, etc.

Thus France put into the field on the completion of mobilization:

Infantry divisions:	
Active army	45
Colonial army	2
Reserves of the active army	25
Territorial army	11
Cavalry divisions	10
Total divisions	93

THE PERSONNEL ELEMENT.

The reserve of the active army in 1914 was composed of 11 classes (1899 to 1910, inclusive), of which the effective total, not counting the men granted a special privilege of delay, was equal to over 2,000,000 soldiers. Of this number, 800,000 were assigned to bring the units of the active army to war strength and to provide the personnel for bringing into being the two battalion reserve regiments attached to each division. The younger men of these 800,000 were assigned to units of the active army and the older men to the reserve regiments.

Six hundred thousand reservists were used to organize 25 infantry divisions, of which four divisions were for places fortes.

Therefore, of the 2,000,000 active army reservists 600,000 would still remain at the disposal of the military authorities to be used as replacements for units depleted by casualties. As a matter of fact, this number was considerably exceeded in 1914.

The 14 classes of the territorial army (1886 to 1899) at the disposal of the high command formed an effective total of more than 2,000,000 men.

Thus, with the active army and its reserves and the territorial army and its reserves, France mobilized a total of more than 5,000,000 men.

HORSES.

	Horses.
The army had at the end of July, 1914, for its use on a peace footing	175,000
It received by requisition during the beginning of the month of August	670,000
Thus the mobilized army had	845,000

ARTILLERY.

At the beginning of the war—

The artillery possessed by the French Army at the beginning of the war comprised:

Field artillery, armed entirely with 75-millimeter guns.

Mountain artillery, armed with modern 65-millimeter mountain guns.

Heavy artillery of the army, armed with modern 155-millimeter and old-model 120-millimeter guns.

Siege artillery, composed of 95, 120, 155, 220, 270 millimeter old-model guns.

NUMBER OF GUNS ON HAND.

Seventy-five millimeter field guns, a total of 4,708 guns.

Sixty-five millimeter mountain guns, a total of 96 guns.

One hundred and fifty-five millimeter rapid-fire howitzers, a total of 104 guns.

One hundred and twenty millimeter long, a total of 120 guns.

One hundred and twenty millimeter short, a total of 84 guns.

In addition to the above there were a great number of large and medium caliber old-model guns constituting the armament of the frontier and interior forts and in the artillery storehouses. The total of these amounted to more than 4,000 large-caliber and 5,000 medium-caliber guns.

There was in the course of manufacture the following amount of modern artillery:

Two hundred and twenty 105-millimeter rapid-fire guns.

One hundred and twenty Schneider gun carriages, for adapting the 155-millimeter long gun for rapid fire.

Eighteen 280-millimeter rapid-fire mortars.

But none of it was sufficiently completed to be of use at the time of mobilization.

Work on a new model 370-millimeter mortar, of which 10 were being made as test guns, had been stopped and had not been restarted on August 1, 1914.

AMMUNITION.

There had been provided for the 75-millimeter guns a total of 1,190 rounds per gun, with 200 additional rounds per gun being in the course of manufacture.

FABRICATED DURING THE WAR.

France manufactured 15,000 cannon during the war.

MACHINE GUNS.

At the beginning of the war: France had on hand at the beginning of the war 5,000 machine guns.

Manufactured during the course of the war: France fabricated during the course of the war 100,000 machine guns.

It might be of interest to note that at the beginning of the war France had 24 machine guns per division. The date of the armistice, November 11, 1918, there were in a division 133 machine guns, 441 automatic rifles, nine 37-millimeter guns, and 18 Stokes mortars.

AUTOMATIC RIFLES.

France fabricated 350,000 automatic rifles during the period of the war.

TOTAL MOBILIZATION OF PERSONNEL FOR THE ARMY DURING THE WAR.

We have seen that France mobilized at the beginning of the war about 5,250,000.

The French official figures show that a total of 8,410,000 were mobilized between the 2d of August, 1914, and December 31, 1918. These 8,410,000 were divided as follows:

Officers (of which 102,000 were produced or promoted during the war)	195,000
Other ranks	7,740,000
Natives of northern Africa	260,000
Natives of the colonies	215,000
Total	8,410,000

It has been previously shown above that about 5,250,000 were mobilized at the beginning of the war. This represented "classes," as follows:

Active army (3 classes), 1911–1913, inclusive.

Active army reserve (11 classes), 1900–1910, inclusive.

Territorial army (7 classes), 1893–1899, inclusive.

Territorial army reserve (7 classes), 1886–1892, inclusive.

Which makes a total of 28 classes mobilized at the beginning of the war.

After mobilization and to include the end of the war, the following classes were called to the colors, viz, the classes of 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, and 1919, or 6 classes in all. This made a grand total of 34 classes called out for the war.

It has been shown that a total of 8,410,000 men were mobilized for the army.

Of this number about 5,250,000 were mobilized at the beginning of the war. This leaves 3,160,000 who joined during the war.

They are accounted for as follows:

6 classes (1914–1919, inclusive), 200,000 each	1,200,000
The remainder came from three sources, viz: (1) Colonial troops; (2) enlistments of men under or over age and foreigners; (3) recalling from retirement to active duty those who had been retired due to being partially physically unfit	1,960,000
Total	3,160,000

THE NAVY.

The French Navy mobilized a total of 245,000 men of all ranks.

MOBILIZATION OF SHIP AND DOCK YARDS.

Mention should be made in connection with the mobilization of the work of the shipyards, which had practically stopped merchant-marine construction, the result of which will cause France to use foreign shipping for many years to come.

Its dockyards, in fact, did only war work for France and her Allies and urgent repairs.

In 1918 the shipyard workers were divided as follows:

Fabrications for the minister of munitions	8,000
Fabrications for the navy	8,000
Fabrications for railways	2,000
Fabrications for the miscellaneous departments	3,000
Fabrications for the merchant marine	9,000
Total	30,000

Of the 9,000 workers assigned to the merchant-marine work, 4,500 were employed on repairs to French merchant ships, 2,500 were employed on repairs to foreign merchant ships, and 2,000 were employed on new construction.

During 1917 the dock (navy) yards delivered 30,000 to 35,000 shells a day.

One State arsenal alone manufactured during the war 10,000 vehicles of all sorts (caissons, gun carriages, etc.).

DIVISIONS.

From the beginning of and during the war: As previously shown, France had, after mobilization, 93 divisions. During the war 61 new divisions were organized, giving the French Army a grand total of 154 designated divisions. Of this total number of divisions 35 were dissolved and redistributed, so that, at the day of the armistice, France actually had under arms, in all theaters of the war, 119 divisions, made up as follows: One hundred and ten infantry divisions, 1 territorial division stationed within the limits of the military government of Paris, 2 dismounted cavalry divisions, and 6 cavalry divisions.

CASUALTIES.

The following table gives the casualties for the army and the navy. They have been taken from an official French paper on the subject:

	Officers.	Other ranks.	Natives of northern Africa.	Natives of colonies.	Total.
Army:					
Deaths (all sources)	32,200	1,036,100	27,000	24,400	1,089,700
Missing	2,500	246,500	9,000	7,300	265,300
Wounded	13,700	734,000	29,300	14,700	791,700
Prisoners	.....	.....	.....	.....	438,000
Navy:					
Deaths	282	5,239	.....	.....	5,521
Missing	197	5,017	.....	.....	5,214

GENERAL RECAPITULATION.

Population of France in 1914	37,797,000
Total mobilized—army and navy	8,655,000
Losses (dead and missing—army and navy)	1,365,735
Of the total wounded in the army there are:	
Blind	3,405
Men who have undergone amputations	42,143

These losses represent the following approximate percentages:

3.5 per cent of the population dead and missing.

16 per cent of those mobilized for the army and navy died and missing.

57 per cent of the effectives mobilized in the active army and its reserve (aged 19 to 34 years).

MATÉRIEL WHICH FRANCE MADE FOR HER ALLIES.

The following figures indicate the principal articles of matériel transferred (sold) by France during the war to the several allied countries:

To Great Britain: 71,713,644 francs worth of artillery matériel, munitions, or automobiles; 6,520 machine guns or automatic rifles; 56,876 rifles; 94,531,000 cartridges; 281 vehicles; 167 sets of harness; 7,000 tons of gas (including 6,200 tons of phosène gas).

To Italy: 172,913,234 francs worth of artillery matériel, munitions, or automobiles; 15,000 machine guns or automatic rifles; 311,000 rifles; 360,000,000 cartridges; 77 vehicles; 320 sets of harness; 245,000 gas masks; 92,000 gas shells; 850 tons of gas.

To Roumania: 506,022,926 francs worth of artillery matériel, munitions, or automobiles; 10,700 machine guns or automatic rifles; 298,000 rifles; 9,250 revolvers or pistols; 248,450,000 cartridges; 33 vehicles; 24,206 sets of harness; 230,000 gas masks; 50,000 gas shells.

To Russia: 1,252,626,134 francs worth of artillery matériel, munitions, or automobiles; 5,842 machine guns or automatic rifles; 559,000 rifles; 78,000 revolvers or pistols; 519,125,000 cartridges; 29,456 sets of harness; 12,000 gas shells.

To Serbia: 140,160,593 francs worth of matériel and artillery or automobile munitions; 4,596 machine guns or automatic rifles; 96,659 rifles; 15,100 revolvers or pistols.

To Belgium: 150,803,190 francs worth of matériel and artillery and automobile munitions; 6,952 machine guns or automatic rifles; 114,000 rifles; 59,145,000 cartridges; 440 vehicles; 636 sets of harness; 880,000 gas masks; 193,500 gas shells.

To Greece: 30,581,061 francs worth of artillery or automobile matériel and munitions; 4,669 machine guns or automatic rifles; 64,000 rifles; 3,700 revolvers or pistols; 31,121,000 cartridges; 232 vehicles; 6,338 sets of harness; 500,000 gas masks.

To Poland: 98,852,863 francs worth of artillery or automobile matériel and munitions; 1,062 vehicles; 11,524 sets of harness; 360,000 gas masks.

To Czechoslovakia: 11,286,577 francs worth of artillery or automobile matériel and munitions; 532 vehicles; 1,645 sets of harness; 40,000 gas masks.

To Portugal: 3,564,967 francs worth of artillery or automobile matériel or munitions; 45,700 gas shells.

To Finland: 2,269,410 francs worth of artillery or automobile matériel or munitions; 150 vehicles; 2,800 sets of harness.

To Switzerland: 2,953,487 francs worth of artillery or automobile matériel and munitions.

To Montenegro: 1,463,105 francs worth of artillery or automobile matériel or munitions; 40 machine guns.

To Esthonia: 179,550 francs worth of artillery or automobile matériel and munitions.

To Sweden: 59,850 francs worth of artillery or automobile matériel and munitions.

To Spain: 59,850 francs worth of artillery or automobile matériel and munitions.

To Japan: 810,830 francs worth of artillery or automobile matériel or munitions.

To the United States: 1,431,673,616 francs worth of artillery or automobile matériel or munitions; 57,000 machine guns or automatic rifles; 206,450,000 cartridges; 22,500 rifles; 7,672 vehicles of all sorts; 88,689 sets of harness; 807,000 gas masks; 948,000 gas shells; 150 tons of gas; 2,800 revolvers.

Totaling the above, 4,037,993,897 francs' worth of artillery or automobile matériel and munitions. In this figure is represented 6,568 cannon—2,411 field guns or howitzers, 1,040 trench mortars, 2,358 heavy guns or howitzers, 759 37-mm. guns; 111,322 (machine guns 28,440, automatic rifles 82,882); 1,472,035 rifles; 150,250 revolvers or pistols; 1,553,019,000 military equipment vehicles; 181,025 sets of harness; 3,632,000 gas masks; 1,353,200 gas shells; 8,000 tons of gas of which 6,000 was phosgene.

MATÉRIEL EFFORT.

What France did to hasten American entry into the actual battle line.

Quoting from a French official paper—

"The American people know that which America did for France. But it is more difficult, due to the distance, of comprehending that which France did for the American Army." On this one may say a word.

She made possible the American Army's participation in the battles of 1918.

For efficient intervention in the war, which approached a decision, the great army raised by America had to be equipped, instructed, and transported to Europe from 1917 to 1918.

To be equipped in time, it was necessary that France furnish the American Army a great part of its war equipment; in particular the total of its artillery and its munitions. France thus furnished 3,834 cannon, 10,000,000 shells of all sorts, 3,800 aeroplanes, 240 tanks, thousands of machine guns and automatic rifles and other engines or machines of war of all sorts.

France placed at the disposition of the American staff 1,500 French officers in France, 500 French officers in America, 35 cantonment zones, 17 rest camps, 30,000 hospital beds, 100,000 places in private and public establishments for the sick and wounded, 300 railroad trains a day.

To gain time America utilized all its transports for men, and was obliged to call on France for millions of tons of merchandise; thus in addition France furnished 136,881 horses, 5,600,000 pounds of bread, 7,200,000 pounds of meat, 1,680,000,000 pounds of potatoes, 2,576,000 pounds of vegetables, 43,680 tons of coal, 56,000,000 pounds of firewood, 2,100,000 cubic meters of standing timber, 25,000 tons of forage, 1,900,000 liters (long quarts) of gasoline.

This made a volume and weight of matériel which corresponded to an economy of 3,381,507 shipping tons.

At the date of the armistice, of the matériel used by the American Army in the fighting line France had furnished as follows: 100 per cent of the 75-mm. field guns, 100 per cent of the 155-mm. howitzers, 100 per cent of the tanks, 81 per cent of the aviation equipment, 57 per cent of heavy artillery, 65,000,000 rounds of 75-mm. and 155-mm. ammunition which was all produced in French arsenals.

THE BATTLE OF THE MARNE.

What were the strengths of the allied and German armies engaged in the Battle of the Marne?

The above question, which is of such fundamental importance to history, is one almost impossible to answer with accuracy. The best that can be done, at least for a long time to come, is only approximate.

From an allied writer:

"The German Army, outside of its independent cavalry, had 75 infantry divisions engaged, the French had 51 infantry divisions, and the British the remnants of 6 divisions, but these were so depleted by casualties as to be only equal to, say, 3 of total strength. Thus the Germans had 75, the Allies the equal of 54 divisions, or a ratio of superiority in units in favor of the Boche of 7 to 5.

"If we neglect the casualties and take the French and German divisions at full strength, their relative numerical strengths would be approximately: German, 1,430,000; French, 1,224,000.

"This gives a numerical ratio of a little more than 7 to 6. Actually due to casualties the ratio would in all likelihood have been about 7 to 5, as was the ratio of units engaged."

From a German authority writing on the subject:

"A German authority places the number of Boche troops engaged as 950,000. This, however, is exclusive of certain troops, among which are included 60,000 east of Verdun and a number (which is not numerically stated) in the Vosges and in Alsace. It is believed that the 60,000 east of Verdun should be included, thus making their total 1,110,000."

This same writer places the strength of the allied forces as follows:

French	650,000
British	80,000
Belgian	70,000
Total	800,000

Since no Belgian troops were engaged in the Battle of the Marne, and further had their attention so seriously engaged elsewhere as to preclude any chance of it, they are removed from the allied strength, thus making it 730,000.

Thus the numerical superiority of the Boche was what 1,110,000 is to 730,000, or very close to seven-fifths, as shown above.

Therefore from the foregoing figures it appears that the relative strengths in favor of the Boche may be summed up as follows:

Ratio, 7 to 5.

Strength:

Boche, 1,110,000 to 1,430,000.

French, 730,000 to 1,224,000.

British, about 80,000, probably less.

The above figures show a wide range, but one can not do better with the data at present available.

THE BATTLE OF VERDUN.

Duration of the battle: The Battle of Verdun, which began on February 21, 1916, lasted until July 1, 1916, or 131 days.

Strength of the opposing forces:

French forces: During the period above indicated the French passed 65 divisions through the battle. Of these 65 divisions 3 were used, after a period of rest in a quiet sector, twice, making a total of 68 divisions passed through the battle. The numerical strength of these divisions, which can hardly be more than approximated, is estimated to be about 1,100,000 to 1,250,000.

German forces: The Germans passed 42½ divisions or 437 battalions through the battle. The numerical strength of these divisions with the necessary auxiliary troops was approximately 850,000 to 900,000.

SOLDIERS OF FRENCH STOCK IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.

Since the enlistment and draft-board cards, numbering some 4,000,000 or more, have not as yet been completely classified, in regard to the nativity of the American Army, the number of soldiers of French origin can only be determined by estimate. This estimate is based on the fact that nine-tenths of 1 per cent of the American population is of French origin.

Using this proportion in the number of men in the Army, viz, 3,757,624, there were 33,818 in the entire Army, either enlisted or drafted. Of this number about 18,297 served in the American Expeditionary Forces.

FINANCIAL EFFORT.

In 1913 taxes (State, Departmental, and Communal) amounted to a total of 5,651,500,000 francs. In 1918 they had increased to 11,016,500,000. This was an increase of about 100 per cent, or approximately from $30 to $60 per capita.

The general income tax voted during the war was more than doubled. While large incomes (more than 150,000 francs) are subject to a lower tax than that paid by Americans, the tax, however, is much higher on small and medium incomes (5,000 to 150,000 francs), which incomes are in the majority.

It should be remembered that this general tax is added to the scheduled taxes, which are already high, and all other contributions.

The French public debt before the war was 34,188,000,000 francs. The debt contracted during the war was, to include June 30, 1919, 162,749,000,000 francs, being composed as follows:

Floating debt, 37,917,000,000 francs, of which 1,346,000,000 francs were placed in foreign countries.

Fixed-term notes, 28,743,000,000 francs.

Consolidated debt, 72,159,000,000 francs.

Advances from banks, 23,930,000,000 francs.

It is very probable that the war debt will amount to 200,000,000,000 francs (approximately $40,000,000,000) when liquidation of all accounts has been completed.

During the war France paid a heavy tax to the Allies for merchant maritime freight charges, the total amount thus expended exceeding 12,000,000,000 francs.

THE FRENCH RAILROADS.

The French railroads on August 2 began, under the direction of the fourth bureau of the French general staff, the movement of men going to their mobilization centers.

On August 5 was begun the transportation of the different units of the several armies to their concentration centers.

Mobilization and concentration lasted until August 19, 1914. During that period outside of the men carried to mobilization points there were moved 42 army corps, each corps requiring seventy 50-car trains, or a total of 2,940 trains, which required 147,000 cars. An even larger number of trains were required for carrying individuals to their mobilization centers.

During the retreat of the army in August the State, Paris-Orleans, and Paris-Lyon-Mediterranean companies had to take care of troops, supplies, the civil population, and locomotives and cars coming from the invaded districts of France.

On September 3 the Orleans Co. carried 50,000 long-distance travelers out of Paris. The P-L-M Co. sent out more than 4,000 trains between the fifteenth and thirtieth days of mobilization. Certain regulating stations handled 200 trains a day.

From August 12 to August 20, besides the transportation for home troops, all troops coming from Algeria and Tunis via Marseilles had to be transported toward the front in three days. At the same time territorials going to Africa to replace them had to be carried in the opposite direction.

During this period, August, 1914, besides supplying concentration and mobilization trains for French troops, the West, State, and North companies transported 200,000 men of the British Army with their ammunition, matériel, and cavalry from Boulogne and St. Nazaire to the Mons-Conde front.

EFFORTS MADE BY THE RAILROADS DURING THE WAR.

The French railway companies did more than furnish transportation. In September, 1914, the Orleans Co. began to manufacture munitions of war in its works at Tours and Perigueux. The P-L-M Co. began manufacturing projectiles, wheels, and rims for army vehicles, cars, ammunition, ammunition trucks, etc. The Midi Co. also undertook the production of projectiles and various devices.

From August 1 to 20, 1914, it was necessary to suspend general traffic. It was resumed to some extent later, but the transportation of the army was always given priority.

Before the war the six big French railroad companies had approximately 14,000 locomotives, 31,000 passenger coaches, not including baggage cars, and 375,000 freight cars, of which 32,000 were for express service. The number available during the war was decreased by shortage of repair shops and by the number seized by the enemy in the invaded districts. Before the war rolling stock was increased annually by 575 locomotives and 15,000 cars of various types. None could be constructed during the war. The equipment received from England and the United States was only sufficient to replace losses due to accidents and wear. Railroad personnel before the war numbered 355,000. Mobilization decreased this number by at least 10 per cent.

In 1914 the P–L–M furnished 1,600 extra trains for troops coming from the French colonies. In 1915 it transported 70,000 Sikhs and Gourkhas from Marseilles. In 1915 the Orleans (Paris–Orleans) transported Hindu troops from Toulouse to Orleans in 400 trains, six minutes apart. The Midi transported 600,000 men and 96,000 horses and mules. The Nord Co. sent out more than 114,000 trains in 1915, average 310 per day. The Orleans Co. transported 3,700,000 men and 590,000 horses. During 1915 it supplied 30,000 trains. In 1917 it transported to Courtine and later evacuated 6,000 Russian officers and 50,000 men, requiring 70 trains and 3,800 cars. These figures do not include the hospital trains, trains for men on leave, ammunition trains needed to transport sufficient shells, the expenditure of which reached 100,000 per day in 1915 and 200,000 per day in 1916, nor trains carrying supplies of all kinds.

In 1915 the Nord moved 60,000 fully loaded trains (160 a day) for ammunition and supplies, and 18,000 empty freight trains (50 per day). In 1915 the Midi transported 617,000 tons of supplies and 584,000 of freight. In 1916 these figures were more than doubled and quadrupled. In 1915 the Orleans had to transport 11,000 guns or artillery wagons and, besides, 385,000 carloads of other commodities. The amount of raw materials, coal, and so forth, to be transported to factories was great and constantly increasing.

The six armies at first operating from Mauberge to Belfort and the seventh at Paris each had a supply center and 6 daily trains, total 42, not including trains for English Army. Between August 20 and September 30, 1914, the population of Paris, which at this time numbered 4,000,000, including troops, made it necessary for the Orleans alone to bring into Paris 117,000 tons of food, 66,000 tons of forage, 107,000 steers, 211,000 sheep and pigs for addition to the siege provisions. The five main reserve supply depots on the Etat line sent, in the eight months from August 2, 1914, to May 1, 1915, 165,000 carloads to the armies. One hundred thousand cars were necessary to restock the supplies of these depots, or an average of five or six trains daily per depot.

The movement of 3,000,000 letters per day, parcel-post parcels, magazines, periodicals, etc., required 200 cars per day, beginning with 1915.

The entrance of the United States into the war added to the difficulties of transportation. As Paris is the objective of the main lines, the transportation of troops, ammunition, and supplies across France necessitated detours, the use of branch lines, etc., and tied up the rolling stock for a longer period than would otherwise have been the case. An increasing number of American troops had to be furnished with supplies and ammunition at various points, and the shipments from the United States increased from 140,000 tons to 1,100,000 tons a month during 1918. The successful advance and occupation of enemy territory increased the length of the runs on an extended front. The regained territory was thickly populated and needed supplies of all kinds immediately. The difficulty of this is evident, when the Germans in retreating destroyed more than 1,500 bridges and 5,500 kilometers of railroad tracks.

OPERATION OF RAILROADS IN 1918.

Nineteen hundred and eighteen was the most difficult year for French railroads. The stabilization of the front had reduced the number of trains necessary for transportation of supplies and troops to 18 per day in the early part of the year (for the Nord and l'Est). When the Germans advanced in March 172 daily trains were needed to rush troops to the districts that were threatened, when but a few days before only 18 trains had been required.

The suspension of general traffic alone would not supply the additional military trains required. The number of loaded cars circulating on the Nord every day increased from 17,000 to 20,000. By the end of winter it was equal to the number in the summer of 1917 and was greater by 2,000 than that of the same period in 1917. The number of military trains expressed in kilometers grew from 1,300,000 in February to 2,000,000 in May, a figure that was not reached in 1917. The loss of lines east of Amiens and the fact that the use of this most important railroad center was prevented by enemy guns made it even more difficult for the Nord to make this extra effort. In spite of the losses of communication and equipment the transportation of troops did not slacken. A record of 198 trains in 24 hours was obtained May 5. When the tide turned in July, 1918, the railroads had to put forth still greater effort. In August, September, and October the Nord and l'Est reached their greatest efficiency. In August, 1918, the Nord had more than 25,000 loaded cars in circulation every 24 hours, a larger number than in 1917. The number of military trains expressed in kilometers remained 1,900,000 a month. During September l'Est reported 1,763,822 military trains expressed in kilometers, or more than in March, 1918.

At the same time that this immense traffic was handled the trackage abandoned by the Germans had to be repaired or rebuilt, this equaling 5,600 kilometers of track, 3,300 for the Nord and 2,300 for l'Est. In addition to this trackage 500 bridges and aqueducts, 1,100 viaducts, 12 tunnels, 3,180 kilometers of telephone and telegraph lines, 590 buildings, 150 feed tanks, 20,000 tons of metal connections, signals, and constructions other than bridges had to be rebuilt. The Germans destroyed not only the arches and metal floors of the bridges, but also the masonry or concrete piers. All switches were destroyed and the tracks for dozens of kilometers by blowing up every other rail joint or by pulling the rails from the ties by means of plows attached to locomotives. The result of this destruction made it necessary to clear everything off and supply new rails and ties.

Sending supplies to the devastated regions, Belgium, and the Rhine made still greater demands upon available rolling stock, for there was no railroad equipment in the regained territory, and on account of the condition of the roadbed the trains could travel no faster than a cart, thus tying up the cars for a long time.

During the war the lines in the interior of France, especially the P–L–M, performed a great service in bringing supplies to the munition plants and taking care of the traffic between the ports and the army zones. Beginning with 1918, this traffic, which had previously never amounted to more than 600,000 tons a week, maintained an average of about 1,000,000 tons. The German offensives of March 21 and May 27 deprived the Nord and l'Est of their best lines. Troops and supplies therefore had to be transported by the P–L–M, the Orleans, and the Etat at the very time when these lines also had to evacuate the threatened districts. It was also necessary to transport to the front a number of French and English divisions that had been in Italy, and also the troops that were coming from America. The latter arrived at the rate of 50,000 a month in the first part of the year, and then 100,000, 200,000, and 300,000 a month. The supplies required by these troops increased from 15,000 tons a day in June to 40,000 tons a day in October.

GENERAL STATISTICS.

The following statistics are of interest:

Western front, Nov. 11, 1918.

	Per cent.
Ratio strength in per cent of the whole:	
France	41
British	28
United States	31
Length of front held in per cent of the whole:	
France	59
British	19
United States	22
Artillery in batteries in per cent of the whole:	
France	54
British	32
United States	14
Airplane strength in per cent of the whole:	
France	57
British	30
United States	13

All fronts, year 1918.

	Per cent.
Artillery ammunition fired, including training:	
France	52
British	42
United States	6
Small-arms ammunition fire, including training:	
France	35
British	45
United States	20

Number of battle airplanes per each 100,000 men in each army on November 11, 1918.

France	130
British	102
United States	40

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. B. ROUSE,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 20, 1920.

Mr. ROUSE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing two letters relative to the bill introduced by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS], which shows the propaganda to be employed in behalf of H. R. 10876:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PERIODICAL PUBLISHERS (INC.),
New York, N. Y., February 11, 1920.

Your immediate action will help pending postal bill.

At Washington February 10 the House Post Office Committee held a hearing on the Fess bill, H. R. 10876. The case of the association was ably presented by Mr. A. J. Baldwin, of our postal committee. Other members present were: Messrs: George E. Cook, A. C. Pearson, Roger W. Allen, B. A. Mackinnon, L. D. Fernald, Fred Splitstone, V. H. Power, and Jesse H. Neal.

Briefly, the bill repeals the present progressive scale of second-class postal rates and establishes the rates in effect the first year of the existing law. While the objectionable zone system is retained, the rates are a big reduction from the rates in the existing law, and it is a movement in the right direction. Moreover, it is our belief that it is the best we can do for the present. A half a loaf is better than no bread.

The bill recognizes the present lack of adequate postal data on costs, and therefore proposes a commission of Congress to make a thorough investigation of the entire postal situation. This we believe will open up a way to obtain just consideration for all periodicals and newspapers.

The postal committee therefore urges that you write to-day to each member of the House Post Office Committee expressing your indorsement of the Fess bill, without prejudice to your belief in the unsoundness of the zone system, and ask them to report the Fess bill favorably.

The newspapers, farm papers, magazines, and other periodicals are in complete accord on the wisdom of this move.

Members of the House Post Office Committee: Hon. HALVOR STEENERSON, Minnesota; Hon. MARTIN B. MADDEN, Illinois; Hon. W. G. GRIEST, Pennsylvania; Hon. CALVIN D. PAIGE, Massachusetts; Hon. HARRY C. WOODYARD, West Virginia; Hon. C. WILLIAM RAMSEYER, Iowa; Hon. ARCHIE D. SANDERS, New York; Hon. SAMUEL A. KENDALL, Pennsylvania; Hon. JAMES W. DUNBAR, Indiana; Hon. CLEVELAND A. NEWTON, Missouri; Hon. GUY U. HARDY, Colorado; Hon. HOMER HOCH, Kansas; Hon. C. ELLIS MOORE, Ohio; Hon. JOHN A. MOON, Tennessee; Hon. THOMAS M. BELL, Georgia; Hon. A. B. ROUSE, Kentucky; Hon. FRED L. BLACKMON, Alabama; Hon. EDWARD E. HOLLAND, Virginia; Hon. EUGENE BLACK, Texas; Hon. CHARLES H. RANDALL, California; Hon. HENRY M. GOLDFOGLE, New York.

Immediate action essential.

A. C. PEARSON,
Chairman Postal Committee.

AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS' ASSOCIATION,
New York, February 14, 1920.

MY DEAR SIR: As you have doubtless been informed by the press reports, the House Post Office Committee this week gave two days to a hearing on the Fess newspaper-postage bill, at which the position of the publishers was strongly urged. I believe considerable progress was made, the opposition coming from the representative of the Post Office Department insisting upon increased revenue and of certain small papers, misled by a false report that the reopening of the subject meant a 4-cent flat rate.

Action by the committee on the Fess bill will be had as soon as the testimony is transcribed and printed.

There is a fair chance to secure favorable action, but only if publishers impress their views on the Members of Congress. Otherwise nothing will stop the two more postage increases provided for in the present law, and it will be almost impossible to obtain relief after this law is firmly set..

The committee is made up as follows: HALVOR STEENERSON, of Minnesota; MARTIN B. MADDEN, of Illinois; W. W. GRIEST, of Pennsylvania; CALVIN D. PAIGE, of Massachusetts; HARRY C. WOODYARD, of West Virginia; C. WILLIAM RAMSEYER, of Iowa; ARCHIE D. SANDERS, of New York; SAMUEL A. KENDALL, of Pennsylvania; JAMES W. DUNBAR, of Indiana; CLEVELAND NEWTON, of Missouri; GUY U. HARDY, of Colorado; HOMER HOCH, of Kansas; C. ELLIS MOORE, of Ohio; JOHN A. MOON, of Tennessee; THOMAS M. BELL, of Georgia; A. B. ROUSE, of Kentucky; FRED L. BLACKMON, of Alabama; EDWARD E. HOLLAND, of Virginia; EUGENE BLACK, of Texas; CHARLES H. RANDALL, of California; HENRY M. GOLDFOGLE, of New York.

No time is to be lost if you are going to do anything to help secure this legislation.

In haste.

VICTOR ROSEWATER,
Chairman Postal Committee.

The Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. S. D. FESS,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, the House is presented with one of two alternatives, either the adoption of this report, which returns the roads to the owners with ample protection of the public, or continue the political management now in vogue, which has produced the present demoralization of transportation. I am convinced that between these alternatives this body will not long hesitate. It will perform its duty to the public without fear or favor.

The special session was called May 19 to take up the appropriation bills which failed to pass in the last Congress. There were but six weeks before the end of the fiscal year in which the eight bills would have to be gotten through Congress. The last one was passed July 10. Immediately the railway bill was taken up, and the hearings opened on July 15. They continued every day, forenoon and afternoon, until September 24. An additional day was given October 4. These hearings were published in three large volumes of 3,669 pages. They constitute the finest body of the most important expert information on a great subject ever collected by any committee in the history of the Congress of the United States. The finest talent in America presented their facts and conclusions on the proposed legislation. This body of information represents every angle of transportation. No interest that made application to the committee was denied a hearing. Individual proposals were presented to the committee as bases of legislation. Weeks were consumed on hearing these arguments. These proposals touched many single and specific features of the problem, any one of which, if considered as a single proposal, would occupy the attention of Congress for weeks in final consideration. There were between 30 and 40 such individual proposals offered to the committee. All of these were given such consideration as their importance demanded. Besides these there were seven matured plans presented and urged by as many associations or interests, in which groups of interests were represented. Among these were the Plumb plan, speaking for labor; the Warfield plan, speaking for security holders; the executives' plan, speaking for the owners; the Interstate Commerce Commission plan, speaking for the Government; and others. Those plans, each one of them, from specific angles presented strong arguments for adoption. In the nature of the case neither could be adopted, and considered individually they were more or less antagonistic to one another. It was the committee's problem to draft such a measure as to include the strong points of each and omit the questionable items of each, recognizing the importance of all the interests involved, but never losing sight of the larger factor—the public. The committee proceeded on the principle that if the public was served no justifiable interest could be greatly injured.

The committee began the drafting of the measure with these points in view and reported it for committee consideration November 8. It passed the House nine days later, on November 17, after one of the most able debates ever heard on any measure. The Senate passed the Cummins bill a month later, December 19. The two measures went to conference three days later. They were considered in conference every day, including Sundays and throughout the holiday season without vacation until February 19. Considering the sharp differences between the two Houses the time was not too long. Among the many items of difference between the bills were those of credit and labor. These two were the most difficult because so vastly important. After weeks of effort to reach an agreement the conferees have reported a plan of agreement on both items which should be satisfactory to both interests, since it serves the public, which includes both the employer and employee. It duly respects the importance of credit and provides for it. It also duly respects labor and seeks to protect it. Labor should be satisfied with the provisions of the bill, which has reached a reasonable adjustment on a difficult problem that has been the subject of two recent presidential conferences without final decision. The first conference called by the President to consider labor interests broke up after three weeks of sittings without reaching any conclusion. The second conference is now in session and has been for many weeks without any final decision in sight.

Here is a piece of legislation affecting 110,000,000 people, in which labor is but one of a great many items and which proposes to adjust the interest of all classes and especially the great unorganized public. The solution of the problem of transportation involves vast interests, including $20,000,000,000 of property, representing hundreds of thousands of security holders; 2,000,000 employees, whose families will reach 5,000,000 of our people; and if we include all persons affiliated in allied industries, this transportation industry will comprise the interests of 20,000,000 people, or one-fifth of our entire population. I congratulate the country upon the work of this committee, which has in the short space of time undertaken the solution of a problem through this constructive piece of legislation and to-day presents the method by which the country can discontinue Government operation and political management of an industry second only to that of agriculture, which under the stress of war has displayed its tendency to increase the cost and decrease the service.

Members of Congress are to choose to-day between the passage of this conference committee report or the adoption of permanent Government ownership. In this alternative no one should hesitate in his decision. The bill ought to pass with little opposition, and it will pass by a safe majority in both branches of Congress. I congratulate the country upon this achievement.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LUCIAN W. PARRISH,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. PARRISH. Mr. Speaker, I voted against the Esch bill last November because there were many features in it to which I strenuously objected, and for the further reason that I felt that strong opposition would cause the conferees to bring out of the conference a bill more acceptable to the public. The conference report now before the House presents a bill different in many particulars from the Esch bill, but still has many objectionable features. However, I shall vote for the conference report because I feel that its defeat at this time will result in far-reaching consequences to the American people and would mean either the

return of the roads to their owners without legislation and consequently bankruptcy for many of them, or it would mean the continuation of Government control and operation, to which I am opposed. The sooner we get back to normal conditions the better it will be for the American people, and the conference report, though objectionable in some of its features, is necessarily a compromise bill and can be amended from time to time as Congress may hereafter see fit. The farmers and business men from my section of the State depend for their very life upon successful transportation facilities, and failure to have such will mean the loss of millions of dollars to them, as evidenced by the experience we have just had with Government operation, and I am supporting this measure in order to prevent the recurrence of just such conditions as these and to put an end speedily to Government control.

Federal Control of Railroads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY J. STEELE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, it is generally admitted that the crux of the railroad problem lies in providing adequate railroad rates. With respect to interstate transportation, it would seem that the power of rate regulation by the Federal Government is beyond serious question. It is generally conceded that Congress may lay down certain principles of rate regulation and intrust to a commission or other administrative body the duty of determining the rates which conform to these requirements, subject to a judicial review as to whether or not such rates may be confiscatory. Congress has heretofore declared that "charges for interstate transportation of passengers or property shall be just and reasonable," and to the Interstate Commerce Commission was given the authority, after having decided that a rate in force is not a proper one, "to determine and prescribe what will be the just and reasonable rate or rates, charge or charges, to be thereafter observed in such case as the maximum to be charged." Thus the only rule for determining the rates which Congress has declared for the guidance of the commission in fixing specific rates is that they shall be just and reasonable. These very general requirements were left to the decision of the commission in each particular case, and it was thus put in the predicament that if it granted adequate rates to weak roads it would be overfeeding the strong ones. It could not establish one rate for the weak roads and another and different rate for similar service by the strong roads. It was, therefore, not surprising that such a rate-making basis led to unfortunate results and, outside of a few prosperous roads, to the demoralization of our transportation systems.

The pending bill seeks to correct this by establishipg a new basis for rate making. The question as to what constitutes a "just and reasonable" rate from the shipper's standpoint is to be determined by the necessities of transportation in the rate-making district which the commission is authorized to create. From the carrier's standpoint the question as to what it shall be permitted to retain out of its earnings above a reasonable return is also subject to regulation by the commission at the end of the transition period. During the first six months of private operation the present Government guaranties are to remain in effect. The commission is to fix rates which for at least 18 months after the termination of the Government guaranties will enable the railways in each rate-making district to earn an average return of at least 5½ per cent upon the aggregate valuation of their properties. It may in its discretion allow them to earn an additional one-half of 1 per cent, which may be invested in unproductive improvements and not capitalized. This would result in some railways earning less than 5½ per cent, and some more. Any railway which earned more than 6 per cent would be allowed to retain one-half of the surplus for its own use, and would be required to pay the other half to the Government, which would use it to build up a general railroad contingent fund, from which loans could be made to railroad companies that desired them, or equipment could be bought and leased to railroad companies. At the expiration of two years, the commission itself must determine what percentage of returns the railways shall thereafter be allowed to earn, and having done this, must so make the rates as to enable them to earn the rates fixed.

Railroad companies are carriers for hire. They are incorporated as such and given extraordinary powers in order that they may better serve the public in that capacity. They are, therefore, engaged in a public employment, affecting the public interest, and subject to legislative control as to their earnings and charges for freight and passenger service. Being public-service corporations, they are subject to legislative control in the framing of their rates, so as not to permit more than a fair return on the property used. Thus, in Wilcox against Consolidated Co., Two hundred and twelfth United States, page 21, the company had been earning and paying very large dividends, which were reduced by legislative direction to 6 per cent upon the fair value of its property. In that case the court said:

> Taking all facts into consideration, we concur with the court below on this question, and think complainant is entitled to 6 per cent on the fair value of its property devoted to public use.

So, also, the classification of railroads for the purpose of determining rates has been sanctioned by the courts. Such classification operates uniformly in each district, not because it so operates upon all persons in the country, for it does not, but because every person who is brought within the relation and circumstances provided for is affected by the law. It is general and uniform in its operation upon all persons in a like situation, and the fact of its being general and uniform is not affected by the number of persons within the scope of its classified operation. Whenever a company or person comes within any class or district, it has all the rights given to any other company or person in that class or district. Thus, in Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Co. against Iowa, Ninety-fourth United States, page 155, a classification was held to be reasonable and proper which divided the railroads into classes according to gross earnings per mile, and permitted the different classes to charge different rates. In that case the court said:

> It is very clear that a uniform rate of charges for all railroad companies in the State might operate unjustly upon some. It was proper, therefore, to provide in some way for an adaptation of the rates to the circumstances of the different roads; and the general assembly, in the exercise of its legislative discretion, has seen fit to do this by a system of classification. Whether this was the best that could have been done is not for us to decide. Our province is only to determine whether it could be done at all and under any circumstances. If it could, the legislature must decide for itself, subject to no control from us, whether the common good requires that it should be done.

In the Minnesota Rate case (230 U. S., 433), Justice Hughes, in considering the interblending of operations in the conduct of interstate and local business by interstate carriers, and the exigencies that arise with reference to the maintenance of interstate rates by reason of their relation to intrastate rates, said:

> But these considerations are for the practical judgment of Congress in determining the extent of regulation necessary under existing conditions of transportation to conserve and promote the interests of interstate commerce.

In section 422 of the bill, a new section to be known as section 15–A to the interstate-commerce act, sets forth the necessity for the new basis of rate making as follows:

> 5. Inasmuch as it is impossible (without regulation and control in the interest of the commerce of the United States considered as a whole) to establish uniform rates upon competitive traffic which will adequately sustain all the carriers which are engaged in such traffic, and which are indispensable to the communities to which they render the service of transportation, without enabling some of such carriers to receive a net railway operating income substantially and unreasonably in excess of a fair return upon the value of their railway property, held for and used in the service of transportation, it is hereby declared that any carrier which receives such an income so in excess of a fair return shall hold such part of the excess as hereinafter prescribed as trustee for and shall pay it to the United States.

The payment to the United States, however, is in trust for the transportation purposes above mentioned.

The power of Congress to direct such use of excess earnings thus produced is challenged on the ground that if the rates charged by the carrier are just and reasonable they are the private property of the carrier, and if unreasonable it would deprive shippers and passengers of their property without due process of law. Is it, then, within the power of Congress to divide the railways into rate-making districts and establish rates on a group basis, directing that any excess earnings beyond a reasonable return be used to sustain transportation in the group as a whole and impress such excess earnings with a trust as set forth in the section above quoted? The question whether a law deprives a party of rights secured by the Federal Constitution depends not upon how it is characterized but upon its practical operation and effect. Congress being empowered to regulate commerce among the several States and to pass all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution any of the pow-

ers specifically conferred, may make use of any appropriate means for the same.

Within the scope of the word "regulation," as used in the commerce clause, is embraced the idea of fixing the compensation which the owners of railroad property shall receive for the use thereof. Generally speaking, what the company is entitled to ask is a fair return upon the value of that which it employs for the public convenience. On the other hand, what the public is entitled to demand is that no more be exacted from it for the use of a public highway than the services rendered by it are reasonably worth. It is manifestly a question for Congress to determine whether or not the regulations adopted are the best to promote the public interest. All that the courts have to consider in passing upon its constitutionality is as to whether it is calculated in any appreciable degree to advance the constitutional end involved. It is a settled principle of constitutional law that the Government which has a right to do an act and has imposed upon it the duty of performing that act must, according to the dictates of reason, be allowed to select the means, and those who contend that it may not select any appropriate means, that any particular mode of effecting the object is excepted, take upon themselves the burden of establishing that exception. In the present instance this burden has been met by the mere characterization of the rate-making basis selected by Congress as a violation of the right of private property without the citation of any specific judicial authority to sustain the charge.

The control of interstate commerce having been granted to the Federal Government without limitation, the grant is, according to the general principle governing the interpretation of grants of Federal power, construed to be plenary. Such control is not confined to the instrumentalities of commerce or the postal service known or in use when the Constitution was adopted, but keeps pace with the progress of the country and adapts itself to the new developments of time and circumstance, as the new agencies are successively brought into use to meet the demands of increasing population and wealth. And with reference to the fifth amendment, which forbids the taking of private property for public use without just compensation or due process of law, the Supreme Court has said:

> That provision has always been understood as referring only to direct appropriation and not to consequential injuries resulting from the exercise of lawful power. It has never been supposed to have any bearing upon or to inhibit laws that indirectly work harm and loss to individuals. A new tariff, an embargo, a draft, or a war may inevitably bring upon individuals great losses, may indeed render valuable property almost valueless. They may destroy the work of contracts.

It may be added that if this principle be not sound, the result would be that individuals and corporations could by contracts between themselves, in anticipation of legislation, render of no avail the exercise by Congress, to the full extent authorized by the Constitution, of its power to regulate commerce. No power of Congress can be thus restricted.

In the section quoted, Congress declares that in order to maintain lines of transportation for the convenience of the public it is necessary to establish rates that will produce a fair return on the aggregate value of the railroad property in the rate-making district. The public surely has an interest in the maintenance of these transportation facilities. It is a deliberate enactment declared to be necessary to meet conditions which actually exist. There is no express prohibition upon the right of regulation by Congress to establish rates with reference to aggregate or average conditions. Congress declares it to be impracticable to estimate the cost or value of each railway service. If the practicable method adopted by Congress produces an excess as to particular lines but necessary to maintain all the lines in a rate group, is that beyond its constitutional powers? Clearly this excess is still devoted to a public purpose and within the power of Congress. It does not interfere with past earnings but simply regulates future earnings and impresses these earnings with a public trust. As supervisory trustee of the public rights, under its express power of regulation, the Government asserts its power so as to give to all the people of a rate-making district the assured maintenance of their transportation lines. It is established by a series of cases that an ulterior public advantage may justify a comparatively insignificant taking of private property for what, in its immediate purpose, is a private use, and also that the share of each party in the benefit of a scheme of mutual protection is a sufficient compensation for the correlative burden he is compelled to assume.

These principles have been applied to private property whenever in any way affected with a public interest, and apply with greater force to railroad corporations because they are engaged in a public employment. The provisions of the bill I have discussed are, in my judgment, a reasonable exercise of the power of regulation vested in Congress to promote the interests of interstate commerce.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS T. McFADDEN,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

PERSONAL RURAL CREDIT.

Mr. McFADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the rural credit bill I introduced to-day provides for the establishment of a cooperative system of farm credit based on personal security, as distinguished from land-mortgage security.

This bill is an adaptation of the best features of the European systems to meet the conditions in this county. It follows the Credit Agricole of France in limiting the activities of the proposed system to the use of bills of exchange, or to "banking with bills," as distinguished from the system of "banking with deposits," thus broadening the market for productive agricultural paper, reducing the expense of management, and improving our whole banking or credit system.

The bill provides for 1 central bank, 48 branches, 1 for each State, and innumerable local associations or communes. The central bank will have a capital of $25,000,000, to be furnished by the Government, but a sinking fund is created to reimburse the Government for the capital so advanced by it. Each branch will have a capital of $50,000, to be furnished by one of the big life insurance companies. This capital will carry with it the right to elect the auditor and deputy auditors of the rural-credit society, and will be paid an annual dividend of 6 per cent. The stock of the communes or community associations will have a par value of $5, which will be subscribed for and carried by the farmer members of the system. Both limited and unlimited liability communes are provided for, but only members of the unlimited-liability communes will exercise a voice in control.

DEPOSIT BANKING INADEQUATE FOR MANY AGRICULTURAL NEEDS.

Deposit banking does not meet many of the productive requirements of agriculture. I believe I am entitled to speak on this subject, as I have spent my whole life in deposit banking. To illustrate the inadequacy of our present banking or credit system, let us take the cattle-breeding industry. It is 9 months before a cow calves, and 15 to 21 months more before that calf may be converted into beef. Altogether, it requires from 2½ to 3 years before that credit will reproduce itself. It also requires about the same time for credit used to build a silo to reproduce itself. That is not safe business for a deposit banker, whose borrowed capital is payable principally on demand. But this business is done with perfect safety by European rural-credit systems doing open-market operations. Our beef production is not keeping pace with the increase in our population or industrial activities, and unless we provide adequate credit machinery to meet the requirements of that industry we may expect even higher beef prices than we now have. No animal is such a consumer of farm roughage as the cow, and the advancement of that industry means increased soil fertility.

THE MARKET FOR THIS FARM PAPER.

It may be asked, and properly so, where will be the market for such paper. This market, like the market for every other commodity, must be developed through sound business methods. The wage earners of our industrial centers and many of our corporations should carry it, and they would do so if it were properly presented to them. I maintain that our life insurance companies should carry at least $1,000,000,000 of such paper to meet the banking obligations under their guaranteed cash surrender value policies. And this applies with equal force to the policies issued by the Government under the war-risk insurance act. The average maturity of this farm paper will be about 11 months, and the banking obligations of the insurance companies are payable at the end of the policy year, or every twelfth month. It is obvious, then, that this paper just meets the banking obligations of those institutions. By carrying a line of this liquid paper, our life insurance companies would not be forced to throw their permanent investments on the market during a financial crisis.

NEED OF COOPERATION FOR CONSERVATION OF CAPITAL.

The prime object of a bank is to economize capital, but actual practice does not always square itself with this theory, and the result is a waste of banking capital. The present shortage of capital is a world-wide condition, and it behooves us all to strain every point to relieve it. The cooperative feature of this bill, as well as the use of "bills" instead of "deposits" will tend greatly in economizing banking capital. To borrowers it

makes no difference from what source the borrowed capital is raised, but to the investing public it makes all the difference whether the borrowers be treated as partners or creditors. To illustrate this, let us suppose the proposed system does $1,000,000,000 of business, one-half the borrowed capital being raised from the partners—farmer commune stockholders—and the balance in the open market. If that business were done under the "deposit" system, there would be $27,400,000 of capital to secure $1,000,000,000 of loans, whereas under the proposed system there would be $527,400,000 of capital to secure $500,000,000 of borrowed capital, not taking into consideration the security furnished by the individual borrowers, which would exceed $1,000,000,000, nor the security afforded under the cooperative feature, which would be considerably more.

REPLY TO SECRETARY HOUSTON'S LAST REPORT.

In his last report as Secretary of Agriculture Secretary Houston called attention to the need for improved personal rural-credit facilities, but suggested this reform should come through State legislation. If the States undertake this, it will mean the placing of our farmers in deposit banking, a strictly local system which is now overdone in this country, is too expensive, and would not afford so broad a market for productive farm paper as would a system employing written credit instruments—call them bills of exchange, short-time notes, or what not. Investors in our industrial centers would not have the confidence in the paper of a corporation created by a legislative body in which they had no voice as one created by a legislative body in which they had an equal voice with the sellers of such paper. Not only would the proposed system be safer and far more efficient for the farmers but it would tend to improve our whole banking system and rid it of many existing abuses caused by an attempt to do a class of business it is not designed to do and can not safely do; and if the farmers employ the same credit machinery now used by the existing banks, they will make matters worse, which will result in the breaking down of our whole credit system.

The bill is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 12678) to create a rural credit society and general insurance league to facilitate the increase and reduce the cost of farm production and act as the fiscal and financial agents for the Government of the United States, to create two such agents, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the short title of this act shall be the rural credit act, and the two corporations created by this bill shall be referred to, respectively, as follows: The rural credit society shall be referred to as the society and the liberty insurance league shall be referred to as the league.

SEC. 2. That the commissioners, directors, and trustees, respectively, of said two corporations and bodies politic and financial and fiscal agents hereby created shall, by the name of the rural credit society and liberty insurance league, have succession and be able to sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, in all the courts of the United States, and each to make and use a common seal, and the same to alter and amend at pleasure.

SEC. 3. That L. D. May, of Granville Center, Bradford County, Pa.; Witt Sears, of Thorp Spring, Hood County, Tex.; and ———, of ———, are hereby designated and created commissioners, with power and authority to negotiate, in the manner expressly provided in article 6 of the charter creating said liberty insurance league, with any solvent and well-established life insurance company incorporated under the laws of some one of the several States having approved assets of not less than $400,000,000, for the purpose of inducing one of such companies to accept the terms of the charter creating said liberty insurance league, and agree and bind itself to operate thereunder and be governed solely by the terms and provisions thereof; and said commissioners are further authorized and empowered to organize said rural credit society in the manner expressly provided in article 8 of the charter creating said rural credit society.

SEC. 4. That one of said financial and fiscal agents, to wit, the said rural credit society, shall operate and be governed solely by the terms of its charter, which shall read as follows:

CHARTER OF THE RURAL CREDIT SOCIETY.

Article I.

SECTION 1. Name of corporation: The name of the corporation shall be the rural credit society, which is referred to herein as the society.

Article II.

SECTION 1. Nature of business: The nature of the society's business shall be, and it is hereby authorized and empowered to act as the financial and fiscal agent for the Government of the United States in such manner, for such purposes, and on such terms as may be prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture and approved by the society's board of directors, to do and transact a general banking and credit business through its executive, branch, and commune offices and through such agents and agencies as its by-laws may prescribe, to buy and own in perpetuity such real estate as may be deemed necessary for its executive and branch offices and the same to dispose of at its pleasure, to own and hold for a period not to exceed 10 years such real estate as it may acquire through foreclosure proceedings and the same to dispose of: *Provided*, That neither the society nor its branches or communes shall issue or print demand payable bank notes or currency: *And provided further*, That the society's communes shall not receive deposits.

Article III.

SECTION 1. Place of executive office: The temporary executive office of the society shall be located by its board of directors at their first meeting, at which place it shall remain for a period of five years, when the board shall establish a permanent executive office by a majority vote: *Provided*, That the board may, by a two-thirds vote, change the location of such office thereafter. Board meetings may be held at such places in the United States as its by-laws may prescribe.

Article IV.

SECTION 1. Capital: The capital of the society shall consist of a guaranty fund and the stock of its branches and communes.

PARAGRAPH 1. Guaranty fund: The guaranty fund shall consist of $25,000,000, which shall be furnished and paid in by the Government of the United States without interest.

SUBPARAGRAPH 1. When Government shall pay in guaranty fund: When the commissioners have induced such a life insurance company as is described in section 3 of the act creating this charter to accept the said liberty insurance league charter, and the Secretary of Commerce has approved their acts and issued a statement authorizing said league to begin business under such charter, the Secretary of Commerce shall then draw a voucher on the Treasurer of the United States for $25,000,000, who shall cause such sum to be paid into the treasury of such league, to be held in trust and invested by such league for the use and benefit of the society until the Secretary of Agriculture orders the league to pay the same, principal and interest, into the treasury of the society, less the compensation allowed for the risk and expense for accepting such trust, as is provided in Article X of said liberty insurance league charter.

SUBPAR. 2. Sinking fund to retire guaranty fund: Within three months after the 1st day of January, each year, the society shall cause to be paid into the Treasury of the United States one-tenth of 1 per cent per annum of all loans and discounts made or renewed to its members the preceding year, ending December 31, which payments shall be invested under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, for the use and benefit of the sinking fund of said society, and when such fund, principal and interest, equals the sum of $25,000,000, this subparagraph shall be of no effect.

SUBPAR. 3. Branch stock: Each of the 48 branches shall have a capital stock of $50,000, and the stock of each branch shall be fully paid in cash before such branch begins business. Such capital shall be paid by the Liberty Insurance League, and the society shall cause stock certificates to be executed and delivered to the league as evidence of such payment and its ownership of such stock. Such stock shall be nonassessable and nontransferable and paid an annual dividend by the society, if earned, of 6 per cent, which dividend shall be cumulative.

SUBPAR. 4. Commune stock: The stock of the communes shall be subscribed and paid for in cash by the members of the respective communes. Such stock shall be of the par value of $5 each, for which certificates shall be executed and delivered to the subscribing members. Such stock shall be nontransferable while the subscribing owner is a member of the society: *Provided*, That a member may reduce the amount of his commune stock by complying with the terms of the by-laws and subparagraph 4 of Article V of this charter. Such stock shall be nonassessable and paid such annual dividend, if earned, as the advisory council of the respective director's district may declare: *Provided further*, That such dividend shall not exceed the lowest discount rate at which any member of that district obtained credit from the society the preceding year, ending December 31: *And provided further*, That no dividend shall be paid on the commune stock of a director's district until such branch has accumulated a safe surplus in the judgment of the board of directors.

Article V.

SECTION 1. Commune: The word commune as used in this charter shall denote a voluntary local association of farmers for the purpose of improving their productive credit facilities, and the persons comprising the commune shall be referred to as members.

PARAGRAPH 1. Classification of members: There shall be two classes of members, voting and nonvoting members. The privilege of voting the election of those to control the corporation shall be exercised by the voting members only.

SUBPAR. 1. How to become a voting member: To become a voting member, a nonvoting member shall obtain the unanimous vote of the voting members of his commune.

SUBPAR. 2. Minimum number of voting members: Each commune must have at least seven voting members.

SUBPAR. 3. Expulsion of a member: The voting members of any commune may by a majority vote expel a member.

SUBPAR. 4. Voluntary resignation of members: Any member may voluntarily withdraw his membership from his commune at will, to take effect immediately; but a member of a commune of the first and second class shall be personally liable for the payment of the debts contracted by the commune while he is a member thereof and until the 1st day of January next after he ceases to be a member; and the commune stock of a member of any class of commune shall be liable for the payment of the debts contracted by the communes of that director's district while he was a member and until the 1st day of January next after he ceases to be a member, which liability shall attach and become binding in the order provided in section 3 of this article.

SEC. 2. Classification of communes: There shall be three classes of communes—first, second, and third class.

PARAGRAPH 1. Communes of first class: Communes of the first class shall comprise those situated in States whose laws permit the waiver of homestead and execution exemptions of such members, and the members of which actually execute valid waivers of such exemptions and agree and bind themselves to become jointly and severally liable for each and every credit obligation contracted by the members of their respective communes while they were members and until the 1st day of January next after they cease to be members.

SUBPARAGRAPH 1. Credit limitation of the first class: The credit of each member of a commune of the first class shall be limited to twenty times his paid-up stock in his commune.

PAR. 2. Communes of second class: Communes of the second class shall comprise those situated in States whose laws prohibit the waiver of homestead or execution exemptions, but whose members lawfully agree and bind themselves to become jointly and severally liable for each and every credit obligation contracted or made by the members of their respective communes while they are members thereof and until the 1st day of January next after they cease to be members.

SUBPARAGRAPH 1. Credit limitation of second class: The credit of each member of a commune of the second class shall be *limited* to ten times his paid-up stock in his commune.

PAR. 3. Communes of third class: Communes of the third class shall comprise those whose members' personal liability shall be unlimited for the credit obligations contracted or made by themselves and for which they become surety, but for the credit obligations of other members their personal liability shall be limited to their unpaid stock subscriptions in their respective communes.

SUBPARAGRAPH 1. Credit limitation of third class: The credit of each member of a commune of the third class shall be limited to five times his paid-up stock in his commune.

SEC. 3. Order in which liabilities attach: The order in which liabilities attach shall be as follows: The drawer of a granger or bill of ex-

change and maker of a promissory note and other credit instruments shall be primarily liable for their payment; next the drawer or maker's surety, if any; next the drawer or maker's commune stock; next the members of the commune of which the drawer or maker is a member, if the commune be of the first or second class; next the surplus of the branch situated in the district in which the drawer or maker's commune is situated; next the stock of all the communes of such district, which liability shall attach to each share of such stock; next the stock of the branch of the district in which the drawer or maker's commune is situated; and finally the guaranty fund: *Provided*, That any loss sustained by a branch other than by the failure of a member to meet his obligation shall be repaired, first, out of the surplus of such branch, and if that be insufficient, then out of the stock of the communes of the district in which such branch is located, and if that be insufficient, then out of the stock of such branch, and finally out of the guaranty fund: *Provided further*, That in no event shall the stock of the communes or branch of one director's district be liable for the debts or defaults of the members, communes, or branch of another director's district.

Article VI.

SECTION 1. Duration of corporation: The duration of the corporation shall be 50 years, but the Congress hereby retains the right to amend this charter decennially after the twentieth year.

Article VII.

SECTION 1. Corporate powers: The corporate powers of the society shall be exercised by a board of directors, the members of which shall be elected in the decentralized manner provided in this section of this article, and such officers, agents, and committeemen as the board may elect, except as otherwise expressly provided in this charter. The board shall have power and authority to enact by-laws, rules, and regulations for the society, its branches and communes, their agents and members, not inconsistent with the terms of this charter.

PARAGRAPH 1. Classification of directors: The classification of directors' districts and the territory comprising each shall be as follows:

First class: First, Alabama; second, Arizona; third, Arkansas; fourth, California; fifth, Colorado; sixth, Connecticut; seventh, Delaware; eighth, Florida; ninth, Georgia; tenth, Idaho; eleventh, Illinois; twelfth, Indiana.

Second class: Thirteenth, Iowa; fourteenth, Kansas; fifteenth, Kentucky; sixteenth, Louisiana; seventeenth, Maine; eighteenth, Maryland and District of Columbia; nineteenth, Massachusetts; twentieth, Michigan; twenty-first, Minnesota; twenty-second, Mississippi; twenty-third, Missouri; twenty-fourth, Montana.

Third class: Twenty-fifth, Nebraska; twenty-sixth, Nevada; twenty-seventh, New Hampshire; twenty-eighth, New Jersey; twenty-ninth, New Mexico; thirtieth, New York; thirty-first, North Carolina; thirty-second, North Dakota; thirty-third, Ohio; thirty-fourth, Oklahoma; thirty-fifth, Oregon; thirty-sixth, Pennsylvania.

Fourth class: Thirty-seventh, Rhode Island; thirty-eighth, South Carolina; thirty-ninth, South Dakota; fortieth, Tennessee; forty-first, Texas; forty-second, Utah; forty-third, Vermont; forty-fourth, Virginia; forty-fifth, Washington; forty-sixth, West Virginia; forty-seventh, Wisconsin; forty-eighth, Wyoming.

PAR. 2. Quorum: Each director shall have one vote on the board, and a majority shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

PAR. 3. Terms of office of directors: The first board of directors shall be divided into four classes in the order provided in paragraph 1 of this section. The term of the first class shall expire on the second Tuesday in January next following; that of the second class one year from that time; that of the third class two years from that time; and that of the fourth class three years from that time, and so on, consecutively, in each and every year thereafter, so that all the directors of one class shall be elected annually thereafter for a term of four years each. All vacancies occurring in the board shall be filled by the advisory council of the respective director's district until the next general election of director for such district.

PAR. 4. Qualification of directors: Each director shall be a citizen of the United States and bona fide resident and voting member of a commune of the first or second class and remain such during his term of office.

PAR. 5. Manner of electing directors: The directors shall be elected by the ballots of their respective directors' districts, each visor being entitled to cast as many votes as there are members of his commune. Such ballots must be forwarded to the executive office of the society by United States post, inclosed in an official envelope on which the words "Official director's ballot" shall be printed or written in red ink on the address side thereof.

SUBPARAGRAPH 1. Ballots and envelopes—How furnished: It shall be the duty of the secretary, 90 days before the election of a director, to mail one official ballot and envelope to each visor of the district in which such an election is to be held.

SUBPAR. 2. Inspectors of elections: The secretary shall, on the fourth Tuesday in November of each year, in the presence of the auditor or deputy auditor and a censor, open and count the official ballots cast for directors at the election held two weeks previously. Any candidate for director may, at his own expense, appoint, in writing, one representative to be present at such opening and counting, who shall have the privilege to examine each ballot.

PAR. 6. Candidates for director: Each eligible person who desires to become a candidate for director of his district shall notify the secretary four months in advance of such election, and the secretary shall inform such person of the approximate cost in postage and printing necessary to place his name before the visors of his district. If such person, within 30 days after the mailing of such information, make remittance to the secretary to cover such expense, it shall be the further duty of the secretary to cause the name and address of each such candidate to be printed on each ballot sent out by him and mail one of such ballots and official envelopes to each visor of that director's district. The candidate receiving a plurality of the votes cast at such election shall be declared elected. If two candidates tie at any election, then a special election shall be held to decide the contest between them, such special election to be called by the president for such time as he may deem meet.

PAR. 7. Annual election of directors: The annual election for the members of the board of directors to fill the places of the outgoing class shall be on the second Tuesday in November of each year, and the newly elected members of the board shall be inducted into office the second Tuesday in January next following and hold office for a term of four years.

PAR. 8. Compensation of directors: Each member of the board of directors who attends the annual board or parliamentary session on the first day thereof (the first Tuesday in January of each year) and there remains for three days shall be paid a salary of $1,000 for the previous fiscal year, ending December 31, together with traveling expenses incurred in attending such session.

SUBPARAGRAPH 1. Penalty for failure of attendance: Any director who fails to attend two annual board or parliamentary sessions during a single term shall have his office vacated and be rendered ineligible to hold such office thereafter.

PAR. 9. Chairman of board: The board of directors shall elect one of their members chairman, who shall preside at the meetings and sessions of the board and call the board together in extraordinary session by giving each member 30 days' previous notice in writing.

PAR. 10. Nonpolitical control guaranteed: No director shall hold or become a candidate for any elective office under any government or with any political party during his term of office.

PAR. 11. Recall of directors and advisory councilmen: The auditor and censors may, when in their judgment the interest of the society or its creditors require it, call a confidence election to recall any member of the board of directors or advisory councils. Three months' previous notice shall be given the person to be recalled, and the reason for initiating such recall set forth in writing and signed by the auditor and a majority of the censors, and a copy thereof mailed to each such person.

SUBPARAGRAPH 1. Voters at confidence elections: Each member of a commune situated in the district represented by the director or advisory councilman to be recalled shall be entitled to cast one vote at each confidence election held therein.

SUBPAR. 2. Effect of confidence elections: If a majority of the qualified voters at a confidence election vote in favor of the recall of the person voted on, it shall have the effect of removing him from office and disqualifying him from holding such office thereafter.

SEC. 2. Annual election of officers: The annual election of officers shall be held on Wednesday next following the second Tuesday in January of each year, on which day the board of directors shall elect a president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, one or more censors, members of the executive committee, such numbers of inspectors as the business may require, and such other officers as the by-laws may prescribe, which officers shall hold office for a term of one year each and until others are elected in their stead.

PARAGRAPH 1. President: The president shall be the chief executive officer of the society and have authority to appoint the managers of the branches, select the depositaries and fiscal and other agents and clerical force of the society, and fix the compensation of each when the same is not fixed by the board of directors. The vice president shall perform the duties of the president during the absence or inability of the latter to serve and do and perform such other duties as the by-laws may prescribe.

PAR. 2. Secretary: The secretary shall attend all board meetings of the directors and executive committee and keep true records of what transpires thereat, prepare all ballots for the election or recall of directors and councilmen, and open and count such ballots in the presence of the auditor or deputy auditor and a censor, as provided in this charter, and do and perform such other duties as the by-laws may prescribe.

PAR. 3. Treasurer: The treasurer shall be the custodian of the society's securities and funds, under such safeguards as the by-laws may prescribe, hold one of the keys to the securities vault, and perform such other duties as the by-laws may prescribe.

PAR. 4. Censors: The censors shall have power and authority to attend all board meetings of the directors and executive committee, audit and inspect the books, accounts, papers, properties, and transactions of the society, its branches and communes, become the custodian of one of the keys to the securities vault, approve the schedule of compensation of the auditor and deputy auditors, and jointly with the auditor call confidence elections and inspect the ballots for the election of directors and advisory councilmen, and make annual reports to the Secretary of Agriculture.

SUBPARAGRAPH 1. Qualification of censors: The censors must be, and for five years previous have been, certified public accountants; and they shall be ineligible for reelection.

SUBPAR. 2. Number of censors: There shall not be less than one nor more than three censors, the number to be prescribed by the by-laws.

SUBPAR. 3. Compensation of censors: Each censor shall be paid a salary, in monthly installments, of $12,000 per annum and traveling expenses incurred while performing his duties.

PAR. 5. Executive committee: The executive committee shall be composed of seven voting members of communes of the first or second class. They shall exercise such power and authority as may be delegated to them by the board of directors, which shall not exceed their own power and authority: *Provided*, That any by-law enacted by such committee shall remain in force only until the day next following the next meeting of such board. When the committee enacts a by-law its chairman shall cause a true copy thereof to be mailed to each member of the board. A majority of the members of the executive committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

PAR. 6. Auditors: The president of said liberty insurance league shall annually appoint one auditor and such number of deputy auditors as in his judgment the business of the society requires, who shall serve one year each and until others are so appointed in their stead. Such president shall fix the compensation to be paid such appointees by the society and submit a schedule thereof to the censors, which schedule, when approved by the censors, shall become a charge against the society and be paid in monthly installments.

SUBPARAGRAPH 1. Authority of auditor and deputy auditors: The auditor shall have power and authority to audit the books, accounts, and papers and inspect the securities, properties, and transactions of the society, its branches and communes, attend board meetings, become the custodian of one of the keys to the securities vault, and jointly with the censors call confidence elections to recall directors and advisory councilmen and inspect all elections, and direct the activities of the deputy auditors and prescribe their duties, who may do and perform any duty imposed on the auditor.

SEC. 2. Branches: There shall be one branch in each director's district, which shall be under the direction and management of a manager, deputy auditor, advisory council, and such other force as the by-laws may prescribe.

PARAGRAPH 1. Manager: The manager shall be the chief executive officer of the branch of his district and shall observe the by-laws enacted by the board of directors, executive committee, advisory council, and supervisors of the communes of his district.

PAR. 2. Deputy auditor: Each deputy auditor shall do and perform such duties as may be assigned him by the auditor, which shall not exceed the power and authority conferred on the auditor under this charter.

PAR. 3. Advisory council: Each branch shall have an advisory council composed of five voting members of communes of the first or second class, who shall be citizens of the United States.

SUBPARAGRAPH 1. Authority of advisory council: The advisory council shall have power and authority to enact by-laws, rules, and regulations for the branch and communes of their respective districts not inconsistent with the express terms of this charter or the by-laws, rules, and regulations enacted by the board of directors or executive committee.

SUBPAR. 2. Election of advisory council: The members of the advisory council shall be elected for the same term, at the same time, and in the manner of the election of the director of the respective districts, but by the ballots of the supervisors of the communes of their respective districts, the supervisors voting as a unit and casting as many votes as there are members of their respective communes.

SUBPAR. 3. Compensation of advisory council: Each member of the advisory council shall receive as a compensation for his services $5 per day and traveling expenses for each day he attends the meetings of such council; but such compensation and traveling expenses shall not exceed $100 during a single year.

SUBPAR. 4. Chairman: Each advisory council shall annually elect one of their members as chairman, who shall call meetings of its members.

SUBPAR. 5. Quorum: A majority of the members of the advisory council shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

SEC. 3. Officers of communes: The officers of the communes shall consist of a visor, scribe, three or more supervisors, and such visiting and inspection committees as the supervisors may prescribe by by-law. They shall be elected annually by the voting members of their communes at such time as the board of directors may prescribe, and hold office for a term of one year each and until others are elected in their stead.

PARAGRAPH 1. Visor: The visor shall be a voting member of his commune and chief executive officer thereof, and shall do and perform such duties as the by-laws may prescribe.

PAR. 2. Scribe: The scribe shall become the custodian of the blank forms of the commune, attend the meetings of the supervisors, see that the mortgages and other credit instruments executed by the members of the commune are properly recorded and transmitted to the branch, conduct the correspondence for the commune, and do and perform such other duties as the by-laws may prescribe.

PAR. 3. Supervisors: The supervisors shall consist of not less than three voting members of their communes who are citizens of the United States and shall have power and authority to enact such by-laws, rules, and regulations for their respective communes as are not inconsistent with the terms of this charter or the by-laws, rules, and regulations enacted by the board of directors or executive committee or advisory council of their district: *Provided*, That one copy of each by-law, rule, and regulation enacted by them shall be sent to the branch of the same district and another to the executive office of the society.

SUBPARAGRAPH 1. Quorum: A majority of the supervisors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

SUBPAR. 2. Chairman: The supervisors shall elect one of their number as chairman of their body who shall be acting visor in the absence or inability of such officer to act.

PAR. 4. Expense of communes: A correct record of the expenses of managing each commune shall be kept by the scribe and reported annually to the manager. Such expenses shall be paid for in cash by the members of the respective communes, and in no event shall they become a charge against the commune or society.

Article VIII.

SECTION 1. When society is to begin business: When the commissioners succeed in inducing such a life insurance company as is referred to in section 3 of the act creating this charter to accept the said Liberty Insurance League charter they shall proceed in procuring bona fide applications from farmers of integrity, energy, and frugality for the organization of at least 20 communes in not less than 6 directors' districts and choose suitable persons for president, vice president, secretary, censor, and 1 director, and 5 members of the advisory councils of the districts in which such applicants reside, and notify the president of said Liberty Insurance League to appoint an auditor and as many deputy auditors as they have chosen directors, and the officers so selected, appointed, and chosen shall constitute the first officers of the society. The commissioners shall then report to the Secretary of Agriculture the result of their labors, who shall thereupon call on the said Liberty Insurance League to pay in the capital of such branches as the commissioners have organized, and such portion of the guaranty fund as in his judgment the immediate requirements of the society demand, and issue a statement declaring the society organized for the transaction of business under this charter.

Article IX.

SECTION 1. Franking privilege: The society shall enjoy the franking privilege of the Government of the United States for the purpose of making inquiries of the credit status of members, and farmers desiring to become members of the society, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Postmaster General.

PARAGRAPH 1. Second-class mail matter: The periodical bulletins of the society shall be entered as second-class mail matter at the post office where the society's executive office is located, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Postmaster General.

Article X.

SECTION 1. Statements: The society shall make such reports to the Department of Agriculture as the Secretary of Agriculture may require.

PARAGRAPH 1. Legal process: The manager of each district shall be the agent of the society on whom legal process may be served, and the Secretary of Agriculture may require the appointment of such an agent in such districts in which the society has no manager.

Article XI.

SECTION 1. General provisions: Each credit instrument drawn or made by a member and indorsed or accepted by a commune shall set forth the purpose for which the credit sought is to be used, and if the credit sought through one such credit instrument is to be used for more than one purpose, then each of such purposes shall be itemized and the amount of each stated in plain figures opposite each item: *Provided*, That this proviso shall not apply to credit instruments drawn by the branches on the society.

PARAGRAPH 1. Meaning of "granger": The word "granger" used in this charter shall mean a bill of exchange, and if any person, firm, corporation, or association other than this society uses such word to designate a credit instrument, the Postmaster General shall be authorized to deny them or either of them the use of the United States mails.

PAR. 2. Meaning of "farmer": The word "farmer" used in this charter shall include horticulturalist, vineyardist, orchardist, dairyman, stock raiser, raiser of poultry and bees, truck grower, or grower of any agricultural product."

SEC. 4. Swindling defined and penalty prescribed: That any person who knowingly makes a false statement of material fact in an application for membership to the society or any of its communes, or any member of the society or its communes who makes such a statement for the purpose of obtaining credit from the society, with the intent in either case to defraud the society, or to deceive any officer of the society, its branches or communes; and every person who with like intent aids or abets any person or member in the violation of this section, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall upon conviction be fined not more than $100 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both.

SEC. 5. Embezzlement defined and penalty prescribed: That any president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, auditor, deputy auditor, censor, inspector, director, member of the executive committee, manager, member of an advisory council, visor, acting visor, supervisor, scribe, or agent or clerk of the society, its branches or communes, who embezzles, abstracts, or willfully misappropriates any of the moneys, funds, or credits of the society, or who makes any false entry in any book, report, or statement of the society with intent, in either case, to injure or defraud the society or any company, body politic or corporate, or any firm or individual person; and every person who, with like intent, aids or abets any officer, clerk, or agent in the violation of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and shall, upon conviction, be imprisoned not less than 1 nor more than 10 years.

SEC. 6. Liberty insurance league charter: That the fiscal and financial agent for the Government of the United States, or corporation and body politic created by this act and referred to as the liberty insurance league, shall operate under and be governed solely by the terms of its charter, which shall read as follows:

CHARTER OF THE LIBERTY INSURANCE LEAGUE.

Article I.

SECTION 1. Name of corporation: The name of the corporation shall be the "liberty insurance league," and it shall be referred to herein as the league.

Article II.

SECTION 1. Executive office: The temporary executive office of the league shall be established by the commissioners, at which place it shall remain for 11 years from the date of the approval of the act creating this charter, at the expiration of which time the board of trustees shall establish a permanent executive office by a majority vote; but its location may be changed at any time thereafter by a two-thirds vote of the board of trustees.

Article III.

SECTION 1. Nature of business: The nature of the league's business shall be, and it is hereby authorized and empowered, to act as the financial and fiscal agent for the Government of the United States in such manner, for such purposes, and on such terms as may be prescribed by the Secretary of Commerce and approved by the league's board of directors or trustees, to do and transact the business of insurance of every nature whatsoever, to sell indemnity against any and every contingency, to negotiate reinsurances of risks and companies, receive and execute trusts, make endowments, grant, purchase, and dispose of annuities and property. It shall operate such businesses or any of them through managers and agents in the several States, Territories, and insular possessions of the United States, and it may operate them or any of them in such foreign countries whose Governments grant it permits so to do: *Provided*, That it is hereby authorized to limit its liabilities on such foreign business to such funds or capital of the department doing such foreign business as its by-laws may prescribe.

PARAGRAPH 1. Separate departments: The league shall have and maintain a separate department for each class of business done by it, and each department shall be designated by some appropriate word or words signifying the class of business transacted thereby. For example, it shall use the words "life department" to designate the department through which it transacts the business of selling indemnity, endowments, and annuities pertaining to human beings; "live-stock department" to designate the department through which it sells indemnity against loss or injury to domesticated animals and fowls; and "fire department" to designate the department through which it sells indemnity against loss or injury of or to property by fire, water, or the elements.

It shall obtain the approval of the Secretary of Commerce to the word or words used to designate departments other than the three departments herein specifically mentioned.

SUBPARAGRAPH 1. Funds of departments segregated: The league shall segregate the assets, capital, surplus funds, and receipts of each department; and the assets, capital, surplus, funds, and receipts of one department shall not be liable for the debts, obligations, or defaults of any other department: *Provided*, That the guaranty fund shall be and become a common fund for all departments, as is expressly provided in Article IV of this charter: *Provided further*, That 25 per cent of the general old-age pension fund of the life department shall become a common fund for the protection of the league when the guaranty fund becomes exhausted, subject to the provisions provided in said Article IV and the last paragraph of Article IX.

PAR. 2. Classification of funds: Each department shall create and maintain a separate sinking fund and a separate safety fund, and in addition thereto the life department shall create and maintain a general old-age pension fund, and the league shall create and maintain a guaranty fund.

Article IV.

SECTION 1. Capital: Each department shall have a capital stock of $100,000, which shall be fully paid in cash before such department begins business. The stock of each department shall be divided into 1,000 shares of $100 each, and certificates issued therefor numbering from 1 to 1,000. The stockholders shall be paid a divided, if earned, of 7 per cent per annum, which dividend shall be cumulative and paid semiannually. The stock shall be nonassessable.

PARAGRAPH 1. Sinking fund: The proceeds from the sale of the capital stock, 1 per cent of the gross premium receipts of each department until its capital stock is retired, and such voluntary donations as may be made thereto, together with the interest accruing thereon, shall constitute the sinking fund of each department creating and maintaining it.

SUBPARAGRAPH 1. Objects of sinking fund: The objects of the sinking fund shall be to create a fund for the retirement of the capital stock of each department, to raise a guaranty fund, and to better protect the

interest of stock and policy holders and cure any impairment in the safety fund of each department.

SUBPAR. 2. Retirement of stock: The stock of each department must be retired, on the basis voted by a majority in value of the stockholders at their first meeting after the tenth anniversary, of the issuance of the first policy of the respective department, from the sinking fund of such department: *Provided*, That the stock of no department shall be retired which would leave its sinking fund with less than $1,000,000 of approved assets.

PAR. 2. Safety fund: Each department shall create and maintain a separate safety fund from such portion of its premiums as the by-laws may prescribe.

SUBPARAGRAPH 1. Object of safety fund: The object of the safety fund shall be to cure any impairment in the reserves of the department creating the same.

PAR. 3. Guaranty fund: The remainder of the sinking fund of each department not used in retiring its stock shall be transferred to and become a part of the guaranty fund, which shall be a common fund of the league and under the management of the life department.

SUBPARAGRAPH 1. Objects of guaranty fund: The objects of the guaranty fund shall be to better protect the safety fund of each department, and thereby afford better security to the policyholders and creditors of the league. When the safety fund of any department becomes exhausted, then resort shall be had to the guaranty fund for the payment of the claims and creditors of such department: *Provided*, That when such resort is had such department shall not declare or pay a dividend to its policyholders until the principal sum so received is repaid, with interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum.

Article V.

SECTION 1. Duration of league: The duration of the league shall be 50 years, but Congress hereby retains the power of amending this charter decennially after the twentieth year.

Article VI.

SECTION 1. Preliminary control: The preliminary corporate powers of the league shall be exercised by the commissioners named in section 3 of the act creating this charter, two of whom shall constitute a quorum for the performance of the duties imposed on them under this charter and the act creating this charter and the charter of the rural credit society.

PARAGRAPH 1. Powers of commissioners: The commissioners shall have power and authority to negotiate with some solvent and well-established life insurance company having at least $400,000,000 assets, and which is incorporated under the laws of some one of the several States, for the purpose of inducing such a company to surrender its State charter and agree to accept and operate under this charter; to choose 3 temporary censors and 10 temporary censor electors, as provided in Article VII of this charter; to establish the temporary executive office of the league; to issue and sell the stock of the life department for cash at not less than par and deposit the proceeds of such sale in some bank selected by them for the use and benefit of the life department, subject to the league's check when the Secretary of Commerce issues a statement authorizing it to do business, and to arrange with the life department after it is organized to issue and purchase or act as the agent for the issuance and sale of the stock of the other departments at not less than par, and to be paid for in cash as each department is organized; to designate the number of directors of the league during its temporary control and incorporate such number in the articles of agreement referred to in the paragraph next following; to do and perform such duties as are imposed on them in the charter of the rural credit society also created by this act; and to employ such assistants, clerks, and agents as they deem necessary to aid them in performing the duties imposed on them under this charter and the charter creating the rural credit society and this act.

PAR. 2. Effect of commissioners' acts: The procuring of the signatures of the chief executive officer and a majority of the directors or trustees of such an insurance company as is referred to in the paragraph immediately preceding to written articles of agreement to accept and operate under this charter shall have the force and effect of transferring all the assets, properties, contracts, and resources owned and possessed by such company and to which it is entitled to the league, and binding the league to assume all the debts and obligations of such company at the time of the signing of such articles of agreement, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding. Such articles of agreement shall be signed by the commissioners, or a majority of them, and delivered to the Secretary of Commerce; and if he approves the same, he shall issue a written statement authorizing the life department of the league to begin business.

PAR. 3. Commissioners to acquire no interest in league: The commissioners shall acquire no interest in the stock of the league nor accept anything of value or the promise of any office or other reward from the officers, directors, or trustees of the company with which they conduct such negotiations. The commissioners shall receive as a compensation for their services the sum of $2,500 each and traveling expenses incurred by them in performing the duties imposed on them under the two charters created by this act, which shall be paid them out of the $40,000 appropriation made immediately available by the act creating this charter; but such compensation and expenses, together with the compensation and expenses of the assistants, clerks, and agents appointed by them, shall not exceed the last-named sum.

Article VII.

SECTION 1. Temporary control: From the date of the execution of the articles of agreement referred to in paragraph 2 of section 1 of Article VI of this charter and until the league's mutualization 10 years thereafter, as provided in section 5 of Article VIII, the corporate powers of the league shall be exercised by a board of directors and such officers and agents as such board may elect, except such powers as are by this charter vested in the censors and censors' electors, temporary and permanent.

SEC. 2. Number of directors: The said articles of agreement shall provide the number of directors, which shall not be less than 9 nor more than 25.

SEC. 3. Election of directors: The first board of directors shall be chosen by the commissioners and named in said articles of agreement, who shall serve until the second Tuesday in April next following, and their successors shall be elected annually thereafter by the stockholders of the life department, each share of such stock being entitled to cast as many votes as there are directors to be elected: *Provided*, That no director shall hold such office after the league's mutualization, but nothing herein is intended to prevent a director from holding the office of trustee when the league becomes mutualized, if he be eligible.

SEC. 4. Election of officers: During the temporary control the officers shall be elected annually by the board of directors.

SEC. 5. Quorum: A majority of the board of directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

SEC. 6. Temporary censors: There shall be three temporary censors, who, at the time their terms of office begin, must be, and for five years next preceding have been, public certified accountants and citizens of the United States.

SEC. 7. Selection of temporary censors: The commissioners shall choose the first board of temporary censors, who shall serve for terms of 8, 12, and 16 months, respectively, and their successors shall be elected annually thereafter for a term of one year each by the temporary censors' electors until the permanent censors' electors have qualified; and the temporary censors shall be inducted into office four months apart after the expiration of the terms of the first board.

PARAGRAPH 1. Temporary censors' electors: There shall be 10 temporary censors' electors, each of whom must be a citizen of the United States who has carried on his own life, for a period of not less than 10 years and in an amount not less than $10,000, a policy of insurance with the company agreeing to accept and operate under this charter but who holds no office or other position with such company and who, while serving as such, shall hold no office or other position with the league. No two of them shall be residents of the same State. The commissioners shall choose the first board of temporary censors' electors, and any vacancy occurring in such board shall be filled by those remaining.

PAR. 2. Duties of temporary censors' electors: Each temporary censors' elector shall possess the privilege of nominating one eligible candidate for temporary censor at each temporary censor's election and to cast one vote for three candidates thereat, and to nominate one eligible candidate to fill any vacancy which may occur in the board of temporary censors' electors and to cast one vote at such election. All such elections shall be by ballot and all ballots must be mailed to the secretary at the league's executive office by United States post in envelopes with the words "Temporary censors' ballot" or "Temporary censors' elector ballot," as the case may be, written or printed in red ink on the address side thereof. Such ballots shall be safely preserved by the secretary and opened and counted in the presence of the temporary censors 10 days after each such election. The temporary censors' electors shall fix the time of such election to suit their convenience, and the time so fixed by them shall be reduced to writing, signed by a majority of them, and mailed to the secretary to be preserved as a permanent record of the league.

PAR. 3. Compensation of temporary censors' electors: On the 31st day of December in each year the league's treasurer shall pay $1,000 to each temporary censors' elector who shall have voted that year at each election referred to in the paragraph immediately preceding.

SEC. 8. Powers of temporary censors: The temporary censors shall have power and authority to supervise all elections, verify the statements, audit the accounts, and inspect the books, papers, transactions, and properties of the league, attend board and committee meetings, become the custodian of one of the keys to the securities vault, and approve each by-law, contract, and agreement of the league in which a director, trustee, or officer is to acquire a direct personal interest.

PARAGRAPH 1. Compensation of temporary censor: Each temporary censor shall be paid a salary of $12,000 annually, in equal monthly installments, and traveling expenses incurred by him in performing his duties.

PAR. 2. Ineligible for reelection: A temporary censor shall be ineligible for reelection.

Article VIII.

SECTION 1. Permanent control: When the league becomes mutualized, as provided in section 5 of this article, its corporate powers shall be exercised by a board of trustees and such officers and agents as such board may elect, except as otherwise expressly provided in this charter.

SEC. 2. Number of trustees: The board of trustees shall consist of as many persons as there are trustee districts, if an eligible person therein be duly elected therefrom.

SEC. 3. Trustee districts: The number and classification of trustee districts and the territory comprising each shall be as follows:

First class: First, Alabama; second, Arizona; third, Arkansas; fourth, California; fifth, Colorado; sixth, Connecticut; seventh, Delaware; eighth, District of Columbia; ninth, Florida; tenth, Georgia.

Second class: Eleventh, Idaho; twelfth, Illinois; thirteenth, Indiana; fourteenth, Iowa; fifteenth, Kansas; sixteenth, Kentucky; seventeenth, Louisiana; eighteenth, Maine; nineteenth, Maryland; twentieth, Massachusetts.

Third class: Twenty-first, Michigan; twenty-second, Minnesota; twenty-third, Mississippi; twenty-fourth, Missouri; twenty-fifth, Montana; twenty-sixth, Nebraska; twenty-seventh, Nevada; twenty-eighth, New Hampshire; twenty-ninth, New Jersey; thirtieth, New Mexico.

Fourth class: Thirty-first, New York; thirty-second, North Carolina; thirty-third, North Dakota; thirty-fourth, Ohio; thirty-fifth, Oklahoma; thirty-sixth, Oregon; thirty-seventh, Pennsylvania; thirty-eighth, Rhode Island; thirty-ninth, South Carolina; fortieth, South Dakota.

Fifth class: Forty-first, Tennessee; forty-second, Texas; forty-third, Utah; forty-fourth, Vermont; forty-fifth, Virginia; forty-sixth, Washington; forty-seventh, West Virginia; forty-eighth, Wisconsin; forty-ninth, Wyoming.

SEC. 4. Quorum: Each member of the board of trustees shall have one vote on the board, and a majority shall constitute a quorum.

SEC. 5. Mutualization of league: Ten years from the execution of the articles of agreement referred to in paragraph 2 of section 1 of Article VI of this charter, the board of directors must meet for the purpose of mutualizing the league by electing one eligible person from each trustee district, and the persons so elected shall constitute the league's first board of trustees. Such trustees shall be divided into five classes, in the order provided in section 3 of this article. The term of the first class shall expire on the second Tuesday in April next following; that of the second class one year from that time; that of the third class two years from that time; that of the fourth class three years from that time; and that of the fifth class four years from that time; and so on, consecutively, in each and every year thereafter, so that all of one class shall be elected annually for a term of five years. All vacancies occurring on the board of trustees by death, resignation, or otherwise shall be filled by the members of the board remaining until the next general election: *Provided*, That when a vacancy occurs by reason of the recall of a trustee at a confidence election, as provided in paragraph 2 of section 10 of this article, a special election must be called by the president within six, and not sooner than four, months after such vacancy occurs to fill such unexpired term.

SEC. 6. Qualification of trustees: Each trustee shall be a citizen of the United States, bona fide resident of his district, and qualified positive elector of the league, and remain such during his term of office.

SEC. 7. Annual election of trustees: The annual election of trustees to fill the places of the outgoing class shall be on the second Tuesday in March of each year, and the newly elected members shall take charge of their office on the second Tuesday in April next following.

SEC. 8. Manner of electing trustees: The trustees shall be elected by the ballots of the qualified positive electors residing in their respective trustee districts. Such ballots shall be mailed to the secretary at the league's executive office by the United States post in official envelopes, with the words "Official trustee ballot" written or printed in red ink on the address side thereof.

PARAGRAPH 1. Ballots and envelopes—How furnished: It shall be the duty of the secretary 30 days before an election of trustee to mail one official ballot and envelope to each qualified positive elector residing in the trustee district in which such election is to be held.

PAR. 2. Opening, counting, and inspecting ballots: The secretary shall, on the fourth Tuesday in March of each year, open and count the ballots cast for trustees at the election held two weeks before in the presence of the censors, who shall inspect and count the same. Any candidate at such election may, at his own expense, appear at such opening and counting, either in person or by one representative appointed by him in writing, who may also inspect the same.

PAR. 3. Candidates for trustee: Each eligible person who desires to become a candidate for trustee of his district must notify the secretary of such desire three months before an election, and the secretary shall inform such person of the approximate expense of postage and printing necessary to place his name before the qualified positive electors of his district. If such person, within 20 days after mailing such information, make remittance to cover such approximate expense, it shall be the further duty of the secretary to cause the name, address, occupation, and business or professional connections of each such candidate to be printed on each ballot sent out by him, and mail one of such ballots to each qualified positive elector who has resided in such district one or more years. The candidate receiving a plurality of the votes cast at such election shall be declared elected. If candidates tie at an election, a special election shall be held one month after the opening and counting of such ballots to decide the issue between them.

SEC. 9. Positive elector defined: Each citizen of the United States who has been a bona fide resident of a trustee district for at least one year, and who carries, and has carried for a period of at least 10 years, a policy or policies of insurance on his own life with the league or company reinsured by it, which policy or policies have unencumbered reserve values aggregating not less than $5,000 (such reserves to be calculated on the American experience table of mortality with interest at 3 per cent per annum on the net premium basis), is defined to be a positive elector, and shall be entitled to hold the office of trustee and to cast one ballot for a candidate for trustee of a district in which at least 20 qualified positive electors reside and have resided at least one year, unless he shall have been disqualified as provided in paragraph 1 of this section.

PARAGRAPH 1. Disqualification of positive electors: Any positive elector may be disqualified as follows: First, by himself, either by making a written request of the league for that express purpose or by his failure or refusal to exercise his privilege to vote at a trustee election when entitled so to do; second, or by the negative electors at a confidence election, as provided in paragraph 2 of section 10 of this article. No disqualified positive elector shall vote for trustee or hold such office.

SEC. 10. Negative elector defined: Each citizen of the United States who has been a bona fide resident of a trustee district for at least one year and who carries and has carried for a period of at least 10 years a policy or policies of insurance on his own life with the league or company reinsured by it, which policies have unencumbered reserve values aggregating not less than $500 nor more than $5,000 (such reserves to be calculated on the same basis as provided in section 9 of this article), is defined to be a negative elector and shall be entitled to cast one vote by official ballot at each confidence election held in his confidence-election district to disqualify a qualified positive elector or electors residing in the same district.

PARAGRAPH 1. Confidence election districts: The District of Columbia, each county, each parish in a State having no county government, and each city not embraced in a county or parish but situated in a trustee district, shall constitute a separate confidence election district.

PAR. 2. Manner of calling confidence elections: When 25 per cent of the negative electors of a confidence election district petition the league in writing to cast a vote of confidence on one or any number of qualified positive electors residing therein, it shall be the duty of the secretary to prepare ballots containing the names of the qualified positive electors to be voted on and mail one to each negative elector thereof, together with an official envelope. If a majority of the negative electors of such district vote a lack of confidence in any qualified positive elector, it shall have the effect of disqualifying him from thereafter voting for trustee or holding such office. The president, a majority of the censors or temporary censors, as the case may be, or 20 per cent of the trustees may call confidence elections at will: *Provided*, That not more than one confidence election shall be held during a period of five years to disqualify the same qualified positive elector.

SEC. 11. Annual election of officers: The board of trustees shall, on Wednesday next following the second Tuesday in April of each year, elect a president, secretary, seven members of the advisory council, and such other officers as the by-laws may prescribe.

PARAGRAPH 1. Terms of office of officers: The officers shall be elected for a term of one year each and until others are elected in their stead.

SEC. 12. Advisory council: The advisory council shall consist of not less than 7 nor more than 15 persons, who shall be qualified positive electors.

PARAGRAPH 1. Power of advisory council: The advisory council may exercise such power and authority as shall be delegated to them by the board of trustees, which shall not exceed the power and authority such board may exercise under this charter: *Provided*, That any by-law enacted by the advisory council shall remain in force and effect only until the day following the next meeting of the board, and the chairman of such council shall immediately upon the enactment of a by-law notify each member of the board of the same and furnish each with a true copy thereof.

SEC. 13. Censors: The directors and trustees are authorized to negotiate with the United Commercial Travelers of America, a fraternal association with its supreme council in Columbus, Ohio, or the Travelers' Protective Association, with its supreme council in St. Louis, Mo., for the purpose of inducing one of them to make the life department of the league the official life insurance company for its members, under such terms and conditions as may be mutually agreed upon by the board of directors or trustees of the league and duly authorized officials of such fraternal association and approved by the Secretary of Commerce. When such agreement is duly and properly executed, then each member of such fraternal association residing in a censor's district and carrying on his own life, with the league or company reinsured by it, a policy of insurance for not less than $1,000, is defined to be a censor's elector and shall be entitled to nominate one candidate for censor at each censor's election held therein and cast one vote at such election.

PARAGRAPH 1. Designation of districts to hold censors' elections: At each annual election of officers the board of trustees shall designate three districts in which censors' elections shall be held the following year. If the board fails or refuses to designate such districts, the censors in office shall perform such duty.

PAR. 2. Number and qualification of censors: There shall be three censors elected annually for a term of one year each, who shall take charge of their office four months apart and be ineligible for reelection. A censor must be, and for five years next preceding his election have been, a public certified accountant, and a resident of or maintain a business office in the censor's district from which he is elected.

PAR. 3. Censor's district: A censor's district shall comprise a city in the United States with a population of not less than 100,000 in which such fraternal association has a local council with at least 10 qualified censors' electors.

PAR. 4. Censors from separate States: No two censors serving at one time shall be residents of the same trustee district.

PAR. 5. Method of electing censors: The agreement between the league and such fraternal association shall prescribe the method of holding censors' elections, which shall have the force and effect of a by-law and not subject to amendment or repeal except by the mutual consent of the board of trustees and the supreme council of such fraternal association: *Provided*, That until censors' electors have qualified in at least 10 censors' districts the temporary censors' electors shall continue to elect temporary censors.

SUBPARAGRAPH 1. Prohibition against censors' electors: No censor's elector shall hold any office or other position with the league nor recommend any person for an office or other position with it, and any censor's elector violating the provisions of this subparagraph shall be rendered ineligible to vote at a censor's election.

PAR. 6. Compensation of censors: Each censor shall be paid an annual salary of $12,000, in equal monthly installments, and traveling expenses incurred by him while performing his duties.

PAR. 7. Authority of censors: The censors shall have power and authority to supervise all elections, call confidence elections, audit the accounts, verify the statements, and inspect the books, papers, transactions, and properties of the league, become the custodians of one of the keys to the securities vault, and approve each by-law, contract, and agreement in which a director, trustee, or officer making the same is to acquire a direct personal interest.

PAR. 8. Special old-age pension fund: In consideration of the service such fraternal association would render the league in keeping it properly inspected, the board of directors and trustees are authorized to raise a special old-age pension fund for the sole use and benefit of the members of such fraternal association as may be mutually agreed upon by the board of directors or trustees of the league and the supreme council of such fraternal association: *Provided*, That no person holding an office or other position with the league shall become a beneficiary of such fund.

SEC. 14. Political control prohibited: No member of the board of trustees or advisory council shall become a candidate for or hold any elective office under any Government or with any political party while holding either of such places of trust with the league.

Article IX.

SECTION 1. General old-age pension fund: When the stock of the life department is retired, such department shall begin the accumulation of a general old-age pension fund by placing therein such portion of its premium income as the by-laws may prescribe, not to exceed one-tenth of 1 per cent, the interest and other income from which shall become available at such time as the board of trustees may decide, and paid annually thereafter in the manner and to the persons complying with one of the requirements imposed in paragraph 1 of this section.

PARAGRAPH 1. Beneficiaries of general old-age pension fund: Each person who has in full force and effect an unencumbered insurance or deferred forfeitable annuity contract which he has carried on his own life with the league or company reinsured by it, for the amount and time, and who has attained the age prescribed, respectively, in one of the following four subdivisions of this paragraph, shall be entitled per capita to an equal portion of the yearly available income of the general old-age pension fund:

First. Those who for 40 years have carried such insurance for not less than $1,000, or such annuity on which the premiums aggregate $100, and have attained the age of 65 years.

Second. Or those who for 30 years have carried such insurance for not less than $2,000, or such annuity on which the premiums aggregate $200, and have attained the age of 67 years.

Third. Or those who for 20 years have carried such insurance for not less than $3,000, or such annuity on which the premiums aggregate $300, and have attained the age of 68 years.

Fourth. Or those who for 10 years have carried such insurance for not less than $4,000, or such annuity on which the premiums aggregate $400, and have attained the age of 70 years.

PAR. 2. Endowment of general old-age pension fund: Any person may voluntarily endow the general old-age pension fund, the income from which to become available and payable to beneficiaries at such time or the happening of such event and under such terms as may be mutually agreed upon, in writing, by and between the endower and the board of directors or trustees; but the available income from every such endowment must be general and apply and be paid, without exception, as is expressly provided in paragraph 1 of this section.

PAR. 3. Benefactors' names to appear: Each person endowing the general old-age pension fund in a sum for not less than $1,000,000 shall have the right to designate the name of one benefactor, which name shall be printed on each check remitting the available portion of such fund to the beneficiaries thereof, such names to appear in the order in which the endowments are made, beginning with the first.

PAR. 4. Objects of general old-age pension fund: The objects of the general old-age person fund are to encourage our youth to capitalize their future income and protect themselves against want in old age, and to better protect the interests of policyholders of all departments.

To meet the last-stated object it is provided that in the event the guaranty fund becomes exhausted from any cause, then, and in such event only, shall the general old-age pension fund be liable to the extent of 25 per cent, but the department causing such exhaustion shall not declare or pay a dividend to its stock or policy holders until the general old-age pension fund is fully reimbursed, both in principal and interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum for the sum so used.

Article X.

SECTION 1. Obligation to rural credit society: The life department of the league hereby becomes obligated to the rural credit society as follows:

First. To invest $50,000 in the capital stock of each of the 48 branches of said society, each of such investments to be made within 30 days after the Secretary of Agriculture notifies the league of the organization of the respective branch.

Second. To purchase at the market price and at all times carry $100,000 of the credit paper of each branch of said society, provided such society has such an amount it is willing to sell to the league.

Third. To select annually one auditor and such number of deputy auditors for said society as the president of the league deems necessary for the business requirements of said society, and prepare a schedule of compensation for them and submit the same to the censors of said society for approval.

Fourth. And to act as trustee for the acceptance from the Government of the United States the guaranty fund of said society, invest the same, and pay into the society's treasury the principal and accrued interest of said fund, less one-half of 1 per cent per annum as the league's compensation for the risk and expense of such trust, at such time or times and in such amounts as the Secretary of Agriculture may require.

PARAGRAPH 1. Obligations enforced in the courts: The rural credit society may enforce the obligations imposed on the league in this article by resort to any court of law or equity in the United States having jurisdiction of the matter.

Article XI.

SECTION 1. Taxes: The league shall pay into the Treasury of the United States 2 per cent per annum on its paid-up capital stock of each department and such rates on its real estate owned by it to the States where situated as may be provided by the laws of such States.

PARAGRAPH 1. Second-class mail privilege: The league's premium and policyholders' dividend notices and receipts and periodical bulletins to its policyholders shall be rated as second-class matter and sent through the mails of the United States as such, under such rules and regulations as the Postmaster General may prescribe.

Article XII.

SECTION 1. Statements: The league shall render such statements to the Department of Commerce as the Secretary of Commerce may require.

PARAGRAPH 1. Quinquennial statements: The league shall quinquennially publish a full itemized statement, including all by-laws, and send to any pubic library in the United States copy thereof which makes written request therefor three months before such publication and remits to cover the expense in sending out the same.

Article XIII.

SECTION 1. Legal process agent: The league shall at all times have an agent in the District of Columbia and each of the several States on whom legal process may be served, and furnish the Secretary of Commerce with a list of the same.

Article XIV.

SECTION 1. Congress to prescribe penalties: The Congress shall enact appropriate legislation imposing penalties for the violation of the terms of this charter and the league's by-laws and for crimes and misdemeanors against the corporation."

SEC. 7. That any president, vice president, director, trustee, member of the advisory council, censor, temporary censor, inspector, medical examiner, secretary, officer, manager, agent, or other representative of the league, who embezzles, abstracts, or willfully misappropriates any of the moneys, funds, or credits of the league; or who knowingly, without first obtaining the written approval of the censors or temporary censors, makes a contract or enacts a by-law for the league through which he is to acquire a direct personal pecuniary interest; or who makes any false entry in any book, report, or statement of the league with intent, in either case, to injure or defraud the league or any company, body politic or corporate, or any firm or individual persons, or to deceive any officer or censor or temporary censor of the league; or obtains or causes to be obtained any policy or other contract from the league for the purpose of defrauding it; and every person who with like intent aids or abets any officer, clerk, agent, medical examiner, or other representative of the league in the violation of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall upon conviction be imprisoned for not less than 2 nor more than 10 years.

SEC. 8. That the sum of $25,040,000 is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to effect the purposes of this act, of which $40,000 shall become available immediately to defray the preliminary expense of putting this act in operation. Such last-mentioned sum, or so much thereof as may be necessary, shall be paid by the Treasurer upon the presentation to him of vouchers duly signed by the chairman of said commissioners and approved by the Auditor of the Treasury. The commissioners shall elect one of their number as chairman, who shall preside at their meetings, call the commissioners together, direct the activities of themselves and such experts, agents, and clerks as they may appoint to aid them, and sign all vouchers on the Treasurer, which vouchers shall not aggregate the sum of $40,000. The commissioners shall fix the compensation to be allowed the experts, agents, and clerks appointed to aid them. They shall be compensated by a salary of $2,500 each and traveling expenses incurred by them in performing the duties imposed on them under this act.

The said sum of $25,000,000 hereby appropriated shall become available when said commissioners have caused the articles of agreement referred to in paragraph 2 of section 1 of Article VI of the said liberty insurance league charter, created by this act, to be signed and executed in the manner therein prescribed and approved by the Secretary of Commerce, when said sum shall be paid into the treasury of said league by the Treasurer of the United States upon the presentation to him of a voucher duly signed by the Secretary of Commerce and approved by the Auditor of the Treasury.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARION E. RHODES,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, before discussing the merits of House bill 10453, the so-called railroad bill, I desire to make some general observations.

A few days ago on the floor of the House, in discussing the question of river and harbor improvement, I stated that the greatest domestic question before the American people at this time is the transportation problem. To-day Congress is engaged in an effort to prescribe the rules and regulations under which the railroads are to operate in the future. It might be interesting to briefly note in this connection the early history of legislation relating to railroad-rate regulation and railroad building. Twenty years ago the question was, Should the Government regulate transportation by fixing rates, fares, and charges, or should that matter be left entirely in the hands of the carriers themselves? Railroad people generally were agreed the Government should not interfere in the matter of railroad control, and many argued Congress had no authority under the Constitution to go that far. In fact, the man who advocated the right of Government supervision of railroads at that time was regarded as a reformer, advocating a species of socialism. But the radical of that time is the conservative of to-day, because everybody concedes not only the right of the Government to exercise such control, but the necessity as well.

The celebrated Herbert Hoover is reported in the newspapers a few days ago to have said, "This will be the last chance for the railroads to make good, and if they fail Government ownership is the inevitable result."

I did not agree with Mr. Hoover on some of the things he did in connection with the late war, especially when he made us eat a mixture of corn meal and wheat bran after the armistice was signed while he sent our flour to Europe, yet I fully agree with him in what he had to say concerning the future conduct of the railroads.

So, whether we favor Government ownership or whether we oppose it, the fact remains we are tending in that direction, and much will depend upon the railroads themselves as to what the result will be in that regard.

Let me say here that while I shall vote against this bill I shall do so because I believe it will work a hardship upon the people if enacted into law, and not because I want to punish the railroads for any of their shortcomings in days past and gone.

I rather like the great transcontinental railways of our country for what they have done for civilization. We must not forget the fact that the builders of railroads in the early days were among the honored pioneers of this country. We must not forget the fact also that in a great majority of instances the pioneer builders of railroads not only encountered great difficulties but found themselves the most gigantic financial failures the country ever saw.

That building railroads was a hazardous business in the early days there is no doubt; and because it was a hazardous business the railroads, or, I should say, the builders of railroads, appealed to the Federal Government to aid them in their endeavors. They also appealed to State governments, county governments, and municipal governments. The basis of their appeal was that the building of railroads was a public necessity, therefore the public ought to contribute of its land and money. Federal, State, county, and municipal Governments accepted the explanation given by the railroads and contributed liberally.

It is authentically estimated that the Federal Government gave the railroads from time to time enough of its public land to make five great States equal in area to Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Ohio, and Indiana. State governments and county governments and municipal governments all gave liberally to the railroads of their money and property. Some of the counties in my own State (Missouri) gave so liberally the people have yet outstanding railroad debts. One county (St. Clair County, Mo.) is said to have been required to hold its sessions of the county court in the woods since the Civil War until last year, when the matter was settled by compromise in order that the county judges might escape going to jail for refusing to recognize an old railroad debt.

I take it this review of the history of railroad building in this country brings us face to face with the fundamental right of the Government to at least exercise a restraining influence over the

railways and transportation companies engaged in the interstate commerce of our country.

The transportation question is one that lies close to all the people. It affects every individual, every community, and all parts of the country either directly or indirectly. Both capital and labor are mutually dependent upon transportation in the production of wealth.

It is not only important that lines of transportation be established, but it is important that after they are established the rates should be just and the service adequate.

The community which is denied the opportunity to move its products to market at fair rates and upon an even footing with a competing community must inevitably suffer great loss. Therefore the very growth, development, and prosperity of every community to a very marked degree depends upon the transportation of the products of the community at large.

The truth is, the founders of our Republic saw at the very outset it was necessary to provide a means of regulating commerce, and at the same time they saw the necessity of fixing a basis of equality and uniformity among the several States in the transportation of their goods, wares, and merchandise. We have to go to no other source for authority on which to base this argument than the Constitution of the United States, because it is therein ordained that the Congress of the United States shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States.

I now call attention to some of the objectionable features of the bill.

I am fundamentally opposed to the 5½ per cent guaranty by the Government to the railroads on the book value of their property. The book value of the railroads in the United States is $19,000,000,000. Five and one-half per cent of $19,000,000,000 is $1,045,000,000. This means that Congress, by the terms of this bill, binds the American people to provide the railroads for the next two years with the sum of $1,045,000,000 annually in addition to the $300,000,000 loan. How is this money to be raised? It can only be raised, under the provisions of this bill, by the Interstate Commerce Commission at once raising freight and passenger fares. There is no doubt but the people will be required to pay higher freight and passenger rates if this bill becomes a law. This is conceded by friends of the measure, and defended upon the ground that the railroads, to use the language of this morning's Washington Post, "are ruined, demoralized, and disorganized." If my recollection is correct, the railroads were ruined, demoralized, and disorganized at the time the Government acquired control. No man in Missouri knows this to be true any better than myself. In 1914, in a personal suit, reported in volume 270 of the Missouri Supreme Court Report, page 547, entitled "The State ex rel. M. E. Rhodes *v.* Public Service Commission and Chicago & Alton Railroad Co., appellants," I opposed every interstate line of railroad in Missouri—14 in all—in their effort to raise freight and passenger rates above those fixed by law. At that time over half of these lines were in the hands of receivers, including such roads as the Missouri Pacific, the Frisco, the Rock Island, and Wabash.

Mr. B. F. Bush, in 1914 president of the Missouri Pacific, now regional director of that system, in an argument before the Public Service Commission of Missouri, as a plea for higher rates, said that bankruptcy was staring the railroads in the face and that the sheriffs were already knocking at their doors. I mention this to remind Congress and the country that the ruined, demoralized, and disorganized condition of the railroads to-day, which I admit is largely true, was also true before Government control. The railroad-paid newspapers of the country are seeking to conceal the prewar condition of the railroads by magnifying present conditions. They also undertake to prejudice the public in favor of this bill by holding out the opposition of railway employees to the so-called labor board section of the bill. To my mind the so-called railroad labor board provided for in this bill, and which is opposed by the employees, is the least objectionable provision in the bill. I base my objection to this bill chiefly upon other grounds. However, I concede the employees are justified in objecting to the bill upon those grounds, and do not blame them for it. I believe, if I were an owner of railroad stock I would also object to section 306 of this bill, because owners of railroad stock, as well as employees belonging to organized labor, are prohibited from membership on the railroad labor board. My opinion is, if this board is to be created at all, the owners of railroad stock, organized labor, and the public should be equally represented upon the board. Therefore, as section 306 now stands, it is a snare and a delusion, and if I had my way about it I would strike out the entire section.

I am also opposed to the $300,000,000 loan provided for in section 210. How can the Government loan the railroads this great sum of money at this time, when we can not even pay the soldier boys a bonus? We haven't got it. But it is said the roads are broke and must have the money. My answer to this is, the Government has not the money to loan, and if the roads must have it, they can get it from the banks and from private capital. Let no man dispute the assertion that there is abundant private capital for this purpose. Mr. Henry F. Davidson, of New York fame, is now in Europe trying to finance an international corporation of some sort to be used in conjunction with the League of Nations in financing the world. Why do not some of these philanthropists help out at home?

Under the refunding provisions of this bill, the $300,000,000 loan provided for may run 10 years. My guess is to-day, that if this bill passes Congress will be asked not only to increase the loan within the two-year period, but will be asked to extend the 5½ per cent guaranty period to not less than five years. In short, this bill means that the Government is asked to underwrite the railroad business, and I am not in favor of doing it. This bill is fearfully and wonderfully made.

In conclusion, let me say Congress does not have to pass this bill in order that the railroads may go back to their owners. Under the terms of the Federal control act, the act of August 29, 1916, and the President's recent proclamation, the railroads go back to their owners March 1, 1920, whether we pass this bill or not. There has never been a greater piece of intentional humbuggery put over on the American people than the claim by the railroads and the friends of this bill, that if this bill is not passed the railroads can not be returned to their owners. Some people may believe this, but I know better. In my opinion this is what should be done, and all that should be done. Let the railroads go back automatically under the President's proclamation and existing law. Then let the railroads figure out exactly how much the Government of the United States owes them, and present their demand. When that is done I am ready to vote for the passage of a bill to pay them. That is all the Government intended to do in the first place, and all it has ever agreed to do.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALVOR STEENERSON,

OF MINNESOTA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920,

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Speaker, the railroads were taken over by the Government as a war necessity, and the President has by proclamation ordered them returned to their owners on March 1 next.

During Government operation and control the compensation of railroad employees has been increased, amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars per annum, and other expenses of operation have likewise increased. To compensate for these increased expenses, freight rates have increased more than 25 per cent and passenger rates nearly 50 per cent, and yet even with these increased rates the Government, it is stated, has, during the period of Federal control, lost more than $800,000,000, and we have loaned them over $900,000,000. The increased railroad passenger and freight rates are only effective during Government control, and if the railroads should be returned on March 1 next without legislation, most, if not all of them, would face bankruptcy and would have to go into the hands of receivers. This would probably mean a general panic and possible disaster throughout the whole country. Clearly, then, it is our duty to make provision by law for the return of the railroads in such a way that they can function and serve the people efficiently. As the railroads were taken over as a war measure, when the war ceases we are in duty bound to return them.

I have given this bill some thought and I believe every fair-minded man who understands it will agree in the opinion that it is a great piece of constructive legislation. Time will not permit to examine the many features of the bill. The main point about it is that it establishes a strict Government control of the operation of the railroads, both as to financing and as to transportation charges. It will do away with the water stock for the future, one of the things that has brought the railroads into disfavor and disrepute in the past. It preserves, so far as is necessary in the public interest, the autonomy of the States and their control over local matters.

I have read and reread the labor provisions of the bill and I am unable to find anything unfair to the workmen. I have no reason whatever to vote for any measure that would be unfair

to railroad labor. I count many of the laboring men as acquaintances and friends. I would do nothing to injure them. The bill provides for the method of voluntary arbitration. There is no penalizing of strikes. The antistrike provision of the original Cummins bill is not there. In labor disputes it makes it possible to have a determination by representatives chosen by the contending interests. The public is protected, and I believe that the plan devised will operate with success. I believe that experience will demonstrate the wisdom and practicability of these provisions of the bill. I have received many letters and pamphlets, both for and against this bill, and I have received representatives of labor organizations; I have listened to them with attention and sympathy. I have tried to approach the questions involved with an open mind to do what was right, not only to labor, but to all the people. The real objection, however, that has been urged against this bill is based upon the theory that public ownership and operation of railroads is preferable. It has been strongly urged that the people are in favor of Government ownership, but no referendum or vote has ever been taken on the question. Neither the Republican nor Democratic Party, either in National, State, or district, have ever had a plank in their platforms in its favor. The last Republican platform, among other things, contained this plank:

The entire transportation system of the country has become essentially national. We, therefore, favor such action by legislation or, if necessary, through an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will result in placing it under complete Federal control.

This is the last official expression so far as that party is concerned. If the people really desire Government ownership and so express themselves, I see no reason why the Representatives should not vote for it, but until they do, it seems to me it would be a breach of confidence on the part of a Representative elected by either of those parties to vote for it. In addition to taking over the railroads the Government also took over the telegraph and telephones as a war measure, and I favored their return, and this Congress passed the necessary legislation for that purpose. The same reasons that impelled that action are controlling with reference to the question now before us. I can not, therefore, escape the conclusion that it is our bounden duty to adopt this conference report and let this bill become a law.

Federal Control of Railroads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. McKINLEY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920,

On the conference report on the bill (H. R. 10453) to provide for the termination of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation; to provide for the settlement of disputes between carriers and their employees; to further amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. McKINLEY. Mr. Speaker, if you favor Government ownership vote to defeat this bill. If you believe in private ownership and operation vote for this bill.

If I were an owner of railroad bonds I would want Government ownership. As a taxpayer and user of railroads I prefer private ownership.

We are at the parting of the ways. We must decide with this bill whether we want the railroads owned and operated by the Government or whether we want them owned and run under private control. If the latter, the Government is to fix the value of their property, name the rate of interest, prescribe the freight rates, and compel the roads to pay good wages to the employees. This I understand to be the purpose of this bill.

Very properly the strike clause has been eliminated. This change is right. The strike clause was not workable. In every condition of life, in the churches, in the schools, in business, men's opinions do not always coincide, and it is necessary to give and take—to yield part of our own opinion or contention in order that the peace, good will, and the business of the world may go quietly along. This situation can only be brought about by arbitration. In fact, that is the real purpose of our courts. Differences between citizens arise which they can not settle between themselves. One side or both appeals to the court. The court hears the evidence and decides. In the case of an appeal to the court the decision is final and the citizen must accept. This is not so in this railroad bill. There is no compulsion. If any of the organizations to whom any of the railroad employees belong are not satisfied with their pay, they have full power to demand an increase. If same is denied they may demand a full hearing by the board of arbitration. If they are not satisfied with the decision they may strike. What plan can be more fair to an employee? Under this plan the railroads are compelled to make a full showing of conditions, they can conceal nothing, and if an increase is granted the railroads are bound by law to pay same even if it bankrupts them to do so.

On the other hand, the employees are not bound to accept the decision if it is unsatisfactory and can go on a strike to enforce their greater demand.

I regret to see expressions by certain classes of newspapers, and also occasionally by a Congressman, of a desire to confiscate railroads. There are outstanding in the United States 40,000,000 life-insurance policies, policies owned by you and by me for the purpose of protecting our loved ones in case death comes to us. I wonder if these people who so glibly talk of confiscation, or, what is the same thing, cutting off the railroads' power to earn interest, realize that the security back of his insurance policy is in a large part railroad mortgages? About one-fourth of all railroad bonds are owned by savings banks and insurance companies.

Objection is made by the opponents of this bill, many of whom doubtless favor Government ownership, to the clause which provides—for two years only—a guaranty of 5½ per cent interest upon the value of the property. Remember, this interest rate is 5½ per cent, not on watered stock, but upon the real value of the property.

How is this value to be ascertained? Is it to be named by the railroads? No. It is to be fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission. This commission is appointed by the President of the United States. In the past its decisions have been friendly to the public and not to the railroads. Their valuations will wipe out all water in railroad property. To-day when 4¼ per cent tax-free bonds of the United States are selling below par it will be admitted that 5½ per cent is a very low rate of income in general business, as at least one-third of this income from railroad bonds must be repaid in city, State, and Federal taxes.

Now, we have come to the point where, in my mind, we must decide whether we will have private ownership and operation under Government supervision or whether we will have railroad bankruptcy and, of necessity, Government ownership. The population of the United States grows at the rate of 2 per cent a year. All the people and every industry are absolutely dependent upon efficient railroad service. Efficient service and prompt freight distribution are vital. Without them our present civilization would collapse. One hundred years ago my grandfather, upon a southern Ohio farm, with his family of eight children, felt no need of railroads. They cut their trees for fuel; spun the wool grown upon the backs of their own sheep for clothing; they raised their own tobacco; took their wheat to the mill to be ground; they dried their own fruit and sorted their own vegetables. Even their shoes and boots were made by the village cobbler from hides taken off the backs of their own cattle.

To-day the dweller in the towns, comprising two-thirds of the population, is dependent upon the railroads for everything. Even the farmer—outside of fruit, vegetables, and salt pork—must come to the railroad station for every necessity. Ten years ago James J. Hill, the wisest railroad builder of all time, said that in order to keep up with the demands of the population that the railroads of the country must spend $1,000,000,000 every year of new money for additional track, terminals, cars, and engines on account of the strangling policy of the Interstate Commerce Commission; the railroad credit was so impaired they could not borrow the money to make this expenditure. Consequently we suffered from the awful railroad breakdown when the stress of war came upon us. It is now estimated that $6,000,000,000, an amount practically one-half of the present mortgage debt of the 250,000 miles of railroads of the country, will be needed to rehabilitate the railroads, rebuild and extend the necessary track, add to the present terminals, and buy more cars and engines to cover the demands for the convenience of the people during the next five years. This $6,000,000,000, over one-fourth the bonded debt of the whole United States Government, about half the present mortgage debt of the railroads, must be obtained by the railroads from the people through the sale to the people of railroad securities. The railroads when they go to the private investor in the money market must come in competition with the man that wants to borrow money to build a house, enlarge a factory, to start a bank, or to increase a growing business. The notes of the railroads must be as attractive as to interest and as sure of repayment as to

principal as the notes of the concerns in other business. If there is any question as to the ability to repay both principal and interest, the savings of the people will not go into the new railroad securities. If the billions of money needed can not be borrowed, the railroads will go into bankruptcy and the Government will be compelled to take them over to rehabilitate them. Unless the railroads are allowed sufficient earnings to establish their credit, all this will happen just as sure as 2 and 2 make 4.

In closing, let me again repeat that the interest of 5½ per cent guaranteed is not upon a value set by the railroads but a value fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Interstate Commerce Commission is appointed by the President of the United States.

The Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY Z. OSBORNE,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Speaker, the considerations which appear to me to be controlling upon the question of the return of the railroads to their owners may be stated briefly as follows:

In 1917 our Nation found itself a party in a great World War. It was of the utmost importance that the administration in charge of the American forces should be accorded the most sweeping powers in order to put the full physical strength of the country into the contest. As a Member of the House of Representatives I am glad, and shall always be glad, that I voted on every occasion for the granting of such powers to the President. These grants of power were, however, in most cases accompanied by a direct statement in the statutes adopted that they were given for the period of the war, and for that period only; that they would be returned to the people when the emergency passed. In every expression of mine upon this floor stating the reasons for my votes to extend these extraordinary powers I laid stress upon their temporary character and the intention that they should cease at the appropriate time.

One of these sweeping powers was the taking over of the transportation service. It was highly important, in order that the transportation of troops, supplies, and munitions of war should be paramount, that the railway lines should be taken over by the Government. I fully approved that policy and believe it was a potent factor in making possible the transporting overseas of 2,000,000 men, with supplies and equipment, in a few months. That this Government employment of the railways embarrassed private shipments and passenger service is, as we all know, true. But it is to be remembered that those who had charge of the railways had a stupendous task, and it was impossible for them to proceed in matters of individual judgment without causing such inconveniences and without in some cases—perhaps in many—making serious mistakes. Mistakes will always occur where action is taken summarily and decisions made instantly, as must be the case in time of war.

It must be remembered, however, that the railways in this country are property owned by some one. When the Government took possession of the railways it became morally bound to see that their owners did not suffer a greater loss than was absolutely necessary. This obligation would, in my opinion, extend to the return of this property to its owners, upon the passing of the emergency, in as nearly as possible the condition in which it was received; if returned in a worse condition, the damage to private owners should be compensated for.

Now that the war is over, it seems to me that good morals and honesty require that the avowed intention of the Government to restore this property to its owners ought presently to be fulfilled. The President publicly stated nearly a year ago that it was his intention to return the railroad properties to their owners on the first of the present year. Subsequently he changed the date to the 1st of March, 1920.

The bill under consideration is the best work of the great committees of the Senate and House of Representatives which have had the matter of this return in charge. It may not be perfect, and doubtless is not perfect. It is, however, the result of the best endeavors of the experienced legislators of the Congress.

The question of whether the railroads should be owned and conducted by the Government or managed under some such plan as that known as the Plumb plan is aside from the question here at issue. These may properly be considered later on their merits and unconnected with this act of plain honesty now to be fulfilled by the passage of this bill. As to Government ownership, personally I have not reached a full conclusion. The experiences with handling the railroads during the war would induce a conclusion adverse to Government ownership. In fairness, however, it must be said that the handling of the railways during this period has been so influenced and controlled by the necessities of war that it is hardly a fair test. In any event, however, the question is a separate one, and the seizure of the railways by the Government as a war measure ought not to be taken advantage of to foster any theories for or against the principle of Government ownership.

It is of great importance that the railways should be returned under such terms as to fortify their credits and make possible the raising of the necessary funds whereby to restore their depleted equipment and the physical condition of their roads, which has unquestionably run down during the war, and also to make possible the extension of their facilities to meet the requirements of our expanded commerce. The financial provisions of this bill are intended for that purpose. The best financial authorities hold that these provisions are not too favorable to the companies, and, indeed, many believe them not favorable enough. We who are not expert in these matters are inclined to accept the judgment of the able members of the committees who have reached the solution here proposed.

I presume that there are few Members who have not received many communications on all sides of the labor question. I certainly have. It is not surprising that labor organizations, as well as their opponents, should be very earnest in this matter, and that the language in which their views are expressed often should be extreme. I have received from both sides telegrams and communications of a threatening nature. In the circumstances in which these were sent it would seem nearer their intent to call them messages of warning. For myself I will say of these messages that I do not resent them, because the moving nature of their subject may excuse intemperate expressions; but, without reference to such warnings or threats, I shall be guided, as I endeavor to be guided with respect to all votes which I cast here, by my honest conviction founded upon careful consideration of all the facts and arguments before me, in the light of what I believe to be just and right and for the Nation's good, trusting that such action will in the long run meet the approval of the average public opinion, which is usually just.

Guided by these considerations I shall cast my vote in favor of the conference report upon the railroad bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. STEVENSON,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920,

On the conference report on the bill (H. R. 10453) to provide for the termination of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation; to provide for the settlement of disputes between carriers and their employees; to further amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, I regret very much my inability to vote for the report of the conference committee on the railroad bill. I am exceedingly anxious to avoid the possibility of Government ownership in any form and would sacrifice a good deal to enact legislation that would effect the proper return and rehabilitation of the railroads, but there are a number of insuperable objections in the bill, some of which I will name—quite a number of which I will not enumerate, as those which I name are absolutely insurmountable from my standpoint.

First. In section 407, subdivision 2, it is provided that the Interstate Commerce Commission may permit the acquisition by one carrier "of the control of any other such carrier or carriers, either under a lease or by the purchase of stock, or in any other manner not involving the consolidation of such carriers under a single system for ownership and operation." South Carolina's constitution and statutes absolutely prohibit the acquisition by one railroad corporation of any competing

or parallel line within the State under any circumstances. This national authority gives the Interstate Commerce Commission the right to allow, for instance, the Southern Railway to acquire and control every foot of railroad in South Carolina, and thereby monopolize the whole business and destroy every vestige of competition, and writes off the book South Carolina's constitutional and statutory provisions on that subject.

Second. In paragraph 6 of section 407 it is provided that, after a hearing before the commission in which the railroads concerned and the governor of the State shall have a hearing, the Interstate Commerce Commission can authorize any two railroads to consolidate, "and thereupon such consolidation may be effected, in accordance with such order, if all the carriers involved assent thereto, the law of any State or the decision of any State authority to the contrary notwithstanding." The constitution and statutes of South Carolina have forbidden the consolidation of competing or parallel lines of railroads in South Carolina. This authority absolutely and expressly overrides that power and allows them to consolidate openly, boldly, and defiantly in the face of the organic law of my State, and I decline to vote to repudiate that fundamental law which is written in wisdom for the protection of the public of South Carolina.

I will not enumerate the other objections, because, while they are very powerful, they are not so fundamental as these, and these are sufficient to deter me, as a loyal South Carolinian, from voting for this measure and slapping my State in the face. Since the roads may be returned whether this law is passed or not, I will stand on the law as it is and vote against this report.

Legislative Drafting Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALLEN T. TREADWAY,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 23, 1920.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, a brief account of the reasons leading to the insertion of section 1303 in the revenue act of 1918 is not out of place at this time. That act was for nearly 10 months before the committees of the two branches and the bodies themselves. During that period the committees, as well as the conference committees, were continually in receipt of advice from the expert who had for several years been in Washington under the auspices of Columbia University. The assistance, not volunteered but sought by the committee members individually and as a group, was of the utmost value, not alone in improving the phraseology of the bill but in preventing serious discrepancies from appearing in the text.

Not only during the Sixty-fifth Congress, but, I am reliably informed, for some years previously, this same expert advice had been available. Always rendered in an unostentatious way, it was without the offer of suggestions, but entirely in an advisory capacity when asked for. The Committee on Ways and Means felt that Congress should not be a mendicant on Columbia University nor receive favors at its hand, however gladly offered.

Realizing the value of the assistance rendered by this representative of the university, the committee unanimously inserted the item which the present bill is endeavoring to repeal. The experience of this committee was identical with that of which I had intimate personal knowledge over a period of several years in the Massachusetts House and Senate. The corrections of phraseology made by an expert there, employed at a liberal salary, was a great factor in having uniformity in the statutes of the State and the avoidance of errors under which the constitutionality of many bills might have been questioned.

Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of cutting every possible expenditure, and expect to vote throughout the session for all economies that may be proposed which are of such a character as to actually benefit the conditions of the Treasury. The fact that the amount involved in this item is a comparatively small one makes not the slightest difference to me. I should favor the committee attitude rather than the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN] if I were not certain in my own mind that this is both a wise expenditure and one that in the end is a saving rather than an expense to the Public Treasury.

Railroad Control.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. KIRBY,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Friday, December 19, 1919.

The Senate had under consideration the bill (S. 3288) further to regulate commerce among the States and with foreign nations, and to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as amended.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I regard the railroad problem as the most important one before the country for solution; and, finding it necessary to vote against the bill as proposed by the committee, I shall shortly explain my reasons for so doing.

The Government took over the railroads because it was necessary to do so, or thought to be necessary, to carry on the war successfully. As to the wisdom or unwisdom of that action, there is no need for any discussion now. The Government has operated the railroads. It took them over on the basis that the owners must be paid a reasonable rental for their use during the period of Government operation.

The railroads of Great Britain, I understand, were guaranteed about 7½ per cent income during their operation by the Government or during the war; and in this country we guaranteed the railroads the amount of their average return during the three years before we went into the war. It amounted to 10, 12, 15, 20, and 22 per cent and more upon the capital which the owners of the property had put into the roads in their construction and creation.

I want to read here just one extract from the speech made by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS], who had given much thought to this matter, upon the bill providing compensation for the roads:

I turn now to other railroads in the table, to which I shall often refer. The Illinois Central Railroad will be guaranteed a net income of 11.33 per cent upon its capital stock, the Louisville & Nashville an income of 16.75 per cent, the Norfolk & Western an income of 12.51 per cent, the Atlantic Coast Line 10.80 per cent. I shall only mention a few of the principal companies in order that the full significance of what we are doing can be understood.

I turn to the western district and find that our guaranty, together with other income which the company possesses, will furnish to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe a return of 9.70 per cent upon its capital stock. The Chicago & North Western will be guaranteed an income of 10.18 per cent; the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, 22.05 per cent; the Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie, 12.09 per cent. So I might proceed, naming all these railroads which compose the 140,000 miles which my amendment will affect. It is sufficient to say that the average guaranteed income upon capital stock in the eastern district is 11.48 per cent, the average in the southern district is 12.37 per cent, and the average in the western district is 9.96 per cent. Of course, these averages are applied only to the roads which have in the last three years earned a net income of more than 5 per cent upon the capital stock.

Mr. President, I have presented the effect of this bill with a great deal of earnestness and at very great length. The subject, I think, interests the people of this country more than any other matter. It is obvious that when these incomes are guaranteed; when wages are increased, as they will be; when the cost of operation increases, as it must, the rates which are to be paid by the people of the country for the transportation of their commerce will also be increased.

Mr. President, the Government has taken over and operated the railroads and guaranteed their owners a certain per cent income return, and now the time has come when the people are insisting that there shall be a final disposition made of the problem; that the roads shall either be released to private ownership or that Government control shall be continued, if that can be done and would best promote the public interest. I am only going to discuss the matter very briefly upon the proposition of the present guaranteed rate.

It has been a losing proposition for some time, as we know. Improvements have been made, as has been pointed out by the Senator from Texas [Mr. SHEPPARD]; changes have been made in operation that have resulted to the benefit of the public. We have lost in the operation of the railroads, as I understand, the first eight months of this year, $275,000,000—more than a million dollars a day for the whole time. That appears from the report of the Director General. I now ask to have the Secretary read the report for the month of October, in which it appears we have made $2,600,000 on the operation of the roads.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the absence of objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

OCTOBER PROFIT IN RAILS REPORTED AS $2,603,423.

The United States Railroad Administration made public yesterday financial results of operating the class 1 railroads during October, showing a net profit for the month of $2,603,423.

Operating revenues for the mileage reported, representing 97 per cent of the roads Federally operated, amounted to $503,488,334, while the operating expenses were $399,400,554, leaving a net operating revenue of $104,087,780. Deducting taxes, rents, etc., amounting to $27,128,003, the net operating revenue was $76,956,777.

One-twelfth of the annual rental due the companies covered by the report amounts to $74,356,354, so the net profit shown for the properties was $2,603,423.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, the owners of railroads have been guaranteed a rental for the property operated by the Government, this class of roads, as I understand it, of $892,376,248 a year. That much the Government is bound to collect or pay over in any event to these railroad owners. That much it has agreed to do.

I opposed, at the time we took over the railroads, paying such high rates of compensation as were finally agreed to be paid. It was thought then by many of us that fully $175,000,000 more than fair compensation, more than ought to be paid was agreed to be paid, and many have insisted since that time that the Government is paying $200,000,000 more than ought to have been paid as a rental for the operation of these roads during the war, than would have been a fair return under the conditions existing upon the capital invested.

Now, we have reached the time when something has to be done about it, and I am only going to address myself to the public interest, the public service feature of the matter. I am not going to talk so much about the returns, the rentals, that must be paid to the railroad owners for their property. It is realized, of course, that their property can not be taken for public use without just compensation. We all know that. I am not going to speak about what shall be done for the laborers, the employees, who must operate these railroad systems for the public service that is to be rendered. I am not going to discuss the antistrike feature of this bill. I have my own settled views and convictions about such a provision; but since I intend to vote against the bill, I shall not discuss that feature at all. But what is best to be done with the railroads from the view of the public interest, or what the public is entitled to expect in service from these carriers?

What ought to be done with them?

It is claimed that the railroads that carry 30 per cent of the freight of this country can not live under reasonable rates, that they can not live under the rates required to be levied by the bill to provide a return of 5½ per cent to 6 and 7 per cent upon the total value of all the railroad property in any one group; that these weak roads can not live otherwise. In other words, the railroads that are strong are allowed to make more than would be a fair return on their property under the average rates required to be levied to enable the weaker roads to continue in operation and part of the money shall then be taken from them and turned over to the weak railroads that must be kept as a part of the service for the public. The remainder of the overplus to be put in a reserve fund charged with a public trust in accordance with section 6 of the bill. Thus it is proposed to allow all shippers to be required to pay a greater amount, higher rates for service than will provide a reasonable return upon all the value of the carriers' property, some of which is to be retained by the strong roads and the remainder of it placed in a reserve fund, where, of course, it never gets back to the shipper from whom it was unduly exacted.

That seems to be the procedure. The committee makes the further statement that it would not be difficult to have a unified system, where the public might be served with all the systems of railroad that have been built, its convenience could be subserved if the Government owned all of them. That is the statement made by the committee. They say, however, that that is not to be thought of, that it can not be done, and that therefore they have assumed to put into these groups for valuation, rate fixing, and operation 20 to 35 groups, all of the railroads of the United States.

The bill directs that the Interstate Commerce Commission shall proceed to fix rates that will make a return upon the operation of these groups of railroads of not less than 5½ per cent, and if it shall net above 6 or 7 per cent that the overplus shall be put into a fund and divided between the railroads and the public, that certain portions of this fund shall go to the Government, charged with a trust, and may be used in the designated ways.

When you get to that proposition, it seems to me that there is no more objection under the Constitution, and under its prohibitions, to saying that we will keep the railroads and operate them by the Government, and instead of paying 10, 12, 15, or 20 per cent, as we have done heretofore, that we will reduce the income and will pay only 6 or 7 per cent upon the value of the railroad property as will be guaranteed under the provisions of this bill. You say, that would be taking the property of the railroads without compensation, contrary to the provisions of the Constitution. We would be taking them for a public service, but not more so than you are taking some of the money they are allowed to make under this bill. You say we only guarantee them so much, but you provide if it shall go above 6 per cent, then the Government shall own part of the overplus, charged with a public trust that may be used for certain purposes but never paid back to the shippers.

Where would there be anything more nearly wrong or unconstitutional than that in providing that the Government shall continue the operation of these roads and pay 5 or 6 or 7 per cent, all that it ought to be worth to people who have invested their money in railroad stock and securities.

There is no difference in principle in the propositions. This money ought not to be exacted from the shippers and users of the road who are required to pay for this service unless it is necessary to provide reasonable compensation to the carrier for the service rendered. Under the law it is not contemplated that it can be done, and the only theory under which it can be held that this method proposed is constitutional is upon the basis that we have the right to fix just and reasonable rates, such rates that will provide a reasonable return upon the property investment, and when you get above the amount of 6 per cent income out of the rate, then you say that rate was unreasonable, or, rather, you say the rate was too high, that the owners only had a right to a reasonable compensation, and therefore we can reduce the rate of income by taking it off at the top or at the bottom. That is the idea, it seems to me, that this bill proceeds upon. They propose to take the individual's money allowed to be exacted from him by the railroads, and put it into a certain fund, charged with a public trust, and give neither him nor the railroad any benefit whatever for it.

If this same proposition was put in the other way, if we should reduce the amount to be paid the carriers under Government operation, that would go into the public fund, would go for the public benefit, and it would be no more illegal or unconstitutional than the proposal here made, in my opinion.

The country would have the benefit of unified control in that way. You would have no more expense in that way than you are going to have in this, and these railroads could be operated for the public convenience, for which they were allowed to be constructed in the first instance, and as they must always be maintained, for the public interest and to serve the public convenience.

There has been a raise of about 25 per cent in rates since Government operation began, and it is asserted that there will be another 25 per cent raise in rates required under the plan of operation proposed by this committee bill, which will cost the public about a billion dollars more annually. The chairman does not think that that statement is warranted. He does not believe there is any substantial ground for saying that there will be required an increase of 25 per cent in rates to make this proposed plan successful. The amount guaranteed to the roads must be realized, and if it can not be made under the rates that are already being maintained, then new rates must be allowed under this bill by the Interstate Commerce Commission that will produce the required amount of revenue.

If we have been paying too much rental on these railroads, as is undoubtedly the case—10, 15, and 20 per cent, more than 20 per cent in some instances, for we are providing in this bill that hereafter they shall not be allowed to receive more than 6 per cent or more than 7 per cent in any event, which shows we have been paying too much. That is unquestionably true. If we have been paying too much, that difference over what is a reasonable compensation more than they will be entitled to under this bill, why can not the guaranteed income be reduced under existing conditions and the Government continue their operation and be allowed to have the benefit of that reduction and the people be given the benefit of the unified system of operation? That is a matter that should be considered, it seems to me.

Let us look just a little bit further. The committee statement about the question of control and operation is that the roads shall "be returned to their owners for private operation under public control and regulation."

"Private operation under public control and regulation." That is the system that is proposed for giving them a reasonable return upon their investment. It is also proposed that the Government shall give them many other advantages. That the Government shall permit them to have 10 years to pay what is due the Government for improvements to their property during Government operation. They have had more advantages than and other set of people, owners of property, in the United States during the war. Their plants were taken over and they

were guaranteed the highest rate of income or return that they had been making in years, 10, 15, and 20 per cent, and it was as certain to be paid as that the Government was solvent.

Why should their owners expect any special protection hereafter when the roads are released to private control? Then I say, if the railroads shall be released to private operation to-day, under the expensive and complex plan here proposed, let them go back to private ownership, and since the Government made $2,600,000 net in the month of October in their operation and paid $892,376,248, or at that rate of rental, why can not the carriers make their own income at the present rates without any guaranty and serve the public as they did before the war?

Where is there any benefit to the public from this new system over the old? Why not let them go back to private ownership as formerly, under the present rates? It should not be necessary, if they go back to private control, that rates be increased 25 per cent. Why should the rates be increased 25 per cent then when with the present rates under Government control there remained a surplus for the month of October of more than two and one-half millions of dollars after paying the agreed rental of from 10 to 25 per cent on the entire capital invested? Why should an increase in rates be necessary?

There would not be any necessity for its being done, and it seems to me that the roads ought to go back to private control, if they must be released by the Government, and let them be operated and managed and regulated as they were before the Government took them over. They are in better physical condition now than when taken over, have better equipment, and their income has been guaranteed throughout the war, and the money has been paid to their owners—10, 20, 30, and 40 per cent—in Government operation under war conditions. They have been favored. They have not lost money, and had no chance of doing so under the Government guarantee.

Why then should we disturb ourselves about this complicated system of railroad operation proposed? Let us take the other horn of the dilemma. The same law under which we took the railroads over provided that they should continue under Government control and operation for 21 months after the war is officially declared ended. The Government will operate the roads for that time unless they are sooner released by the President. If the railroads are released by the President, who is going to suffer? Certainly not the railroads. They have been guaranteed and have received the rentals that were agreed to be paid by the Government throughout all this time of stress and trouble. The rates have been increased 25 per cent, to where the Government in October made over two and a half million dollars after paying this high rental at the rate of $892,000,000 a year.

If they shall be released to private control, why can they not exist as they did heretofore, under the regulation of the Interstate Commerce Commission as to rates, and under the regulation of the State commissions, as the case was heretofore?

Why should we adopt this proposed new system, that is so complex and difficult to understand and that has not been fully considered in the Senate? I would like to have had further time to consider this matter. It is the greatest question before the American people now, and there is no good reason, in my opinion, why it should be rushed through by to-morrow.

If the railroads shall be released to private ownership, their condition is better than it was before the war, when they were taken over, and they have had more money than they were earning in past years, paid to them regularly, under Government control.

If the railroads shall be retained by the Government for another 21 months, without new legislation, the condition would be as good for the railroads and the public as it is now, unless the Congress should say: "Here, we do not propose to guarantee these railroads hereafter, or during the last 21 months of this operation, as much as 10 to 20 and 30 and 40 per cent on the capital invested. We are going to say that you shall have a reasonable return on your money, and that it shall not be over 6 or 7 per cent, as provided in the bill."

It will then be claimed if you do that that you are taking the railroad's property without just compensation for the public service. What is the difference in result in reducing the income agreed to be paid in the present law and in allowing only such a reduced rate of income under this bill? There is no difference under the law. If the other money is charged with a public trust and kept under the claim and theory that it is part of the rate regulation, it could be done the same way now and with much more justice in this particular case, because the Government has had the risk and it has done the operating and it has paid the very high rentals all this time.

I think the public interest would be better served if the railroads were released to private ownership without any further law except under the operation of the Interstate Commerce Commission to guarantee the public reasonable rates, and we might impose another charge upon the Interstate Commerce Commission or a commission of like authority and power to assure that the operatives should have reasonable wages and be protected against unfair conditions. That could all be done by one law providing for it, and we would have a system of operation of railroads that the people would have the right to rely upon, that would serve their needs, that would not cost them any more than they have paid heretofore; that would cost them less, in fact, and that ought to cost them less.

Mr. President, it seems to me that the things I have said here are not only practical but that they are right. The public interest ought to be protected somewhere, and if by one bill you are going to reduce the income of the railroads to 5½ or 6 per cent, and it shall not go over 7 per cent in any event, then certainly the railroads could not complain if it were reduced in the other case.

I do not think that the committee or the Congress or the Nation should hesitate to tackle any sort of a proposition because it is difficult. This is a difficult problem, and this is a most difficult bill that has been gotten up by the committee. It appears to have been fairly well considered, and I have no doubt but that the committee took advantage of the best expert advice and opinion they could get about the best method for the final disposition of the railroads—for their operation under a new system; but it seems to me very complicated on the two features that I have mentioned. It federalizes the whole business; it destroys in effect the powers of the railroad commissions of the different States; it provides that you shall take the revenues after they have been raised for a particular purpose and paid by the shipper, after they have been taken away from him, more than enough to compensate the railroad for the service rendered, that the overplus shall be charged with a public trust and turned over and devoted to other uses.

I am not going to vote for the bill. I am not going to vote for it because I believe that in either event, if the railroads are retained by the Government with a proper reduction of guaranteed income or released to private ownership under the conditions I have mentioned, that the public convenience would be better served than it will be under the operation of the bill when it shall become a law.

The Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARK BURDICK.

OF RHODE ISLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, to-day we are to pass upon the railroad bill as it comes to this House from the committee of conference.

It is without doubt the one measure coming before this session of Congress that has attracted the most widespread interest and publicity, and it is the one measure that is of most vital consequence to the present and future welfare of our country.

The reason for the so great interest in this measure is not hard to find, for were it not for the attitude taken by labor upon the measure a large percentage of that interest would never have been aroused.

The railroads were taken under Government control in the early days of this country's entry into the great World War, and were so taken solely as a war measure. That this control has been extremely costly no one will dispute; that it was worth while no one can deny.

So costly has been this control that even the most ardent advocates of Government ownership can not defend the experiment except as a war measure, and yet Government-ownership advocates would seek to have it continued during a period of peace in the hope that the showing then made will justify said continuance.

I am, however, firmly convinced that this period of Government control, even with the unusual demands of war time, has fully demonstrated the futility of Government ownership of railroads in this republican country of ours, and I welcome that day so near at hand upon which the President has decreed that the roads shall return to the initiative and competition of private ownership.

And yet I should hesitate to vote for this bill were I persuaded that there is anything in it that would work an injustice to that large body of honest and patriotic Americans upon whom the success of the roads are dependent—that body of men included in the general term "labor."

I am convinced that every Member of this Congress who will cast his vote in favor of the conference report will do so with the honest conviction that he is doing what is best for the country as a whole and giving to labor all that it has a right to demand—a square deal.

The labor provisions of the bill furnish a speedy way to place all their grievances before a fair and impartial tribunal and call for a reasonably prompt and honest adjudication of all such disputes. Nowhere in the bill is there any compulsion upon labor and nowhere in the bill is any advantage given to the railroads in the settlement of labor disputes.

For once the interests of the public are deemed of sufficient importance to be given recognition, and I feel sure that every employee of the railroads will feel that when he submits his case to a tribunal made up of an equal representation of his fellow employees, his employer, and the public the decision of such a tribunal will be fair. Labor—true to all American traditions—demands no more than it is willing to give, and when a square deal is obtained, capital, labor, and the public are satisfied.

In his first message to Congress Abraham Lincoln said:

I am most happy to believe that the plain people understand and appreciate this—

The maintenance of the Union—

It is worthy of note that while in this, the Government's hour of trial, large numbers of those in the Army and Navy who have been favored with the offices have resigned and proved false to the hand which had pampered them, not one common soldier or common sailor is known to have deserted his flag.

And so, when the policy we are inaugurating to-day shall have become an accomplished fact, it will be found that the plain people understand and appreciate what we do to-day, and that no common American fighter in the battle for reconstruction will be known to have deserted his post of duty.

I consider that this bill is to labor a bill of rights, and I doubt not that when thoroughly understood it will be so acclaimed by labor itself.

On Conference Report on Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTIN B. MADDEN.

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, although the war still technically exists, the treaty of peace not having been ratified, and hence the proclamation of peace not having been issued by the President, it nevertheless becomes the duty of the Congress to forward the work of placing America in its domestic relations on a peace basis, and nothing which we can do will go further toward that than the legislation which is now pending before us for final enactment.

The United States is fortunate in having the greatest railroad system in the world. Two years ago when the Nation was at war the railroads of the country were turned over to the President as a war measure. Since that time they have been controlled and operated by the Government under the President's direction, and the time has now come when they must be returned to their owners and functioned through private management.

The railroads are the arteries through which the industrial lifeblood of the Nation flows. Without them prosperity would be impossible. They are interwoven into every activity of American industrial life, and upon their proper management and success depends the integrity and well-being of the Nation's business as a whole. To turn them back to private management under proper conditions is a paramount national duty. To turn them back to their owners without some assurance that they will be able to function would be a crime. Many men here believe that no legislation is necessary; others believe they should still continue to remain under Government control.

I am one of those who believe that legislation is vital to their future success and to the country's future prosperity, and I also believe that under no circumstances should they longer remain in control of the Government. The Railroad Administration admits that they have been operated at a loss of $636,000,000 since they came under Federal control, and some assert the price was cheap. Others assert that the loss has been as much as $1,500,000,000; some assert that it has been $2,500,000,000; and while I make no assertion that the amount expended by the Government over and above what the normal cost was before the war is a total loss, the fact is that the actual cost in excess of prewar cost amounts to $4,086,000,000, and is represented by the following figures: Freight and passenger rates have been increased to yield during the period of Government control $2,200,000,000; $1,250,000,000 has been appropriated out of the Treasury, and losses amounting to $636,000,000 have been sustained, making in all a stupendous sum, far in excess of what the total cost of Government was for every activity prior to the war, indicating an extravagance in the management of these properties which argues more forcibly against Government ownership than anything else could do.

The importance of the pending legislation will be more apparent to everyone when it is understood that the President has already issued an irrevocable proclamation under which the roads are to go back to their owners at midnight on March 1. Without the legislation, under that proclamation the roads will be turned back in a state of chaos, disorganized and financially bankrupt, carrying distress and failure into every line of industry throughout the country. With the legislation, provision is made to return the roads to private management under conditions which are not only just but equitable and makes reasonably certain the maintenance of the business equilibrium of the country and insures an opportunity for the exercise of initiative and systematic management calculated to stabilize conditions in every line of effort.

It becomes increasingly important as the days go by that in the transformation from war to peace no disturbance shall be created in the country's business fabric through any legislation enacted by the Congress or by failure to legislate on the great problems likely to affect the happiness and prosperity of our people.

The pending bill, of course, does not meet with universal approval. It would be strange if any legislation involving so many intricate problems should meet with universal approval. There are many things in the pending bill to which I do not subscribe, but, on the whole, I think it may well be said that after nine months of careful study and exhaustive research by the committees of the House and Senate, working diligently and patriotically, with no motive except the public good, that the best possible solution of the question has been reached, and the committees are to be congratulated on the success of their work, and they are certainly entitled to the thanks of the country for their devotion to the country's interests.

Some attempt to justify their opposition to the bill on account of the provisions in the labor section, but my study—and I have made a conscientious study of it—leads me to the unalterable conclusion that there is not a word in the labor section of the bill that any reasonable man can object to. The provision embrace neither coercion nor compulsion. Any action to be taken in connection with such labor problems as may arise from time to time is purely voluntary. No man is forced to submit his case for consideration to the boards created by the labor section of the bill, and neither is he bound by any decisions that may be rendered by such boards. Perhaps it may be asked, in view of this, why the labor boards are created. I have asked myself that question more than once, and, indeed, I have frequently answered my own questions in the negative. I have not thought the labor section in the law to be necessary. I would prefer to have seen the matter of adjusting grievances left to the employers and their employees, for I feel that, on the one hand, through the agencies of their committees the employees, with a full knowledge of all the elements entering into their grievances, and, on the other hand, the employers through the agency of their committees possessing similar knowledge, would be better qualified to adjust any differences than any board or boards created possibly could. But legislation of this magnitude, or any legislation, in fact, can never be enacted to meet the views of all. Its final enactment must be the result of compromise, and the best compromise is the one which more nearly meets the views of all without meeting the views of any and is the most likely to be equitable and just. Legislation that is strongly approved by one element and strongly opposed by another is never satisfactory and rarely ever enforceable; and so, on the whole, I feel that a conclusion in this phase of the legislation has been reached which in the long run will meet with little or no resistance. The labor section of this bill leaves every man free to act, free to work, or free to quit, either as an individual or in groups.

Many Members here are opposed to the bill because of what they call improper guaranties. Now, what is it that is guaranteed? Nothing, except that the roads shall be turned over to the owners with a certainty that they will be permitted to earn the amount paid them during the war under the standard return contract for a period of six months from the 1st of March, and this guaranty applies also to the wages of the men, which it is provided shall not be reduced by any action of the railroad owners during the six months' period ending September 1 next. Those who express their opposition to the bill on account of this guaranty are loudest in their demands for a continuation of Government control and the extravagant waste resulting from it. Those who oppose the continuance of the guaranty of the standard return for six months would continue to keep the roads under Government control without any limitation on the amount of the expenditures. The opponents of this guaranty are the men who would draw upon the Public Treasury without limit to meet unjustifiable expenditures and impose additional tax burdens on the people to meet the obligations thus created.

No man can afford to vote against this conference report unless he be saturated with the virus of Government ownership, or is willing to invite nation-wide disaster of the industries of the country by turning the roads back into private hands without an opportunity to function, for it must be realized that the railroads of the country can not be put into bankruptcy without bringing financial disaster to all other lines of industry. The business of the railroads and the business of labor, and manufacture, and agriculture, and banking, and merchandising are so closely interwoven that disaster can not befall one without embracing all.

The responsibility for the enactment of this legislation rests primarily with the Republicans in the Congress, but the Demócrats can not escape their share of the responsibility. Republicans and Democrats alike in the Congress are here to represent the American people and in this instance they should so represent them as to provide adequate transportation facilities for the Nation, without which it is unnecessary to say, no prosperity can exist in the land. There never has been a greater issue before the people than the one now pending in the House. Individual action among Members can have no place in the consideration of a great problem like this. The Republican majority must prove itself to be a great constructive force, courageous enough to meet the issue; wise enough to meet it properly and patriotic enough to relegate individual views to meet the country's pressing needs. The ability of the majority to function on what I believe to be the greatest problem that has been presented for our consideration is on trial. Failure on our part to meet the issue wisely and promptly will justify rebuke at the hands of the country.

Objections are made by many to what it known as section 6 of the bill, who profess to believe that a guaranty of a fixed dividend rate to the railroads is provided. Now, what does section 6 provide? It provides that the Interstate Commerce Commission shall have the right to divide the railroad systems of the United States into groups, and that the property of each group, not the stocks and bonds, shall be valued by the Interstate Commerce Commission, that upon the value fixed by the commission a rate shall be made which will yield for the coming two years not in excess of 5½ per cent; that if more than 6 per cent is earned under the rate fixed on all the value of the property of the railroads within the group, used for transportation purposes, that one-half of the amount earned over 6 per cent shall go into the treasury of the Interstate Commerce Commission and placed in a fund to be used from time to time for the purchase of equipment for the weak roads of the country and leased to such railroads at a rental charge that will yield the Government not less than 6 per cent on the amount so invested. This does not mean that the railroads are guaranteed the right to earn up to 5½ per cent; what it does mean is that they are restricted in their right to earn more without a division of the earnings with the Government. It does not mean that all the railroads in the group will earn 5½ per cent either. It is well understood that out of the 2,000 roads in the United States only about 300 are profitable. Some of these roads make large earnings on the same rates paid to the roads which make losses running within the same zone. The roads which make earnings are probably fortunately situated, in that they run through densely populated manufacturing sections of the country and rich agricultural territory. They are highly organized; their management is scientific; they have the brains, the genius, and the initiative that enables them to make profits where less ably managed roads running through less favorable territory make losses. These prosperous roads have always been permitted to retain all of their earnings. Henceforth they are to be restricted in their right to earn more than 6 per cent without a division with the Government. One-half of the excess earnings over the 6 per cent, as I have said, are to be turned into the fund for the upbuilding of the weak roads out of a system of loans by the Interstate Commerce Commission on proper security and under proper restrictions, thus affording to the communities through which these weak roads run an assurance of transportation facilities equal to those afforded to the people of every other section of the Nation.

Even the 5½ or 6 per cent of which I speak is not permitted to be paid to the road under this provision of the bill if the road does not make it. If the road makes but 1 per cent that is all it will get. If it makes 2 per cent it will get that, but the road that does not make has a certainty that out of the earnings of the prosperous roads which are taken by the Government it will have an opportunity to lease equipment furnished through the Interstate Commerce Commission and to make loans to enable it to build up its property, and thereby assist the community through which it runs in the movement of its commodities on equal terms with territory where more prosperous conditions obtain.

The Interstate Commerce Commission, under this bill, is given wide powers. It is authorized to prohibit the issuance of stocks and bonds by any road in the United States without first having all the facts presented upon which the proposed issue is to be based, so that henceforth, whatever may have been the practice in the past in that respect, this bill gives the assurance that no watered stocks on any railroad properties can be issued. More than that the Interstate Commerce Commission is authorized to prevent the construction of railroads through territory not approved by it. This will, in the future, prevent railroad officials from speculating on the construction of railroads in territory where railroads are not necessary, and in the future no railroad can be built except in territory approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The commission is also authorized to prevent the abandonment of any roads now in existence, except where it may be concluded the public interest will be served by the abandonment.

There are $500,000,000 appropriated in this bill, $200,000,000 of which are to be used for the first two weeks' pay rolls after the roads are turned over to private management, the Government to be recouped from the collection of funds now in the hands of conductors and agents. The pay rolls of the employees of the railroads amount to $375,000,000 a month, and it was thought wise in this provision of the bill to appropriate a sufficient amount to assure a margin of safety. Three hundred million dollars of the amount is intended to be used as a revolving fund placed at the disposal of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which is given authority to make recommendations to the Secretary of the Treasury for loans to the railroads, thus preserving the financial integrity of the roads and preventing them from the necessity of going into the open market to borrow when conditions are such as to make it likely that such loans will disturb the conditions of the country. No loans can be made from this fund without complete security, without proof of ability to pay, without a definite determination by the Interstate Commerce Commission that the loan is needed, without knowledge of the purpose for which the money is to be used, nor without the approval of the commission, and upon all such loans 6 per cent interest is to be paid, which goes into the Treasury of the Commission and continues to be used as a revolving fund for the purpose indicated.

On the whole I think the bill will meet the approval of the people of the country. It is a simple measure of justice to the owners. It is an attempt to stabilize the affairs of the Nation, to bring back the business of the Nation under individual direction, to encourage initiative, to prevent waste, to lighten the burden of taxation, to relieve distress, to create confidence, to abrogate war powers formerly delegated to the President; in short to bring back America's ancient glory in times of peace and to place upon the individual responsibility for his own success rather than to continue the Government guardianship over all the activities of the people.

The hour has struck; the time has come when war powers to Government officials must be set aside and the people of the Nation permitted to go their way as law-abiding citizens, working out as best they can their own destiny. The enactment of this law brings us into full view of the dawn of a new day, with the sun of peace shining over the Nation's hills and valleys and crops and people, bringing the warmth of its rays into the heart of the Nation and bidding them pass on under the song of peace and the hum of industry to a new and enduring peace and a continued prosperity and happiness.

Railroads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. BAER,
OF NORTH DAKOTA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. BAER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the following article by Director General Walker D. Hines, of the United States Railroad Administration:

THE HISTORY OF FEDERAL CONTROL AND OPERATION OF THE RAILROADS.
(By Director General Walker D. Hines, of the United States Railroad Administration.)

The railroad problem is so complex and so important that it deserves honest-minded analysis; and this not because the plan of any one group of advocates should be supported, but because the best solution, upon whatever principle it proceeds, will be promoted by clearness of understanding of the facts. I therefore bespeak your careful consideration of the following effort to analyze the principal features of Federal control, which are now so much under discussion:

1. The alleged excessive costs of railroad operation by the railroad administration: The confused notion finds support that while the increased operating cost in private enterprises is due to war conditions, a corresponding increase in railroad operating cost is due to mistakes of the railroad administration. Such an argument assumes that the railroads should have been, and in the future can be made to be, independent of economic conditions which have affected and will affect every other industrial enterprise. The public will deceive itself to its own injury if it is led to rely upon this fallacy.

Simply as an illustration reference will be made to the largest private enterprise in the country. Moody's Manual for 1919 shows that the operating costs of the United States Steel Corporation increased from $494,800,000 in 1914 to $1,240,800,000 (in showing this figure for operating costs for 1918 there has been excluded the amount of Federal income, war profits, and excess-profits taxes shown by the Steel Corporation's annual report to its stockholders) in 1918 (the figures for 1919 not yet being available), this being an increase of $746,000,000. That is, the expenses of the Steel Corporation in 1918 were 151 per cent more than its expenses in 1914. The public naturally assumes until the contrary is shown that this increase was the normal result of enlarged production and necessary increases in prices and wages due to war conditions.

The operating costs of the railroads for 1919 can now be closely approximated, and therefore will be used for comparison, because they are larger than for 1918. The operating costs for the Class I railroads were $2,140,000,000 for 1914 and were approximately $4,324,000,000 for 1919, being an increase of $2,184,000,000. In other words, the operating costs in 1919 were 102 per cent more than the operating costs in 1914. But many people are disposed to assume until the contrary is proved that this increase in railroad-operating costs is due to mistakes of the Railroad Administration and not to enlarged production of transportation or to necessary increases in prices and wages.

PUBLIC WILL NOT FOOL ITSELF.

We find that the Steel Corporation's tonnage of finished products increased about 55 per cent in 1918 over 1914, with the result that its increase in its cost per ton of finished product in 1918 was 61 per cent as compared with 1914. The increased service of the railroads in 1919 will be not less than 26 per cent in excess of the service in 1914, so that this would indicate an increased cost per unit of service on the railroads of not more than 60 per cent in 1919 as compared with 1914.

In thus endeavoring to illustrate the all-pervasive increase in costs by this comparison between the principal steel enterprise and the railroad enterprise, the selection of the steel operations in 1918 for comparison with the railroad operations in 1919 is believed to be clearly less favorable to the Railroad Administration than the comparison would be if the 1919 figures of steel operation were now available. This is true because private industry, as well as the railroad industry, was subjected in 1919 to unfavorable conditions not prevailing in 1918, such as a slump in business in the first half of the year, interferences with the volume of business later in the year on account of strikes, the more complete effect of increased prices and wages, and the general relaxation in effort, which in 1919 has characterized all industry as compared with 1918. These additional difficulties are all reflected in the railroad operations for 1919.

Of course, no exact parallel can be claimed between any two radically different enterprises, and yet every fair-minded person must appreciate that until the contrary is shown the same presumptions of necessity for increased cost should obtain in considering railroad-operating costs as in considering the operating costs of great private enterprises. Certainly the public can not afford to fool itself by thinking that the railroads can be operated in a state of isolation from all those influences which have affected every other line of human activity, public and private, in this country and in other parts of the world as the result of the greatest economic and social upheaval that the world has ever known.

SAVING BY UNIFIED OPERATION.

It would be surprising if complete analysis did not indicate a more successful adjustment to the new conditions arising out of the war by the Steel Corporation with its unbroken continuity of management and policy extending over a period of nearly 20 years, and its ability to plan with confidence for the future, than by the United States Railroad Administration. It must be remembered that the Railroad Administration was created almost over night as a war emergency and avowedly as a purely temporary expedient; that it was consequently unable to create a really permanent organization or to hold throughout even its temporary life some of its most experienced members, and was without opportunity to carry out comprehensive policies of a reasonably permanent character either as to capital expenditures for new equipment and improvements or as to operation in respect of establishing permanent and more effective relationship between the management and the employees, and in other respects.

Considering the exceptional difficulties thus confronting the Railroad Administration, it is noteworthy that despite the all-pervasive influences of war conditions the increase in operating costs has been kept as low as it has been. It should also be appreciated that to an important extent the showing is relatively so favorable because of the very substantial savings which have been practical under unified operation notwithstanding its being hampered so seriously by the shortness and uncertainty of its duration.

Public discussion always assumes except when railroad operation is under consideration, that on account of the conditions growing out of the war the purchasing power of money is greatly decreased, so that it requires perhaps from $1.80 to $2 to buy as much materials and labor as $1 would have bought in 1914. Thought on this point should be clarified so that it will be generally appreciated that the dollar to be expended by the railroads for their operating costs can not be expected to go any further on the average than the dollar expended by anybody else.

"EXTRAVAGANT" WAGES PAID TO LABOR.

While so frequently ignored in discussion. yet there can not be serious denial that in the purchase of materials and supplies such as steel and iron, lumber, crossties, coal, and so forth, the railroads must pay the very heavy increase in prices which are paid by others similarly situated. These increases of themselves account for much of the increased expenses, although, of course, as in other industrial enterprises, the cost of labor is the largest element, and this will be separately referred to.

2. The alleged extravagance increases in wages of labor: Employees who work for the railroads are confronted with the increased cost of living just like other people, and increased wages for railroad employees have been not only necessary but just. Contrary to the popular impression, the increases to railroad labor have not been out of line with increases to labor generally. Referring again, purely for the purpose of suggestive illustration, to the United States Steel Corporation, the head of that corporation stated last spring as to the average of all its steel products that the direct labor cost per ton in March, 1919, was $34.61, as compared with $15.13 in 1913, an increase of 119 per cent. The Department of Labor in its monthly labor review for November, 1919, shows that the pay per hour to labor in the iron and steel industry increased on the average 121 per cent in 1919, as compared with 1913. The average increase in the rate per hour for all railroad employees for the year 1919, as compared with the year 1913, will not exceed 100 per cent, and such average increase at the end of 1919, with all readjustments then in effect, will not exceed 106 per cent.

When the Wage Commission, of which Hon. Franklin K. Lane was chairman, reported in the spring of 1916 on the wages of railroad employees it pointed out that, contrary to common conception, railroad employees were not highly paid, that 51 per cent received during 1917 $75 per month or less, and 80 per cent

received $100 per month or less. The leading executives of the eastern railroads, when they appeared before the Interstate Commerce Commission in the fall of 1917, laid stress upon the fact that their earnings were not sufficient to enable them to pay adequate wages in competition with other industries.

INCREASES WERE LONG OVERDUE.

In making the important increases, which were as indispensable for the railroads as in other enterprises, and which were long overdue in the case of the railroads, the Government could not escape the policy of reasonably uniform treatment, and the result of this policy operated to produce numerous individual cases of abnormally large wage increases, but the matter, from the standpoint of its total cost to the railroads and the public, must be considered as a whole, and the average increase per hour to railroad employees as a whole has been no more than was responsive to the conditions which have forced heavy increases upon all industrial enterprises and has not been out of line with what other enterprises have done.

If this subject is viewed in the light of the facts, the conclusion can only be the pay per hour to railroad employees on the average makes a reasonable comparison with what has been done in private enterprises.

3. The alleged excessive increase in the number of railroad employees under Federal control: The increase in the number of employees has been due principally to the adoption of the eight-hour day. Prior to Federal control many classes of employees worked 10 hours per day, and in some instance even longer, although the adoption of the eight-hour day had already made substantial progress on the railroads.

There have been many comments on the fact that in July, 1919, there was an increase of 11.2 per cent in the number of employees over the month of December, 1917. Since July, 1919, was a month favorable to much outside work calling for additional employees, and December, 1917, on account of the severe weather, was a month unfavorable to outside work, and besides there was at that time an admitted scarcity of railroad employees on account of competition of munitions plants, etc., and the other war demands, a more reliable comparison of the difference between the number of employees under private control and under Federal control is the comparison of the entire year 1917 with the entire year 1919. On the latter basis there was an increase of 9.7 per cent in the number of employees for the year 1919 and yet the actual number of hours of work paid for was 5.9 per cent less in 1919 than in 1917. This is explained by the fact that during the year 1917 the employees worked on an average 261.4 hours per month, while during the year 1919 the employees worked on an average 218.5 hours per month; but it must be remembered that they were paid only for the hours worked, although, of course, at an increased rate per hour.

ADDITION OF EMPLOYEES NECESSARY.

People who believe it is good public policy to require employees in the railroad industry to work on an average throughout the year 261.4 hours per month can, of course, make an issue with the Railroad Administration as to the propriety of the policy of the eight-hour day which has resulted during the year 1919 in reducing the average number of hours worked per month to 218.5, but in the interest of an intelligent understanding of the matter the issue ought to be clearly made upon this broad question of policy. The matter ought not to be confused by some vague assumption that this increase in the number of employees is due to some insidious influence of the Railroad Administration in the interest of inefficiency.

It is also highly important to make clear that this increase in the number of employees on account of the eight-hour day does not involve in general an increase in the pay roll, because generally the pay is based not upon the number of employees but upon the number of hours worked. The rate of increase in pay per hour above referred to completely reflects the increased wage, yet the tendency to confusion on these matters is so marked that frequently the total increase in wages is referred to and, in addition, the increase in the number of employees is mentioned, on the erroneous assumption that that constitutes a corresponding further increase in operating cost.

Surely the public is entitled to be set right upon this proposition. It should not be led to think that the mere substitution of private control for the temporary Federal control will bring about the decrease in the number of employees to the prewar basis. Such a decrease will not come in any general sense except through a return to the longer working day which obtained in 1917. Prior to Federal control the train and engine men had the basic eight-hour day by virtue of the Adamson Act, but on the average all other classes of railroad employees had a working day substantially in excess of eight hours, though the eight-hour day had been adopted on some railroads as to some classes of employees.

CHARGE OF POLITICS IS REFUTED.

A further but relatively minor element working in favor of an increase in the number of employees is one which has been experienced by the railroads in common with all other forms of industrial enterprise. This grew out of the loss of experienced employees, both during the war and since, the extraordinary movement of employees from one employer to another resulting in an exceptional labor turnover and a widespread psychological unrest which seems to characterize every class of our citizens and which results in many employees being less attentive to their work. Similar causes have manifested themselves in enterprises generally. Certainly those who think both fairly and clearly can not in the same breath excuse this condition as unavoidable in private enterprises and charge it to the weakness of Federal control in the case of the railroads.

There is a predisposition to assume that any governmental activity is actuated by a purpose to increase the number of employees and from this premise, which is entirely mistaken as to the Railroad Administration, many erroneously attribute the increase in the number of railroad employees to some political preference for a larger rather than a smaller number of employees. The Railroad Administration has never had any such purpose.

On the contrary, the local railroad officers are expected to control this matter to the fullest practicable extent, and the central administration is constantly investigating local conditions and using its authority as well as its influence to stimulate local managements to avoid all unnecessary employment. These local managements are the same skilled railroad officers who operated the railroads prior to Federal control, and who will still continue to operate them after Federal control is ended. There has not been at any time any element of politics in the selection of either officers or employees by the Railroad Administration either in the central or regional offices or on the various railroads.

APPARENT DEFICIT EXPLAINED.

4. The deficit from railroad operations: This to a greater extent than anything else calls for clear and honest analysis. A deficit is due either to costs being too high or to revenues being too low. Fair-minded investigation will show, as is above explained, that the increases in cost have been in line with the unavoidable conditions which have controlled railroads as well as private enterprise. Of course, no industry so extensive as the railroad industry could be free from numerous incidents admitting of criticism; but, broadly speaking, the increase in costs has been fairly related to the changed conditions growing out of the war. This being true, the real explanation of the deficit is that the rate increase of 1918 could not be made effective soon enough and that perhaps railroad rates were not increased quite enough to pay all of the necessary increases in cost during the period of the war and readjustment.

To begin with, it was not practicable for the Railroad Administration to initiate any general increase in rates and put it into effect until June 10, 1918, as to passenger rates, and until June 25, 1918, as to freight rates. Thus, nearly six months of heavily increased costs had passed before these increased rates could be made effective. If these increases could have been made effective at the very beginning of Federal control, there would have been no deficit whatever from railroad operations up to and including the end of October, 1919. The entire deficit on the Class I railroads for that period of 22 months of Federal control of $480,200,000 would have been more than wiped out if the rate increases had been effective January 1, 1918.

The results for November and December, 1919, will be useless for the purpose of estimating normal earning capacity, because of the extraordinary interference with business and increase of operating burdens growing out of the unprecedented coal strike, which so seriously interrupted and dislocated railroad traffic throughout the country. Large deficits for these two months prove nothing except the destructiveness of the coal strike.

TRAFFIC COMMITTEES AND RATES.

The normal expenses of operations have been higher in 1919 than in 1918 because of still greater costs of materials and supplies and because of various readjustments in wages which were not completed in 1918. It may be that on these accounts, even under Federal control, a small additional increase in rates would be necessary to make the railroads self-sustaining, but

the Railroad Administration has felt that conditions were too abnormal and were changing too rapidly to make a satisfactory basis for the determination of what this additional increase ought to be. This abnormal character was due largely to the remarkable slump in freight business following the armistice and lasting throughout the first six months of the year, and has been further accentuated by the unprecedented conditions of the coal strike in November and December.

The rate structures of the country are so complex that unnecessarily frequent changes therein are exceedingly disturbing to business interests. The general increase made in 1918 was carefully planned to avoid such difficulties as far as possible, and it is believed it involved less difficulties than any other plan which could have been then devised, but nevertheless, the readjustments which were called for by business interests, so as to avoid interference with established relationships, have for nearly a year and a half occupied most of the time of 33 freight-traffic committees located throughout the country and made up of representatives of the shippers and the carriers and have called for over 20,000 changes in the rates put into effect by the general rate increase.

It has been the judgment of the Railroad Administration that for the sole purpose of providing revenues for the Government during Federal control, the making of a further general modification of such complicated and delicately interrelated rate structures should not be entered upon without an adequate understanding as to the amount of revenue which it would be necessary to raise and that the conditions during 1919 have been too abnormal to admit of drawing a correct conclusion, although the strong indications are that under a continuance of unified control a large general increase could probably be avoided altogether. Of course, with a return to private control consideration immediately thereafter of rates to sustain the credit of the railroad companies is inevitable.

PUBLIC PAYS THE BILL EITHER WAY.

The deficit, therefore, is really due to this conservatism of the administration in deferring a rate increase until it could be reasonably sure as to the basis upon which it ought to be computed. The result has been simply that for the time being the deficit in railroad operations has been made good through general taxation of the public instead of through the special taxation arising from an increase in rates.

There is a popular catch-phrase argument to the effect that two years of Government control of the railroads have cost the country several hundred million dollars. The fact is that Government control has cost the amount of operating expenses during Federal control plus the rental, and, as above shown, these operating expenses do not in the aggregate reflect more than perfectly normal influence of the extraordinary conditions which have told on railroad operation as well as on other enterprises. By reason of the impossibility of anticipating with precision the amount of the increased operating cost, and by reason of the earnest desire to avoid unnecessary disturbances of the complicated rate structure, a part of the added cost has not been made good by rate increases, and therefore has had to be made good by general taxation. But the cost is the same in either event, is paid by the public in either event, and is due to war conditions. The cost which has been placed upon the public by private enterprises, which have increased their prices enough not only to anticipate and cover their war-operating costs but also to produce unprecedented profits, has been immensely greater than any cost placed upon the public by the Federal control of the railroads. The entire average increase in freight and passenger rates from 1914 to 1919, taking the country as a whole, has not exceeded 33 per cent, while the increase in the prices which the public has paid for the products of private enterprise in that time has been from 60 to 150 per cent and higher.

Those who think there should have been under Federal control general increases in rates as often as necessary to take care immediately of the entire expense of railroad operation, so that no part of it would be taken care of even temporarily through general taxation, are, of course, entitled to criticize the policy of the Railroad Administration, but here again the issue should be clear cut and should not be confused.

PRIVATE CONTROL WILL NOT CURE DEFICIT.

It would be most unfortunate if the public is misled into believing that the deficit is due to Federal control and is to be cured by the termination of Federal control, only to find that what will really cure the deficit will be an important increase in rates. Such an increase would equally cure the deficit under Federal control, and, in fact, it is likely that a substantially less increase would be necessary, because the full saving from unification could be preserved under Federal control, and further because under private control a wider margin of earnings will presumably be necessary to support the separate credit of the respective individual companies operating independently.

5. The railroad service: Clear thinking requires consideration of the plant with which the Government has had to perform the service. At the beginning of Federal control it was conceded that for several years, on account of high prices, difficulties as to railroad credit, and general uncertainty as to the future, insufficient new equipment had been obtained. During the first year of Federal control the amount of new equipment obtainable was limited absolutely by the amount of material which could be taken from other war purposes and devoted to the construction of railroad equipment. It was therefore impossible to construct any passenger, mail, or express cars, or any refrigerator cars, stock cars, or flat cars, but the Railroad Administration was able to obtain the material necessary to construct 100,000 freight cars of other types. During the second year of Federal control, although more material was available, it was not practicable to construct additional equipment because of the near approach of the termination of Federal control and the clearly expressed opposition of Congress to the idea of a further development of railroad facilities through the use of Government funds by the Railroad Administration. In January and February, 1919, the Railroad Administration advised a definite extension of Federal control, urging that in that way comprehensive plans could be put into effect for increasing railroad equipment and facilities to the extent called for by the prospective business of the country. This view was not acceptable to Congress, and there has been no basis for providing additional equipment. Accordingly the Railroad Administration has had to operate with an amount of equipment that was insufficient.

GREAT VOLUME OF FREIGHT AND PASSENGER TRAFFIC.

At the same time there has been an extraordinary volume of business. From January 1, 1918, to November 1, 1919, there were over 13,000,000 soldiers, sailors, and marines moved on the railroads, this being the equivalent of nearly 6,000,000,000 passenger miles, necessitating the use of 215,000 railroad coaches and Pullman cars and the movement of over 18,000 special trains. At the same time the movement of the civilian population reached proportions in excess of anything ever before experienced. The result was that the volume of passenger travel in the year 1918 was 8.1 per cent more than 1917, and the volume of passenger travel in 1919, up to October 31, was about 20 per cent more than in the corresponding period of 1917. Civilian inconveniences incident to this extraordinary passenger travel, which had to be handled without increase in passenger equipment, were inevitable.

The freight traffic for 1918 was in excess of that for 1917, which up to that time had been the heaviest year. During the first eight months of 1919 the freight traffic was considerably less than in either 1918 or 1917, on account of the great slump in business. But in the months of September and October, 1919, the traffic was greatly in excess of 1917, and for a part of the time in excess of that in 1918, notwithstanding the fact that the Railroad Administration was unable in 1919 to secure the heavy car loading which as a measure of patriotism had been obtainable in 1918.

Therefore, despite all criticism of the service, the Railroad Administration, with an inadequate plant, has actually performed an exceptional volume of service, and it has done this with less congestion than was ever known in previous periods of heavy business in recent years. Even at present, in the face of extremely difficult weather and the adverse effect of the influenza or railroad labor, a heavy volume of traffic is being moved. Of course, it can not possibly satisfy the demand, because of the insufficiency of the equipment and because the demand itself is most abnormal, due to the voluntary postponement of business last spring and its enforced postponement in the fall on account of the steel and coal strike.

COAL STRIKE DISLOCATED EQUIPMENT.

Throughout Federal control the service has been performed under the direction of the same railroad officers who were in charge during private control and they have had the benefit of a unified use of locomotives, cars, shops, and other facilities, which has added to the practicability of performing such a heavy service with such insufficiency of equipment. In passing, it is not out of place to mention the peculiar service rendered the public in anticipation of, during, and after the coal strike. Prior to the strike coal transportation was increased up to 13,200,000 tons per week (even more than the war record). During the strike eastern coal was supplied to the West (where,

generally, no coal was being produced) over routes never normally contemplated. During the strike the distribution of all coal was handled by the Railroad Administration. After the strike the equipment, badly dislocated on account of the abnomal long hauls to the West, was readjusted so that in two weeks production was back to the normal winter basis.

6. The condition of the property: A great confusion is frequently apparent about the condition of railroad property, it being assumed that the property is dilapidated and will be turned back to the private owners in a condition hardly susceptible of operation. This is utterly untrue. The railroads are functioning effectively, are carrying an extraordinary traffic, and are in condition to carry it. With respect to equipment, locomotives will be in relatively good condition considering that they will just have gone through from three to four months of winter weather, much of it severe. Passenger cars will be in good and safe condition, although the inability to obtain new equipment for the reasons above explained results in the equipment being on an average practically two years older than at the beginning of Federal control, and there has perhaps been some loss in appearance. Despite claims to the contrary, freight equipment will compare favorably with the condition at the beginning of Federal control considering that its two years' additional age has not been offset by the purchase of as much new equipment as would have been purchased but for the obstacles above explained.

INVESTORS WERE FULLY PROTECTED.

During last summer the percentage of bad-order cars attained, and on account of the shop strikes remained at, a high figure, but for several weeks has been down to a normal basis. As to roadway and structures, the Government will likewise be able to show that on the average it has closely met its obligation to return the property in as good condition as when received. Undoubtedly difficulties as to obtaining ties, rails, and ballast and shortage of labor in putting them in have resulted in shortage in these respects on various railroads, but not so as to interfere with the adequate performance of the public service, and to an important extent, on the average, any shortages in these respects promise to be offset by overmaintenance in other respects.

7. The effect upon investors resulting from Federal control and its policy toward rate increases: A disposition has been developed in many quarters to think that in some way Federal control has been injurious to investors in railroad securities. The fact is that such investors have been far better protected than they would have been without Federal control. With all the existing uncertainties the prices of railroad stocks in general compare favorably with their prices in the month or two prior to the time Federal control was decided upon, although some of the stocks are much lower. But many investors seem to think that the Railroad Administration owed them a duty to increase rates so that at the end of Federal control the railroads would be generally self-supporting without any reference to the permanently established rate-making authorities.

This entirely misconceives the function of the Railroad Administration. That function was to initiate rates so far as might be deemed expedient in order to sustain the cost of operating the railroads as a unit during Federal control, and the important practical objections to premature or unnecessarily frequent increases in rates during Federal control have been stated above.

Congress did not contemplate that the director general would undertake to decide upon the rate structure necessary to enable all the various railroad companies to operate their properties separately and in competition and sustain their credit while doing so. The latter function is one which has never been taken away from the Interstate Commerce Commission and other permanent rate-making authorities and ought to be handled by them. If investors, dissatisfied with the status of their railroad securities, will compare the prices of the securities of railroad companies under Federal control with the prices of securities of public-utility companies not under Federal control, the protection which has been accorded by the Government, during Federal control, to the railroad investors will be very apparent.

HOPES FOR CLEARNESS OF UNDERSTANDING.

I have attempted this analysis with the earnest desire of clarifying the general understanding of the subjects discussed, believing that such clearness of understanding will be distinctly helpful in reaching correct conclusions upon the general railroad problem, and I submit my statements in the confident belief that they will be considered on their merits by a very great majority of the editors throughout the country.

WALKER D. HINES,
Director General of Railroads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD F. McKINIRY,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920,

On the conference report on the bill (H. R. 10453) to provide for the termination of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation; to provide for the settlement of disputes between carriers and their employees; to further amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. McKINIRY. Mr. Speaker, this pending railroad bill does not answer the question, "Shall we return the railroads to their owners?" It has been contended that Congress should pass this bill because it means the return of the railroads to their owners; but, as a matter of fact, the popular demand for the return of the railroads has been skilfully used by the Republican Party now in power in Congress as a cloak to foist upon this country a scheme to finance the securities of looted railroads and to add to their stock an enormous increase in value for the benefit of their owners. The Republican Party now in power in both House and Senate promised at the last congressional election that they would do everything possible to reduce the high cost of living. Not only have they failed to even try to bring about such a result but this one great act—probably the most important piece of legislation passed by the present Congress—will add to the expenses of the general public in this country at least $200,000,000 a year increase in transportation cost and thereby directly increase the high cost of living by that amount annually. I, personally, am in favor of the return of the railroads to their owners at the present time. There is no question involved in the vote on this present bill as to Government ownership. The plain public sentiment demands the return of the railroads, and I would gladly vote for a proper bill to bring about such a result, but I can not vote for this bill for various important reasons, and it is only necessary to state one reason which overshadows all the others, and that is the provision providing for an increase of freight and passenger rates, which will assure to the railroads at least 5½ to 6 per cent on their value for the next two years. What value such 5½ or 6 per cent rate is to be based on is left entirely in doubt. No physical valuation of the railroads which can be relied upon has yet been made. The Interstate Commerce Commission has been laboring on that very question for several years, and at least two years more will be required to finish its work.

Unquestionably, then, in the absence of an official and reliable valuation the Interstate Commerce Commission must accept as the value of the railroads their book value, which to-day is approximately $19,000,000,000. Six per cent on that amount would be over $1,200,000,000 per year, and as the standard return paid by the Government at the present time for the railroads during Government control, and which is based on their average earnings for the three years prior to the war, is $936,000,000 it is very evident that this bill provides for an increase of freight and passenger rates of over $200,000,000 a year. This bill provides not only for such increase in railroad rates, but also provides that one-half of the excess over 6 per cent shall be placed in a reserve fund under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, to be loaned by the commission to other railroads or otherwise devoted to the needs of other roads. This provision has been declared unconstitutional by many eminent authorities, among them the Hon. Charles E. Hughes. A summary of his opinion shows clearly that this provision is either unconstitutional or else it provides for what is practically legalized robbery. These increased freight rates, according to Mr. Hughes, are either reasonable or unreasonable. If reasonable, then the taking of one-half of the excess of the just earnings of any railroad over 6 per cent is the taking of property without due process of law. If these increased freight rates are unreasonable, then the public has been charged an unreasonable rate, and is therefore being robbed in order to provide a large income for the railroads. In either event the second-class railroads, which have been looted by speculation and by the almost criminal acts of their owners, will be refinanced and rehabilitated by taking part of the earnings of those great trunk lines which have been properly financed and properly managed. For this reason alone I consider this bill a vicious and unwholesome piece of legislation. I believe that when the public knows the tremendous subsidy to be paid by the public guaranteed under this bill to the bankrupt railroads of this country, and when the public understands that the people must pay the staggering price called for under this bill, that the action of this Republican Congress will be condemned by the entire country.

The Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK McLANE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. McLANE. Mr. Speaker, it is not my purpose to discuss the many complex phases of this railroad problem. Many of them are legal and technical and seem to puzzle the mind of the lawyer and technician. I have given this railroad problem some thought and from what I have learned from diligent study and investigation I have decided to vote against any bill that does not offer a better solution of this problem than we have had prior to the war, and from what I learn of the pending conference report it is not going to be an improvement on past railroad legislation.

Attempts have been made to class railroad operation with private business. The passage of the conference report, with its special and favored legislative provisions, has for all time put the railroads where they rightfully belong, in the noncompetitive class of industries.

I do not subscribe to the press propaganda that Government operation failed, nor do I approve of the Government guaranteeing railroad investments. It is a dangerous precedent to establish. Nor do I see any real merit in any legislation that does not make it mandatory for reduction of the outstanding stocks and bonds.

What the people want is a real, permanent, and fair solution of the railroad problem, and this solution can not be brought about by favoring any one particular class, as this bill proposes to do. I realize that invested capital is entitled to a fair return, but this fair return should be on invested capital only, and should not include a return on fictitious values or watered stock. The solution of this important railroad problem should not be approached from any angle other than one of public service, and if we attempt to solve it in any other way we only cloud the real issue.

Under the provisions of this bill we have embarked on a partial Government ownership plan without any possibility of deriving any of the benefits of Government ownership. Under the provisions of this bill we are going to guarantee the roads $300,000,000 more than the guaranty they are now receiving under present Government operation.

The enactment of the pending bill, with its financial guaranty provisions and its Government-loaning provisions, is paternalistic, and it is not only unwise but unnecessary legislation. It bolsters up the weak and overcapitalized roads, while it leaves the heretofore strong, efficient, and well-managed roads without incentive to carry out any efficient program they may adopt in the future.

Have the railroads been a success as an American transportation institution under private control? If so, there is no evidence of it. We are all cognizant of the fact that the railroads failed to function during the early period of the war, and because of their inability to do so the Government was forced to take them over and operate them purely as a war measure, and this happened, notwithstanding the fact that these railroads under private control collected from the public in 28 years preceding the war some $14,000,000,000 in profits. During this same period they increased their capitalization per mile from $59,000 to $75,000. During that same period the railroads of the country increased their book cost account of road and equipment from $8,738,533,165 in 1891 to $17,525,576,908 in 1916, an increase of approximately $9,000,000,000, while the mileage during that period increased 95,000 miles. During this same period the operating income per mile increased from $2,106 to $4,247. We also find that from 1891 to 1906 the book cost and road equipment account increased $3,682,000,000, while the mileage during that period increased 61,000 miles. It will be noted during the period from 1906 to 1916 the book cost of road and equipment increased $5,105,000,000, while the mileage for that period increased 35,000 miles. In other words the book cost of roads and equipment from 1891 to 1906 remained at $60,000 per mile. For the 10-year period from 1906 to 1916 the cost per mile for railroad building increased to $145,000. All this occurred when railroad labor was paid a low or nominal wage. If we compute railroad mileage that we will be forced to build in the next 25 years on the basis of what it cost during the period from 1906 to 1916 and we build 100,000 miles of road during that time, we will add to the present estimated value of $20,000,000,000, $14,000,000,000 more, making a total investment of $34,000,000,000 on which the public, under the provisions of the Cummins bill, will be forced to pay a fixed charge of 5½ per cent, which will amount at the end of that period to $2,000,000,000 per annum, or in the next 25 years the private operator will get out of the public approximately $41,000,000,000.

Thus we find that in 54 years the people of the country will have paid to private operators of railroads the enormous tax of $57,000,000,000, and at the end of that period the same operators will retain control of property which will be valued at not less than $35,000,000,000. If we add $35,000,000,000 in property value, which the private operators will retain at the end of this period, to the $57,000,000,000 in profits which they have gotten out of the public, we will find that it will amount to $92,000,000,000. This estimated property value of $35,000,000,000, which is low, will carry with it a taxing power that the public must pay of $2,000,000,000 annually. So this being the case, any observing person can readily see that the amount involved is a sufficient argument why Government operation should be discredited.

The pending bill will be instrumental in contributing $55,000,000,000 to a small group of railroad owners in the course of 50 years, thus proving conclusively that we are living in the past, legislating for the present, and not taking into consideration the best interests of the future of the American people.

I have taken 20 representative roads operating in various sections of the country for the purpose of determining their financial status, and I find on investigation that some of these roads, because of honest and efficient management, have reduced their fixed charge per mile considerably during the 10-year period. However, I find the tendency of most roads has been to increase their capitalization per mile, thereby increasing fixed charges and necessitating a greater earning power per mile. The increased capitalization of these roads for 10 years has been $20,000 per mile, while the increase in fixed charges for the same roads has been $672 per mile. I am inserting some figures in the RECORD, an examination of which will show the financial conditions of these railroads from 1904 to 1913, and it can readily be seen that the deplorable financial conditions we hear so much of was brought about invariably by bad management and not because the railroads were starved by the Interstate Commerce Commission, as some of the propagandists would have the public believe.

As an example of this, note what happened to the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad. The capitalization of this road in 1904 was $79,102, and in 1913 the capitalization increased to $193,413, an increase of $114,311 per mile. On examination we find the fixed charge per mile increased from $2,092 in 1904 to $6,458 in 1913. All this happened at the time when wages were normal, therefore the increased cost of maintaining this road can not be charged to high wages or to Government operation, and yet the public must pay in the way of freight rates an interest charge on this increased capitalization a sum that amounts to $14,000,000 annually, and the pending bill validates the $240,000,000 increase in valueless stocks that was added to this property. What has happened to the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad has happened to many of the railroads throughout the country, only in a lesser degree. This method of managing railroads puts on the American people a burden they are unable to bear, and no doubt has its effect on the cost of living. Notwithstanding that this condition prevails, the Government, under the provisions of the pending bill, not only proposes to validate and put new life into this overcapitalization and watered stock mentioned, but it also proposes to guarantee 5½ per cent on said capitalization.

There has been considerable clamor about Government operation of railroads and propagandists who have been at work since the armistice was signed conveyed or attempted to convey to the public through the press that Government operation of railroads was not only a costly venture but a failure. When that statement is analyzed, it will be found that it does not contain much truth. It is a well-known fact that the roads were taken over because they failed to function during the early stages of the war, and under Government operation they not only functioned but were a big factor in the speedy termination of the war. The Government operated the roads successfully despite the fact that they had to do so under adverse business, labor, and climatic conditions. If we recall, during the winters of 1917 and 1918, when the roads were taken over by the Government the weather was the most severe experienced

in this country in many years. Of course, this had the effect of increasing operating costs; add this to the fact that many of the skilled and experienced employees were taken from their work and inducted into the Army, only to be replaced by men who, before they had time to become efficient, were also inducted into the Army. This continued during the war period, and undoubtedly had a tendency to keep railroad employees disorganized and could only tend to inefficiency.

The deficit of $600,000,000 has been extensively advertised as a reason why Government operation of railroads is not as economical as private ownership. This deficit had been caused by the increase in wages granted to railway men and the increase in cost of material. The increase in freight rates not being proportionate to the increase in wages and material naturally left a deficit. This would have happened whether the railroads were under private or Government control. As to the charge that the Government can not operate the railroads as economically as private corporations, we find on analysis that this statement does not bear out the facts, because if this were true the present officials, who were the ones who operated the roads under private control, would be considered inefficient. The facts in the case are that we never had full Government operation of railroads. What we really did have was Government guaranty and private operation.

It is a well-known fact that as soon as the railroads are returned to private ownership under the provisions of the pending bill the roads must be granted an increase in freight rates in order that they may operate at a profit. It is also estimated that this increase will amount to $875,000,000, and by the time this increase is transferred to the consuming public it will amount to $3,000,000,000 or more. This in all probability will mean another increase in the cost of living.

The railroads of the country should be operated as a public service corporation for the benefit of the public and not for any particular group or class of people.

The only way that transportation charges can be reduced is to reduce the fixed charges, and this can be brought about only by reducing the outstanding bonded debt. Private owners of railroad property will never attempt to reduce the outstanding bonded debt, because to do so would have a tendency to bring about a reduction in freight rates and that, from a business standpoint, would be considered bad business.

I also want to call the attention of Congress to the wage question that has been disturbing the country for some time. I do not agree with those who have been giving out statements that workingmen are well or overpaid. On the contrary, it is well known by those who are familiar with conditions that certain classes, such as teachers, college professors, accountants, and bookkeepers, and men of fixed salaries, have received only a very slight increase in wages, and that the increase received by them is nowhere in proportion to the increased cost of living. They are not receiving the amount of wages that their education, experience, and ability should command, and there seems to be no disposition to increase their wages in an amount equal to the service they render. So much for the unorganized class of workers.

Now, let us consider briefly the better organized groups of labor, who, because of the very nature of their work and the dependence of the public upon them, are more in the public eye. Let us see whether or not they are overpaid. Everyone who is at all familiar with the wages paid to miners or railroad men is fully aware that this class of employees are not overpaid. If we take into consideration the hazard of their occupations, they are, in all probability, underpaid. If the hourly rate of wages paid these men is carefully scrutinized, it will be found that the wages paid them are not as high as wages paid to men in other industries. It is true that a small percentage of miners and certain railroad employees make a high monthly wage, but the men who make this high monthly wage are an exception. Notwithstanding this, these men are always pointed to as an example of the high wages paid miners and railroad men. The employees who make this high wage are invariably given wide publicity, but the conditions under which they make this high wage are never given in detail by any of the propagandists. The facts, as far as possible, are always kept from the public; however, it might be observed that notwithstanding the high wages that miners and railroad men are supposed to receive, there is very rarely, if ever, a surplus of labor either in the mines or on the railroads.

I now wish to call attention to the wages paid to miners in soft-coal regions prior to 1918 and 1919. Instead of these men receiving a high wage, they were receiving a very low wage. From 1913 to 1918 the average yearly wage was $873, or less than $75 per month. This wage includes the year of 1918. In 1918 the Ohio miners received a yearly wage of $1,364, or approximately $4.50 per day for 304 days. During this same period from 1907 to 1918 the cost of living had increased about 82 per cent.

The propagandists do not tell the public that the average hourly rate received by the 68 railroad crafts for 1918 was 48 cents per hour, or $1,416 per year. Thirty-six thousand officers and general officers were figured in this rate.

I want to call attention to the high wages of conductors, engineers, and some other railroad employees who are frequently discussed because of this high wage, and to show how this high monthly wage is made. This class of employees are paid so much per mile or so much per hour, and in order to make a high monthly wage these men must work the hours or its equivalent in miles.

Passenger engineers are paid from 5.60 cents to 6.60 cents per mile, depending on the weight of the locomotive; on its drivers. Freight engineers receive from 6.08 cents to 8 cents per mile, dependent on weight of locomotive. There are 11 classes of locomotives and as many different rates of pay. Passenger engineers on long divisions who make daily turnround trips, where their miles exceed their hours, such as men running on 150-mile divisions, or those who can make 5,000 miles per month, make a high monthly wage. Five thousand miles is equal to 420 eight-hour days, and engineers in passenger service, running the heaviest locomotive, getting the highest hourly rate, can make $330 per month.

Engineers in freight service running Mallet engines making 5,000 miles, or its equivalent in hours, would make $400 per month at 8 cents per mile. This wage can be made by only a small percentage of railway engineers, and it is unfair to refer to them as being representative of what railroad employees earn. The report of the 1916 eight-hour wage commission showed that only fourteen-hundredths of 1 per cent of engineers at that time made over $300 per month, showing that runs on which this high wage is made are scarce, and men who hold these runs are the oldest in the service, serving in their capacity from 20 to 35 years.

I have selected for comparison the highest-paid class of men in the railroad service to show how this high wage can be made. All men in railroad service, only those in passenger and fast-freight service must work the hours in order to earn a high wage.

It is unnecessary to go into detail about the wages paid to many of the other railway crafts. The increase they were granted by the Government was necessary to enable them to meet rising food prices that they might live; and because of the low wages many of these men received prior to the time that this increase was granted the said increase has been unfairly characterized as unwarranted. During the war, with a labor shortage making overtime necessary, the shopmen made a high monthly wage; but, now that the eight-hour day has been established, the wages of these men have been reduced 35 per cent. Some propagandists charge high prices to the high wages, but an examination of the increase of the cost of commodities up to 1918 will show that higher wages was necessary in order to meet high prices.

These figures will show the wages earned by the highest-paid employees and the number of eight-hour days worked in 1918. The operation of the eight-hour day has reduced the wages of the shopmen 33 per cent.

	Number of 8-hour days worked for year ending June 30, 1918.	Average pay per year 1918.
Passenger engineer	326	$2,512
Road freight engineer	375	2,481
Yard engineer	389	2,056
Passenger conductor	341	2,269
Road freight conductor	378	2,260
Yard conductor	380	1,885
Passenger brakeman	333	1,537
Road freight brakeman	388	1,537
Yard brakeman	410	1,685
Machinist	400	2,334
Boiler maker	419	2,417

The railroad eight-hour commission of 1916 made a report stating that the typical earnings of the eastern engineer was around $190 per month and that of the freight brakeman was $100. The report also showed that 25.52 per cent receive from $90 to $160 per month; 39.11 per cent receive from $160 to $210 per month; 14.69 per cent receive from $210 to $250; 3.55 per cent receive from $250 to $300; and fourteen-hundredths of 1 per cent receive $300 per month or over.

These figures show that the railroad employees who received a high wage for 1918 worked from 22 to 115 days per year more than men work in other industries. It can be readily seen that if men employed in the railroad industries worked the same number of days per month or year as men employed elsewhere they would not receive a high wage. On the contrary, if the highest paid railroad employees worked 26 days per month, the average number of days worked by men in other industries, their monthly wages would not be as high as other workmen.

Road employees who are obliged to maintain quarters on both ends of the road, living as they very often do as much away from home as at home, would have their monthly wages reduced in proportion to the number of days they are away from their homes. This is a condition never mentioned when computing the wages of men engaged in road service.

By singling out a small percentage of men employed in the various industries and showing the high wages these men make, instead of showing the average wage, it misrepresents the facts and creates a wrong impression in the public mind.

The following figures will show how under the provisions of this bill the overcapitalized and heretofore mismanaged roads will profit at the expense of the well managed:

	Miles of road operated.		Net earnings per mile.		Fixed charge per mile.		Net capitalization per mile.		Average net income on capital for 10 years.
	1904	1913	1904	1913	1904	1913	1904	1913	
									Per cent.
Baltimore & Ohio Railroad	3,987	4,556	$5,379	$6,234	$2,939	$6,234	$90,988	$114,268	6.6
Central Railroad of New Jersey	639	676	10,151	17,753	8,994	10,151	162,781	163,749	11.4
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad	8,799	9,110	2,565	3,663	1,107	1,529	28,515	32,646	9.5
Delaware, Lackawanna & Western	770	923	22,747	21,097	9,229	8,353	49,520	77,975	4.3
Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton	652	1,015	3,387	1,979	1,935	3,803	153,759	134,233	16.8
Erie Railroad	2,150	2,257	6,384	8,312	4,577	7,634	133,096	167,642	5.5
Great Northern	5,623	7,686	3,416	4,272	1,163	1,509	28,857	36,669	11.6
Illinois Central	4,340	4,763	3,234	2,988	1,818	2,851	47,115	65,393	8.1
Lehigh Valley	1,392	1,451	7,911	9,604	4,164	4,960	70,757	88,939	13.4
Louisville & Nashville	3,618	4,820	3,262	3,040	1,865	1,884	40,678	49,115	8.8
New York Central	3,423	3,791	7,055	7,541	6,045	8,682	111,642	150,071	7.7
New York, New Haven & Hartford	2,032	2,092	6,458	10,223	3,905	11,077	79,102	193,413	8.0
Pennsylvania Railroad	3,656	4,025	10,351	11,918	6,503	5,952	117,769	118,299	11.4
Missouri Pacific	5,846	7,257	2,340	2,406	1,688	2,517	28,330	36,991	7.7
Pennsylvania & Reading	1,012	1,020	14,108	19,623	10,498	9,390	169,485	153,391	13.5
Rock Island	7,205	8,048	1,831	2,343	1,723	2,378	55,105	59,975	4.2
Union Pacific	5,353	7,349	4,915	5,390	2,611	2,999	66,913	57,946	13.8
Wabash Railroad	2,517	2,515	2,122	2,814	1,967	3,242	58,689	78,806	4.2
Southern Pacific	9,025	10,311	3,172	4,840	2,444	3,373	61,675	47,016	9.4
Chicago & Alton	915	1,026	4,264	2,354	3,080	4,198	120,335	124,760	3.6
	71,944	84,690	125,152	140,493	78,255	91,716	1,523,411	1,939,367	9.66¾

The Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. FREAR,
OF WISCONSIN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, the railroad bill has been put through the House without real comprehension of its terms by one-quarter of the House membership. Probably 10 per cent of the 400 Members voting would be a closer estimate of those who read the bill before voting for it. The Esch bill of 86 pages was placed on our desks the day debate began on the bill last November and was then rushed to the Senate. The Railroad Committee, including its distinguished chairman, my colleague, Mr. Esch, has the respect of the House, but I am answerable to my own judgment and conscience for my vote and do not intend to vote blindly on this far-reaching bill.

The conference report or compromise bill between the House bill and Senate bill now before us, is declared by Mr. BARKLEY of the committee to be entirely different from the Esch House bill or Cummins Senate bill. It was only available a few minutes before the five-hour debate began prior to the vote. The conference bill covers 120 printed pages, and in the 300 minutes devoted to debate several members of the committee occupied over half the time, so that 375 other Members out of the 400 voting had neither time to read the bill nor ask questions, but were told to swallow it whole, and it was whipped through the House without opportunity even to know its terms excepting on one or two important controverted sections brought out in the discussion.

With this situation, every legislator may properly look to those who are disinterested to understand the effect of the bill. It was stated in the debate that the railway companies begged the President to take over the roads during the war, and that it was the railroad's salvation and for the protection of the stockholders as well as for the handling of the war that they were turned over to the Government to operate. Many reforms were put in force by Government railway officials, but it is folly to say the record made by the Government in handling the railways during the war is any more of a test than was private operation during the war. I have no comment to make on common knowledge that railroad wreckers have fattened their purses and extorted untold millions from innocent stockholders and the public in the past, nor to discuss the fictitious valuations of railways on which earnings have been based under private management, nor on the statement made in debate that only 38 per cent of the railways were paying dividends before the enactment of the interstate-commerce law, and only 60 per cent of railway stocks were paying 6 per cent dividends prior to the war. These statements, if true, deserve careful consideration before deciding on the terms of this railway bill.

To the contention that Government control has been wasteful and expensive, Director General Hines and other public officers point to many economies effected in management and a consolidation of transportation units that would eventually bring order and a unit organization out of private unbusinesslike managements wherein competition and individual service ceased to exist many years ago. It is alleged that the roads were received from private owners during the war with worn-out equipment and shortage in rolling stock, and this equipment was replaced by the Government, together with a raise in wage, given to practically all the employees of the roads excepting higher officials, whose extremely liberal salaries were brought down to a more reasonable figure. Never before has Congress found it necessary or desirable to determine what minimum rate of profits shall be guaranteed to any business. I believe the precedent is unwise and improper, particularly as the only method of making good such guaranties is by giving to a railway monopoly created by law the power to charge the public enough more to make certain the profit, or possibly in future cases to guarantee some other business fixed profits from the Public Treasury. The precedent is dangerous. If it shall be found best to return the roads to private ownership with a guarantee, it is certainly necessary to have knowledge of the actual value of the roads, which we do not have to-day, and to determine what operating expenditures are justified before we guarantee a fixed percentage of profits. That has never been obtained, and we are required by this bill to go it blind.

WHAT A 25 PER CENT FREIGHT INCREASE MEANS TO THE PEOPLE.

Every Member of Congress and every consumer in the country is interested in the statement of Robert W. Wooley, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, who says over his own signature that the railroad bill proposing to return these roads at this time to private hands means an immediate increase of freight rates of 25 per cent in order to meet guaranteed pledges to stockholders. Based on 1918 freight receipts, Mr. Wooley says this 25 per cent increase will mean $875,000,000 additional freight rates to the roads. But he adds "the shipper passes

this along to the consumer and on back to the producer of the raw material, who has to stand the cost of transportation." This means every man, from the farmer and butcher and baker to the laborer in factory or office will pay his share in the food he eats and clothes he wears.

Director General Hines of railways publicly states that this 25 per cent increase is passed on to the final consumer in a ratio of 400 per cent increase, or that an increase of $875,000,000 in freight rates means $4,375,000,000 increased cost to the consumer. Increased costs of living will be paid annually under the direction by Congress to make this 5½ per cent guaranty. A further statement by tax experts that a 25 per cent increased freight means an increased cost to every consuming family of $215 a year on the average is startling, when the country is already struggling under heavy tax burdens and the high cost of living. Director General Hines corrects many of the misstatements made over comparative operating expense by the Government and private owners, and this is emphasized when it is known that Mr. Hines was receiving $77,210 a year as chairman of the Atchison road in 1917, whereas he is now working as Government Director General for $25,000 per year.

INCREASED FREIGHT RATES TO GUARANTEE $100,000 SALARIES.

Two hundred and odd railway officers, whose names I have, were receiving over $20,000 a year salary under private control, including J. M. Dickenson, receiver of the Rock Island, who pulled down $120,000 a year before the war. The least of these salaries is many times that of Members of Congress and much beyond the salaries of Cabinet members and justices of the Supreme Court. The consumers, who ultimately pay all the bills, are required under the terms of the conference bill to pay 25 per cent increase in freight rates in order to meet such items of cost under the 5½ and 6 per cent guaranty.

The statements of Mr. Woolley and Director General Hines have not been answered, to my knowledge. I do not see how they can be answered, and efforts to cover up the facts by the cry of "Government ownership," "Plumb plan," and other shouts of "wolf" do not answer the charge that a 25 per cent increase in freight rates is to occur, which will ultimately place an additional burden of over $4,000,000,000 on the consumers and producers of the country and add to the present high cost of living.

CLINCHING A HALF BILLION DOLLARS WASTE.

In the brief space allotted I can not discuss at length the fact that after Congress has appropriated in past years over a half billion dollars of the taxpayers' money for inland waterways, and during the war has spent many millions of dollars for boats to run the rivers, that this bill proposes to turn all these matters over to private ownership and to the War Department. that notoriously is unbusinesslike and incompetent to handle the matter. Instead of using waterways to reduce freight costs we are taxing the people to aid favored private interests. The injustice of the long-and-short-haul clause that throttles many communities under private railway control is not relieved under this bill, so far as I can understand, and the labor provision, which has been one of the debated sections of the bill, seems satisfactory to no one. Many injustices appear in the bill, as I view it, but that which overshadows all others is the fact that an enormous increase in the cost of freight is about to occur in order to guarantee 5½ and 6 per cent on railway securities, a large portion of which are represented by "water," according to railway experts.

If the President insists upon returning the roads on March 1, as threatened, let the responsibility rest with him; but I am more interested in the ultimate result of this legislation, as predicted by two acknowledged disinterested railway experts—Mr. Woolley and Mr. Hines—than I am by threats that the President will turn the roads into bankruptcy unless we swallow this conference bill.

GUARANTEEING PROFITS IS A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT.

There is little difference in principle in guaranteeing a 5½ per cent return on railways and guaranteeing fixed profits on the value of farm lands, wheat, or of stocks of corporations generally. In the face of investments by the public in Liberty bonds, which on a 3 to 4 per cent interest rate have depreciated in some cases 10 per cent of their face value, we are asked to compel the subscribers to those Liberty bonds and present holders to pay enormously increased freight earnings in order to guarantee 5½ to 6 per cent to the holders of railway securities.

Bills were introduced this session to pay a small bonus to the soldiers who served at $30 a month during the war, to help them in getting a start. The boys took chances with their lives in the service, and it is an obligation that can never be repaid. We all agree to that, and yet when it is proposed to put through Congress some bill giving help to the soldiers, we have been met with the plea that the Public Treasury is confronted by many necessary governmental expenditures. It is certainly easier for the consuming public to pay the soldiers a small bonus through the Federal Treasury than by a 25 per cent increase in freight rates during future years to guarantee 6 per cent earnings on railways. One covers the exact amount, the other costs the consumer five times the actual freight increase.

I have briefly pointed out my understanding of a bill that has been given slight consideration by the House and has had presented against it what I believe to be insuperable objections from unprejudiced railway experts in the employ of the Government, as evidenced by the statements of Interstate Commerce Commissioner Wooley and Railroad Director General Hines. These men have disclosed the gross injustice that will come to the consumers of the country, and such objections must be met or we may expect to see a revolution of public sentiment, which will reach out to an eventual permanent control of the roads. I submit that the public interest is equally involved in the conference bill and I can not vote for a bill which in effect is condemned by the high, disinterested public officials named and which bill no Member of the House outside of the committee has had opportunity to study or even carefully read.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIS J. HULINGS,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 6, 1920,

On conference report on railroad bill (H. R. 10453).

Mr. HULINGS. Mr. Speaker, I voted against the antistrike provision of the Esch bill and supported the Anderson amendment for the reason that I think any man or group of men has a right to quit their employment and because I believe that punitive legislation would not be workable, since you could not put great masses of men in jail if they should strike.

I shall vote for the conference report because I think it a great measure, that will give the country better railroad facilities and provide methods by which all disputes can be settled fairly and justly, giving no just cause for strikes.

During Government control the Government guaranteed that it would pay the roads rentals equal to the average net income of the roads for the three years before the war. The conference report continues these guaranties for the next six months and that wages shall not be reduced during that time.

The charges that by the report 6 per cent net returns are guaranteed by the Government to the roads are without foundation.

Now, what are the facts?

The guaranty, so called, is merely the agreement that the Interstate Commerce Commission shall fix rates that will give the roads a fair return for the capital invested, and that 5½ per cent shall be a fair return.

But when it comes to "fixing the rates" it is perfectly obvious that all competitive rates must be equal, and that roads through a thickly populated district would at equal rates make far greater profits than the roads through a sparsely populated district, and if the rates were fixed so that the weak road would live the strong road would be getting too great profits.

So the design of the bill is to fix rates which will enable well-managed roads through the sparse districts to pay 5½ per cent (a fair return) on the capital invested and to require the roads that can make more than 5½ per cent (a fair return) on the capital invested to give back to the Government (the public) one-half of the excess over 6 per cent, and this excess may be loaned to the weak roads at 6 per cent on giving approved security.

But the Government guarantees nothing, except that the commission shall fix rates to give a fair return for capital invested, or 5½ per cent.

And the "capital invested" does not mean the face value of the stock and bonds, that may have been "watered," but the actual value of the property ascertained by the commission by investigations now being carried on under authority of law.

The report is the meeting of many minds upon a very difficult problem by men who are beyond all reproach, who have given months of study to the various arguments of farmers, bankers, railroad workers, and employers.

The labor leaders who are in favor of Government ownership or the Plumb plan, or continuance of operation of the roads by the Government, are not in favor of any plan which puts the roads back into the hands of the owners.

The memorial of the labor leaders protesting against the conference report was discussed at a meeting of the labor leaders and Members of Congress who had voted for the Anderson amendment at which I was present. This memorial protests that the pending bill violates the fundamental principles of the American Government; that it guarantees exclusive privileges to the investors in railways; that the common good is prostituted to establish the private interests of the holders of the railway securities.

Now, if I believed the bill did any one of these things I would be the last man in this House to vote for it.

The "public good" ought to be our chief concern.

Long since we learned that the Government must fix rates and regulations to protect the public from the greed of the railroads, and so the Interstate Commerce Commission was established.

When the Government took over the roads, it increased wages and operating expenses that the railroads under the old rates could not possibly pay, but the Government out of the Public Treasury paid the deficit.

Now, when the roads go back into private ownership the commission must increase the old rates at least equal to what the Government charged.

How much shall they increase them? Everybody knows that the railroads constantly need new capital for improvements and betterments, and that the investing public will not lend money on the bonds or buy the stock of the railroads unless they get a reasonably sure fair return.

What is a fair return?

The bill says 5½ per cent. Who will say this is excessive? I have some doubt whether 5½ per cent will induce the investing public to lend their money at this rate.

But how does the railroad get this fair return? By a guaranty of the Government? Not at all; but by rates that shall be fixed which, with reasonable arrangement, will enable the roads to secure such net income.

There seems to me nothing in this or in the bill that grants "exclusive privileges" or violates the Constitution.

There are some criticisms of the labor provisions that I think are well founded. Thus in section 304, paragraph 1, three members representing the employees and subordinate officials are to be appointed by the President out of a group of not less than six nominees, whose nomination shall be made in such manner as the commission shall prescribe; yet, in section 605, if these nominations are not made within 30 days after the passage of this act the President shall appoint whomsoever he chooses.

Now, the labor group can not nominate six nominees until after the commission has held hearings and promulgated the methods of making such nominees as described in paragraph 5, section 300, and if it should happen that 30 days should elapse before these regulations were promulgated then the labor group might be represented on the board by such persons as the President might choose to appoint. This objection is not vital, for the President would undoubtedly appoint representative labor men, but the labor leaders regard this very jealously. I think it could easily be remedied to meet their objection, which seems to be well founded.

The criticism of section 303, made by the leaders, is not well founded in my opinion. The leaders in their argument claim that 5 per cent of the 2,000,000 railway workers are unorganized. Five per cent of 2,000,000, or 1,000, and section 303 provides that upon the written petition "signed by 100 unorganized employees" the adjustment board may decide any dispute not decided between the carrier and its employees, so that it would appear that not more than 10 such groups of not less than 100 of the "unorganized employees" could present requests, instead of, as the leaders say, 20,000 such groups, nor do I see how such a provision for the recognition of complaints of railroad workers who do not belong to the union can be regarded as "permission or encouragement to disregard an agreement along the orderly methods of procedure which have been long established between the carriers and organized railroad workers," especially since in all probability there are no existing agreements made between the carriers and the unorganized workers. Besides, there is not "a failure to designate and treat with the standard recognized organizations," representing as the labor leaders say, approximately 95 per cent of all the employees because the mere designation of the unorganized labor by name would impliedly designate organized labor, if it were not otherwise named, but the fact is that in section 303 the chief executive or subordinate officials of any organizations of employees are distinctly named.

I believe the criticism of the labor leaders of section 306 is well taken, and that there is no reason why a man who has had long experience in dealing with the questions that would come up before the labor board should be required to give up his rights as a member of his organization and his craft, or that railroad managers with large experience in dealing with labor troubles should become, by reason of such classification, ineligible.

If the President should appoint three men acquainted with the railroad business and three men representing the workers and three men representing the public it would look to me as a real effort to assure a fair and just tribunal.

I am of the opinion that the labor leaders' criticism of paragraph b, section 307, is just and that the paragraph should be rewritten so as to give the labor board, upon its own motion, if it is of the opinion that the dispute is likely substantially to interrupt commerce, to hear and decide all disputes which the employers and the employees can not themselves decide, but not to set aside the decision of the adjustment board.

The adjustment board, established by agreement between the workers and carriers, is authorized to settle all disputes of every kind.

The labor board appointed by the President, three men from six persons named by the carriers, three men from six persons named by the workers, and three men to represent the public, only has authority to settle disputes regarding grievances or working conditions. It has no authority to settle disputes with respect to wages or salaries, except when the adjustment board has failed to act and except when the labor board is of the opinion that the decision of the adjustment board involves an increase of wages likely to require a change of rates.

This last exception should be eliminated, though, of course, I understand that the adjustment board having exclusive control of wages might become unduly extravagant, and the exception noted is designed to be a check.

The pending bill is not destructive of the constitutional privileges and liberties of the railroad workers which they claim that it is. On the contrary, I think that the bill is an effort to arrive at a just decision of the disputes that arise between employer and employees, and it is the constitutional right of Congress, in the interest of the public, to take the necessary measures to protect the public from the great loss and injury and suffering that would follow the paralysis of industries consequent upon tying up the railroads in case of failure of the railroad workers to secure such wages as they desire should strike.

There is no doubt in my mind of the authority of Congress to provide against such a contingency but relying upon the sense of justice and the patriotic spirit of American workingmen the bill is an effort through boards of conciliation to reach an equitable and just decision and a square deal in any given case, as between the contending parties, in the belief that when the public and the workman and the employers get a square deal there never will be any appeal to the "strike."

The more I study this report the more I am satisfied that it will work out to the public welfare, and I believe that in a short time the railroad workers will be warmest in its praise.

The way to prevent strikes is to remove the causes. Common sense and the square deal will do more than punitive legislation, and I believe this bill opens the way.

The Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OSCAR E. BLAND,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. BLAND of Indiana. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House of Representatives, for many months the two Committees on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House and Senate have labored with the problem of how best to solve the railroad question. The President came to Congress after the close of the war, and while speaking of the railroad question threw up his hands and asked Congress to solve the problem for him. Government control has been an expensive undertaking for the taxpayers of the United States. I voted to put the railroads under Government control, because I deemed it necessary in order that our tremendous war preparations would not be handicapped by a broken-down or poorly coordinating transportation system.

It has cost us $700,000,000 a year, notwithstanding the fact that under Government ownership we have enormously increased freight and passenger rates. The wages of the railroad employees have been advanced from time to time. The public has frequently complained that they were receiving too much. It is possible that some are receiving a more adequate wage than others, but if you will compare their wages with the cost of living, I do not believe you can honestly say that they are receiving too much, and I know that a great many of them are receiving too little.

When the Esch bill came before the House before, I could not have supported it in the form in which it was presented, because I believed that the antistrike provision which it contained was not conducive to a fair or permanent settlement of the labor question, and I did not believe that any legislative body had the right to say that men did not have the inherent right to quit work. I voted for the Anderson amendment, and it will be recalled that the Anderson amendment struck out the antistrike clause and substituted the plan of conciliation and provided that grievances would go to conciliatory boards. I have always believed that if the employer and the employee can have a fairly constituted and fairly regulated tribunal in which they are represented and interested to which they can submit their difficulties that it will always be possible for them to agree. Public sentiment is the strongest force in American political and economic life to-day, and public sentiment would make it almost certain that the honest, fair decision of such a tribunal as I have referred to would necessarily be accepted. The Anderson amendment carried.

The Esch bill was passed in the House and the Cummins bill was passed in the Senate. The Cummins bill contained the antistrike clause. The bills were, while attempting to accomplish the same purpose, differing very much in their manner of settling the questions.

A conference committee of both Houses was appointed in accordance with our rules and they labored for several weeks to meet upon a common ground satisfactory to the two Houses and at the same time trying to render justice to the employees of the roads, the stockholders, and the public at large. I am frank to say to you that everything in this bill does not meet with my entire approval, and, in my judgment, every other Member of the House and Senate could say the same thing; but legislation covering so many questions and permitting of so many different solutions and attempts at solutions must necessarily, in some of its features, partake of the nature of compromise. It has been stated that the Government in this bill guarantees certain earnings to the railroads. This is not a correct statement, but it does direct and authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to levy tariff rates sufficiently high that railroads may earn 5½ per cent on the actual valuation of their property—not on watered stock but upon actual value. If the Government had never taken over the railroads, if we had never interfered with their wage scale or their tariff rates I could not have brought myself to the position of supporting a separate bill guaranteeing to the railroads any earnings any more than I could guarantee earnings to a great many other quasi public enterprises, but it is a different problem which confronts us to-day. If the railroads were turned back to private ownership and wages remained where they are it would be necessary to increase the tariff rates in order to make up the difference, which the Government is paying to-day. Unless the cost of living is reduced I am of the opinion that wages will have to be increased in some instances. This again makes it necessary to guarantee increase of rates or else suffer a decrease in wages or the bankruptcy and failure of the railroads, with the consequent suffering to the public.

It must be remembered that the railroads of America are a tremendously large part of our industrial life. They are the very arteries of our whole commercial system. We own a third of the railroads of the world and they have been the most efficiently managed, have shown the greatest improvement, and given the best service of any railroads in the world. We can not afford to permit our industrial life to be paralyzed at any time, and much less so when we are just emerging from the unsettled conditions following this terrible war.

I believe the railroads should be turned back to their owners for a great many reasons unnecessary to enumerate at this time, but chief of which is that I want to get away as soon as possible from the unnatural and burdensome condition which was made necessary by the war. In authorizing tariff rates so as to guarantee earnings we thus make it possible for the wage earner to maintain his wage scale. You can not expect big wages from bankrupt railroads. Some of the railroads have been earning more than they are guaranteed by this bill and some of them have been earning less. This bill provides the excess profits shall go to the weaker roads, thus maintaining their efficiency and the continued wage of the employee. The recapturing of earnings is not, in my judgment, a very good legislative policy to apply to our industrial life under ordinary circumstances, and only the exigencies of this case to which I have briefly referred permits me to support that feature of the bill. I know the public in general will favor it, and I know the employees of the railroads will favor it, and most assuredly the owners of the weaker railroads will support it. It is ordinarily a dangerous doctrine, however, to take away from the thrifty and the efficient that which it honestly earns and give to the weak and inefficient. Since the public is so intimately and vitally connected with the railroad life of the Nation, and since the present financial problem is so acute in this critical period of the Nation's life, I am willing to support this uncertain economic principle with the reservation that it shall not be used as a precedent for other business enterprises.

Every day I have letters and telegrams from the owners and employees of the stone mills and quarries and from the owners and employees of the coal mines of my district deploring the terrible lack of cars for the shipment of coal and stone. I have spent much time in the Railroad Administration offices endeavoring to get the largest possible allotment of cars for my section of the country. I think I obtained some results, but I learned definitely that since the close of the war the railroads and the Government both had ceased to build new cars and that hundreds of thousands of old cars were being junked each year. The future car supply looked dark indeed. The Government could hold out no hope. Its Treasury is empty and our railroad adventure has been an expensive one. The railroads could not and would not make improvements, because the value of railroad securities was an uncertainty. This bill provides that the Interstate Commerce Commission may order and require cars to be built by the railroads to take care of the needs of the public. It also provides that the Government may loan to the railroads out of a sinking fund arising from excess profits sufficient money to buy rolling stock. This bill provides for the things my constituents demand. It will give them better railroad service. It will guarantee the continued operation of the railroads, and it will permit the employees to get adequate wages. It contains no antistrike provision. It establishes a tribunal to settle the difficulties of labor. It guarantees that for six months there shall be no reduction of wages. It also permits the equalization of freight rates on coal shipped to Chicago from the Indiana and Illinois fields. The Indiana coal industry has long suffered from an unfair rate fixing in this regard. These provisions certainly meet with the approval of all parties concerned whom I represent.

The President has stated that the railroads would be turned back to their owners on the 1st day of March or within the next 8 or 10 days. Unless suitable legislation were passed, this would mean confusion and pandemonium, strikes, crippled industries, bankruptcy, and financial ruin. If I should vote against this bill to-day and a majority of the Members of the House would do the same, what would be the result? There are a great many men in the country who are opposed to this bill, most of them because they do not understand its provisions. Some of them think that it is unfair to the public because it permits increased freight rates. Others think that it is unfair to labor. I have talked with a number of representatives of labor, and they have not been able to give me any justification for the statement that it is unfair to labor. I helped to take out of the bill the provision which was unfair to labor. This bill guarantees them their job and guarantees them their wages, and those who oppose it and the employees who oppose it will tell you, if they are frank with you, that their objection arises from their belief in Government ownership of railroads. At this late date, with the President about to turn them back to their owners, it has passed the time when you can contend for Government ownership. No man on either floor of this Congress has offered any substitute or amendment to either bill which if supported would bring Government ownership, so it becomes a question with me as to whether I will vote for this conference report with all its good provisions and its few objectionable features, or to throw the whole question into chaos and confusion, which is certain to come if this report is defeated.

No motion to recommit this report has been made which offers any solution to any of the difficulties presented. Under the rules there can be but one motion to recommit, and the party who is entitled to make that motion in this instance is a member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee who is opposed to the bill. None of them have seen fit to make a motion with a recommendation, and the one motion to recom-

mit that was made, and therefore the only one that can be made, was made by the gentleman from Kentucky, which was merely a motion to recommit without instructions, which if passed would throw the whole matter back into confusion and chaos. I regret that the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], or the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS], or the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DENISON], any one of whom had the power or right to make a motion to recommit, did not make the motion to recommit with specific instructions correcting certain features of the bill, which, in my judgment, might have been slightly improved upon, but we understand why this motion to recommit was made and made indefinite and not specific, and we can understand what the men who voted for this motion to recommit are going to say to their constituents as to why they voted for it. They will in each instance say that it was to correct the very thing their constituents complained of. A vote for the motion to recommit was exactly equivalent to a vote against the bill, and yet a great many men find it easy to support the motion to recommit and yet support the bill. This is a species of political hide and seek that I am not willing to play. I believe this report represents the best possible compromise effort under the circumstances, and I wonder, when all circumstances are considered, how it was possible for the two committees of the two Houses to finally come to an agreement upon such an important question and enact into law a bill with so few imperfections.

The Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. S. ECHOLS,

OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. ECHOLS. Mr. Speaker, I have two excellent reasons for voting for this bill. The first is that it is, in the main, proper, constructive legislation, correcting the evil of further operation of the railroads by the Federal Government, to which I am earnestly opposed; and, second, under the so-called guaranty clause my section of the country will unquestionably be benefited. The experience the country has had in the past two years under Government control of the railroads has been an expensive one. It has cost the country a million dollars per day for every day the Government has operated the railroads. We are now called upon to pay approximately $700,000,000 out of the Public Treasury for this experience, which should have terminated before this time. In addition to that, we have been and are now paying an increase of 50 per cent in passenger rates and 25 per cent in freight rates. Like every other Member of the House, in going through the bill, I have found specific clauses which do not altogether meet with my approval, but no two intelligent men who are capable of working out a great piece of constructive legislation, as this is, could in a bill of more than 100 printed pages agree upon every specific clause therein. This legislation, like all constructive legislation, is the result of great minds meeting together and compromising. The conference committee that presents it to us is entitled to the everlasting gratitude of the country.

It has been suggested that the $700,000,000 that we are now called upon to pay for Government operation of the railroads is one of the prices we paid for winning the war. If that is true, then it is well worth the price. But, in my judgment, we have learned a great lesson from Government operation of the railroads that has reached the heart of the country, and that is the fallacy of the Government undertaking to do those things that should be done by private initiative and private capital. That lesson has been so expensive and so well learned that it will not be forgotten by the present generation at least. That lesson is also worth the price we have paid.

I find but few in my section of the country in favor of further Government control of the railroads, except that class of people who believe in the nationalization of all industries, and that class constitutes a small per cent of the population—far less than it was before our experience with Government control.

There has been much said about the so-called guaranty clause found in the bill. I fail to find anywhere in this bill where the Government guarantees to any railroad either 5½ or 6 or any other per cent upon the value of its stock or the true value of its property. There is no such guaranty. There is a contingent fund provided that is made up of the excess of 6 per cent earned by the strong roads of the country that is to be placed in the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission as a trustee, which may be loaned to the weaker roads for equipment, and so forth. There is no tax levied upon the people to create this fund. I would vote for the bill if I lived on the line of the most prosperous railroad in the country. But here comes my second reason for supporting the bill. It may be that it is somewhat personal and somewhat selfish upon my part to take the view that I do, but that element is only a part of human nature.

My congressional district is largely traversed by the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad and its branches. We have one of the greatest coal fields in the world, and the coal we produce is of the best quality in the world. The transportation of coal from those fields depends upon the ability of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad to carry it. That road is what is known as one of the weaker roads. It traverses mountainous regions, and was therefore expensive to construct and is expensive to operate. Those who oppose this provision overlook the fact that the Government, through the Interstate Commerce Commission, fixes the price the railroad can charge for transporting every passenger and every ton of freight over its lines. The railroad has nothing to say about the rates it can charge for transportation. This contingent fund will enable roads like the Chesapeake & Ohio to live, pay its employees reasonable wages, and accommodate the shippers who are compelled to depend upon it. Whatever will give to the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad the power to haul the coal and other industrial products from my district will give support to the coal producer, coal miner, and other laborer in that district that which he can not otherwise obtain—that is, the right to live.

We have had a rather severe and costly lesson in the Government control of that road within the last few months. Thirty thousand coal cars were taken from the eastern coal pool during the strike and used in shipping coal to the far West. My information is that to this good day that a very great number of those cars have not been returned. The per cent of coal cars allotted to the coal producers in my district has ranged from as low as 23 per cent to about 60 per cent since the strike. Government control to a great degree is responsible for this condition. Every employer of labor and every employee in my district should be delighted that the roads are going back to private ownership with the contingent fund to help the weaker roads. The short-line railroads that run out from the main trunk line into the coal regions must be generously treated by the Government.

Upon that depends the prosperity and happiness of the people who live among the hills. Receiverships for railroads which would come without the aid of this fund from the excess of the more prosperous roads would mean receiverships for the coal companies of my district, and not only for the coal companies but for many other industries therein. Receiverships for coal companies and other industries mean suffering among the laborers who are employed by such industries. Thirty per cent of the coal produced in the country is consumed by the railroads. The railroads can not live without public support, and upon the economic operation of the railroads depends, to a large extent, the success and prosperity of every other business institution in the country.

When the Esch railroad bill was before the House in November, I voted for what was known as the Anderson labor amendment. I did so in the full belief that it was the best proposition presented at that time, and in voting for this bill I do not feel that there is any injustice being done the employees of the railroads throughout the country. It provides for adjustment boards, to be selected by the employees of the railroads and the railroads themselves, to settle their own difficulties. If they can not agree, then there is a labor board provided, to be appointed by the President of the United States, who is the proper party to appoint such board, to which an appeal may be taken. The public is to be represented upon that board. This is the first time in the history of such legislation that the public has been represented. I have no doubt but that the representatives of the public will be fair. That board is given general powers to hear disputes and make findings, but there is not one line in the bill that provides for compulsory adherence to the findings of that board. If the railroad employees are not satisfied with the findings of the board there is nothing providing criminal liability for their failure to do so—no fines, no penalties. The enforcement of its findings depends upon public opinion, and no organization, not even the Government itself, can afford to run counter to public opinion. Its mandates are stronger and more effective than any act of any Congress or rulings of any board. There being no penalties provided for failure of organizations to comply

with the findings of the board, I can see no reasonable objection thereto.

Public opinion has been instrumental in settling every great industrial dispute that has taken place in this country, and public opinion will continue to be instrumental in settling them. There is no way under the sun by which either the railroads or labor organizations can escape the force of public opinion. If the board finds for the railroads and its finding is unjust, public opinion will compel the railroads to follow its mandate. When reason asserts itself among those who are in favor of nationalization of the railroads of the country they will find that this provision in the railroad bill will be the one that is most wholesome for them. When disputes arise between individuals they are compelled to go to the courts for adjustment, and when the court renders judgment the parties to the controversy are compelled to abide by that judgment, no matter whether it is satisfactory to them or not. Here is set up a court of arbitration to recommend the adjustment of disputes, but there is no compulsion.

It is useless to advocate at this time the nationalization of the railroads and other industries of the country. Public opinion opposes such, and public opinion can not at this time be overcome. Nationalization of industries and ownership of the railroads by Governments in countries where the same have been tested have proven failures. Only a few months ago I had the privilege of traveling upon railroads long owned by Governments, and I never saw the time since I first stepped upon a railroad car that transportation was so inadequate in this country as it was in those countries in which I rode upon government-controlled or government-owned railroad lines.

The difficulties encountered in this legislation have been stupendous; the controversy has been long and wearisome, but from those difficulties and out of that controversy has come a splendid piece of sound and constructive legislation which I am sure the country will welcome with profound relief.

Federal Control of Railroads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOREN E. WHEELER,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920,

On the conference report on the bill (H. R. 10453) to provide for the termination of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation; to provide for the settlement of disputes between carriers and their employees; to further amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Speaker, I shall not attempt to analyze this bill in detail. I simply desire to touch upon a few of its more important features, especially those in which the public and the press seem to be most vitally interested.

No one, I believe, has claimed perfection for this measure, but the President has issued a proclamation turning the railroads back to their former owners on March 1 next, and immediate legislation is necessary. To turn them loose in their present demoralized state, without defining their status, would spell bankruptcy for many lines and produce industrial and financial chaos throughout the country.

To avoid just such a disaster, the committees of the House and Senate have labored for months to produce a measure that would prove just to the public, just to the employees, and just to the employers. That this bill upon which we are about to vote will in a great measure meet that standard, I have no doubt.

CRITICS WOULD DECEIVE PUBLIC.

It has been erroneously, and I fear maliciously, charged by some that this bill throttles labor; that it was framed to meet the ideas and wishes solely of the railroads and the owners of railroad securities. Nothing could be further from the facts, but I regret to say I find many people apparently believing those statements.

They have not read this bill. They have simply been deceived by the overenthusiastic friends of Government ownership.

NO COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

As a matter of fact, this bill simply provides machinery for the voluntary arbitration of wage disputes between the railroads and their employees. The decisions of the wage adjustment board created under this measure are simply advisory. They are not compulsory.

The board can only hear both sides to a controversy, conduct an investigation to ascertain the facts, and then render and publish its decision.

EMPLOYEES MAY STRIKE.

If not satisfied with that decision, there is nothing in the bill that prevents the men from quitting work, singly or collectively. The only weapon in the hands of the board is its power to publish the results of its investigation—to acquaint the public with the true facts regarding the controversy. This alone constitutes a safeguard for the interests of all and insurance against injustice to the employee and employer.

Any decision in or settlement of a controversy so vitally affecting the public as would a threatened tie-up of our transportation facilities must be sufficiently just to stand public scrutiny. A decision of any court or tribunal and the facts supporting the same that can not stand the light of publicity must fail for lack of merit.

LABOR CLAUSE NOT PERFECT.

I do not agree with some who contend the section treating with wage controversies is the best that can be framed, nor do I agree with others who charge it with being "unworkable." At this time, however, with the leaders and Members of both House and Senate presenting and pressing many divergent views on the subject, a compromise was necessary if an agreement was ever to be reached.

The many delicate questions involved in this new form of legislation was confusing to even the ablest Members of both branches of Congress. I am confident, however, that out of their efforts, and as a result of experience which will make known needed changes, this and succeeding Congresses will be able to perfect some smoothly working wage-adjustment machinery. Such a result is earnestly desired by the majority of our people, and it was with a view to such an outcome that Congress was prompted to take some action at this time.

THE SO-CALLED "GUARANTY."

In addition to those who have attempted to stir up opposition to the return of the railroads to private ownership and who were exercised about the so-called "antistrike" clause and charging the curtailment of the rights of the employee, there are other equally unscrupulous critics. They allege the public is to be saddled with a tremendous burden by the Government being compelled to guarantee earnings to the extent of 5½ per cent on watered stock.

They know that is not true and are fully aware of the effect of their charges, but evidently believe the means justifiable if the end were to be continued Government operation. As a matter of fact, the Government practically guarantees no more than it has been paying under Government operation.

ALLOW ONLY FAIR RETURN.

This bill simply sets forth that it is the opinion of the Government that a railroad should be allowed to earn 5½ per cent, and not more than 6 per cent, on the money invested in and represented by the actual value of the property. The excess earnings are to be converted into a revolving fund to be used for the purpose of meeting the deficit of the weaker lines and the purchase of needed equipment for those properties.

It directs the Interstate Commerce Commission to adjust the rates so that a railroad honestly and economically managed may be allowed to earn that amount on its real value and not the paper value of its watered stock. And this value is to be determined by the Interstate Commerce Commission, appointed by the President and not by the railroads.

When you consider that from these earnings of 5½ per cent there must be paid city, State, and Federal taxes you will see that the interest allowed the railroads will be less than that paid holders of our Liberty bonds.

RELIEVES GOVERNMENT OF BURDEN.

It is simply a continuation for a period of six months of practically the same return which the railroads now receive from the Government. The obligations of the Government are not increased. To the contrary, there is under this bill a date when these obligations cease.

Those who oppose the return of the roads to private owners are simply advocating the continuance of those obligations which have been a heavy drain upon our National Treasury.

GOVERNMENT OPERATION COSTLY.

In the brief period of Government control the railroads have cost the Government nearly $700,000,000. That is the net loss to the Government. And then, too, this big deficit has been piled up in spite of increased rates, extensive business, and the minimum expenditures for maintenance. A comparatively small amount of money was expended by the Government for repairs and new equipment.

When the railroads were taken over by the Government the equipment was in good condition. To-day, upon the eve of returning them to private owners, even those in charge admit their demoralized condition.

Conservative estimates by experts who have considered this phase of the railroad situation place the amount necessary to restore the properties to their former condition at between five and six billion dollars. This expenditure will be necessary if the roads are to continue to function and our transportation system maintained.

GOVERNMENT SHORT OF FUNDS.

To ask the Government to expend this amount just now is out of the question. It could not do it without a complete demoralization of its finances.

Under private ownership, and with legislation permitting reasonable earnings on the real value of the properties, these funds may be obtained from investors in securities.

Thus, Mr. Sp- ker, in supporting this bill, which I consider one of the most constructive pieces of legislation attempted by this Congress, I consider I am not only voting to rid the Government of an exceedingly heavy burden but I am giving approval to a plan for the rehabilitation of our transportation systems, which have become demoralized by a brief period of Government and political control.

The League of Nations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK MURPHY,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 25, 1920.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks on the subject of the League of Nations, I shall adopt as a part of my remarks an extract from a paper which I received, issued by the League for the Preservation of American Independence, which in effect applies particularly to the South and the southern people, but which, in my judgment, would apply with equal force to the people throughout the United States, and is of the deepest concern to all American citizens. The article to which I refer reads as follows:

LET US HAVE PEACE.

The President told Congress, on November 12, 1919, that the war was ended and its object accomplished.

This was true then, and it is true now. But the President refuses to end the state of war, and surrender the restrictive war-time measures still in his hands, which menace farm, shop, and office in every section of the country.

He refuses to end the state of war unless the Nation shall enter into a contract with 32 nations—many of which are brown, yellow, or black—under which our domestic policies and foreign relations shall be subjected to the control of these nations, and American troops be placed at their disposal for use in Europe, Asia, and Africa to be employed in never-ceasing warfare.

A coalition of patriotic southern and northern Senators has refused thus to surrender American sovereignty or to expend American blood and tax money.

These Senators have sought to modify the contract so that we shall be enabled to do our international duty as our Nation thinks best, without placing the United States in Europe's hands to be dealt with as Europe pleases.

But the President refuses to Americanize the covenant and declines to curtail the supersovereign powers of the league. He must have his league or there will be no peace, he says in effect.

The Nation must bow down to the President's league or continue suspended in a state of war. He thus hangs up America by the thumbs and coolly awaits its repentance and acquiescence.

WILL THE SOUTH STAND FOR THIS?

Out of that great section of the country came most of the creative genius that secured our independence, founded our Government, and framed our institutions.

What, now, would those great southern statesmen say to the proposal that their work—the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States—be so far undone that the Old World shall again be given control of the New?

Would they approve the surrender at Versailles of the independence they had won at Yorktown? Will you?

What, then, is to be done?

This:

Let Congress declare the state of war ended.

Let the Senate declare the terms upon which we will enter again into relations with Germany and Austria.

Let Congress declare our intention to avoid foreign entanglements, as Washington and other Presidents have advised, and redeclare our independence of foreign control.

Then let us have peace!

If you approve, say so promptly to your Senators and Representatives at Washington.

LEAGUE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (INC.).

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Spanish-American and Philippine War Pension Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. ROBSION,
OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 25, 1920.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, our Committee on Pensions by unanimous vote on July 19, 1919, reported the House pension bill, H. R. 2, which provides that all persons who served 90 days or more in the military or naval service of the United States during the War with Spain, the Philippine insurrection, or the Chinese relief expedition, and who have been honorably discharged therefrom, and who are now or may hereafter be suffering from any mental or physical disability of a permanent character not the result of their own vicious habits, which so incapacitates them for the performance of manual labor as to render them unable to earn a support, shall, upon making due proof of the said facts, be entitled to receive a pension of not less than $12 per month and not more than $30 per month, according to the degree of disability to earn a support; or if any such soldier or sailor without disability reaches the age of 62 years, he will receive $12 per month; 68 years, $18 per month; 72 years, $24 per month; and 75 years, $30 per month.

DOES NOT REPEAL OTHER PENSION LAWS.

Under present pension laws any such soldier or sailor who lost his health or was injured in the service may receive a pension, but in order to secure a pension he must prove to the satisfaction of the Commissioner of Pensions that his disabilities were contracted in the service and in the line of duty. Under these laws many soldiers and sailors of the Spanish-American and Philippine Wars are now receiving from $6 per month to $100 per month for said injuries and disabilities incurred in the service and in the line of duty. This bill does not repeal any of the said laws, and any of said soldiers or sailors who are receiving less than $30 per month may apply for an increase up to $30 per month under this bill.

NECESSITY FOR THIS LEGISLATION.

I have shown that under present pension laws no soldier or sailor of the Spanish-American or Philippine war or Chinese expedition can secure a pension unless his injury or disability was contracted in the service and in the line of duty, and this fact must be proven to the satisfaction of the Commissioner of Pensions, and the Pension Department demands that the soldier or sailor prove this by a hospital record while in the service.

Thousands of special bills are filed each year by Members of Congress to secure pensions for these soldiers and sailors, whose claims have been turned down by the Pension Department because they are unable to furnish a hospital record of their injury or disability while in the service. Our committee before reporting this bill took a great deal of evidence, and it was disclosed in this evidence that a very large percentage of soldiers who served in Cuba or in the Philippines contracted some character of disease and their health was greatly impaired because of the climate and other conditions. It also was disclosed that in a great many instances no hospital record was kept or preserved of these soldiers having received treatment while in the service, and again many of the diseases contracted did not fully manifest themselves for some years after their term of service had ended. Under the ruling of the Pension Department all of these men are and will be denied pensions except by special act or unless this bill is passed.

The testimony further discloses that thousands of these soldiers and sailors are incapacitated wholly or in part to perform any labor, and they are without means to support themselves and their families. The Spanish-American War veterans and others are required to contribute hundreds of thousands of dollars annually to take care of these soldiers and sailors. This rich and powerful Nation should not compel these soldiers and sailors to become objects of charity, neither should any particular organization be required to take care of them. We honor our Nation and honor ourselves to care for and provide for our defenders when they can not provide and care for themselves. The fact that there are thousands of these soldiers and sailors who need help justifies this legislation.

DISABILITY NEED NOT TO HAVE BEEN IN THE SERVICE OR IN LINE OF DUTY.

In July, 1862, Congress passed an act to pension the soldiers of the Civil War for injuries or disabilities incurred in the service in line of duty. In 1890 Congress passed another gen-

eral law for Civil War soldiers which is substantially the same as this bill. In fact, this bill was patterned after the act of 1890, except this bill provides for a pension from $12 to $30 per month, while the act of 1890 gave the Civil War soldiers pensions at the rate of $6 to $12 per month. By an act of 1897, in behalf of Civil War soldiers and sailors, age was recognized, but no Civil War soldier could get more than $20 per month on account of age, and then he would have to be 75 years of age. In 1912 the age-and-service pension bill was passed for Civil War soldiers, but it was not until 1918, 53 years after the Civil War, that the veterans of the Civil War were granted a further increase, and this ranged from $30 to $40 per month; but, of course, this did not affect disability incurred in the service in the line of duty. On January 5, 1920, we passed what is known as the Fuller bill, giving to Union soldiers from $50 to $95 per month, according to age and disability. This bill has gone to the Senate and we are assured it will become a law.

My bill provided for a higher maximum for Spanish-American and Philippine soldiers. Capt. Chisholm, Capt. Lewis, and Sergt. Lamb, all representing the national legislative committee of the United Spanish War Veterans, appeared before our committee and indorsed this bill as reported by our committee, and all of these, in order to secure the early passage of this bill, agreed that we should fix the rates from $12 to $30 per month and we could depend upon Congress to grant increases such as time might justify. This bill, like the Civil War veteran law of 1890, does not require the soldier or sailor to have contracted his disabilities in the service or in line of duty.

WHO WILL BE BENEFITED?

It may be asked under what state of case, if this bill should become a law, could a Spanish-American or Philippine War soldier or sailor or a Boxer rebellion soldier secure a pension? We must bear in mind that under this bill the disability need not to have been contracted in the service or in line of duty, and there need be no disability at all after the soldier or sailor reaches the age of 62 years. If the soldier or sailor served as much as 90 days and received an honorable discharge in either of these wars and is now totally or so much disabled either physically or mentally as to hinder him from earning support and this disability is not caused by his own vicious habit, he is entitled to a pension. For instance, I know a great many soldiers and sailors of these wars who came out of the Army in good health, but since that time they have accidently or otherwise lost an eye, both eyes, a hand, a foot, a leg, have had their backs broken, have become ruptured, have contracted tuberculosis, kidney trouble, heart disease, have become insane, or have other disabilities which were not the result of their own vicious habits. The capacity of all of these to perform manual labor has been greatly impaired, some totally and others partially. Under this bill, upon proof of these facts, these soldiers and sailors will receive from $12 to $30 per month, according to their disability. This bill takes care of that class of soldiers and sailors who have served their country nobly in her hour of stress and peril and now because of accident or of disease are totally or partially incapacitated to perform manual labor and earn a support for themselves and families.

This bill was reported without a dissenting vote, and I hope that not a vote will be cast against it in the House. These soldiers and sailors came from all parts of the country.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS ALWAYS CHAMPIONED THE CAUSE OF THE AMERICAN SOLDIER AND SAILOR.

It was the Republican Party that made the fight for a pension for Civil War soldiers and it is a Republican Congress now that proposes this general law for the Spanish-American and Philippine war soldiers and sailors.

The question has been asked, What has the Republican Congress done and what will it do for the World War veterans? A Democratic Congress provided compensation for the World War veterans at from $3 to $30 per month. Only $30 per month if a man had lost both arms, both legs, and both eyes unless he paid for and carried insurance. This Republican Congress has increased this to $80 and $100 per month, according to the disability. Our Committee on Education reported out and passed a bill for vocational training and rehabilitation of disabled veterans, allowing them $80 and $100 per month while taking this training. Our committee is reporting out an amendment allowing single men $100 per month and a married man $120 per month and allowance for his dependent while taking this training. This Republican Congress has already appropriated about $200,000,000 to take care of our disabled veterans of the World War.

I have introduced a bill for additional pay for these veterans—$30 per month for those who served in this country and $40 per month for those who served overseas for each month of service, and this in addition to what they are already receiving. A great many other bills have been introduced, with the exception of one for a lesser amount.

In May, 1917, when the pay of the American soldier was fixed by a Democratic Congress, the Republicans urged more pay for these soldiers and sailors, but the Democrats had control of Congress and ignored this demand. I believed then and I have believed ever since that their pay was inadequate. Many young men were taken out of the office, the store, and the school and put in the Army at $30 per month, while thousands of others were given civil offices under the Government at from $1,000 to $5,000 per year. Many of the best mechanics of the country were taken and put in the Army at $30 per month, while thousands of no better mechanics were employed by the Government at from six to fifteen dollars per day. The civil employees of the Government were voted a bonus by a Democratic Congress of $240 per year, but this same Democratic Congress, when the American soldier was discharged, voted a bonus of only $60. I contend that these World War veterans are entitled to additional compensation and shall do all I can to help them to secure same. The Democratic Secretary of the Treasury said he would throw up his hands and quit if this additional pay was granted. Billions were wasted by this same administration, and if only one-half had been saved that was wasted there would be ample funds on hand to pay this additional sum. The Republican Party has always championed the cause of the American soldier and sailor, and this additional pay would have been granted but for the fact that the present administration has wasted the money of the people, and the Government has not the money now to pay this additional sum; but I am sure that this Republican Congress will grant this additional pay if it has to issue bonds to the soldiers for same. I feel it my duty to do all in my power to accomplish this end. It has been well said a country that will not protect its protectors and defend its defenders should not be protected and defended. Every time the American soldiers and sailors have been called upon to go forth to fight and defend this country they have always brought back the Stars and Stripes with honor and victory.

H. R. 2, a Bill to Pension Soldiers of War with Spain, Philippine Insurrection, and China Relief Expedition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KING SWOPE,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 25, 1920.

Mr. SWOPE. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, the soldiers of the Revolutionary War carved the star of American independence from the heart of British tyranny. The soldiers of the War of 1812 protected out independence from British aggression and maintained our rights on the high seas. The Union soldiers of the Civil War preserved the Union and liberty of Washington and retained every star in our national firmament. And the soldiers and sailors of the Spanish-American War by their achievements on land and sea made the United States one of the great world powers. Not until that war did Europe fully realize the great military possibilities of the United States. Consequently, the beginning of our prominence as a world power dates back to our victory over Spain. The heroes of that war, in response to the call by President McKinley for men, volunteered in greater numbers than the Government was able to equip and train. They came from North, South, East, and West, forgot all sectional differences, and blended into one great American Army to carry the blessing of American liberty and protection to an enslaved and mistreated people. By appropriate legislation in the past we have, for the greater part, taken care of most all of the disabled or dependent veterans except those of the Spanish-American War. I think, Mr. Speaker, that it is high time we were making more elaborate plans to take care of the veterans of the Spanish-American War, because by taking care of the Nation's defenders we will best show our appreciation for their services and by so doing will proclaim that he who dares to risk his life or health for his country may do so in the full knowledge and confidence that his country will not let him come

to want or suffering, which will cause all future generations of Americans to gladly follow the colors in time of national stress.

To-day there are approximately 370,000 living veterans of the Spanish-American War. Of that number about 10,000, according to Capt. Daniel V. Chisholm, of the national legislative committee of the United Spanish War Veterans, are entitled to pensions and would doubtless apply for same. Under present conditions they could only apply under the general pension laws or come in under special acts. In order to come in under the general pension laws, the applicant must furnish the positive proof that his disability is of service origin. He must prove absolutely that the disability was in line of duty, and offer this proof by way of affidavits of company officers, and that is impossible at this late date. Often, I am told, there were detachments without surgeons, and, of course, in such cases medical testimony could not be obtained. The Sells bill, H. R. 2, relieves this difficult situation and gives a pensionable status to all persons who served 90 days or more in the military or naval service of the United States during the War with Spain, the Philippine insurrection, and the China relief expedition, and who have been honorably discharged therefrom, and who are now or who may hereafter be suffering from any mental or physical disability or disabilities of a permanent character not the result of their own vicious habits, and which so incapacitates them from the performance of manual labor as to render them unable to earn a support. The minimum amount is $12 per month and the maximum is $30 per month. In addition to the disability feature of the bill, there is, as amended by the committee, a provision which automatically pensions these veterans on a graduated scale according to their age. For instance, upon reaching the age of 62, regardless of disability, one of these Spanish War veterans would automatically receive a pension of $12 per month; at the age of 68, $18 per month; 72 years of age, $24 per month; at 75 years of age he would receive the maximum, which is $30. These amounts, while small, would be a great help to some of these veterans and would be money charitably spent by a grateful country to its loyal defenders. I am in favor of the passage of this bill, and hope that the day may never come upon this earth when one soldier who served his country loyally and faithfully shall come to want or suffering.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARVIN JONES,

OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. JONES of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the issue before the House is not whether the railroads will be returned to their owners; that has been settled, and they will be returned. It is very manifest that the people desire the restoration to private management, and that this demand is well-nigh universal. The President has already, by proclamation, decreed that the railroads should be returned on March 1, 1920, at 12 o'clock high noon. As stated by Chairman ESCH, who reported this bill, this removes any doubt as to their return, and on that date the railways of this country will again become privately managed. The only issue to be settled by the House is what legislation shall be passed governing their future management.

The bill as reported by the conference committee is a monstrosity, and among other reasons I might assign for opposing it I mention the following:

First. It pledges the United States Treasury for the payment of guaranteed dividends and provides for fixed earnings. Such a guaranty will encourage waste and inefficiency. The farmer, ranchman, or other business man is not guaranteed any return, nor should the roads be. I am opposed to class legislation whether it be in the name of capital or in the name of labor. This bill provides for the few hundred railroad owners a guaranteed value of $18,000,000,000. It is therefore class legislation and is indefensible. This issue is absolutely a fundamental one, and it is a false policy to guarantee that a man is going to make a profit on his investment. What inducement will he have in the first place to efficient management and what salvation is there for the people who pay the bills?

Second. It provides that not a foot of railway can be built without getting permission of the Washington authorities. It makes no difference that a group of citizens living in my section may desire to build a short-line railway to connect a rich scope of country with an existing line, and those citizens may have the money with which to build and operate the road, yet they can not lay a crosstie nor drive a spike without the permission of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which will require a delegation to come to Washington; and when they arrive they may find some eastern or northern concern is able to make a better showing or is opposed to any further extension in our section, and they may deny the right of our people thus to develop their country. On what theory do you justify a provision that a citizen or a combination of citizens must secure the consent of Washington authorities before they can spend their own money?

Third. It gives the Interstate Commerce Commission permanent authority to order every car out of Texas to Pennsylvania or New York, and thus let our crops rot. My section has had its experience with the Washington control of cars. This, to my mind, is the most objectionable provision of the whole bill. To get at the practical side of the question, let us suppose that the 53 counties that I have the honor to represent need 530 cars, or an average of 10 cars per county, to relieve an existing emergency. At the same time the steel mills of Pennsylvania need 530 cars to relieve an emergency existing in that section. The Interstate Commerce Commission has at its disposal just 500 cars to meet these situations. The chambers of commerce at Pittsburgh and other points get busy and flood the Interstate Commerce Commission with telegrams describing the urgent need of cars. They send a large delegation down to Washington, which is just a two hours' ride. No county of northwest Texas can afford to send such a delegation, although the need of cars may be just as great. I ask you in all candor and fairness where do you think those 500 cars will go? I would be insulting your intelligence were I to suggest an answer.

As a matter of fact arbitrary regulation or restriction almost always hampers any kind of activity, and the free law of supply and demand is a far more satisfactory method of handling a matter of this kind.

Fourth. It abolishes State commissions and authorizes an unlimited increase in rates.

Fifth. This bill practically nullifies all of the Texas railroad laws now on the statute books and those of every other State in the Union.

Sixth. In all of the discussion of this bill the interest of the people has been practically lost in the mêlée. As a matter of fact, the interests of the people are and should be paramount, and the question of service to the people and the rights of the people generally should be the predominant and decisive consideration. According to the very terms of this conference report, there will be an immediate expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars of the people's money, and instead of a return of the railroads to their owners, anyone who will read the bill carefully will see that a permanent Federal control is provided more far-reaching than any that has been heretofore conceived.

These reckless and tremendous appropriations and Government expenditures must stop. Appropriations must be cut to the limit all along the line, and economy must be the watchword of the hour. I have voted against many of the appropriations of the last few months and expect to do so in the future, and in practically every instance I have voted to reduce the necessary appropriations. We must get back to the policy of rigid economy, both in public and in private life.

I am not in favor of a niggardly policy with reference to the railways of this country. I am in favor of such rates as will not only permit successful operation and management, but such as will also encourage new construction. No finer laws, however, were ever devised than those which existed prior to taking over of Federal control, provided adequate rates are allowed. The laws actually permit private management and free development, but the provisions of the pending bill absolutely hamstring the railways and tie them by the provisions of a national law which will require both the railroads and the people to ask a board in Washington every time they have anything to do in connection with railway transportation.

In other words, the conference report would perpetuate Federal control under the guise of a return to the owners. Where does the public come in on such a proposition? Under the President's proclamation the roads will be returned March 1, and they can operate under the laws existing prior to the time they were taken over, and under which we had the finest railways and railway service in the world, and I am anxious for this return.

Conference Report on the Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED L. BLACKMON,
OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. BLACKMON. Mr. Speaker, I was compelled to go home some days before the vote was reached on the railroad bill, on account of my own illness.

On February 17 I sent the following telegram to one of my colleagues:

ANNISTON, ALA., *February 17, 1920.*

S. H. DENT, Jr.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Please pair me against conference report on Cummings-Esch bill. If no record vote, read this message into the RECORD.

FRED L. BLACKMON.

I am informed by my colleague that on account of an unusually large number of Members present on the occasion of this vote, he was unable to obtain a pair, so that the RECORD would show that had I been present I would have voted against the conference report.

I therefore take occasion, under leave to extend remarks, granted while this conference report was under discussion, to state my position in the RECORD.

The conference report as finally drafted contains many objectionable features, and on account of these objectionable features, had I been present my vote would have been cast in the negative.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. BABKA,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. BABKA. Mr. Speaker, the statement that if this conference report should be defeated the transportation system would be thrust into a state of chaos is untrue and, in my opinion, a deliberate attempt to cover up the several bad features of the bill. In the event this conference report is defeated there will still remain ample time for the conferees to take the bill, eliminate the objectionable features, bring it back to the House, and secure its passage. This should be done because in its present form the bill is one of the most dangerous pieces of legislation ever presented to the Congress. It is a glaring departure from all American principles, in that it establishes the dangerous precedent of guaranteeing the income of a private corporation. Section 422 of the bill provides for the fixing of such rates by the Interstate Commerce Commission as will yield a return of 5½ per cent on the valuation of the railroads for a period of two years after March 1, 1920.

Mr. Speaker, how can we justify this position in the eyes of the American public? Under what theory of our Government can we justify this partiality shown to the holders of railroad stocks and securities? If it is right to guarantee the income of the holders of these stocks and securities, why not guarantee the income of all private corporations, of whatever nature or description? Would it not be just as right and equitable? And, Mr. Speaker, if our Government is to embark upon this new field, why not start where it is needed most? Why not guarantee the wages of the toilers, the men whose labors make it possible to earn the income? Why favor those who already have more than they need and overlook those who barely eke out an existence for themselves and their families?

Mr. Speaker, the argument made for this provision, that it is necessary in order to keep the railroads from going into the hands of the receivers, is all rot. The railroads are in better condition now than when they were taken over by the Government. During the period of Government control more money has been spent on betterments and improvements than during any corresponding period of their existence. And the bill allows the railroads 10 years' time to pay for these additions and betterments. Therefore their property is in better shape now than it was for a long time, and if they are operated wisely and economically there can be no possible danger of their failure.

Mr. Speaker, when the railroads were taken over the employees were free and unfettered, and, in my opinion, should be left so. The railroads and the employees were always able to settle their difficulties before. I understand that of more than 25,000 disputes only 3 were not settled by the board set up by the operators and the employees. Can we hope to ever approach this fine showing under the board set up by this bill?

Mr. Speaker, because of these objections and others, of which I shall not take the time to speak, I am opposed to this bill in its present form and shall vote against the conference report.

Abraham Lincoln.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN K. FOCHT,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 26, 1920.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the following address before the Mifflin County Roosevelt Republican Club, of Lewistown, Pa., February 12, 1920:

"Mr. Toastmaster, members of the Roosevelt Republican Club, and other friends, it was George Bancroft who in his matchless eulogy on Lincoln before the two Houses of Congress in 1866 said that 'Eternal wisdom marshals the great procession of nations,' and that 'God rules amidst the wreck and ruin of history.'

"It was Lincoln who accorded Washington more than human powers, surely a man divinely chosen, for of him, in an address in 1842, he said:

"'Washington is the mightiest name on earth—long since mightiest in the cause of civil liberty; still mightiest in moral reformation. On that name no eulogy is expected. It can not be. To add brightness to the sun or glory to the name of Washington is alike impossible. Let none attempt it. In solemn awe pronounce the name, and in its naked, deathless splendor leave it shining on.'

"And of both Washington and Lincoln Franklin B. Wiley, in a recent able article, says:

"'The time has long been here when in solemn awe and reverence we pronounce the name of Lincoln with that of Washington, and in their naked, deathless splendor leave them both shining on.'

"Therefore, singly or collectively, we can be but an atom of the divine scheme but yet a part; and so far as human vision extends it reveals the Republican Party an outstanding agency, that so far as we can judge has been the perfection of human wisdom in accomplishing all that has been stable and enduring in free government.

"Since the Republican Party has been the instrumentality which has standardized this Government as a world's model, the hypothesis of which is justice and equality, the Roosevelt Republican Club has planted its standard upon a sure foundation, and I join with you to-night in the certain assurance that this organization is going to bind in fellowship, in fraternity, and in exalted purpose until its zone of usefulness is wide-flung and the fruits of constancy and devoted adherence are everywhere manifest.

"Just as 'the soul grows in the direction of its attention,' so your interest in this club will enlarge and unify the Republican Party as never before.

"We are stepping upon the threshold of a new era, if we are not in the midst of one, and while all is not now normal under Republican guidance the achievements of the future promise to eclipse the wonders of the past.

"And in the name you have chosen for your organization there is inspiration, if not magic. Typical of all that is aggressive and progressive and all that is virile and understandable that was ever reflected in any other great American, Theodore Roosevelt was therefore a man altogether fit to follow in the footsteps of the immortal Lincoln.

"The tragic years of war burned into the soul of America a renewed realization of the fact that this Nation leads the world in hope for the human race, while recent experiences with the administration of public affairs give cause for rejoicing that the change in the Nation's guidance will this year be completed and the true destiny of the country accomplished

under the dominance of sturdy, progressive, constructive, and triumphant Republicanism.

"No one in the Republican Party ever made the declaration that we are too proud to fight, that we should think in terms only of neutrality, nor has any Republican ever won an election on the counterfeit slogan, 'He kept us out of war.' Neither is any Republican un-American enough to accept without ample reservations the league of peace terms, that would tear down and surrender what cost hundreds of thousands of lives and countless treasure to make safe against all the world of royalty, nobility, autocracy, and tyranny—our sovereignty and independence.

"The Republican Party rests upon standardized principles, and is a party that reflects the popular will and that has the courage to wait for the free flow of that will into a crystallization of common purpose, and thus, supported by the infallible final judgment of the masses, strikes hard for the things of human interest and concern.

"And nowhere in all this great land could there be found a more fitting place than Lewistown for the launching of a Roosevelt club, nor from any other body of men anywhere would more be expected by way of honest-to-goodness Republicanism, the kind that neither swerves nor dodges in time of test and trial, but which keeps to the main line, than in this community. Nowhere else in America can there be found a record surpassing the patriotic devotion and self-sacrifice and exalted manhood and womanhood in the years that have flown in the making of the Republic, hence a high degree of accomplishment must be recorded to match the dauntless deeds of the fathers.

"But the sons and grandsons are vindicating the faith of the fathers, for deeds beyond the commonplace in heroic achievement are to the credit of the men of this town and Mifflin County. On the battle fields of revolutionary strife, in resisting British aggression in 1812, and in hurling back the tide of treason from 1861 to 1865 as well as in 1898, when the red and yellow ensign of Spain was shot away—in fact, on all battle fields, including those of Europe in the late war—there is reflected glory, and standing forever immortal with the rest are the dauntless 'Logan Guards.'

"While we have not come together to do as Hannibal, when he had his son swear eternal vengeance against Rome, we are here, I hope, to resolve that the energies of the Republican Party are to be renewed and quickened and that one and all will pledge devotion to the party Lincoln created and honored and which McKinley and Roosevelt glorified. Let no small divisions and asperities be countenanced, but let every deed of loyalty be rewarded and applauded.

"When we regard the magnitude of the country we can not help but contemplate in all seriousness what is involved in directing the energies of such a gigantic Christian and civilized development intrusted into the hands of the people whose will makes the law and who constitute the State and make it sovereign. It is almost bewildering and engulfs the imagination to realize that our domestic commerce is twenty times the aggregate international trade of all creation; that we manufacture even in normal times more finished products than all the shops and all the factories of Great Britain, Germany, and France combined, plus five billions, while we pay as much in wages as the rest of the entire world. To this sum total of achievements we must add the increased wealth of this Nation, which was $350,000,000,000 in 1910 and is now $500,000,000,000, with 300,000,000 of acres of public domain in reserve and our resources capable of sustaining a population of 3,000,000,000.

"Such is the sweep and scope and magnitude of this Nation, and to guide it aright and maintain our laws and yet do the just and righteous thing by every citizen, be that citizen man or woman, well may we to-night turn back and summon the shade of Lincoln in counsel.

"We are now only beginning to emerge from a labyrinth of tangled confusion due to the most stupendous bungling of affairs ever known anywhere, of waste and extravagance, and millions consumed and thrown to the winds by the plus 10 per cent men, and as a consequence of the vanity of those high in the counsels of the Democratic Party. To consume 10 acres of piled lumber at one cantonment to make room that the crowd might hear the Secretary of War speak, beats Nero's fiddling while Rome burned, and is enough to consign the present administration to eternal political exile. To bury tons of nails that profiteering contractors might get more of the plus 10 per cent is sufficient to note the trend and tendency of what was going on at home while our brave boys were 3,000 miles away fighting for the world's liberty and doing their best to get along on a paltry $30 per month.

"But back of all this dark cloud is the silver lining of hope and assurance that the great party of progress and power, of capacity and patriotism, of business instincts and economy, is about to supplant for all time on present alignments the tried and found wanting Democratic organization which lives only because of the fraudulent vote in the solid South, and it is plain to see never succeeded and never can succeed unless Republicans become too much assured and permit their ranks to be broken by a breach from within. At no time since secession hung its harp on the willow tree at Appomattox were there ever more Democrats in America than Republicans, but that majority must be united.

"Around the whole of Lincoln's life was spun the great central idea of human equality, and that has since been the central idea of the Republican Party, expanded and glorified into a fair chance in the race of life.

"When we talk about the fundamental principles of the Republican Party we are speaking in terms that mean the American standard of wages and living and the American standard of opportunity as against the fundamental policy of the Democratic Party, which deals only in the cost to the consumer no matter whether the American producer must compete with the cheap labor of China and Japan with accompanying animal-like conditions of living. The Republican conception of the ideals of Lincoln, McKinley, and Roosevelt is to shorten the distance between the alley of misery and want and human wretchedness and the palace on the boulevard where excesses and overabundance obtain.

"The constructive policies of the Republican Party as heretofore and now laid down are for the comfort of every man's home, for education, home owning, and those things that make every American feel proud of his citizenship instead of despising himself as men must do in many countries because they are not citizens, but subjects.

"At the beginning of the present Democratic administration we heard the encouraging announcement from the President that for American workmen to meet foreign competition they should 'whet their wits and speed up.' More literally the translation means, Go to it and beat the foreigner by doing more work. For me I can only say God spare the American workman such a fate; indeed, he will be spared such a fate with Republican policies functioning.

"The Lincoln keynote was the tariff, and it is our keynote to-day, and will continue to be until the standard of living throughout the world is raised to that of our own. In peace times this question transcends all others, for there is no method by which we can buy our necessities abroad and yet produce them at home; and the only way we can compete with European and Asiatic subjects is to starve back into the factory the American citizen. The Republican Party never was and never will be for any such economic policy; nor for tariff for revenue only or anything short of absolute protection of our own industries and our workmen, that we may never be at the mercy of foreign profiteers. A fine slogan for the present would be as Lincoln put it, 'America should buy from Americans.'

"We have most humanely and lavishly divided our opportunities and resources with the incoming hordes of foreigners, and, surpassing all the deeds of charity and compassion and chivalry, we sent our armies like driving, devastating thunderbolts against the iron lines of trained soldiers who vaunted forth to envelop the world with Prussian autocracy and militarism. With benevolent bestowal we have succored the deluged nations of the world, rescued them from their own blind folly by the unparalleled heroism of our own citizen soldiers, and then admonished them to enthrone liberty and never again trust to monarchy and nobility.

"How we grieve for those boys lost at the front; how our sympathies go out to the fathers and mothers at home sitting by the vacant chairs, while our hearts bleed for the maimed we see everywhere in our land.

"Never since the sacrifice of the Cross has so much that was precious been given for any cause.

"But to save men from further serfdom, to hold aloft forever the beacon light of liberty, we can not—the Republican Party will not—permit the destruction of the American home by giving all we have through a league and thereby inviting the extinction of man's fondest hope, his most cherished emotion—human liberty.

"Since I last addressed a Lewistown audience vast and overshadowing things have occurred in this land and throughout the world. Here the wounds are yet too fresh for me to recount much of heroism and attending sorrow having their relationship with this town and community, which came under my observa-

tion in my official relationship during the trying hours of the war and since.

"Many have gone; many whose deeds are immortal fell lifeless in defense of their country and human rights and whose spirits are now among the stars. Nothing can dim the luster of their fame, and throughout all time the choicest words will be used in recalling their grateful service.

"But this occasion is one set apart for all Americans to pay tribute to the mind and heart of a man so extraordinary that one great writer was impelled to say of him, 'He was without ancestors, without fellows, and can have no successor.'

"Lincoln birthday anniversaries will constantly attract more interest since he was the embodiment of the then and now dominant conception of American opportunity and actual realization. He must regarded the most typical American so long as the poor boy may feel in his little heart that there is nothing spurious or counterfeit about the possibility of one who is born in a log cabin becoming President and occupying the White House.

"History and tradition have been explored in vain to find a parallel to Lincoln's character. Great men have differed as to the wisdom of his policy regarding slavery and States' rights, but they did not deny the sincerity of Lincoln; while in time all who had reviled him were eager to offer praise for the sad life he led on account of the period of trial and traged, through which he passed.

"We heard an eminent theologian and pulpit orator express the measure used to estimate the worth of good men's lives. He said, 'Some one has said that a saint is a good man dead 100 years, cannonaded then but canonized now.' It is declared in Holy Writ that the prophet is not without honor save in his own country. That is true of all prophets. Stones have been their bed and bread. Lincoln was no exception to the rule. In his day he was slandered and maligned, denounced and martyred.

"'Yesterday we called Washington a fastidious aristocrat, Lincoln an ape and buffoon, and McKinley a designing imperialist. To-day we set these men on Olympus with the gods and speak of them as patriots and prophets. For living prophets we have epithets; for dead ones, epitaphs.'

"Mr. Lincoln's place is, has long been, and ever will be among the world's heroes. And among these heroes he is unique. He touched the extremes. He rose from obscurity to the highest place. Self-taught, he became a master of expression, producing addresses and State papers which Carl Schurz, an accomplished critic, thought worthy to stand for beauty and power beside the deliverances of the Hebrew prophets. He was the most bitterly abused and the most lovingly praised man of his time. He entered the White House an object of ridicule and distrust, and left it in his coffin lamented even by his adversaries. It is little to say that we have produced no man like him. The world has not.

"The test of this man's greatness is that extravagance has not fazed it. He first encountered the extravagance of abuse. Some of the sharpest tongues and the sharpest pens of his generation at home and abroad exercised themselves on him. Ridiculing the Rail-splitter became a fad; and the fad spread. London and Paris, in a less malicious way, took a hand. All in vain. Exalted character and purpose survived all the assaults.

"Then followed the extravaganee of praise. Former enemies, rebuked by death, sought to expiate their offenses by stilted eulogy. Lifelong friends and supporters, finding their appraisements approved by time and act, spoke in higher notes than ever of their leader's wonderful gifts and performances. They overdressed with high language and comparison the fine form of a perfect simplicity.

"But the real Lincoln can be traced through it all. He lived in his own words and deeds. They interpret themselves. He arose above all his detractors, and rises now above the most eloquent of his eulogists. The best study of the man is in himself and what he wrought for the country during his 4 years and 30 days in the White House. In fact, they are the only safe sources, for if one relies upon the commentators—popular orators, students of history, closet essayists, or philosophers—he is certain to miss the cream of the story's inspiration and instruction.

"A great eulogist said: Lincoln cared not so much whether men were great or small, what he wanted to know was whether they were right or wrong. He it was who said that this is a Government for the plain people and that the plain people are the only kind of people it is worth while having a country like this for.

"He had no opportunity for education excepting by his own application, but he learned deeper things than books can teach, and these things were acquired in the great school of nature, which is always in session, and whose students never graduate.

"The lessons he had learned in the university of nature brought him close to the heart of humanity. Truly it is a lesson for the skeptics and modern philosophers to be confronted with the life of this man, who knowing only mostly nature's curriculum, his Gettysburg speech is admittedly the greatest deliverance of all time by men anywhere next to the Sermon on the Mount.

"Enoch saw and walked with God; we to-night walk with the spirits of Lincoln, McKinley, and Roosevelt; and let me say that had this club's patron, Theodore Roosevelt, been in a position to tell the Kaiser just once where to get off, there would have been no doubt left right there as to whether or not Americans are 'too proud to fight.'

"In conclusion let us be assured that while we have much to meet and surmount before the country resumes normal functioning processes, there are no dangers we can not overcome, be the duty to hang reds who would destroy our Government and set up anarchy which is liberty's tomb, or any species of revolution that would violently and against the will of the people set aside our sacred Constitution and supplant it with another.

"The Republican Party with such memories, with such work charted for the future, will never sound a retreat. It was wombed when tempests beat about the rock of our Constitution; when treason rolled against the steps of our Capitol, and throughout all time posterity will acclaim its exalted accomplishments for humanity.

"With Lincoln its first successful standard bearer, and in the shining light of the achievements of Grant, and McKinley, and Roosevelt, the Republican Party will live on to extend freedom and equality and bring happiness and prosperity to every man's home and fireside."

EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION.

LEWISTOWN, PA., *February 28, 1920.*

Hon. B. K. FOCHT,
Washington, D. C.

OUR DEAR SIR: Whereas a motion was unanimously adopted by the members of the Mifflin County Roosevelt Republican Club providing for the appointment of the committee named below and authorizing and instructing the committee on resolutions to prepare resolutions expressing the club's deep appreciation and sincere thanks to every organization and individual that cooperated and contributed toward the success of the Lincoln Day celebration and banquet held by the club, last February 12, in Market House Hall: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the club expresses and extends to you its hearty and unanimous vote of thanks for the excellent address which you delivered at the banquet inspiring every Republican who heard your patriotic and timely oration with a deeper and more earnest loyalty to the principles of their party.

Very respectfully and gratefully, yours,

NEVIN F. GUTSHALL,
C. G. CORBIN,
G. A. STINE,
WILLIAM P. RHODES,
R. P. MOYER,
Members of the Resolutions Committee,
Mifflin County Roosevelt Republican Club.

Conference Report on the Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. BOX,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. BOX. Mr. Speaker, this bill unnecessarily and gravely wrongs our people at home and everywhere by freeing the owners of railway systems of the restraints imposed by wise laws suggested by the experience of the people as necessary for their protection and enacted and improved by them during a period of 40 years. It lays heavy and unjust burdens on the public for the financial advantage of the owners of railway investments. It destroys the laws of Texas and other States, just and valid in themselves, and continually upheld by the tribunals of the people, including the great Supreme Court of the Nation. By congressional enactment and without consulting the States it destroys the constitutions of States, including specific parts of that of Texas, to which I owe allegiance as a lawyer, as a citizen, and, above all, as a Representative of Texas people.

My legislative experience is brief, but as a citizen and as a lawyer I have noted some lawmaking. I register it as my judgment that this is the most wicked piece of legislation I ever observed. This House could force out of this measure the iniquities it contains and pass a just measure returning the roads to the companies, if it would. Do not tell me that the House must take this or nothing. I know better.

I do not predict the result of this legislation upon the political fortunes of men or parties. That is trivial compared with the course of the Nation or the welfare of its people. But if I believed in socialism or sovietism I would welcome this as inviting them. You can not outrage the people without weakening the bonds of government. Greed, when given the opportunity it has had in this situation, always overreaches itself. By law of human life I am taught that this wrong will react against railroad and related financial interests, but millions of the innocent will share in the hardships it will entail.

The Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. LANKFORD,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 23, 1920,

On the conference report on the bill (H. R. 10453) to provide for the termination of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation; to provide for the settlement of disputes between carriers and their employees; to further amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, it is hard to act when duty calls you in two directions at the same time and you can only go one way. Especially is this hard when the performance of one duty has the appearance of a refusal to perform another duty practically as sacred.

This is the position in which many Members of Congress found themselves last Saturday when they came to vote on the conference report on the railroad legislation. The bill has 120 pages of printed matter and contains many most excellent provisions, but many dangerous provisions.

I favor with my whole being many of the provisions of the bill, but there are so many objectionable features in it that I could not conscientiously vote for the bill.

I like sugar, but if arsenic or strychnine is mixed with it I do not want the sugar. The most dangerous legislation passed here is that bad legislation which is put in with good legislation. The vicious measures ofttimes are sugar coated, and if we do not watch we swallow something mighty poisonous because the outside is sweet.

What is the sugar of the present bill? Well, to me the good part of the present bill is its most excellent provisions for the short lines of railroads. The short lines of railroads mean so much to my section of the State that I felt like I could not afford to vote against anything in their behalf. I found myself studying hour after hour over the bill and trying to whip myself into line to vote for the bill on account of the short lines of railroads and because many of my friends asked me to do all I could for the short lines. I begged the conferees to put in the provisions in favor of the short lines which are in the bill, and now they are in the bill; and at last I was forced to vote against the bill because of the poisonous, vicious provisions of the report.

I am so sorry that really great constructive legislation is oftimes loaded down with bad provisions. There are several reasons why I wanted to vote for this bill, but the chief reason is the one just mentioned.

Mr. Speaker, I have mentioned the sugar outside of the bill, now let us see some of the vicious poison inside of the bill. One serious objection to the bill is that it practically does away with the State railroad commission and puts great power in the Interstate Commerce Commission. It is another blow at State rights. It practically takes away from my State the right to control the railroads. I repeat what I said some time ago, we are blotting out State lines and the time is fast coming when there will be no need for State legislatures. All laws will be made here in Washington.

Mr. Speaker, I could not vote for the conference report because it does away with at least two provisions of the constitution of my State and strikes at others. The first provision is paragraph 1, section 2, of article 4, of the constitution of Georgia, and is in the following language:

Railroad tariffs: The power and authority of regulating railroad freights and passenger tariffs, preventing unjust discriminations, and requiring reasonable and just rates of freight and passenger tariffs are hereby conferred upon the general assembly, whose duty it shall be to pass laws, from time to time, to regulate freight and passenger tariffs, to prohibit unjust discriminations on the various railroads of this State, and to prohibit said roads from charging other than just and reasonable rates, and enforce the same by adequate penalties.

This conference report does away with this part of my State constitution as though it was "only a scrap of paper" by giving the Interstate Commerce Commission jurisdiction of the matters of serious import mentioned in this part of the constitution. But let us look at paragraph 4, section 2, of article 4, of the constitution of the State of Georgia, which is as follows:

Paragraph 4. Buying stock, etc., in other corporations; competition: The general assembly of this State shall have no power to authorize any corporation to buy shares or stock in any other corporation in this State or elsewhere, or to make any contract or agreement whatever, with any such corporation, which may have the effect, or be intended to have the effect, to defeat or lessen competition in their respective businesses, or to encourage monopoly; and all such contracts and agreements shall be illegal and void.

The present railroad bill allows the very things which that part of our Constitution would prevent. Let us see what the present railroad bill provides:

In section 407, subdivision 2, it is provided that the Interstate Commerce Commission may permit the acquisition by one carrier "of the control of any other such carrier or carriers, either under a lease or by purchase of stock." The Georgia constitution and statutes absolutely prohibit the acquisition by one railroad corporation of any competing or parallel line within the State under any circumstances. This national authority gives the Interstate Commerce Commission the right to allow, for instance, the Southern Railway to acquire and control every foot of railroad in Georgia, and thereby monopolize the whole business and destroy every vestige of competition, and writes off the book Georgia's constitutional and statutory provisions on that subject.

In paragraph 6, of section 407, it is provided that, after a hearing before the commission in which the railroads concerned and the governor of the State shall have a hearing, the Interstate Commerce Commission can authorize any two railroads to consolidate, "and thereupon such consolidation may be effected in accordance with such order, if all the carriers involved assent thereto, the law of any State or the decision of any State authority to the contrary notwithstanding." The constitution and statutes of Georgia have forbidden the consolidation of competing or parallel lines of railroads in Georgia. This authority in the present bill absolutely and expressly overrides that power, and allows them to consolidate openly, boldly, and defiantly in the face of the organic law of my State, and I decline to vote to repudiate that fundamental law which is written in wisdom for the protection of the public of Georgia.

Mr. Speaker, I can not and will not assume the responsibility of voting here to do away with the constitution of my State, either in whole or in part.

If the constitution of my State is to be changed, let it be done orderly and legally by the General Assembly of Georgia and by the voters of my State, not by Congress usurping the rights of my State.

Where are we to drift? Shall Congress overnight blot out State rights, do away with sacred State constitutional rights, and take unto the Federal Government every vestige of the rights of the people of the States to govern themselves? God forbid.

Mr. Speaker, there are many very serious objections to this report and time will not allow me to attempt to discuss them all. I will, though, mention one more, to me, very serious objection, which of itself would prevent my supporting this measure.

I refer to the provision which authorizes the fixing of freight and passenger rates sufficiently high to enable the railroads to make a 5½ per cent net operating income. This does not sound real bad at first, does it? Well, let us consider it just a minute. The estimate is that in order to provide for this guaranty it is necessary to raise freight and passenger rates sufficiently *high* to put in the pockets of the railroads the additional sum of $1,214,000,000 per year. This amount is so large that it staggers the human mind, so let us get it into simpler figures. It means an average extra cost of about $12 each year, or $1 a month, to every man, woman, and child in the United States. The estimate is that the Government is now losing about $318,000,000 per year, or nearly $1,000,000 a day. Hands are held up in holy horror at this loss. Let us get to simpler figures, so

as to see again where we are. This means a loss of an average of about $3 per year, or 25 cents per month, to every man, woman, and child in the United States. Now we are getting at the milk in the coconut. The present Government control is costing on an average of 25 cents each month to every human being in our country. The present bill is to solve that difficulty by providing for a dollar a month loss to every man, woman, and child. We are going to save 25 cents by spending a dollar a month. A child can see the viciousness of the idea. I am like the old darky, "I ain't got much edication, but I got some sense," and it does not look good to me at all.

The Government is losing money by not increasing freight and passenger fares enough to make money during the present high-cost times. The Government could make money by charging more to the public. We are about to pass a bill to prevent the Government from losing 25 cents per month on each individual and let the railroads charge $1 more per month to each person.

The people have to pay the bill after all, and it does not differ which pocket the money comes out of; a dollar is a dollar. This bill proposes to save 25 cents in a man's right pocket by paying a dollar out of his left pocket. But the plot thickens; it looks now like the present bill will cost the common people four times as much as present Government control, but this is not all. You can not figure that a dollar increase in freight rates is only a dollar increase on the public, for every dollar increase in freight rates is passed on to the laboring man, the farmer, and consumer, not as a dollar in increase but after being multiplied by four.

Director of the Railroads Walker D. Hines says every dollar increase in freights means four dollars increase to the ultimate consumer. He says the present bill will increase the average cost of living more than $200 per year to every family in the United States. It is true there is great dissatisfaction at the present Government control of the roads. Are we to remedy present troubles by offering people something many times worse? If the loss is paid out of the Public Treasury, the larger part of it comes from big incomes and big inheritance taxes and a large amount would come out of the over a hundred thousand dollars per year salary of some of the railroad officials. Put the burden after multiplying it by about 16 on the great mass of common folks and it must be borne by the poorest of the poor, by crippled returned soldiers, widows and orphans of the Nation, and every man, woman, and child struggling for bread and meat.

But the argument is made that the roads are entitled to a fair return on their property. This is true; so are the farmers and all other legitimate lines of business entitled to a fair return on their labor and investment. They say railroads are very necessary to our welfare. So they are, but not more necessary than farmers and other businesses. Farmers are more necessary than all railroads. The world lasted thousands of years without railroads, but there have been farmers from the beginning of time.

It is said that 5½ per cent guaranty is fair to roads. I think it is more than fair. There is where I object. Let us look at the situation. Under this bill the railroads can give their presidents and officials salaries running up to over $10,000 per month each in some cases, as they have done in the past, and get freight rates sufficient to yield an average of 5½ per cent net income. Would not the banks like a rate of interest large enough to permit all the officials to get good salaries and yet get 5½ per cent net dividends?

Would not the farmers like a price on cotton and all farm products high enough for him to vote himself, boys, and girls nice salaries, to be agreed upon by them as high enough, and then after paying all expenses get 5½ per cent income on the full value of his farm and farm property, regardless of hog cholera, boll weevils, rainy weather, bad stands, or other misfortune? But the farmer can not expect all this. Then why give it to railroads? The trouble is the farmer can not get the guaranty. He has to be one of the fellows who does the guaranteeing and paying of the profit to the other fellow. Cotton went to bottom a few years ago. The farmers got no help. His hogs all die; no guaranty. Rain ruins his crop; no guaranty. Why make exceptions of railroads?

Now, we get the answer which settles the whole thing. They say the Government governs and controls the roads so much until the Government should give them legislation providing for an average of 5½ per cent per annum income. Oh, yes; I see. I wonder why I didn't think of that before. It is so easily explained. I find myself wondering again. I wonder if the Government does not control the poor farmer as much as the roads are controlled. It takes his boys, whether they say so or not, and puts them in the war, and they are left dead on the battle field. The Government takes his property for taxes and says whether he shall buy or sell sugar when he wants to. He is subject to the law the same as railroads. He is blood and flesh and bone; the railroads are properties of value but are not human. Why do more for railroads than for men, women, and children? I can not understand.

I was about to overlook a so-called reason for guaranteeing profits to railroads. It is urged that the roads were of great service during the war and should have 5½ per cent guaranty. So were the farmers, laborers, and their boys. So were about 23,000,000 men, women, and children who suffered in the body, took clothing off their backs, and food out of their mouths to buy Liberty bonds, thrift stamps, and war-saving stamps and won the war. The Government says these people, on the hard-earned cash which was put in these bonds and stamps, shall get 3 to 4 per cent income while the railroads are to get 5½ per cent, not on cash paid out but on estimated values, which will be much more than actual cash cost in many cases.

The lamentable fact is many a man, woman, and child will have to sell Liberty bonds or war-savings stamps at less than cost to help pay the guaranty to the railroads.

Mr. Speaker, I have urged two reasons why I was forced to vote against the present conference report. There are others. I can not discuss more of the bill just now. I am anxious for a great bill to be passed which will be fair to the railroads, the people, and the Nation.

Let us be fair to all. I would not favor a bill which is unfair to the roads. I can not and will not knowingly support a bill which I believe is unfair to the great mass of common people.

Not that I love the railroads less but that I love human beings more.

The Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD E. BROWNE.

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. BROWNE. Mr. Speaker, I voted against the railroad bill when it was before us for consideration, and gave my reasons therefor. While this bill as it comes from the conference committee, in my opinion, is an improvement on the House bill, yet I can not support it for the following reasons:

WHAT RETURN OF RAILROADS MEANS AT THIS TIME.

Returning the railroads at this time means an increase of at least 25 per cent in freight rates. The railroad companies have stated this repeatedly, and this is verified by members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, whom I shall quote in the course of my remarks.

An increase in freight rates of 25 per cent that the carriers propose means that the shippers of the United States will pay $875,000,000 additional in freight.

High officials of the Government, like the Director General of Railroads, Walker D. Hines, and Robert W. Woolley, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, men who have given years of study to the railroad question and who are not biased by any prejudice, say that the increase of 25 per cent in freight rates, which private ownership at this time means, will be an increase to the ultimate consumer of $4,375,000,000, or $215 per family of five, assuming our population to be 100,000,000 people. You can realize what this stupendous amount means when you consider this is an amount in excess of all the assessed property of the wealthy State of Wisconsin, including all farms, personal property, and property of all kinds.

FARMERS ESPECIALLY HARD HIT.

An increase in freight rates is borne more by the farmer than any other producer. The reason is that the price of farm products is fixed in the markets of the world. The difference between the Chicago, St. Louis, and New York markets and the local markets where the farmers' products start on their journey to the consumer is the transportation charge that the farmer pays.

STARVING THE RAILROADS.

I have received many letters from the holders of railroad stocks and bonds and have seen much propaganda sent out by the railroads to the effect that the railroads have been starved by the Government. When in December, 1917, the Government

took the railroads over as a war measure because they were not meeting the demands required by the Government private ownership and management of our transportation system had completely broken down.

Did the Government treat the railroads fairly? Yes; more than fairly. It paid them as rental an amount equal to the average amount of income they had received in the three prior years from June 30, 1914, to June 30, 1917, which were the most prosperous years the railroads had ever had in their history. What did the railroads receive under this management? According to Senator CUMMINS, who certainly would not be charged even by the railroads with hostility to the railroads, they received from two hundred and fifty to three hundred million dollars more per year than they should have received.

What were the dividends of some of these railroads? The Illinois Central Railroad received a net income of 11.33 per cent upon its capital stock; the Louisville & Nashville, 16.75 per cent; the Norfolk & Western, 12.51 per cent; the Atlantic Coast Line, 10.80 per cent; the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, 9.70 per cent upon its capital stock; the Chicago & North Western, 10.18 per cent; the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, 22.05 per cent; the Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie, 12.09 per cent.

These large dividends were paid upon the book value of the railroads, which all admit is an inflated valuation. These figures would not indicate that the railroads had been starved or had made any sacrifices during the war. On the contrary, it shows that the railroads have been among the heavy profiteers.

GOVERNMENTAL OWNERSHIP MISREPRESENTED.

The railroads from the beginning of governmental control have tried to discredit governmental management by an extensive and misleading propaganda. In stating the amount the Government has expended they do not tell you that the Government has been paying $940,000,000 annually to the railroad companies for the use of their property, $250,000,000 to $300,000,000 more each year than they should have paid. They do not tell you that under governmental control the Government increased the wages of all railroad employees to meet the high cost of living on the average of $31.67 per month per man. This increase of wages to date from January 1, 1918, amounted to over $874,000,000. The railroad companies would have been obliged to make this necessary increase in wages themselves under private control. They do not tell you that the Government expended $372,000,000 for cars and locomotives and that the Government paid out $780,405,512 for roadways, structures, and other betterments that were necessary to make the railroads efficient and were necessary because the railroads had been so greedy in paying themselves high dividends and their officers high salaries and had let the railroads run down.

SHOULD THE RAILROADS BE RETURNED AT THIS TIME.

Our foreign trade, our own economical well-being, depends upon a well mobilized and unified transportation system and a perfect coordination of rail and water transportation. In the past there has been ruinous competition and duplication among railroads. Water transportation on our great rivers has been throttled by the railroads owning the wharves and dockage and making unfair rates between certain competitive points. The railroads of the country have destroyed water transportation on which the Government has expended hundreds of millions of dollars.

RAILROAD DISCRIMINATION.

The Standard Oil Co., the Anthracite Trust, the Packers' Trust, the Steel Trusts, and all the great trusts in America were built up by discriminating freight rates. The directors of these great trusts and those of the railroads are interlocked. The Government has been powerless in the past to prevent discrimination in freight rates and special favors, and as a result all competition has been strangled, and these concerns, in their own language, charge all the traffic will stand and are responsible in a large measure for the high cost of living.

GUARANTEE THE RAILROADS PROFITS.

The bill provides that the Government shall guarantee every railroad in the United States a profit of from 5½ to 6 per cent on its property for two years. The value of the property will not be determined in that time, as the commissioners who are making a valuation state that they will not have completed their work before that time. Consequently the book valuation of the railroads, with all the watered stock, will be guaranteed a profit of from 5½ to 6 per cent. For example: The Baltimore & Ohio Chicago Terminal Railroad the last year before Government control operated 79 miles of railroad. It has a stock issue of $8,000,000. It has a bond issue amounting to $41,044,000, or $519,544 per mile. The owners of that stock are getting out of that terminal company in a way of net returns very little. In 1912–13 they had a deficit. In 1913–14 they had another deficit. Yet this railroad would be paid from 5½ to 6 per cent on its exorbitant capitalization under the guaranty of the Government. There are like examples. The principle of the Government guaranteeing profits to any person or corporation is indefensible and a dangerous precedent to establish.

OPERATING EXPENSES.

Under operating expenses the high officials can continue to receive their exorbitant salaries. I gave the names in my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of November 17, 1919, of over 200 officials that were receiving salaries ranging from $20,000 per year to over $100,000. J. M. Dickenson, receiver of the Rock Island, receives $120,000 per year under private management.

STUDY OF TRANSPORTATION.

I believe that before the railroads are returned a thorough study should be made of the transportation problems of both rail and water with the ultimate object of coordinating the two into one great system. That the basic principle observed should be service and building up our country and its many industries, small and large.

NOT AN AUSPICIOUS TIME TO RETURN RAILROADS.

The railroads themselves, in their demand for a guaranty by the Government, admit that they are not able to manage their roads without the Government standing back of them. The railroads themselves, in their demand for increased freight rates of 25 per cent, admit that this is not an auspicious time to return the roads. I herewith insert a letter written to me by Robert W. Woolley, a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, certainly a very high and disinterested authority. The commissioner in closing says:

> My belief is that attempting to reach a permanent solution of the railroad problem at a time when everything is in the flux is a hazardous proceeding fraught with danger to the Republic.

GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT WORTH TRYING.

The railroads are now under Government management and operation. Many great savings and economies are being effected, as I pointed out in my remarks on the House bill in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of November 17, 1919. Consolidation of terminal stations, passenger and freight offices, shortening of freight routes—which alone resulted in a saving of over 58,315,800 car-miles—and a very great reduction of accidents by a well-organized committee of safety, who have inaugurated safety appliances.

MERCHANT MARINE.

The Government owns a large fleet of merchant and passenger boats, the swiftest and best boats that sail the ocean today. It also owns shipyards, the largest and most efficient in the world. As long as all of these means of transportation are now in the Government's hands why not see what the United States can do toward unifying water and rail transportation—what the United States can do toward utilizing our many navigable rivers and giving us cheap water transportation like Europe has. See what the United States can do toward placing our flag on a merchant marine, the first in the world. I believe that Government management is well worth the trial, especially in view of the fact that before the war the American flag was hardly visible on the seas, American capital being invested in boats that did not carry our flag. Just the other day our Shipping Board was about to sell at half price some of the Government's largest and fastest passenger and freight boats in the world to go out of our control and float the flag of one of our commercial rivals. I refer to the *Fatherland* and other interned German boats now owned by the United States.

EXPLOITATION OF RAILROADS.

Read the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission: In re Financial transactions of the New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R. Co., docket No. 6569. Report of the investigation of the St. Louis & San Francisco R. R. and others, docket No. 5933. In re Pere Marquette R. R. Co. and Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Co., docket No. 6833. Investigation of the financial transactions, history, and operation of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Ry. Co., docket No. 6834. In re Financial relations, rates, and practices of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Co., docket No. 6319.

If you read these reports you will see how the railroads have been exploited by their private owners—the Morgans, Vanderbilts, Harrimans, Rockefellers, and others at the expense of the public, and I believe you will agree that before the Government turns the railroads back to these same men who have exploited them in the past and gives them a Government guaranty that they shall have large returns on their inflated capital the Government should see what it can do with our transportation system.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION,
Washington, January 20, 1920.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I beg to say that the quotation you make inquiry about from recent utterances of mine is a free translation rather than an accurate statement.

What I have said is, that the consumer catches an increase in freight rates in the shape of an accumulation of increases. He is bound to, because he is at the mercy of the manufacturer, the wholesaler, the retailer, and generally the commission man, as to each single material that enters into a finished article and then as to the article itself. On a number of occasions I have called attention to a statement of Director General Hines made in a speech at St. Louis in June last, to the effect that this ratio might be as much as fivefold. The Director General's exact words are as follows:

DIRECTOR GENERAL HINES'S STATEMENT.

"Whenever there arises any reason for an increase in cost of anything, the public has to pay the amount of the increase, and the amount of the increase in the price is several times as big as the reason justifies. So if after study of the matter it is discovered that the Government ought to have $300,000,000 additional per year to pay the operation and rental, and increases the rates accordingly, there would be danger that after the increase had been passed along to the ultimate consumer of food and clothes and other things which we all have to buy the public would pay a billion or a billion and a half on account of the three hundred million the Government would be getting, because the prices would be increased by the manufacturer and the wholesaler and the retailer. Hence I feel that in the interest of the general consuming public we ought to be exceedingly cautious about making the increcease in transportation rates. While an increase of rates beyond the 25 per cent may be necessary to take care of increased costs running from 50 to 80 or 90 per cent, yet improvements in conditions may accomplish a great deal in wiping out the deficit without any increase in the transportation rates."

I have devoted to this question a great deal of thought and some investigation, and am satisfied that Director General Hines stated the case very conservatively. Using the ratio of 5, I have said on several occasions that, based upon 1918 receipts from freight traffic, the 25 per cent increase in freight rates which the carriers propose to ask for upon return of the roads to private control would mean $875,000,000 additional which the shippers would have to pay and $4,375,000,000, or $215 per family of five—assuming our population to be 100,000,000—which the consumer would have to pay. These figures, of course, are approximate.

My belief is that attempting to reach a permanent solution of the railroad problem at a time when everything is in the flux is a hazardous proceeding, fraught with danger to the Republic.

Cordially, yours,

R. W. WOOLLEY.

Hon. EDWARD E. BROWNE,
House of Representatives, United States,
Washington, D. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MASON,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, for more than five hours I have listened to this debate on the railroad bill. I had hoped for a few minutes in which I could offer suggestions, but the rule was adopted which prevents discussion. This bill that comes from the conference committee is not the Esch bill and is not the Cummins bill, and it presents new and most important questions. No living human being can read this bill and vote intelligently within 48 hours—which those of us not on the conference committee have had to read and understand this bill. I avail myself of the privilege granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, but most respectfully protest against the rule adopted which deprives us of hearing the views of many of our colleagues whose long legislative experience and great learning upon this subject would enable them to enlighten us upon many details of the bill which at first reading I confess I can not understand. My industrious colleague from Illinois [Mr. DENISON], who is a member of the committee and who has devoted his time most loyally for a year to the study of this great question, was allowed 15 minutes in which to give the benefit of his study to those of us who have been extremely busy on other questions. I share most heartily the opinion of this House as to the great ability and high character of the chairman [Mr. ESCH], and I also know this House has the same feeling of respect and confidence in the integrity and ability of my colleague [Mr. DENISON] who differs so widely from the distinguished chairman upon three of the most vital questions involved.

I congratulate my colleagues that notwithstanding the high tension, the wide differences of opinion, no attempt has been made, with one or two exceptions, to make political capital out of this most important matter, to maintain the commercial life of our Republic. I congratulate my colleagues that we are gradually reaching the point where we have courage to demand the right of free thought and speech and the consideration to give to each other that which we demand for ourselves.

Mr. Speaker, I can not go with those who are in the majority to-day. I have no apology to make and I am only using this space in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that those who have sent me here may know my reasons for not voting for this bill. I shall vote to recommit the bill, and if that fails I shall vote "no" on the final passage. I shall give only a few of my reasons for doing so. First, my most serious objection is the guaranty given to the owners of railroad securities of a return of 5½ and 6 per cent upon their real investment. Gentlemen who have cried out against the doctrine of socialism and capital, that have inveighed so strongly against guaranteeing man a living, that have cried out so strongly against paternalism, are the very first to crawl under the cloak of Uncle Sam, and say, "It would be wicked to guarantee the farmer that his crops would come to harvest, regardless of his conduct; it would be a shame to guarantee the merchant that he would make a profit on his sales, regardless of his industry and skill; it would be bolshevism to guarantee the clerks and other laborers steady employment, but it is true Americanism to give a guaranty of a return on the almighty dollar that we put in railroad stocks, regardless of the efficiency of the men hired to manage the railroads." Surely capital was never so coddled and favored as in this bill. Why not guarantee the farmer's wife that her hens will lay eggs; why not guarantee every lawyer, preacher, and doctor that they shall have enough to live on regardless of their industry and ability; why not guarantee the farmer's wife that her bread will rise and her butter will come? There is nothing that so destroys the initiative and industry of a man as to guarantee him a living; and there is nothing that so enervates the life of a corporation as would the Government guaranty. Suppose the railroad company is threatened with a strike, why need the officers of the company be interested in the wages and conditions of the men when the Government guarantees to finance the strike for the corporation? What difference does it make to the corporation how many relatives of the stockholder are appointed to sinecures? It is charged to expenses and Uncle Sam or the shipper pays the freight. What matters it whether the corporation buys its supplies from corporations which the stockholders control—paying a double price therefor? Uncle Sam will pay the bills.

Gentlemen will say the money does not go into the Treasury; that is true; but what difference does it make whether you take it out of the pocket of the citizen and give it to the railroad earner, or take it out of the farmer, merchant, and manufacturer, by increasing to him the cost of transportation? Oh! but one gentleman says to me, who is a stockholder, you took away our roads for the use of war. So we did; it was one of our many blunders. We also took away our boys from their homes, and when we got through with them we sat them down on a cold stone, made them a generous present of $60, almost enough to buy a suit of clothes and a pair of boots, and told them to go to work.

Mr. Speaker, we must return this property to its rightful owners. We have paid them a return equal to the best they have had for years. The Government has not managed the finances as well as the owners could have done, and just as patriotic service could have been had by the managers and employers in the hands of the owner. We must put those railroads back in the hands of the owners in as good condition as they were, and the revolving fund of $300,000,000 appropriated in this bill will keep them on a safe and sound financial basis. Why then need we change the whole system of law in this country by this guarantee of interests? Gentlemen say that the 5½ and 6 per cent is not guaranteed on the stock and bonds, but is a guarantee of interest upon the value of the property of the corporation. Can not gentlemen see the endless trouble that this will cause? Many of us believe that railroad stocks and bonds are largely in excess of the value of the property of the corporation. Leading railroad experts tell us that property owned by the railroads of this country is between five and six billion dollars greater than the amount represented by the stocks and bonds.

Mr. Speaker, feeling as I do that this is a favoritism toward one class of investors, that it is class legislation of the very worst sort, that it is paternalism of the worst kind, I can not and will not support this measure.

Perhaps, Mr. Speaker, I ought not to cumber the RECORD further, but will say in conclusion, there are three classes interested in this legislation—the owners of the railroad, the laborers who operate it, and, greatest of all, the public. In my humble opinion this legislation does not take care of the men who op-

erate the road and does not protect the public. I am an optimist and hope for the best, but I can see dangers ahead by reason of the so-called labor clause taken in connection with the guaranty clause which I have described. I agree with ex-Justice Hughes that the taking away of the earnings of any corporation and applying any part of it, directly or indirectly, for the benefit of any other person or corporation would be a violation of the Constitution of the United States. More than that, I believe it to be impracticable, for the element of human nature will prevent any such surplus, for when a corporation finds that it is likely to have surplus earnings which are to be confiscated, so much money will be needed for betterments and rehabiliments that the large amounts of money to be used for the weaker roads will never turn up in the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commissioners.

Mr. Speaker, I have listened very carefully to the argument of the continuation of the barge service of the upper and lower Mississippi. True, the bill authorizes the Secretary of War to operate these barges. I have very serious doubts as to whether that part of the bill which appropriated the unexpended balance in the Treasury can be used for the operation of these barges. Knowing the "ancient" differences between rail and water transportation, I feel that if this bill is recommitted the conference committee can, by slight amendment, remove the doubt as to the legality of the use of the unexpended balance.

Mr. Speaker, if this bill is recommitted to-day, it can be brought back on Tuesday without this paternalism and with a change that will protect the employee and public, and, after a two or three days' discussion, in my opinion, will receive practically the unanimous support of this House. The question of Government ownership is not involved in this case; that is a subterfuge which worked together with the clause that we must pass this bill just as the committee reports it or have no legislation at all. This frightens no one except those who wish to be frightened. Speaking for myself, I would rather the railroads should go back to their owners without any legislation than to violate the Constitution which I have sworn to uphold. I would rather take a chance that the railroad company can command cash and credit enough to operate their trains rather than to depart from the American precedent and principles by class legislation that compels either the shipper or the Government to protect one class of investors, and particularly that class of investors who are best able to protect themselves.

Mr. Speaker, after years of legislative experience in both branches of the legislature of my State and both branches of Congress, I have learned to respect the opinions of my associates. I have seen appalling legislative actions taken, sometimes by "whip and spur" through brilliant leadership, sometimes by the artifice of quick action without fair debate, and sometimes by the clever insertion of the legislative joker. There is a large majority of this House and the Senate that will vote for this bill; but I give it as my solemn judgment that if either the Esch or Cummins bill had 30 days ago proposed a change in the law that gives the railroad companies "fair and reasonable rates," which has been the law for more than a quarter of a century, so that the law would read that the companies should be allowed to charge all expense and then be guaranteed 5½ and 6 per cent on the value of the property which they own, there would have been such a protest from our constituents that not a single man in either Chamber would have voted for that proposition.

In my district there are more miles of railroad than in any other district in the United States. Those roads in Illinois have been well managed, taking care of the stockholders and the public. The troubles we have had was when a Wall Street shark came in and got possession of a few of our roads and robbed our people by swelling the stock and bonds to what they call the "value" of the property and you are now saying by this bill to my constituents you must pay all the overhead and fixed charges as well as maintenance and operation and when our roads are made economical and efficient, when the sinecures are wiped out, when they buy their supplies in honest competition, then if the people of my State have paid in freight and passenger rates more than the 5½ and 6 per cent, then one-half of that surplus which has been wrung from the shippers of Illinois, to loan in order to build up some other road where all of the rules of honesty and efficiency have been violated—if that is not communism then I do not know the meaning of the word. The railroad security holders of this country who cry so loud against Government ownership are the very ones who want it for there is no one in the world whose guaranty they want so much as Uncle Sam's and they have secured what they want by withholding this proposition until the last few days. Have gentlemen stopped to consider the effect of this legislation upon stocks—assume for the sake of argument that the statement of the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad is correct, that the railroad property is of greater value than the stocks and bonds. The stock reports show that that railroad is selling at 43 cents and gentlemen who bought it yesterday for 43 cents by the terms of this bill are guaranteed 12 per cent on their investment if the property value is equal to stocks. The Chicago & Alton was selling as low as 6 cents Monday. If, as is claimed by some, the value of the property is equal to the stocks and bonds, then the gentleman who bought the Chicago & Alton on Monday will receive his whole principal back as interest.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, you will hear from the stock market. This conference report will be adopted by the House and Senate, and while the President and Attorney General are considering whether it should be vetoed or not the market aforesaid will tremble in the balance.

Mr. Speaker, I never bought or sold any railroad stock—I do not know the game—but if some close and official friend of the President will tell whether he is going to veto this bill or not I will agree to charter the great ship *George Washington*, take all of my colleagues to Paris, and furnish each one of you with 1,300 loyal attendants to do your bidding. I recommend my colleagues to watch the stock markets as a matter of entertainment, and I assure you you will not have to keep your ear close to the ground to know the opinion of our constituents.

Mr. Speaker, the amount of money, as shown by the statement by the distinguished chairman of this committee, which is to be taken from the people is simply appalling. I have the greatest respect for our one-time colleague, Mr. Sherley, whose letter has been introduced. I have the greatest respect for our distinguished chairman, and frankness compels me to state that I have not had time and do not know whether all this money demanded is absolutely necessary or not, but, Mr. Speaker, for the reasons given, if I have to vote alone, I shall vote "no" on this bill.

Conference Report on the Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAY STONE BRIGGS,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. BRIGGS. Mr. Speaker, though favoring the return now of the railroads to their owners and terminating further Government operation and control, I can not support or vote for this conference report because among other things—

First. It grants unjustifiable guaranties and subsidies to the railroads, amounting to over $1,250,000,000 annually.

Second. It practically destroys the power of the several States to further control or regulate the railroads.

Third. It stifles competition and both authorizes and legalizes vast mergers and combinations of railroads, which it is expressly provided shall not be construed as any violation of the antitrust laws.

Fourth. It sanctions and approves the merger of all express companies into one huge combination and trust and thereby destroys any further competition in that service.

Fifth. Instead of returning the roads to private ownership with an assurance of increased efficiency, reduction of vast operating costs, and economy in further operation and maintenance, preserving competition between the railroads, the conference report or bill gives promise and assurance of quite the contrary; for with its mergers and combinations, its centralization of authority and control over the railroads in the Federal Government, its guaranties and subsidies, the railroads will be permitted to operate under the vicious cost-plus system developed by the war, which will mean waste and inefficiency, to the injury of the service and financial cost to the public of hundreds of millions of dollars.

The present conference report gives far more *highly* centralized powers to the Federal Government and far greater loans, guaranties, and subsidies to the railroads than the Esch bill, as it passed the House, conferred. The conference measure increases the revolving fund to be loaned by the Government to the railroads to $300,000,000—$50,000,000 more than the amount

carried in the House bill. It also adds the guaranty to the railroads of a net return during the next two years of at least 5½ per cent upon the aggregate value of such roads and for the continuance thereafter of such a definite guaranty and return as the Interstate Commerce Commission shall establish. In fact, the so-called 5½ per cent two-year guaranty provision is in reality a 6 per cent guaranty provision, because the report expressly authorizes the Interstate Commerce Commission, in its discretion, to add to such 5½ per cent "a sum not exceeding one-half of 1 per cent of such aggregate value to make provision in whole or in part for improvements, betterments, or equipment, which, according to the accounting system prescribed by the commission, are chargeable to capital account." It is not to be assumed that with such expression in the conference report the railroads will receive less than a guaranty of a net return of 6 per cent during the next two years upon the aggregate value of the roads.

All of this is in addition to the six months' guaranty carrried both in the House bill and in the conference report, and to the funding of several hundred millions of indebtedness of the railroads to the Government over a period of 10 years. It is in addition also to the Government provision in the conference report that prior to the expiration of the six months' guaranty period no railroad rate shall be reduced without the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Moreover, the conference report, in addition to substantially destroying the power of the States to regulate or control rates, also practically deprives the States of all authority over the construction and abandonment of lines of railroads located, or to be located, wholly within any State. The bill as it passed the House protected such right. Under the conference report it is gone forever and the authority is vested in the Federal Government. It is further true, also, that under the conference report the States lose substantially all control and jurisdiction over the issuance of stocks and bonds by railroads, for such conference report expressly provides that the jurisdiction conferred upon the Federal Government through the Interstate Commerce Commission "shall be exclusive and plenary, and a carrier may issue securities and assume obligations or liabilities in accordance with the provisions of this section without securing approval other than as specfied herein."

It is estimated that the loss sustained by the Government under Government control and operation of the railroads amounts at the present time to approximately $850,000,000. This amount, however, does not take into consideration unliquidated claims against the Government which may probably increase the loss to $1,000,000,000 during the period of Government control. The rental, or so-called standard return, undertaken to be paid by the Government to the railroads was approximately $900,000,000 a year. In addition to such rental the Government advanced for betterments, improvements, and equipment a huge additional sum amounting to over a billion dollars. The conference report, however, provides that these advances for betterments and equipment must eventually be repaid.

Under the guaranty and subsidy provisions of the conference report it is extremely likely that the Government and the people will be compelled to pay in actual donations from the Treasury and through increased rates a sum greater than that lost in the operation of the railroads during the period when the Government has been operating the same; and under such guaranties and subsidies it will be the stronger and greater railroads that will profit most, because even if the provision whereby the roads earning more than 6 per cent should pay more than one-half of the excess to the United States to be used in making loans and furnishing equipment to weak roads, be constitutional—and there seems to be serious question as to such constitutionality—yet such weaker roads even in order to get such loans must provide adequate security and are not assured even of getting a guaranteed net return of either 5½ or 6 per cent upon the value of their properties, for the reason that the provision in the conference bill does not apply to each road, but only to the aggregate value of all roads. It may be, therefore, that while the rates may be increased to bring a net return of 5½ or 6 per cent upon the aggregate value of all the roads, the return to each road may differ greatly; some earning 10 per cent or more annually and some 2 per cent or less.

It is because of the vast cost and expense to the people, the restrictions, inconvenience, and harassments endured by them under Government control and operation, with the indifferent and wretched service, that the people demand the return of the railroads to private ownership; expecting better and cheaper service and freedom from the irritating trials experienced in their dealings with the Government.

Believing that this hope can never be realized under the conference bill, I must decline to support it.

Railroad Legislation Imperative.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. THOMPSON,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920,

On the conference report on the bill (H. R. 10453) to provide for the termination of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation; to provide for the settlement of disputes between carriers and their employees; to further amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I support the conference report on the railroad bill because I consider it an emergency measure. Although it may have defects, it will safely bridge over the transition period from Government management, with its political makeshift and enormous deficits, to private management. In view of the fact that the President has issued a proclamation turning the roads back to their owners, effective March 1, the Congress can not afford to delay action leading to economic readjustments made necessary as a result of the World War.

Lincoln and the Boys in Blue.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. ANDREWS,
OF NEBRASKA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 16, 1920.

Mr. ANDREWS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing an address delivered by myself on Friday evening, February 13, 1920, before the Department of the Potomac, Grand Army of the Republic, Washington, D. C., on the occasion of the celebration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

There was no objection.

The address is as follows:

"We honor ourselves to-night by honoring the memory of Abraham Lincoln. He was not only a child of the American forest, but also a child of destiny. In his early Kentucky home trees were the companions of his childhood. Wild beasts challenged his youthful courage. His stature seemed to rival the majestic pines about him. The contour of his features suggested the rugged outlines of the hills and mountains, in the midst of which he roamed with pleasure and freedom from responsibility.

EARLY MANHOOD.

"Although he sought knowledge by the flickering light of pine knots, his future thoughts illuminated the Nation and the world with the surpassing brilliancy of the electric current. In early years he passed to the broad prairies of the West, where the horizon of his vision coincided with the extreme limits of his physical possibilities. His experience as a merchant and traveler brought him into observation of the slave market, which thrilled his nature and fired his energies for future warfare in the cause of freedom. Under such environments he seemed to approach gradually more closely year by year to the heart of nature as one of his greatest teachers; in fact, Providence seems to have taken him into communion with itself and mysteriously trained him for the great service to which, under God and the will of the American people, he was commissioned in his mature manhood.

PUBLIC CAREER.

"His career at the bar, in the Illinois Legislature, in Congress, and in his memorable debates with Douglas, and his canvass for the Presidency, is frought with incidents of deep significance. In his broad survey of human rights and governmental institutions, he looked to the human soul and its native endowments as the chief corner stone from which he took all his bearings. With the skill of the mariner he sounded the utmost depths of human rights, and with the exactness and farsightedness of the astronomer he scaled the

heights and fixed the orbits of the Nation and its citizens under the Declaration of Independence and our National Constitution. With clear psychological analysis and forceful logic, although not a theologian, he revealed the pathway of Divine rectitude among men with the prophetic vision of a Daniel before the old Chaldean king, and carried his convictions to a triumphant conclusion with the courage of the Apostle to the Gentiles.

THE NONEXTENSION OF SLAVERY.

"He loved peace and earnestly sought its continuance upon the ground of the nonextension of human slavery to the virgin soil of American territory. Let American citizens everywhere read with thoughtful consideration his first inaugural address, and other messages, and thus catch the inspiration of his soul and intellect in their firm devotion to the Union, the Constitution, and the Flag.

PRESERVATION OF THE UNION.

"But when the Nation was assailed by hostile guns, this man of peace clearly saw the duty of the hour. With the power of the sword he sought to maintain the institutions of the fathers and perpetuate the blessings of peace to all the States of the Union. Thus, at his call, the grandest army that had ever trod the earth came into existence to maintain the Constitution and the Union. Thus the Federal sword was drawn in defensive warfare for the sole purpose of preserving the life of the Nation.

EMANCIPATION.

"The gradual progress of events, however, logically developed the doctrine of the nonextension of slavery into the doctrine and realization of emancipation, and for the first time in our history made freedom coextensive with the limits of our National Constitution. Recount those perilous years from 1861 to 1865 and note the extent to which his thought, deeds, and character were woven into the fabric of our national history. Who could ever picture the travail of his soul in the hours and years of struggle and gloom, amid alternating clouds and sunshine?

PEACE AND THE SWORD.

"A lover of peace, as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the Nation, waging war with the sword! Yes; but remember it was the sword of defense and not the sword of selfish aggression. I quote and paraphrase the following:

"'Be it in the defense or be it in the assertion of a people's rights, I hail the sword as a sacred weapon; and if it has sometimes taken too deep a dye, yet, like the anointed rod of the High Priest, it has at other times, and as often, blossomed into celestial flowers to deck the freeman's brow. Abhor the sword? Stigmatize the sword? No! For in the passes of Tyrol it cut to pieces the banner of the Bavarian, and through those craggy defiles struck a path to fame for the peasant insurrectionist of Innsbruck. Abhor the sword? Stigmatize the sword? No! For it swept the Dutch marauders out of the fine old towns of Belgium, scourged them back to their own phlegmatic swamps, and knocked their flags and sceptre, their laws and bayonets into the sluggish waters of the Scheldt. Abhor the sword? Stigmatize the sword? No! For at its blow a giant Nation started from the waters of the Atlantic, and by the redeeming magic of the sword, and in the quivering of its crimson light, the crippled Colonies sprang into the attitude of a proud Republic, prosperous, limitless, invincible.'

"Abhor the sword? Stigmatize the sword? No! For by the sway of the triumphant sword of Lincoln the boys in blue brought back the wandering stars of the American constellation and fixed them permanently in their constitutional orbits and christened the Nation anew with the blood of their fallen comrades.

"Abhor the sword? Stigmatize the sword? No! For by its victories at Manila and Santiago Spanish tyranny was banished from the Western Continent and the enslaved of the islands of the sea were elevated into the sunlight of American civilization and opportunity.

"Abhor the sword? Stigmatize the sword? No! For by its victory on the soil of France monarchy was destroyed and representative government carried to the nations of the earth.

AN OCEAN SCENE.

"One bright summer day I sat on the ocean end of a steel pier at Atlantic City, N. J. The sun was shining brightly and refreshing breezes floated shoreward with delightful welcome. The trackless waters, extending far beyond the range of vision, were calm and placid. The quiet waves, playing to and fro, revealed the ceaseless activity of the mighty deep. Yachts and sailboats were carrying pleasure seekers forth over a tranquil sea. Far beyond the great steamers were coursing the highways of commerce. From yachts, sailboats, and steamers the Stars and Stripes were unfurled and suggested this picture of the ocean as a fitting parallel to a peaceful, happy, tranquil Nation under the rule of wise statesmanship.

"The next day, however, the placid surface had given place to the rolling waves, whose white crests could be seen to the full limits of physical vision. They rapidly grew larger and stronger until they beat upon the shore as though they defied their barriers in an attempt to overflow the land.

LINCOLN AT THE HELM.

"That turbulent scene was suggestive of the rising tide of passion from the time of the Missouri Compromise in 1820 to the omnibus bill in 1854 and the presidential election in 1860, at which time at the call of Divine Providence and the will of the American people Abraham Lincoln came to the helm of the grand old ship of state on March 4, 1861. On the 12th of April following the storm broke forth in hostile fury at Sumter. Steadily, patiently, wisely, courageously he guided our ship of state through the storms and tempests of civil war. As the boys fell in battle along the way his tears mingled with the tears of relatives and friends. As the crimson flood flowed forth from the veins of American life in atoning sacrifice for the sins of slavery his soul felt the bitterness of the strife. In spirit he lived with them on land and sea and longed for the return of peace.

"By and by happy messages came announcing the surrender of Lee, and Appomattox was recorded in the history of the Republic and the literature of the world. As the days of peace were dawning upon his vision and he was beginning to realize his fond hopes for a reunited country, his blood and life were demanded as an additional sacrifice upon the altar of human passion. That cruel blow startled the Nation and filled it with grief, but the loyal men who had followed Lincoln's leadership through fiery trials of war were equal to the task and the 'Government at Washington still lives.' Although the heart is saddened by the magnitude of the sacrifice, it is, on the other hand, rejoiced by the preservation of the Nation and its remarkable progress.

"Thirty-one States divided then, 48 States united now; $16,000,000,000 wealth then, unmeasured billions of wealth now; 31,000,000 of people warring against one another then, 110,000,000 people united now under one Union, one Constitution, and one flag.

THE VICTORIES OF PEACE.

"But peace hath her victories no less renowned than those of war. When the victory of arms had enforced the recognition of our right to independence the Revolutionary heroes were confronted with the tremendous task of building a Nation that would bring into full fruition the hopes for which they had fought. Monarchy prophesied failure and earnestly sought to transform their prophecy into fulfillment, but the builders of our country laid aside the old models and went behind the governments and ruins of the past and studied the philosophy of history and government in the light of the philosophy of the human soul. Thus they pointed out the true corner stone from which the whole field of true government must be surveyed. At this crisis they declared to the world the grand doctrine of political equality. It moved before them like a pillar of fire during the dark and perilous night of the Revolution. It is one of the central ideas of our national Constitution and is to be perpetuated by an intelligent and wisely directed citizenship.

"To that great achievement the State of New York contributed the brilliant services of Alexander Hamilton, the great Constitution builder, the intellectual premier of the American Republic. No one has yet surpassed him in profound statesmanship.

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY.

"He was a firm advocate of the doctrine of national sovereignty and insisted that the Nation should possess at all times and under all circumstances adequate constitutional power to protect its own life and perpetuate its own existence. It must be able to suppress insurrection and internal strife and ward off hostile foreign foes.

"This Hamilton doctrine of national sovereignty may be designated as the centripetal force in American politics. It was the principle upon which Abraham Lincoln and the Union Army preserved the union of the States. Every Federal note of war sounded on the way from Sumter to Appomattox was an argument in support of the political teachings of that great patriot and statesman.

"In this connection note the fact that Abraham Lincoln did more than any other man to preserve and perpetuate the Hamiltonian doctrine of national sovereignty. Read his famous speeches delivered in the Lincoln-Douglas debates and his addresses delivered in the presidential campaign of 1860. Study

carefully his inaugural addresses and his official messages and proclamations.

"Add to these the important lessons of our national history from 1861 to 1865. With such information before you, view the intellectual, moral, and patriotic characteristics of the man. Would that he could have been spared to guide the progress of the Nation through the remaining portion of his second presidential term and thereafter throw the light of his knowledge, wisdom, logic, loyalty, and patriotism upon the readjustment of our national affairs. Of course, we can only conjecture as to the measure of the loss we have sustained by his premature death and the benefits we would have gained through the continuance of his service to the country in subsequent years. Nevertheless in his life, service, and death we can study the welfare and history of our beloved country to which and for which he gave his best efforts and his life. I therefore congratulate the Grand Army of the Republic, under whose auspices we meet to-night, upon the splendid service they are rendering to the country in perpetuating a vivid memory of the illustrious Lincoln, who, to my mind, was the world's greatest commoner.

"The history of the American Republic should be studied and taught in such a manner as to awaken admiration and enthusiasm, inspire even the children with a devotion to their country, thus realizing that the voice of their country for peace and liberty is recognized around the world.

SILENT FORCES.

"These silent forces of liberty have awakened the dead and restored humanity to its rightful heritage in the domain of thought and freedom. Confronted by the leadership of that dauntless Prince of Orange, even Spain could not subdue the Netherlands. Before the third estate in France, the church, nobility, and the monarchy all went down; so in England the clergy, the nobles, the lords, and the kings all yielded to the rising power of the English commons. They dedicated American soil as the 'land of the free and the home of the brave' and transformed the old imperialism of the Nile, Euphrates, and Tiber into the individualism of the nineteenth century.

"They have led the race from the conflicts of arms to the great conquest of peace; from a cruel Nero to an Abraham Lincoln; from Louis XIV of France to the peerless Gladstone, whose silver voice rang throughout the world in behalf of human rights and justice for the Emerald Isle; from the thralldom of ignorance to the unlimited empire of free thought where the mind may soar like an eagle to the loftiest summits; from the crowns and palace of the Cæsars to the crowns of freedom and the palace of God.

LINCOLN AND THE FLAG.

"Lincoln loved the flag with all the devotion of his soul, and we hail it as our symbol of liberty, the Stars and Stripes. This banner of ours was born amidst the clouds of the American Revolution and christened by the blood of American patriots. It has been borne in triumph through foreign and domestic strife, and it waves to-day in response to man's God-given rights to intellectual, civil, and religious liberty. Let the homes, the schools, and the press of the country teach patriotism and loyalty to the Union, the Constitution, and the flag until the youth of the land are thoroughly imbued with the high privileges and sacred duties of American citizenship.

"In the hearts of Americans our flag should lead all the rest. A moment's reflection upon the constellation of national ensigns will flood the mind with wonderful suggestiveness. One reminds us of the suffering of Siberian exiles under the rule of absolute monarchy. Another recalls the reign of terror as the period of a nation's transition from monarchy to representative government. Another suggests the cruelties of the inquisition and the reign of a bloody Weyler in Cuba. Another points to the checkered history of a long line of kings and queens who sought the enslavement of the American colonists. But our flag represents the highest realization of the hopes of the race for intellectual, civil, and religious liberty.

"Our flag was dedicated to the cause of freedom by the American Revolution. The loyal citizenship of the country has always borne it in triumph against foreign and domestic foes, and to-day sustain it in its proud position among the nations of the world. Through the years 1861 to 1865, of its greatest peril, Abraham Lincoln and the 'boys in blue' preserved it, carried it to victory, and waved it in triumph over a reunited country.

"We frequently build monuments to commemorate great events and also the lives of great men. There stands the Washington Monument, reminding us of the revolutionary history of our country. It speaks the fame and influence not only of George Washington but also of the men and women who stood behind him and advanced him to his surpassing fame and glory. Here in our National Capital we can see monuments on every hand. Our streets and parks are made historic by their presence. Millions of dollars have been expended in their construction.

"The skill of artists has been employed, but Abraham Lincoln and the boys in blue built for themselves by their own deeds a monument in the history of our country and the history of the world that is imperishable. It will live as long as human memories retain the picture of the American Republic, redeemed, reunited, and freed from the last stain of human slavery. That great military contest of the sixties was the focal point to which the forces of preceding years concentrated and from which the influences of subsequent years have radiated throughout the world. Think of our country again as it was in the sixties and then think of it as it is now. If Lincoln and the boys in blue had failed, what would have been the result in the recent World War? Monarchy in all probability would have been triumphant again, but with America saved by Lincoln and the boys in blue 100,000,000 of people with almost countless billions of wealth stood behind our Army and Navy in the recent World War and enabled our brave boys to carry our flag of liberty to victory on European soil. Thus the monument erected by Abraham Lincoln and the boys in blue to themselves in the history of the world shines on and on with increasing luster and glory with the passing years."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM CONNALLY,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. Speaker, the measure now before the House, the conference report on the railroad bill, is of such importance and affects so directly every consumer in the United States that I desire to state some of the reasons prompting me to vote against the measure:

First. It requires the Government to pay to the railroads the amounts due for rental during Federal control, but allows the railways to fund their indebtedness to the Government, amounting to approximately $1,300,000,000, and at their option to owe the Government this sum for 10 years.

Second. It guarantees the railroads' income for six months after termination of Federal control. If the roads do not earn the fixed income with high rates the Treasury is to make good the deficit.

Third. The bill appropriates $300,000,000 to be loaned to the roads in addition to the sums already due the Government by the roads. The Government does not make loans directly to other corporations or citizens. Why to the railroads? This feature is especially objectionable at this time, when the public debt amounts to $26,000,000,000 and there is such pressing need for economy.

Fourth. The construction or extension of lines of railroads are prohibited unless consent is given by the Interstate Commerce Commission. This may seriously interfere with the building of new railroads in undeveloped sections which badly need them and centers control in Washington.

Fifth. It provides for the consolidation of all railway lines into a limited number of systems. To do so will tend to eliminate competition both as to service and rates and will build up a railway monopoly. The constitution of Texas prohibits the consolidation of competing or parallel lines, yet under the bill this provision will be practically nullified.

Sixth. The bill practically destroys the State railroad commissions and the control of the States over their own commerce. I quote from paragraph 4, section 416, of the bill:

> Such rates, fares, charges, classifications, regulations, and practices shall be observed while in effect by the carriers parties to such proceeding affected thereby, the law of any State or the decision or order of any State authority to the contrary notwithstanding.

Its effect will be to centralize in Washington the powers of which the States are divested. Shippers and others having business with the roads will be required in many cases to lodge their complaints at Washington instead of with their State commissions. Each State should be permitted to control its own local affairs and to fix the rates on commerce purely within the State.

Seventh. Section 422 of the bill requires the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix rates at such a level as will produce a revenue of not less than 5½ per cent on the aggregate prop-

erty value of the railroads of the United States. The Interstate Commerce Commission will not complete its valuation of the railroads for several years. The roads so far valued by the commission have been found to be worth much less than the sums for which they are capitalized. The statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission estimates that rates will have to be increased $1,214,000,000 annually over present rates under this provision. This enormous increase will fall on the shippers, on the merchants, on every bale of cotton, on every ear of corn, on every cow that is shipped on a railway; yes, on every article of merchandise which the consumer purchases; on every plow and farming implement that the farmer employs to produce his crop; on every article and commodity shipped by rail. There are roads which on account of lack of business, poor location, or inefficient or wasteful management, do not deserve to earn large incomes, just as there are merchants and farmers and lawyers and doctors who, through poor management, do not succeed. Should the rates be continually raised to produce a profit to such roads? To so raise the rates for the benefit of the inefficient and poorly located roads will with uniform rates unduly increase the income of the prosperous and well-managed roads. The public will pay high rates on all roads in order to assist and support those that are found to be halt and maimed and crippled through the financial juggling of their owners.

This section will breathe life into railroad stocks, will give them a value they never possessed before; will transmute water into real value, and will convert into revenue-producing property that which but yesterday represented speculators' and promoters' securities. It is significant that the bond and stock market quotations on railroad securities, even before the bill has been passed but merely on its prospect of passage, have gone soaring upward. Every dollar added to such securities by the passage of this bill will come from the pockets of the people in the form of rates and charges on the commodities which they produce and the articles which they consume.

Eighth. There is no question as to the return of the railroads on March 1, 1920. The President has already issued his proclamation to that effect. Mr. ESCH, the chairman of the committee, stated in his speech that the President has no power to recall the proclamation. On February 20, 1919, a year ago, in this House, I voted to return the roads to private control. The roads are going back, but in handing them back I am unwilling to place unheard-of burdens upon the people of the whole United States for the benefit of railway owners who are clamoring for the passage of this bill.

Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT D. STEPHENS,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. STEPHENS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, this legislation is of such importance that I desire to state, very briefly, my reasons for opposing the conference report.

Before doing so, I want to say that the argument that this report must be adopted or the railroads will remain in the hands of the Government is not in accord with the facts.

No act of Congress is necessary to enable the roads to be returned to their owners. The legislation under which the Government assumed control and operation of the roads provides they may be turned back to the owners by proclamation of the President. He has proclaimed that they shall be returned on March 1.

The general public will rejoice, I am sure, when this return is effected. Operation of the railroads by the Government has been so unsatisfactory that now the ones who advocate Government ownership comprise only a small class.

Having always opposed Government ownership, I am glad that this object lesson on that subject was given under legislation that was only temporary, rather than to have had it under permanent law. It is so much easier to get rid of the burden.

I am opposed to the guaranty by the Government of a fixed return or profit. It provides that the railroads shall receive "a sum equal to 5½ per cent of the aggregate value" of the railroads; and in the discretion of the Interstate Commerce Commission the amount may be increased to 6 per cent.

It is fair to say that no money will be taken out of the Treasury to make this guaranty good; but the burden falls on the public, for authority is given the commission to fix rates that will produce this return.

Why should the owners of railroad stocks be guaranteed a fixed return on their investment? What other citizen of the Nation has a guaranty that his business will be profitable? The farmer, the merchant, the banker, the lawyer, the physician must take all the risks and hazards incident to his work. If losses come, they must be borne, and the arm of the Government is not lifted to help. If bad judgment is exercised, the one guilty of it must pay the penalty and pocket the loss; but if the owners of the railroad make mistakes, the Government takes care of them under this bill.

During the war the people were urged to buy bonds. There are several millions of owners of "Liberty" and "Victory" bonds. Patriotism inspired their purchase. What guaranty have they that they can get face value for them? None. It is true, also, that the rate of interest on these bonds is much less than that guaranteed to the owners of the railroads.

Again, this is a vicious provision, because it tends to lessen the incentive for efficiency and for competition. Whether a road handles little or much traffic, it gets the guaranteed return.

There is another provision of the law that is unfair. If, by excellent management and by reason of availability of traffic, a road makes more than the guaranteed profit, one-half of the excess is taken from that road and turned into a fund to be used for the road that did not make the full guaranteed profit.

This is unfair. It penalizes industry, good judgment, and progressive methods on the one hand, and it puts a premium on lack of industry, bad management, and inefficiency on the other. I can not agree that this is right.

No one would argue that if one farmer was successful and by reason of industry, frugality, and good management made 10 per cent on his farming investment that one-half of the profit above 5½ per cent should be taken away from him and given his neighbor who was less industrious, less frugal, less efficient, and less successful.

Many good lawyers hold that this provision is unconstitutional; that it violates the provision of the Constitution that "property shall not be taken without due process of law." Whether the provision be constitutional or unconstitutional, it is unfair.

Then I am opposed to the consolidation features contained in section 407 of the bill. Under this every railroad in a State may consolidate and form one system. This may serve to destroy competition and to lessen efficiency. This is wrong in principle and would, undoubtedly, work badly in practice. It is violative of the constitution of many States.

THE LABOR PROVISIONS.

The American Federation of Labor is violently opposed to the bill because of the provisions relating to labor. It is claimed that these provisions are too stringent and rob labor of some of its essential and fundamental rights.

I take the opposite view that these provisions are too weak; and that is one reason that I have for voting against the conference report. We should write a bill that has teeth in it, like the provisions of the Cummins bill.

The bill reported by the conferees is no stronger than if no mention had been made of the question of labor disputes. In fact, it would have been better to have omitted the subject entirely than to have dealt with it in such an ineffectual manner. It displays a lack of courage that is disgusting; it exhibits a weakness that is pitiful.

What are these provisions? First, it is provided that "railroad boards of labor adjustment may be established by agreement" between the carriers and the employees. This is simply a voluntary arrangement, and neither party can be bound by the finding of the board.

Second, there is created a "railroad labor board," composed of nine members to be appointed by the President. This board is authorized to decide any dispute involving grievances, rules, or working conditions, in respect to which any "adjustment board" certifies that it is unable to reach a decision, or upon the application of the chief executive of any carrier, or organization of employees interested, or upon the petition of not less than 100 unorganized employees interested, or upon its own motion if the dispute is likely to substantially interrupt commerce. No one is under any obligation, much less compulsion, to accept the finding of the board.

Listen to the provision that relates to a refusal to follow or abide by the decision of the board:

SEC. 313. The labor board, in case it has reason to believe that any decision of the labor board or of any adjustment board is violated by any carrier or employee or subordinate official or organization thereof, may, upon its own motion, after due notice and hearing to all persons directly interested in such violation, determine whether, in its opinion, such violation has occurred, and make public its decision in such manner as it may determine.

Each member of the labor board receives a salary of $10,000 annually and the secretary receives $5,000, making $95,000. Then there will be dozens of clerks and investigators to be paid, rents for offices, large printing bills, and many other expenses, so that this process will cost many hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of dollars annually.

What will be accomplished? Absolutely nothing. After this large expense, either party may refuse to accept the decision; and the board is powerless to do anything, except to inform the public as to its decision.

Two citizens disagree over the settlement of a business matter. One sues the other and the court, after hearing all testimony, reaches a decision as to the merits of the proposition; and it renders a judgment that is enforceable. It has the authority to do so. But suppose the law gave the judge authority only to say to the litigants, "I have reached this conclusion about this matter, this is the right thing to do"; and later, if either party refused to abide his decision, the law authorized him simply to publish his decision in some newspaper. Would anyone have any respect for the law? There is no one that would not say that such a proposition would be ridiculous. Yet, that is simply on a parity with the provisions of this bill.

PROVISIONS OF THE CUMMINS BILL.

I have said that I favored the provisions of the Cummins bill on this subject. What are they?

SEC. 30. It shall be unlawful for two or more persons, being officers, directors, managers, agents, attorneys, or employees of any carrier or carriers subject to the act to regulate commerce, as amended, for the purpose of maintaining, adjusting, or settling any dispute, demand, or controversy which, under the provisions of this act, can be submitted for decision to the committee of wages and working conditions or to a regional board of adjustment, to enter into any combination or agreement with the intent substantially to hinder, restrain, or prevent the operation of trains or other facilities of transportation for the movement of commodities or persons in interstate commerce, or in pursuance of any such combination or agreement and with like purpose substantially to hinder, restrain, or prevent the operation of trains or other facilities of transportation for the movement of commodities or persons in interstate commerce; and, upon conviction, any such person shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $500 or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall be taken to deny to any individual the right to quit his employment for any reason.

SEC. 31. Whoever knowingly and with like intent shall aid, abet, counsel, command, induce, or procure the commission or performance of any act made unlawful in the last preceding section hereof shall be held guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $500 or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

This is the kind of law that ought to be enacted. It is what conditions justify and what the interests of the public demand. When, as lawmakers, we write this law less strong we fail to serve the general good, the interests of all the people.

This provision in the Cummins bill has been viciously attacked by the Federation of Labor, and it has been said that it, in effect, puts men in servitude, forces them to work against their will. The answer to this is that the statement is untrue.

The last sentence of section 30 reads:

Provided, That nothing herein shall be taken to deny to any individual the right to quit his employment for any reason.

Individuals are not denied the right to quit employment at any time for any reason or without any reason. Each person is permitted to decide the question for himself.

It does prohibit—

two or more persons * * * to enter into any combination or agreement with the intent substantially to hinder, restrain, or prevent the operation of trains or other facilities of transportation for the movement of commodities or persons in interstate commerce—

And so forth, and provides a penalty for a violation of the law.

The right to quit an employment is a personal right; it is an inherent right. The right to strike, what the Federation of Labor is claiming, is a very different proposition.

On this proposition I quote from a speech of Senator UNDERWOOD. It seems to me to answer the claim of the federation that the "right to strike" is an inherent right:

Some men speak of the so-called right to strike as if it were a human right, a right that belonged to men, like the right to live, the right to breathe, the right to work in an organized capacity.

* * * * * * *

To strike! What does it mean? Men now talk of the right to strike as if it were the right to quit work. The right to strike and the right of the individual to quit his employment are two very different things.

One is the exercise of individual liberty; the other is the exercise of aggregate force to accomplish a purpose, to carry out the desire of the men engaged in the strike or of the organization that has ordered the strike. One is a negative force that hurts no man; the other is an active force that injures many.

* * * * * * *

A strike is what it implies in its own terms. It is a blow, a blow directed with an object behind it, and it is the only way that it makes it effective. Is the Congress to stand here and allow any organization whatever to deliver a blow against the American public, or is it our duty to see that substantial justice is done to all concerned without the delivery of the destructive blow?

The Cummins bill provided for a tribunal to which all matters pertaining to wages and working conditions might be submitted. This is fair to all concerned—labor, capital, and the public. Yet Mr. Gompers said before a committee of the Senate:

I say with the full understanding of the words I employ that the surest way of creating dissension, greater unrest, possibly leading to a strike, is the provisions of that bill. No other agency could provoke it more than that bill.

He is reported to have said also that if the bill became law he would not advise organized labor to obey it.

These statements evince a spirit of selfishness, a spirit of disrespect for law that is amazing. They are startling, too, coming as they do from the head of organized labor, a representative of millions of workingmen. If he truly represents the mind and spirit of such a large class of our citizens, the perpetuity of the Nation is threatened; a grave menace is in our midst.

LABOR UNIONS.

I am a friend of the man who works. I am not an enemy to labor unions. Indeed, many of their objects are excellent and have my sympathy and good wishes. They have done much good in the past. Rightly directed, they will do much good in the future.

But they must be controlled. They must be protected against themselves. The public must have protection against them. They must not be allowed to dominate the Government nor override the interest of the whole people.

As a result of their efforts wages have been increased, hours of work have been shortened, working conditions have been improved. These things are good. I am glad that they have been accomplished. No good citizen begrudges them these things.

But in dealing with them we should remember that no class, even though it be the Federation of Labor, should be permitted to dominate the whole Nation. Ours is government by law and not by classes. All classes, whether labor organizations or the capitalistic class, are selfish, because human nature is selfish. Selfishness never yielded to any power without a struggle, and that is the reason for the opposition to a law against strikes.

Labor demands not only the right to strike, but it also claims the right to say that men shall not work unless they belong to the union. It demands the "closed shop," thereby attempting to say to certain men that you shall not work at certain trades and in certain places unless you belong to our union. They gnash their teeth and threaten to defeat Congressmen for reelection when an effort is made to protect the public; yet they do not hesitate to say to an individual that you must not work, although your family may be in want, unless you belong to us.

On the subject of strikes, it is rather interesting to note the following information furnished by the Department of Labor:

There were approximately 6,000 strikes between April 6, 1917, and November, 1918.

It will be observed that this is the period during which we were at war with Germany, when the life of the Nation was at stake, when our boys were fighting and dying on foreign soil, when every instinct of patriotism was urging us to sacrifice, when we were being urged to produce more in order to help win the war.

In the face of these facts, how can any man doubt that there should be stringent legislation on the subject of strikes?

SOMETHING THE UNION DOES NOT CONSIDER.

Labor unions were organized as a protest against the injustices that labor had been receiving at the hands of capital. They have had a long, hard, fierce battle. They have come to look upon it simply as a fight between the two forces. They forget that there is another party in interest—the public.

Let a general strike come and tie up the railroads, who will suffer most? Capital will lose its earnings for the period of the strike. Labor will lose its wages during the time. The public, if the strike lasts a month, will suffer great distress. There is not a city or large town that would not be filled with men, women, and little children hungry and suffering and dying for lack of food. The farmer would be deprived of his market and would want for many things that come to him from the outside world.

In a fight between individuals the innocent bystander frequently sustains the most serious injury. In a strike the one

not engaged in the contest—the public—is most certainly the greatest sufferer. Because this is true we should not hesitate to prohibit strikes in the interest of the general good.

Again, when it is a contest between the railroads and their employees over a demand for increased wages, they are not the only interested parties. All the citizens of the Nation are interested. If wages are increased, there comes a demand for increase in rates. The people pay both the profits of the railroad and the wages of the employees. Hence, we have another reason for the establishment of a tribunal to pass upon matters of dispute.

TRIBUNALS FOR ALL EXCEPT UNIONS.

The interest of the people requires that certain acts be prohibited. Therefore we have criminal laws. If a citizen violates one of the laws, he may be haled before the court and punished.

If citizens disagree on a matter of business, or if one injures another, the matter may be adjudicated in the court, and the order of the court must be obeyed.

If one destroys property of another or defames his character, he may be forced by a court to respond in damages for his act.

A railroad desiring to increase its freight or passenger rates must apply to a commission for authority to do so. It is a violation of law that is punishable to increase rates before authority is granted.

Of course the labor unions favor the courts and tribunal just referred to. They also favor "safety appliance acts," "workmen's compensation acts," and all legislation that improves their working conditions, and they believe in their rigid enforcement.

But they object to being compelled to submit their grievances to arbitration. They want to stand in a class to themselves—to be higher than the law, greater than the Government.

They demand all the rights given them by law; but when the Government attempts to regulate them, they say, "Lay not thy unholy hands upon us."

NO SPECIAL PRIVILEGES.

In Labor, a newspaper published in this city and representing the labor organizations, this statement was made in a recent issue: "Labor wants no privileges, no favors." Yet, in the same article, it argues that labor is menaced because it is proposed to legislate against strikes.

In a memorial recently presented to Congress by the railroad brotherhoods protesting against this legislation, the language of John Adams is quoted:

> Government is instituted for the common good, for the protection, safety, and happiness of the people, and not for the private honor or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men.

They quote the language, but proceed in the same document to demand a special privilege for a class, the unions. They assert that legislation against strikes is an effort on the part of capitalistic groups to crush unionism. I contend that it is an attempt on the part of the advocates of it to protect the people against the selfishness of a class.

Mr. Speaker, it is my judgment that all classes will profit by this kind of legislation. If a tribunal is provided to pass upon disputes between the railroads and employees, then no one should suffer. Capital, labor, and the public, as all three are interested, will all be represented.

While the matter of dispute is being heard, the roads will continue operations. Capital will continue to receive profits, labor will continue to earn wages, and the public will continue to receive the benefits that comes from uninterrupted transportation service. It seems to me that this kind of legislation will really prove beneficial to the employees of the railroads.

The only risk about the matter is that the tribunal might not be fair or might not reach a correct conclusion. If this is a legitimate argument against the establishment of the tribunal, then the same argument might properly be made for the abolishment of all courts, legislatures, and governmental commissions; or, in other words, to abolish government entirely and let each man take care of his own interests.

Recognizing the strength of organized force and the principle of human selfishness, it is apparent that the Government will, sooner or later, have to protect itself against unionism, not destroy the unions but restrict them to legitimate objects and activities. To think that they will voluntarily restrict themselves to such objects and activities is the blind optimism of faith that is unwarranted by the history of mankind. If we continue to indulge in such optimism, we will, ere long, be confronted by the pessimism of fact and wake up to find the Government controlled by a class. We should respond to the sharp commands of common sense and act now.

IN CONCLUSION.

I am opposed to Government ownership of railroads.

I am opposed to the Plumb plan, under which the Government would own the railroads and the employees would operate them.

I favor the immediate return of the railroads to their owners.

I believe that the Government should exercise strong and comprehensive control over the roads, and that in regulating their operation justice should be done to the owners, the employees, and the general public.

I believe that conditions justify strong regulatory measures in regard to the employees of the roads, so that strikes may be prevented.

Government Ownership of Railroads.

Shall we have class government or government by all the people?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. IRA G. HERSEY,

OF MAINE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920,

On the conference report on the bill (H. R. 10453) to provide for the termination of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation; to provide for the settlement of disputes between carriers and their employees; to further amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. HERSEY. Mr. Speaker, when the railroads were taken over by the Government two years ago I expressed myself then against Government ownership of railroads, and I said at that time that in my opinion Government control of railroads during the war would forever settle the question of Government ownership in America and would restore the roads to their owners.

When the Esch bill returning the railroads passed this House last November I again discussed at some length the bill and opposed the antistrike provisions in that bill, and I am pleased to say that in this report of the conference committee the antistrike provision has been eliminated.

I did not intend to discuss the conference report. I was content to vote for the conference report because I greatly approved it. It has made a better bill than the one that passed the House. The New England roads have been protected from bankruptcy by the so-called guaranty provisions.

The arbitration court to settle labor disputes between the railroads and their employees has been made more satisfactory by a fair court of arbitration formed by taking three members from organized labor, three members from railroad management, and three members representing the public. This court, it seemed to me, ought to have met the wishes and desires of railroad labor in the settlement of all their differences, and it did seem to me that the conference report should be unanimously adopted and ought to be satisfactory to both capital and labor.

A situation, however, has developed that has forced me to express myself further upon this matter, and I shall do so plainly and in no uncertain terms, so that my position as a Member of Congress may be fully known and understood.

On the 21st day of March, 1918, after the President had taken over the roads under his war powers Congress enacted the following law:

> That the President, having in time of war taken over the possession, use, control, and operation (called herein Federal control) of certain railroads and systems of transportation (called herein carriers), is hereby authorized to agree with and to guarantee to any such carrier making operating returns to the Interstate Commerce Commission, that during the period of such Federal control it shall receive as just compensation an annual sum, payable from time to time in reasonable installments, for each year and pro rata for any fractional year of such Federal control, not exceeding a sum equivalent as nearly as may be to its average annual railway operating income for the three years ended June 30, 1917.
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> That the Federal control of railroads and transportation systems herein and heretofore provided for shall continue for and during the period of the war and for a reasonable time thereafter, which shall not exceed one year and nine months next following the date of the proclamation by the President of the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of peace.
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> The President may relinquish all railroads and systems of transportation under Federal control at any time he shall deem such action needful or desirable.

The President has recently issued his proclamation saying that on the 1st day of March next he shall return the railroads to their owners; and this Congress has the solemn responsibility to-day of carrying out this contract made with the owners of the railroads, and we are under obligation of law to return these railroads to their owners with sufficient legislation to save the roads from bankruptcy and to protect the rights of all the people of this Nation.

In spite of the fact that Congress by this report has presented a railroad bill that is satisfactory to the railroad owners, satisfactory to the manufacturers, satisfactory to the banking interests, satisfactory to the business interests of the country, satisfactory to the shippers and farmers, and satisfactory to every interest except that of organized labor, it is surprisingly strange that radical labor leaders are to-day gathered in great numbers at the Capital of the Nation in a desperate attempt to hold up Congress and to coerce the Members in the discharge of their sworn duties.

Let us for a moment examine some of the events that have brought about this deplorable condition. During the late World War the railroads of the United States under Government control were brought to the verge of bankruptcy. From the Public Treasury we gave a billion dollars to the Federal managers to run the roads. We increased the freight rates 50 per cent. The owners were burdened by immense debts imposed upon them against their consent by the administration in its extravagant and incompetent conduct of these roads.

At the close of the war the President went to Paris to negotiate the peace treaty. He took with him Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and Gompers succeeded in placing labor clauses in the peace treaty so as to internationalize labor, and on the return of the President and Gompers to America it was annouunced that labor had been given special preference in the treaty of peace and the League of Nations, and the President, in his message to Congress, said that labor had gone as far as it could go; that there must be a turn in the road; that labor was now in the saddle and Congress must settle the labor questions. Thereupon Gompers announced to his followers that in the future representatives of labor from all the other nations would meet here in Washington and help to further internationalize labor and to settle the hours of labor and the scale of wages for all the world.

The President further announced that on the 1st day of January, 1920, he should return the railroads to their owners. As soon as he had issued this proclamation organized labor got busy under the leadership of Gompers and other radical labor revolutionists. One, Foster, a socialist and labor agitator of the revolutionary class, took charge of organized labor in the great steel works, and under Foster's influence and direction there was called a general steel strike throughout the United States, and all this approved by Gompers. One, Lewis, another radical labor agitator, took charge of the coal mines of the Nation and inaugurated a nation-wide strike of the miners to freeze and starve the people—all approved by Gompers. One, Plumb, a shrewd lawyer and a radical socialist of the revolutionary kind, took charge of the railroad labor of the country and put forth his wonderful "Plumb plan" of settling the railroad problems and the future policy of railroad transportation.

His plan, in brief, was to have the United States Government purchase the railroads from their owners, but not to assume any part of their indebtedness; not to guarantee their stocks and bonds, but only to pay for the actual value of the railroads and their equipment. This would cost between twenty and thirty billion dollars. This did not feaze Mr. Plumb, however, for we could easily raise this immense fund, he claimed, by issuing bonds of the Government.

He went further in his "Plumb plan," so called. After Government ownership he would have the railroads conducted, operated, and managed by organized railroad labor. There would, of course, be no such a thing as stocks and bonds. A majority of the directors would be composed of railroad employees and they would have the controlling voice in the management of the railroads, in the conduct of transportation, and also the power to fix their own wages, their working hours, and all the conditions under which they should labor. Further than this, organized railroad labor would share equally with the Government in all profits that came to the railroads.

When Plumb was before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee he said:

> It is not unrest that confronts us. It is revolt because of industrial conditions no longer to be borne.

Then he spoke about revolution, and he was asked by the committee what he meant by revolution, and he said:

> I think it means that the men have reached the level of diminishing existence. They can not stand any more. They will cease to serve. If we do not work out a solution soon, we will have no chance to work it out, and if the forces of reaction prevent the adoption of this program by lawful means we know the way of history.

Under his influence, indorsed by Gompers, organized railroad labor declared a general strike on all roads to be effective February 17, 1920. The socialists, the Bolshevists, the anarchists, the radical revolutionists are all largely confined to the great cities of the country. To carry out the Plumb plan, to bring about a revolution to change our form of government, to inaugurate a soviet government general strikes were called all over the country with the consent and approval of Gompers.

New York had a strike among her longshoremen and those who handled her shipping and freights, and this tied up her transportation and commerce. From that city went out bombs through the mails to men who opposed radical labor organizations, bombs to men like the late Representative Burnett, of Alabama, who, as chairman of the Immigration Committee, was in favor of deporting these radicals to the country from which they came. Bombs that were placed on the doorstep of Attorney General Palmer wrecking his beautiful home in Washington and were intended to kill him because, as Attorney General, he had prosecuted these radical revolutionists. Bombs to Congressmen who dared to vote for legislation that would curb these anarchists and revolutionists in America.

This spirit of revolution fanned by radical labor leaders spread to other cities. Omaha labor agitators and I. W. W. radicals shot down soldiers in uniform in the streets of that city because they dared to keep the peace. In Seattle and on the western coast the I. W. W. radicals and labor agitators inaugurated a general strike of the street car systems, of the police of the city, and of all the transportation service running into the city, so that the people might be starved or frozen into submission to their demands. Mayor Hanson, a man of courage, took charge of the situation, and said:

> The labor unions must now cleanse themselves of their anarchistic element or the labor unions must fail. They are on trial before the people of this country. I take the position that our duty as citizens stands ahead of the demand of any organization on the face of the earth. The union men, the business men, the churchmen must first of all be citizens. Any man who owes a higher allegiance to any organization than he does to the Government should be sent to a Federal prison or be deported.

In Centralia during a parade four returned soldiers were shot down in cold blood by these bloodthirsty I. W. W.'s.

Organized radical labor failed in Seattle and they failed in New York. They next turned their attention to Boston, where its police force had been organized and unionized. They struck without warning, and the city for several days was in the hands of the revolutionists. Her great governor, however, had the courage to put down this revolution with a strong hand, and revolutionary labor failed to accomplish its object in Boston, in spite of the assistance and approval of Gompers.

The courts issued an injunction against the striking miners and saved the Nation from freezing. The coal strike proved a failure, and radical labor was again defeated.

This gigantic conspiracy on the part of the radicals, with the knowledge and consent of Gompers and organized revolutionary labor, failed to turn this Government by force over into the hands of the communists, the revolutionists, the I. W. W.'s, and soviet Russia, and in this first battle labor lost heavily.

By a new proclamation of the President the railroads were to go back to their owners March 1, and organized labor then turned its attention to the Capitol at Washington in an attempt to coerce Congress to adopt its revolutionary measures which had failed by force. From force and revolution, from the shotgun and the bomb, radical labor now turned to politics to accomplish their purpose, to obtain Government ownership of railroads and all other industries.

An alliance was formed between the American Federation of Labor under Gompers, the steel workers under Foster, the railroad brotherhoods under Plumb, organized labor in the coal mines under Lewis, the I. W. W.'s, the Bolshevists of Russia, and the ignorant criminal classes to bring about if possible through legislation and political coercion Government ownership of railroads under the Plumb plan.

Plumb, emboldened by his success in uniting all the forces of organized labor for his socialistic scheme, gave out a proclamation to the country that the Plumb plan of Government ownership of railroads was to be extended to take in all the industries and public utilities of America in an elaborate scheme for the participation of organized labor in public management and profits of every class of industry, and that as an entering wedge organized labor was now determined that the railroads should not go back to their owners for two years, at least, and that they would enforce this demand by a drive to coerce Congress.

Poisoned propaganda was sent by the Plumb-plan leaders by the carload from Washington to all labor organizations and to all classes of workingmen, setting forth the beauties of the Plumb plan and that labor must strike and enter upon a political revolution for the control of all the industries of the country. Plumb said that from small strikes they were to go to minor mass strikes, to general strikes, and from general strikes to revolution if they did not obtain from Congress what they desired.

Their demands came in the shape of a threat to Members of Congress, insisting that they should extend the time for the return of the roads two years more because labor was not now prepared to inaugurate its government-ownership system, but would fully develop its plans in the coming two years, and that in the meantime the railroads should be run under practical Government ownership, as they have been conducted for the past two years. All this in the face of the facts in possession of Congress and the country that Government ownership of railroads has been a miserable failure in this and all other lands.

On the 19th day of February, 1918, during the debate in the House over legislation authorizing the President to take over the railroads in time of war, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY] gave an able and illuminating speech upon Government ownership of railroads. He reviewed the history of Government ownership of railroads in all the nations that had adopted it. He took up the history of these roads in all the States that had ever operated railroads under State ownership, such as North Carolina, Missouri, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, and showed how these States had abandoned State ownership and operation and had adopted the policy of private ownership.

He also took up the history of Government ownership in the United Kingdom, in Canada, Germany, Russia, Switzerland, Japan, Australia, Belgium, Austria, and South America, and showed from indisputable data figures and the best authorities that railroads built and financed by the Government had failed and that many of them had adopted private ownership as the only means of saving their nation from great extravagance and loss.

He compared Government-owned railroads in these countries with privately owned railroads in the same countries, and showed conclusively how the privately owned railroads had blessed the people, while Government ownership had been its greatest curse. He compared the scale of wages and rates between Government ownership and private ownership in all these countries, and showed undisputably that under private ownership and management the rates were lower and wages higher than under Government ownership.

He also showed by railroad returns up to 1917 that in the United States wages are the highest paid to any railroad employees in any country in the world, and that the freight rates are the lowest. It would be a very useful task if some of these Government-ownership and Plumb-plan agitators would read this great speech of Representative FORDNEY; they would learn something from the experience of the world.

Last Friday in this House the able gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN] made a very forcible and valuable speech against Government ownership, and his remarks ought to be read by all those who wish to change the policy of this country in the settlement of its transportation problems.

The worst feature of the Plumb plan ownership of railroads and other industries would be the great political power that would be given to the party controlling the administration to rule and govern the elections through the influence and power of labor in Government-owned railroads.

Hon. Edward N. Hurley, former chairman of the Shipping Board, a man of great business ability and financial skill, when asked what had impressed him most about his job said: "The efficiency of private ownership and operation as compared to public ownership and operation."

But in spite of all these experiments of the past, that ought to govern the country and Congress in its future policy, to-day the House and Senate is besieged by these labor organizations, under the leadership of Foster, Lewis, Plumb, and Gompers, demanding that they should not only control and govern the great industries of the country, but that organized labor should dictate the coming elections and control the vote of every Member of Congress hereafter elected.

On the 9th day of this month the executive council of the American Federation of Labor issued the following proclamation:

Wherever candidates for reelection have been friendly to labor's interests they should be loyally supported. Wherever candidates are hostile or indifferent to labor's interests, they should be defeated and the nomination and election of true and tried trade-unionists or of assured friends should be secured.

Complying with the instructions of the last convention and the labor and farmer conference of December 13, 1919, the American Federation of Labor announces its determination to apply every legitimate means and all of the power at its command to accomplish the defeat of labor's enemies who aspire for public office, whether they be candidates for President, for Congress, for State legislatures, or any other office.

Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, says:

The trade-unions would support any candidate regardless of party if he would pledge himself in favor of the demands of these wage-workers.

Gompers issued his proclamation to-day, in which he says:

Of this one thing you may rest assured, that the day of reckoning is at hand for all of those who are in antagonism to the cause of labor, and for those who are subtle and equally guilty even though they clothe their actions in the robes of pretended friendship.

Organized railroad labor, under the leadership of Mr. Plumb, issues to-day its proclamation and sends it to all the Members of this House, as follows:

LABOR WILL SEPARATE THE SHEEP FROM THE GOATS.

Labor will print roll calls in the House and the Senate on the pending railroad legislation.

The "folks back home" will have an opportunity to learn just how each Senator and Representative voted on the most important issue before the American people.

There will be no chance to dodge.

Those who vote for Wall Street will have to do so in the open.

Those who vote for the people will have the facts presented to grateful constituencies

"Choose ye this day whom ye shall serve."

The morning papers in Washington print the following proclamation of labor for the benefit of Congressmen:

LABOR ANNOUNCES WAR ON CONGRESS; ONLY UNIONS' FRIENDS TO BE VOTED FOR—FEDERAL LEGISLATURE "HAS FAILED IN ITS DUTY" AND IS "REACTIONARY," AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR CIRCULAR CHARGES—NATIONAL NONPARTISAN COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO CONDUCT POLITICAL CAMPAIGN—POINTS IN THE OFFICIAL CIRCULAR.

The American Federation of Labor calls upon all affiliated and recognized national, international, and brotherhood organizations, State federations of labor, central labor bodies, local unions, and labor's friends and sympathizers to unite and give loyal support to the nonpartisan political campaign now set in motion.

This political campaign must begin in the primaries. The record of every aspirant for public office must be thoroughly analyzed, stated in unmistakable language, and given the widest possible publicity. Labor's enemies and friends must be definitely known. To this end the American Federation of Labor has created the national nonpartisan political campaign committee, and it now calls upon all affiliated and recognized labor organizations to create district and local committees and to cooperate with the national committee and coordinate its efforts.

The future welfare, the very ability of the trade-union movement to carry on its work for humanity, depends upon the success of the campaign herewith inaugurated.

There can be no hesitancy.

There must be no turning aside.

The time for vigorous and determined action is here.

Every Member of this House this morning received a notice from organized labor that unless they vote against this conference report for the return of the railroads to their owners, and unless they support the Plumb plan for two years more of Government ownership, and further pledge themselves to support all the demands of labor unions in the future, then organized labor will enter at once every congressional district and defeat at the next election all those Members who to-day dare to vote against the demands of these radicals and revolutionists.

I have always been a friend of organized labor. I have voted in State legislature and in Congress for every needed reform that would protect and assist labor in obtaining better working conditions and reasonable hours of work. I have supported on every occasion measures that labor might have a court of arbitration, disinterested and unprejudiced, before which they could come and settle all differences with their employers.

I refuse, however, to lend my influence and vote to further the demands of Plumb and Foster and Lewis and Gompers; to internationalize labor and make of this Government a soviet Government like that of bleeding and unfortunate Russia.

When I went before my people as a candidate for Congress I stated to them frankly and squarely my position upon all public questions. Among other things, I stated as follows:

On the questions of labor and capital my position is well known. I have stood in the past for the interests of labor, for the man who works with his hands, for the toiler, for the wage earner, for the rights of the laborer, for abolishment of child labor, for shorter hours of toil, for more comforts to the toiler, and for equal rights of the workman in his contest with organized wealth.

At the same time, I am for simple justice to the great interests of wealth and capital. I am not for Government ownership of public utilities. I do not stand for the destruction of great combinations of wealth, but I do stand for the control and regulation of all public utilities, trusts, and combinations. I believe that our Government should control and regulate these great forces in the interests of the people, so that capital may not be afraid to invest, so that great combinations of wealth, under Government control, may build more railroads, bridge great rivers, construct canals and dikes, develop the resources of the land, and give labor its wage, and receive its reward measured and weighed out to it with even-handed justice.

That statement is my position to-day. I have not deceived my constituents. They, I believe, have faith that I will do

what I believe to be best for the whole country, and by so doing I will do justice to every man. It matters not whether I am returned in the next election to this Congress. It matters not that I to-day, with others of my colleagues, take into our hands our political life and defy those who shall enter into politics in the next election to defeat us unless we forswear ourselves to the future policies of radical labor.

It means much, however, to the future of this country whether its institutions and its industries shall live and flourish and prosper or whether socialism and anarchism and revolution shall succeed in this Republic.

Who saves his country saves all things,
And all things saved do bless him;
Who lets his country die lets all things die,
And all things, dying, curse him.

Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. VARE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 25, 1920.

Mr. VARE. Mr. Speaker, the Appropriations Committee again has recommended the dissolution of the United States Subtreasuries in Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, and San Francisco, to take effect December 31, 1920, or at an earlier date, to be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Legislation abolishing these offices in former years was passed by the House and eliminated from the bill in the Senate, and I am hopeful the Senate again will restore the item for the continued maintenance of the Subtreasury offices.

Speaking for the Subtreasury in the city of Philadelphia, virtually all of the trade bodies testified to its efficiency and are desirous of it being retained.

Public sentiment demands that the Government funds should be handled and controlled by the Government and not by what is practically a private corporation.

The Subtreasury supplies the banks of the city and State with notes and coin of denominations required, it pays all Government checks, including salary and pension, it furnishes pay rolls for the navy yard, arsenals, and Government vessels, and performs other functions which are of great convenience to the public.

Giving this work to the Federal reserve bank would disorganize the system of Government payments and receipts and cause serious confusion and inconvenience. I doubt if it could be handled as economically and satisfactorily as at present. Should an attempt be made to transfer the work, the Philadelphia reserve bank would find itself unable to provide vault space for the trust and reserve funds now in the Subtreasury vaults. The local reserve bank has been granted the use of vault space in the Subtreasury. Its own vaults are insufficient for its needs. The logical solution would be the use of the Subtreasury vaults, as at present. No economy would result because of the transfer of their custody to the Federal reserve bank.

I submit a report of the amount of business done at the Philadelphia office for the fiscal year ending June 30, last:

Statement for fiscal year ended June 30, 1919.

RECEIPTS.

Treasurer United States, general account:	
Revenues and repayments	$9,818,101.09
New currency from Treasurer United States	12,628,000.00
Federal reserve notes	81,860,000.00
New coin from mints	1,997,500.00
Transfers of funds	64,802,088.19
Disbursing officers	32,530,649.49
Deposits for new coin and gold bars to be shipped by mints	3,639,286.22
Deposits for coin to be shipped by Treasury of the United States and other Subtreasuries	1,099,730.00
Post Office Department	14,051,906.96
5 per cent redemption fund	14,383,207.37
Federal reserve gold settlement fund	14,957,000.00
Miscellaneous	979,147.27
Total receipts, General Treasury	252,746,616.59
Accounts in this office:	
Postmasters, judicial officers, etc	$18,117,832.58
Redemption and exchange—	
United States notes	12,836,933.00
Gold certificates	11,360,960.00
Silver certificates	16,386,107.00
Gold coin	4,221,509.50
Standard silver dollars	6,179,039.00
Fractional silver and minor coin	16,769,425.30
Exchange	18,123,584.00
Total receipts, accounts this office	$103,995,390.38
Total receipts, all accounts	356,742,006.97
Balance on hand July 1, 1918	72,601,803.52
Total	429,343,810.49

PAYMENTS.

Treasurer United States general account:		
Disbursing office checks and warrants.	1,007,799 pieces.	166,638,432.96
Pension checks		5,917,634.01
War risk checks		11,425,452.30
Interest checks		1,230,098.04
Coupons, 1,828,495 pieces		6,914,228.56
Transfers of funds		18,466,952.97
Unfit currency		47,661,500.00
Gold certificates of 1900 redeemed		4,200,000.00
Total disbursements, General Treasury		262,454,298.84
Accounts in this office:		
Postmasters, judicial officers, etc., 42,000 pieces	$17,777,321.42	
Redemptions	68,146,864.80	
Exchange over counter	13,330,519.00	
Shipments of coin	4,793,065.00	
Total disbursements, accounts this office		104,047,770.22
Total disbursements, all accounts		366,502,069.06
Balance on hand June 30, 1919		62,841,741.43
Total		429,343,810.49

Federal reserve notes received from comptroller to be held in trust for Federal reserve bank, Philadelphia:	
Balance July 1, 1918	22,200,000.00
Received	17,000,000.00
Total	39,200,000.00
Issued	17,000,000.00
Balance June 30, 1919	22,200,000.00
Incomplete national-bank notes held in office for issue on account of mutilated notes redeemed and destroyed and bonds deposited:	
Balance July 1, 1918	2,987,990.00
Issued	365,750.00
Balance June 30, 1919	2,622,240.00
Total counterfeits detected during fiscal year 1919	749.45

Receipts and payments of subsidiary silver and minor coin, July 1, 1918, to June 30, 1919.

RECEIPTS.

	Pieces.	Amount.	Total.
For redemption:			
Halves	7,376,000	$3,688,000.00	
Quarters	30,188,000	7,547,000.00	
Dimes	25,150,000	2,515,000.00	
Nickels	51,360,000	2,518,000.00	
Cents	50,142,530	501,425.30	
			$16,769,425.30
From mints and other subtreasuries:			
Halves	1,200,000	600,000.00	
Quarters	1,200,000	300,000.00	
Dimes	6,370,000	637,000.00	
Nickels	6,000,000	300,000.00	
Cents	16,050,000	160,500.00	
			1,997,500.00
Total	195,036,530		18,766,925.30
Balance July 1, 1918			410,683.58
			19,177,608.88

PAYMENTS.

Exchange over counter for currency			$11,394,000.00
Paid to disbursing officers			1,768,420.00
Agency shipments to banks			4,303,105.00
Shipments on T. O. and other subtreasury C/Ds			445,943.21
Uncurrent S. S. and minor coins to mint			21,880.00
			17,933,348.21
Payments consisted of:			
Halves	7,840,000	$3,920,000.00	
Quarters	29,760,000	7,440,000.00	
Dimes	30,800,000	3,080,000.00	
Nickels	57,000,000	2,850,000.00	
Cents	64,334,821	643,348.21	
Total	189,734,821	17,933,348.21	
Balance June 30, 1919			1,244,260.67
			19,177,608.88

I further submit extracts from a letter Hon. William G. McAdoo, former Secretary of the Treasury, wrote to the Speaker of the House favoring the retention of the Subtreasuries, which may be found in House Document No. 1777:

THE FUNCTIONS PERFORMED BY THE SUBTREASURIES.

The duties and functions of the Subtreasuries may be stated generally as follows:

Issue of gold certificates on gold deposits.
Acceptance of gold coin for exchange.
Acceptance of standard silver dollars for exchange.
Acceptance of fractional silver for redemption.
Acceptance of minor coins for redemption.
Acceptance of United States notes for redemption.
Acceptance of Treasury notes for redemption.
Acceptance of gold and silver certificates for redemption.
Cancellation (before shipment to Washington) of unfit currency.
Exchange of various kinds of money for other kinds that may be requested.
Remittances from United States depositary banks of their surplus deposits of internal-revenue, customs, money-order, postal, and similar funds.
Deposits of postal savings funds direct.
Deposits of money-order funds, direct and indirect.
Deposits of post-office funds, direct and indirect.
Deposits on account of 5 per cent redemption fund.
Deposits of interest on public deposits.
Deposits of funds belonging to disbursing officers.
Funds deposited for transfer to some other point through a payment by a Subtreasury located thereat.
Encashment of checks, warrants, and drafts drawn against the Treasurer of the United States and presented at a Subtreasury for payment.
The payment of United States coupons and interest checks.

In addition to the foregoing the Subtreasuries have the custody of a large part of the reserve and trust funds, consisting of the gold coin and bullion and silver dollars deposited to secure gold and silver certificates and greenbacks.

FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS NOT SUPPOSED TO PERFORM SUBTREASURY FUNCTIONS.

The Federal reserve act does not expressly or by implication contemplate the substitution of the Federal reserve banks for the Subtreasuries, nor would it in my opinion be possible or advisable, if possible, to attempt such a substitution.

Federal reserve banks are private corporations, just as are the national banks. The duty of providing the necessary storage vaults and of assuming the custody and control of trust funds could not be imposed upon the Federal reserve banks by legislation.

Aside from the custody of the trust funds of the Government the Subtreasuries perform a highly useful service to the public in making exchanges of money, supplying money and coin where needed, and reducing the cost and expense of shipments of currency and coin from a common center.

It is necessary to maintain the facilities and conveniences provided by the Subtreasuries in the large centers of business in the country, such as the cities in which the Subtreasuries are now located.

Even if these particular functions could be transferred to Federal reserve banks where they exist the service rendered by the substituted agencies would have to be compensated for. This would involve expense to the Government, while at the same time the facilities provided might not be as thorough and satisfactory as those supplied by the Subtreasuries themselves.

SUBTREASURIES WELL AND ECONOMICALLY ADMINISTERED.

"It has been stated by the Efficiency Committee that the Subtreasuries are, generally speaking, well managed, and perform their duties with a reasonable degree of dispatch at no excessive cost."

It is submitted that if the present work performed by the Subtreasuries is efficiently and economically transacted, as stated, and admitting that their functions must remain a necessary part of the present financial machinery of the country, is it practicable to assume that the work now performed by the Subtreasury system can be as economically accomplished for the Government, or as acceptably performed for the convenience of the public generally, as by the present trained clerical force engaged in the performance of this work?

It would appear that nothing would be gained by disrupting this organization and closing to the public the conveniences of these institutions in the commercial centers in which they are located.

UNWISE AT THIS TIME TO UNSETTLE ANY PART OF THE FINANCIAL MACHINERY OF THE COUNTRY.

With the Federal reserve banks taxed to their utmost capacity to take care of the numerous financing operations of the Government, and the Subtreasuries handling a larger volume of work than ever before, it seems ill-advised to suggest or contemplate at this time any drastic change which could in any way tend to upset or unsettle the present financial machinery of the country.

THE EXISTING COOPERATION BETWEEN THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS AND THE SUBTREASURIES ADVANTAGEOUS.

It is felt that the finances of the country are rather strengthened than otherwise by having the Federal reserve banks, private corporations on the one hand, and the Subtreasuries, Government institutions, on the other, each performing in thorough cooperation their separate functions as at present, and affording to the commercial interests of the country every facility and convenience for the transaction of public business.

NO FINANCIAL ADVANTAGE.

It is represented that if the work now performed by the Subtreasuries should be transferred to the Federal reserve banks, the expense incurred would necessarily cause the Government's share of the profits to be correspondingly reduced. Therefore it can be of no financial advantage to the Government to transfer the functions of the Subtreasuries to the Federal reserve banks, for the Government must pay for the continuance of this work wherever performed.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. AYRES.

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, the people throughout the country have been laboring under the idea that it is necessary to pass this measure to turn back the railroads to private ownership. They seem to have forgotten that the roads were taken over by the President by proclamation and will be turned back in the same way. This prevailing notion that it takes an act of Congress to return the roads is no doubt due largely to the propaganda carried on for the past six or eight months by the railroad interests.

The President by proclamation took control of the railroads December 24, 1917, and on December 24, 1919, he issued his proclamation that on March 1, 1920, he would return the roads to private ownership. It needs no legislative act to release Government control; all it requires is legislation to empower the Government to make proper and just settlement with the owners of the roads.

Anyone supporting this measure can not go before his people and justify his action on the ground it was necessary to bring about cessation of Government control, and therefore can not justify it on the ground that public sentiment demands it. Public sentiment may and no doubt does demand the return of the roads to private ownership, but does not demand that in surrendering Government control to also surrender the rights of the people with it.

I am fully conscious of the overwhelming sentiment throughout the country for a speedy return of the railroads. I think I know how this has been brought about. Partly on account of the Railroad Administration, whether intentionally or not, inconveniencing and working hardships of various kinds on the traveling and shipping public in many and divers ways. I have often felt that many acts on the part of many of those in charge of the operation of the roads under Government control were premeditated and done with malice aforethought, for the sole purpose of making Government control so odious and unpopular it would forever destroy any idea or sentiment for Government ownership. In this I am of the opinion they have succeeded but for one thing, and that is the passage of the present measure. I am satisfied it will not be a year before everyone affected by this bill—that is to say, the railroad owners, railroad laborers, shippers, and the public generally, all except the bond and stock holders—will be clamoring for a repeal of a part if not all of this measure, and if not repealed, you will hear more argument, not only for Government control, but ownership, than ever before.

In addition to the acts on the part of many connected with Government control which disgusted the public, there was another factor that helped to create this overwhelming desire for the return of the roads to private ownership; it was the propaganda that has been carried on for months by the railroad interests. This was for the purpose of creating such a sentiment as to enable them to demand and get such privileges at the hands of Congress, demands so unfair and unreasonable they would not have received a passing consideration at any other time or under any other conditions. They capitalized this overwhelming sentiment and desire on the part of the people for a return of the roads so as to enable them to win the greatest victory ever won by the selfish and special interests. No Representative in Congress could at any other time have supported such a measure and face his constituents with a satisfactory explanation. I am not so sure when the people once realize how their rights and interests have been surrendered to these special interests, there will not be a reckoning. If they do not know it now, they soon will know that it was not necessary to make such a surrender of their rights in order to return the roads to private ownership.

I am willing and ready to have the roads returned on March 1, as the President has proclaimed, and I am ready to vote for any measure necessary to enable the Government to make a just and fair settlement with the road owners; but I do not feel it necessary in doing so to surrender the rights of the people generally, and especially in my own State, nor do I intend doing so knowingly by voting for this measure.

Chapter 97 of the 1915 revised statutes of the State of Kansas provides among other things the duties and powers of the public

utilities commission relative to fixing rates, joint rates, rules, and regulations governing railroads. Paragraph 8340, or section 13, specifically sets forth it shall be the duty of the commission, upon complaint or upon its own initiative, to investigate all rates, joint rates, and so forth, and after such investigation, if the commission should find such rates, joint rates, and so forth, are unreasonable or unjustly discriminatory, it shall have power to fix and order substituted for them such rates, and so forth, as are just and reasonable. It is also empowered to regulate any unjust or unfair service, and many other powers and duties are given to this commission, which is conferred on the court of industrial relations, its successor, all to the benefit of the people of my State.

Chapter 256 of the 1917 session laws of Kansas provides how this commission or industrial relations court can make or cause to be made a just and equitable distribution of cars upon the application of a shipper to the commission.

Paragraph 8367 or section 39 of the revised statutes of 1915 provides how the commission or court can compel compliance with its orders.

I am assuming all these provisions are still in full force and effect and not repealed, as I have not seen the act creating the court of industrial relations. However, after the passage of this act by Congress what power or authority is left for the State of Kansas to fix and regulate rates? None. When the shipper desires to present his complaint that the rates are discriminatory and unfair, or the service is unjust or desires and applies for an equitable distribution of cars, he can come to Washington instead of going to Topeka and apply to an already overworked, overcrowded Interstate Commerce Commission.

The railroads to my knowledge have on many occasions tested the constitutionality of the Kansas law and the validity of its most vital and useful sections, but it has stood the test and has on innumerable occasions been the safeguard especially of the grain and stock shippers and, as for that matter, all shippers; but on the passage of this bill to-day the industrial relations court is deprived of jurisdiction over such matters, and is useless, so far as such powers and duties are concerned.

This measure provides that when the Interstate Commerce Commission promulgates a rate or rates, such rates, charges, classifications, regulations, and practices shall be observed while in effect by the carriers, parties to such proceedings affected thereby, the law of any State or the decision or order of any State authority to the contrary notwithstanding. I notice, however, there is a provision in the bill which reserves to the States the exercise of its police power to require just and reasonable freight or passenger service for intrastate business. But how? Listen. Except in so far as such requirement is inconsistent with lawful order of the Interstate Commerce Commission made under the provisions of this act. That is some police power left the State now, is it not?

I am aware of the taunts and accusations made that those of us who oppose this bill as it is, are catering to the labor unions and to farmers' organizations, and so forth, opposing it. This is absolutely unfair, for each and every Member of this House is placed in the position where he has to vote for the bill just as it is or vote against it. No chance or opportunity is given to even offer or suggest a single amendment or change; no chance to eliminate the vicious provisions in it and retain the good provisions; so in order to vote for the good provisions you have to vote for the objectionable features or else vote against the bill as a whole.

No Member of Congress, with the exception of the conferees who framed this compromise bill, has had an opportunity to study any of its provisions except one or two of the most vital and conspicuous, and I might say vicious, sections. They are told to take it whether they like it or not; shut their eyes and swallow the dose and trust to the results.

We have done all we agreed to do when these roads were taken over by the Government. The Government was asked by the owners or those interested to take them over and operate them during the war. It did, and paid a sum equal to their average income for the three years prior to Government control, which was the so-called test period and which was in reality the best ever experienced by the roads. Naturally we agreed, if not directly then impliedly, we would turn them back in as good condition as when received. This we did in every respect, and in many respects much better. That we might fulfill our contract it was necessary to take from the taxpayers of this country $854,000,000. This was appropriated out of the Treasury of the United States as operating expenses and is a complete loss to the Government.

In addition to this the Government has advanced to the roads out of the Treasury about $1,250,000,000. This bill carries an appropriation of $200,000,000 more, and we have been informed by a letter from the Director of Finance to-day that $436,000,000 will be necessary as soon as the roads are returned. This makes a total of $2,740,000,000 taken out of the Treasury for the benefit of the roads.

And this is not all. Section 210 of this bill creates a revolving fund to be taken from the Treasury, the purpose of which is to loan to the railroads on long-time notes. This amounts to $300,000,000. In addition to this the bill provides a guaranty for the next six months to the roads that they will receive the standard return as paid them during the war, which is estimated at from $150,000,000 to $200,000,000 on the roads controlled by the Government, and to be real liberal with the special interests this section also provides a guaranty for six months to those roads never under Government control during the war nor since, which amount is estimated to be from $20,000,000 to $25,000,000.

It is predicted by those in a position to know, or at least make a fair estimate, that this six months' guaranty will in all probability cost the Government from $400,000,000 to $450,000,000.

It seems to me it is time to stop complying with these unreasonable demands, but instead of that we are now confronted with the most unconscionable demand ever made of any Congress of the United States, and as far as I know any legislative body of any nation in the world. That is, to compel the Interstate Commerce Commission to so fix freight rates as to enable all railroads of the country to receive at least a 5½ per cent return on the aggregate value of the roads for a period of two years from September 1, 1920.

This provision not only empowers but directs the Interstate Commerce Commission from time to time to increase the freight and passenger rates of the various roads to meet this return of at least 5½ per cent to 6 per cent. Some of the proponents claim this is not a guaranty. It may not be in the sense that it is taken out of the Treasury of the United States, but it is taken out of the pockets of the people of the United States, and as a matter of fact it works a greater hardship on the people than if taken out of the Treasury direct. If taken direct, it would have to be replaced by income and excess profits and such taxes, while by this method it is taken from the poor and rich alike by adding to the already high costs of the necessities of life.

In this connection I would like to quote from those who ought to be well prepared to give estimates as to how this provision will affect the people as a whole. Mr. Robert Woolley, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, made a statement over his own signature that the railroad bill as proposed means an immediate increase of freight rates of 25 per cent to meet the pledges made. He further states, based on 1918 freight receipts, this 25 per cent increase will mean $875,000,000 additional freight rates to the roads. He also said that the shipper passes this along to the consumer and on back to the producer of the raw material who stands the cost of the transportation. This means the farmer and stockmen and manufacturers and the consumers pay the bill.

Director General of the Railroads, Mr. Hines, made a statement that the increase of 25 per cent on freight rates would increase the article transported at the rate of 400 per cent to the consumer. That is to say, taking Mr. Woolley's figure of a $875,000,000 increase in freight rates, it would mean $4,375,000,000 increase in costs to the consumers throughout the country.

It is freely predicted, in order to meet this guaranteed return of 5½ per cent as provided in this bill, it will mean an increase of 25 per cent, but from 25 to 40 per cent in freight rates. This means millions of people who are not able to pay an income tax because of the high cost of living and who are struggling to provide the bare necessities of life will be compelled to pay still higher prices—and for what? That the security holders of the railroads may have a guaranteed income for the next, you might say, two years and a half.

This section further provides that the roads throughout the country be divided into groups or regions by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and that the rates be uniform in each region. That is to say, when the rates are increased on one road they must be likewise increased on all other roads in the same region, whether this increase is required by the necessities of the remaining roads or not. This means that in order to increase freight rates on a road that is not making sufficient money or profits, although this road may never have made a profit for its investors before the war, and never would have, except for this guaranty, the roads making sufficient profits even under the provisions of this bill must also increase their rates. It means the farmers, stockmen, manufacturers, and shippers generally in my State, who live along roads which do not need this heavy increase in freight rates in order to make a fair return, or as for

that matter a return of 5½ per cent, are forced to pay increased rates as provided in this bill in order that roads, perhaps a thousand miles away, which never were and never will be able to pay its investors a penny, may have a 5½ per cent to 6 per cent return.

There is another feature of this same section 422, which is so manifestly unfair and unreasonable as to disgust any fair-minded man with such legislation—that is, if a road should make a net return of over 6 per cent one-half of the excess shall go into a Government fund, controlled by the Interstate Commerce Commission, for the purpose of loaning it to other roads or of buying equipment to rent to other roads. In other words, without due process of law it takes the property of an institution honestly and efficiently managed and gives it in the way of loans and rentals to another institution, which may have been mismanaged or exploited by its operators, thereby penalizing honesty and efficiency and rewarding inefficiency. If this is a just and wise provision, to say nothing of the question of its constitutionality, I must admit I have no conception of what is fair and honest.

I have read the opinion of ex-Supreme Justice Hughes, rendered to the committee having in charge this bill, in which he holds this provision absolutely unconstitutional and void. I may not have had as much confidence in him as a presidential candidate as many did, but I do have confidence in his ability as a jurist; but whether this provision be constitutional or not, is it fair and just?

It has been stated, and so far it has not been denied, that this guaranty feature of section 422 of this bill was conceived and prepared by a prominent railroad president, Mr. Warfield, who is also chairman of an association of holders of railroad securities said to represent 90 per cent of the total amount of securities in the United States. If this it not true, let some one in authority deny it. There is no denying the fact that there has been a wonderful and powerful organization here in Washington directing and managing a propaganda in behalf of the railroad interests, and it has succeeded in getting through the most pernicious and vicious measure that was, to my mind, ever enacted.

I wonder what this Congress would do if the farmers and stockmen of the country would come here and demand we pass a law guaranteeing them against drought or an epidemic; or that we guarantee them a 5½ per cent return on the aggregate value of their properties; or that we divide them into regions and provide all who make a return of over 6 per cent must put one-half the excess in the pot to be loaned to or buy equipment, machinery, and stock for some fellow who never did make a living on his farm, and never would?

Oh, but some will say, "This is pure demagogy." Well, let us see if it is. We know that when the war came many railroads had practically ceased to function and within 60 days from the time they were taken over would have been in the hands of receivers. Their managers or operators confessed their inability to stem the tide. This condition was brought about in many instances by the exploitation of the roads. But it matters not the cause, at that time when the Nation needed every avenue and means of transportation in its struggle for life and existence, that which should have been its main support was a dismal failure, which was a disgrace to the management of the Nation's greatest enterprise. There was but one horn of the dilemma for the Government to take. It had to act and act at once. It took over the control of this great transportation system. It had to retain for its management those familiar with its workings. To have done otherwise meant disaster.

As to whether or not all connected with the administration of these roads gave their unselfish and patriotic efforts to make it a success will have to be decided later by some method, but it cost this Government hundreds of millions of dollars to repair the wreck delivered to it by those who in many instances had exploited these systems. To-day it is ready to hand these roads back to their original owners in much better physical condition in every respect, we are informed, than when taken. Who was it said, "Take our roads or they will cease to function"? It was the operators and managers of the systems and the security holders of the roads. And now that we are ready to turn them back, who is it making such unreasonable and inconceivable demands? It is, as has been said, the owners of the railroad securities. Therefore, if it is a mistake for the Government to guarantee one class of business, it is a mistake for it to guarantee another.

I realize that I run the risk of being called a rank demagogue when I call attention to the fact this Government took possession of millions of young men during the war; took them from the farm, the factory, shops, and banks, from every avenue and industry, and sent them to make the supreme sacrifice if need be. Thousands of them made it and many thousands returned physical wrecks for the rest of their lives, and hundreds of thousands of these young men were forced to surrender lucrative positions or abandon a prosperous business to receive the paltry sum of $30 to $33 a month. They endured the trials and hardships incident to war. When the Government got through with them it returned them, but not to their original positions, for thousands of them found their positions taken by others or perhaps the business left behind dissipated. Who has come forward with a plan for the Government to loan them millions upon millions of dollars on such security as they may be able to furnish and appropriate thousands of millions of dollars to reimburse them for their losses and guarantee them a return of 5½ per cent to 6 per cent on their investments for a period of two years? This may sound demagogy to some, but I feel these young men are entitled to at least as much consideration for the sacrifices they have made as the holders of railroad stocks and bonds, most of whom remained on this side of a submarine-infested ocean.

When the people of this country begin to realize that owing to this law their freight rates have been increased from 25 per cent to 40 per cent, and that the Government has sustained a loss of hundreds of millions of dollars in order to carry out its various guaranties under this bill and thereby add millions and probably billions of dollars to its indebtedness, and all for the benefit of the bond and stock holders of these roads, I believe they, and as well some of their representatives in both Houses of Congress, will fully realize that the overwhelming desire for the return of the roads was capitalized by selfish interests, which enabled them to put through Congress the most unfair and vicious measure ever enacted.

The Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH J. MANSFIELD,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave granted I shall avail myself of the opportunity to state some of the several reasons why I shall cast my vote against the pending railroad bill. Being opposed to Government ownership or control, I had hoped that a measure would be presented to which I could have given my support, and regret that such is not the case.

Still the bill is not totally bad, but, on the contrary, contains much that is commendable, much that I should like to vote for. Like many other measures that have been before the Congress the past few years, it is a mixture of good and evil, and we can not vote for the one without also voting for the other. If we adopt the bill we must adopt it as a whole, and then there will be fastened upon us, perhaps for all time, those features which are objectionable. If we reject it, there will still be an opportunity to enact those features which are desirable. I regard the latter course as preferable.

I intend no criticism of those who have labored so hard and so earnestly in the preparation of this measure. They are men of wide experience, great ability, and unblemished integrity. Their purpose has been to construct a law that will give to the country the best results possible under existing conditions. Perhaps no others intrusted with such a stupendous undertaking could have been more successful. There are *many* rival and conflicting interests to be considered. There is approximately $20,000,000,000 worth of property to be dealt with, owned by 600,000 people, and operated by 2,000,000 more, with contentions almost incapable of being harmonized. Then, last but by no means least, there are a hundred million taxpayers who pay all the bills and who naturally expect—and rightly so—the best service obtainable, and at the lowest cost possible consistent with that service. Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, there are more than 500 Members of the law-making bodies to pass upon these measures, no two of whom entertain identical views as to every phase and detail of the complex questions involved.

Then, again, Mr. Speaker, we all know how easy it is to criticize that which has been done by others, but how hard it is to construct something better to take its place. With these thoughts foremost in my mind, I would not presume to vote against the bill that has been produced under these most extraordinary circumstances if it were not for the fact that I con-

sider some of the objectionable features as being fraught with the most serious consequences and dangers.

As to the guaranty of profits to the railroads, I shall dwell lightly, that feature having been thoroughly covered by many others. In my judgment this guaranty is not only wrong in principle, but will lead to many other wrongs. Everything of this kind is a precedent for the future, and when we guarantee certain profits to the owners of railroads not only upon their legitimate investments but upon their watered stocks and winded bonds as well, others will take advantage of the precedent to make similar demands. Labor may say—and just as consistently—that it should have a certain per cent over and above the high cost of living. The farmer, who feeds the world, might want a guaranty not only against actual loss, which he frequently suffers, but of a certain per cent of profit upon his investment and labor. Can we consistently grant it to the one and deny it to the other?

We have in Texas, the State in which I reside, a constitutional provision prohibiting the consolidation or merging of parallel and competing lines. We have cherished this provision for many years, and considered it as a safeguard of the people's rights. That provision will be nullified by the adoption of this bill. I prefer that we of Texas shall decide for ourselves when and how to amend the constitution of our State, and I am for granting this privilege to every other State of the Union.

I am also unalterably opposed to giving to the Interstate Commerce Commission any extension of powers or authority over intrastate traffic. The pending bill virtually destroys State railway commissions and places all roads under Federal control. Federal control through the Interstate Commerce Commission might be preferable to Federal control through a director general, but to either of these I prefer State control in all intrastate matters.

The provision in regard to car service is particularly objectionable, as under it the people of Texas might be made to suffer on account of the failure of roads in other States to make provision for their necessary equipment. When shippers in the several States who desire cars or other equipment for their urgent needs shall be compelled to come to Washington to secure them, this provision is destined to become exceedingly unpopular. Not only will they have to come to Washington to secure the cars, but after arriving here they will be met by the conflicting demands of other localities, and in all probability many will return to their homes in utter disappointment. As a consequence cattle may die by hundreds in time of drought, crops may rot in the fields or else greatly deteriorate in value.

Nearly 30 years ago the State of Texas amended its constitution in order to provide for a State railway commission. This amendment was brought about under the guidance of the late Gov. Hogg. Under that constitutional provision the railroads of that State have been successfully operated for more than a quarter of a century. The roads have been prosperous, labor was generally contented, and the public was satisfied. The enactment of this bill virtually wipes out everything that has been accomplished by the people of that State in the Government control and operation of the railroads within its borders. For these and other reasons, I shall vote to recommit the bill. Failing in that, I shall vote "no" on final passage.

The Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. SINCLAIR,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920,

On the conference report on the bill (H. R. 10453) to provide for the termination of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation; to provide for the settlement of disputes between carriers and their employees; to further amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. SINCLAIR. Mr. Speaker, the transportation system of this Nation is of vital importance to the welfare of the whole people. It is the artery through which the commodities of the farmer and producer flow to the ultimate consumer. That the railroads had failed to perform this function efficiently and well under private management, prior to our entrance in the great World War, no one will gainsay. The traffic had become so congested and cloyed that Government management was the only solution if we were to win the war. That the great task of taking care of the Nation's transportation needs during the past two years has been carried on so successfully is a matter of wonder and admiration. It is to be expected that there should be criticism of the management at times. The Government was primarily getting the work done, and had no time to consider the business as a dividend-paying proposition. Under normal peace times that feature can be tested out and the relative merits of private and Government management fully determined.

THE INTEREST OF THE PUBLIC.

The pending legislation has been too often considered either from the standpoint of labor or that of capital. To my mind there is a far more important party at interest, and that is the public. I represent a district of producers, whose largest interest in the railroad question is that of paying the freight, and I venture to say that the great unorganized public constitutes the majority of the constituents of every Member of this House. Most of the farmers of the United States are opposed to the return of the railroads to private management. They have been fighting for years for just and reasonable freight rates that will permit the business of farming to prosper. They have lost confidence in private management. At a time when thousands of farms are being abandoned, and hundreds of thousands of farmers are making a bare living, it behooves us to give careful thought to our basic industry—agriculture—from which all prosperity for the Nation springs.

RETURN OF THE ROADS A BLOW AT AGRICULTURE.

The return of the railroads alone to private management is a blow at agriculture, but to return them with a guaranty of 5½ per cent dividend on their aggregate value will involve an increase of freight rates that must be borne directly by the farmers of this country. The increase in freight rates is already estimated by the railroad managers at from 25 to 40 per cent, and will compel the farmers to pay the roads at least $200,000,000 more a year for carrying their products to market than would be the case if they remained under Government operation. Farmers must sell their product in the open market and can not shift freight charges to the consumer. How they can meet a raise in railroad freights and stay in business will be one of the most important question of the future.

INCREASED COST OF LIVING.

The Director General of the Railroads has estimated that an increase of freight rates of $1 is reflected in an increase of four or five dollars in the price of the article transported. This will mean that the cost of living will go up from four to five billion dollars as a direct result of the return of the railroads, and will result in a far greater tax upon the public than any deficit to date from Government operation. As an illustration of this we have only to consider the situation in which the farmers of the Middle West will find themselves. The prices paid for all farm products are set in the great terminal markets, whether these products are grain, stock, or other produce. The farmer gets the central market price for the articles he sells, less the cost of freight to that market. Any increase in freight charges is a direct reduction in the price received by him. All the machinery and whatever else he needs for the operation of his farm he must buy in the central market, and the cost in freight to his local station is added to the cost he must pay. Consequently an increase in freight rates hits him both ways. The farmer is vitally interested in the establishment of fair and just freight rates, and as the producer of the food of the country his interest in cheaper transportation becomes that of every consumer in the land, since transportation charges is the largest single item entering into the cost of living. Under Government control the freight charges have been based upon the actual cost of operation plus a fair rental for the use of the roads, and with a return to normal peace conditions we have every reason to believe that the cost of operation can be reduced. In the proposed bill there is every tendency to increase rather than decrease the expenses of operation, for the reason that the efficiently managed roads must give to the Government one-half of what they make over 6 per cent. The incentive, therefore, will be to refrain from showing a profit by keeping expenses at a maximum figure. In the case of the weaker roads or those poorly managed, the rates will have to be increased in order to wipe out any deficit. So that no matter to which class a road belongs, there is bound to be a gradual increase in the rates. I believe that I am qualified to express the views of the farmers on this question, for as one of them—having been a grain producer in North Dakota for over 20 years—I have paid thousands of dollars in freight charges, and I am frank to say that I would prefer to entrust to the Government the proper adjustment of rates than to be at the mercy of selfish private interests.

ALLEGED EXCESSIVE COST OF GOVERNMENT CONTROL.

There is a popular argument to the effect that Government control of the railroads has cost the country several hundred million dollars. This idea is supported by the fact that railroad operation has been more expensive the last two years than prior to the war. But those advancing this argument overlook the fact that the operation of all private enterprises has correspondingly increased in cost. We have but to refer to the report of the business of the United States Steel Corporation, which is perhaps the best-managed private enterprise there is in the country. For the year 1918 its operating expenses increased 151 per cent over that of 1914. For the corresponding years the operating cost for the principal railroads of the country increased only 102 per cent. The opponents of Government control have constantly held that the increase in operation during these years was due to inefficient management, when, as a matter of fact, there has been a great advance in wages and in the prices of commodities that go into equipment and improvements. Comparing the results of Government control of the roads with that of private control of all other enterprises of the country, we will no doubt find that unified administration has actually been an economy even greater than that stated above.

One of the principal railroad systems showed an annual surplus of $70,000,000 to $80,000,000 in prewar years, after the payment of dividends upon stock and interest on bonds. In the first year of Government control this same system, operated by the same men, reported a deficit of $77,000,000. This huge deficit, registering a sudden drop in earnings of almost $150,000,000, did not hurt the bondholders. They continued to draw their interest, as the Government had guaranteed payment. Nor did the deficit hurt the stockholders. They, too, were protected by the Government against loss of their dividends. The people as a whole had to stand the loss. It is said that the officials of this system were hostile to Government operation. Is it possible that their hostility had some effect on their efficiency as employees of the Government? This instance of the shrinkage of the earnings of this road is the more remarkable because it constitutes nearly one-third of the total deficit of all railroads under Government operation during the year 1918. The total cost of Government control for that year was $236,000,000. Three-quarters of this total loss was reported by the seven leading railroad systems, most of them being highly profitable before taken under Federal control.

When the Government took control, 36,000 miles of railroads out of the 256,000 miles were paying neither dividends nor interest on their bonds. Figures were presented to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce in January, 1919, showing that in 1906 only 3 per cent of the roads were in the hands of receivers, while in 1916 about 26 per cent of the mileage was then in the hands of receivers. In other words, under private control over one-fourth of the railroads were in an insolvent condition. The Government was obliged, under the terms of the financial guaranty under which it took the roads over, to meet all deficits on the poor roads as well as on the strong ones which so promptly developed deficits. Friends of public ownership and operation will take due note of the fact that these weak roads soon began to grow prosperous under Government reorganization, while the strong lines, under the same efficient management that they had formerly enjoyed, showed a decline in profits. From all the information available the only proper inference to be drawn by a fair-minded public is that where Government management was given a real test, as in the case of the smaller roads, it proved to be entirely satisfactory. That it was not so in the case of the stronger roads was probably due to the resistance of the management unsympathetic to Government control.

The entire average increase in freight and passenger rates from 1914 to 1919, taking the country as a whole, has not exceeded 33 per cent, while the average increase in the prices which the public has paid for the products of private enterprise in that time has been from 60 to 150 per cent.

GUARANTEEING PROFITS.

The question naturally arises under the provision to guarantee profits upon a fair valuation of the railroads, What is to be the basis upon which that valuation is determined? The reports from the Interstate Commerce Commission indicate that the work of valuation of the railroads which has been going on for six years will not be completed for two years longer. Hence the only available figures at present are those submitted by the roads themselves on which to base the guaranty. It is estimated that the market value of railroad stocks on the average is but 60 per cent of the face value. Is it not reasonable to expect, as a result of this legislation, that an increase in the market value of railroad stocks will follow? This is legislating value into private stocks, and if it can be done in the case of railroads, why can it not be done in the line of other industries? Heretofore we have relied upon competition to fix just and reasonable rates. Now we are forced to fix a rate that will yield a guaranteed profit without the power to control expenses or dictate the management, and with no assurance as to the quality or value of the service rendered.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL SHOULD BE EXTENDED.

The experiment of Government control of railroads has not been fairly tested. Conditions during the war and since the armistice have not been normal in a business way. The primary motive in private control has been to make profits while that of public control is service. Under normal peace times that service is bound to improve. With fair conditions public control of industry is nearly always more satisfactory to the whole people than private control. In my own State of North Dakota we have had some recent experiences along this line. We were threatened with a great coal strike last fall, with severe winter weather coming on. The State government was forced to seize and operate the mines. During the period of State operation a greater tonnage of coal was produced and at a lower cost. There was a reduction of approximately 50 cents to the consumers on every ton mined. It was amply demonstrated that Government operation of this industry was an entire success both from the standpoint of production and that of economy. Likewise in the matter of hail insurance. The State furnished this insurance for over 13,000,000 acres of crops last year at a cost of 28 cents per acre. That same insurance had formerly cost the farmers of my State 70 cents per acre. The demonstration mill and elevator now in operation by the State made a profit of 83 per cent on the original investment during the first 111 days of its existence, at the same time paying to the farmer 13 cents per bushel more for his grain than he could get from the old-line elevators. In addition to the foregoing examples of State industries we have the Bank of North Dakota, which opened for business July 1, 1919. It was organized at a cost to the State of about $23,000. It now has deposits approximating $18,000,000, and in the first six months of operation, out of its profits, has paid back to the State treasury the initial cost of organization of $23,000, put $40,000 to surplus, and has over $11,000 in the undivided profits account. At the same time these profits were made all expenses are fully paid, and the rate of interest has been reduced to borrowers about 2 per cent. I call attention to these small governmental activities merely to show what can be done under Government control and operation of industry when efficiently and honestly managed. While admitting that none of these industries is directly connected with transportation, yet I doubt not that the same gratifying results could be obtained by the Government management of the railroads. In my opinion, it would be the part of wisdom for this Congress to extend the Government operation of the roads for two years, during which time a fair and thorough test of the transportation problem could be had, and the relative merits of private and public control fully demonstrated. A succeeding Congress would then have the facts and knowledge necessary to intelligently pass upon this most vital question and settle it in a manner fair to the investors and satisfactory to the great American public.

Shall We Guarantee Billions to Others and Not One Cent to Americans?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN MacCRATE,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. MacCRATE. Mr. Speaker, the railroad bill as passed by Congress carries within its confines two sections which foretell the ultimate destruction of all our past conceptions of the leadership which should exist between each railroad and the Nation. After the enactment of this bill into law the railroads of the country will be considered as parts of one entire system, rather than as individual units, and the commerce of the United States as a whole will dictate the rates and regulations for each mile of transportation. Hereafter we shall speak of the "trustees" rather than of the "owners" of the railroads. At last we have laid the foundations for an efficient transportation system for the United States of America.

By section 407 the Commerce Commission is directed—

To prepare and adopt a plan for the consolidation of the railway properties of the continental United States into a limited number of systems—

And in section 422 it is provided:

Inasmuch as it is impossible, without regulation and control in the interest of the commerce of the United States considered as a whole, to establish uniform rates, etc., * * * it is hereby declared that any carrier which receives an income in excess of a fair return shall hold such part of the excess as a trustee for and shall pay it to the United States.

There is no comfort in these provisions for defenders of the old order of railroad operation. They foretell a day when every track of American railroad will be included in one great consolidated system, operated by "trustees" for the people of the United States. For the present, we have determined that the trusteeship shall be limited and that existing systems may continue. The bitterest language in the debate on this bill was directed against the section providing for the division of income in excess of 6 per cent between the railroads and the United States. Men have declared such division constitutes confiscation and is unconstitutional, but these men are thinking in terms of yesterday, for we are facing the day when railroad owners will hold not only excess income but every act they perform shall be performed by them as trustees of this Nation.

Members have cried out in horror because we have attempted to guarantee continued operation of all the railroads in order that the people in every part of the country may be served. It is the cheapest kind of claptrap to say that we have delivered the railroads over to the financial interests when every line of the bill requires the consent of the Commerce Commission before the railroads can borrow a dollar, issue a bond, make an agreement, change a rate, or build or abandon a mile of track. In one breath men declare we have given the railroads everything and in the next they declare it is a crime for the Government to take half of the income in excess of 6 per cent. When the country reads what has been said by the opponents of this legislation it will find that they made no real attempt to change the labor clauses or to keep the roads for two years or to keep them forever, but that there was a strong effort to keep any of the profits of the roads from going into the Treasury of the United States.

If the bill as passed was not the best that could have been framed, why did the opposition fail to submit another? After debate finished they alone had the right to move to send the bill back to committee and specify wherein the bill was objectionable and what they desired inserted in it. On a prior occasion a distinguished gentleman of the opposition opposed a bill and moved to send it back to committee, but his motion then contained an entirely new bill, which met his views. Why was not that course followed here? Why was the motion to recommit barren of all suggestion as to what should be done? Who can blame the country if it concludes that much of the opposition was pure political camouflage for use in the coming campaign, to mislead a multitude of groups of our citizenship, for whose aims and ideals the opposition will not and dare not place itself on record.

The opposition will ask support from American workingmen; but why, then, did they not attempt to meet their views? They will ask those who believe in further Federal operation and permanent Federal ownership to join them, but will they go before the country and dare say they stand for Government ownership or further Federal control? Let the men who labor and the men who honestly believe in Federal control or ownership read the speeches of the leaders of the opposition and learn the true reason for the refusal to support this bill.

The President has directed that the railroads shall be returned to their owners on March 1, 1920. Congress must, therefore, pass legislation to effect the return. The opposition say the roads should be returned; but, in spite of the fact that two years ago they took the railroads over into Federal control, they come to the time when the roads must be given back absolutely unprepared with a plan, abjectly confessing they have no solution for the first great problem of the period of reconstruction. They cry they can not support this bill because it is not perfect, thinking the strong-minded people of this country will be fooled by that cry. The American people are not looking for perfection on this earth, but they do expect an honest human effort to be made to solve the problems of this Nation. The country now has this bill before it and can determine whether it is an honest attempt to solve the transportation problem, and while considering the plan of this bill it will not fail to ask what completed plan did the opposition propose?

This Nation has loaned $9,000,000,000 to the Allies, and they have been told they need not pay the interest now due. Nevertheless, because we tell American railroad owners, who employ American workingmen and serve American farms and factories and promote American trade, that we will lend them less than one-twentieth of the loan to the Allies and charge them 6 per cent interest on the loan gentleman almost wept on the floor of Congress. Yet only a few days ago some of them urged that we should lend an additional $150,000,000 to European countries. The American people are sick of buncombe, and as long as we extend billions of dollars of credit and urge millions more to foreign nations they will rightly value the sincerity of tears shed because we lend a little to help keep the wheels of American life in motion. Shall we guarantee billions to others and refuse all guaranties to Americans?

The Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OSCAR E. KELLER,

OF MINNESOTA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, from the sentiment expressed by the Members of this House, the conference report on the railroad bill will, no doubt, be adopted. But, in my estimation, this bill does not properly and adequately dispose of the railroad question. There is only one solution of the problem, and that is Government ownership and Government management of this great public utility.

A thorough analysis of the conference report develops the fact that this bill does not return the railroads to private ownership in the true sense of the word. The enactment of this legislation as it is written is an indorsement of public ownership. The bill as it is presently composed is part public ownership and private ownership. It is public ownership in so far as the Public Treasury is called upon to supply all deficiencies in return below a certain per cent, to provide the revolving fund from which to draw for improvements and betterments, and so forth; but it is private ownership in that the management is vested in private individuals and the profits are utilized by private officials. Personally I have always maintained that the railroads should stay in the hands of the Government under the present control for a period of from two to five years, the Government to continue some fair return upon the investment, during which time it could be definitely ascertained to the satisfaction of all concerned whether public ownership and operation was the most efficient and economic method of conducting the affairs of this great public utility. If at the end of such a test it was found that the best interests of the country and the people had not been efficiently and economically administered, then the roads could be returned to their former owners. But if such a test proved successful, prompt action should be taken by the Government to acquire the properties upon a fair and impartial valuation by disinterested experts. I still maintain that the two years just passed was not a fair test of Government operation. Under the abnormal conditions existing because of the war, it was impossible to carry on this gigantic enterprise profitably. What reasons prompted the owners to practically demand that the Government take over the railroads at a time when the genius and efficiency of private managers had the opportunity to show itself? The outbreak of the war placed a tremendous load upon our transportation system and called for the maximum of efficiency and economy in the handling of the business. Private management failed absolutely during the crisis. It depended upon the coordination and cooperation effected by Government control and operation to save it from complete demoralization.

They were more than willing when the crisis was reached to unload their business onto the Government; but when the crisis had passed, the war over, and traffic returning to its peace-time basis, the owners immediately demanded the return of their properties heavily subsidized, with a guaranteed return for a long period, and also a demand that the Government reimburse them for improvements that had not been made and for equipment that had or had not been purchased. They demanded, and they received, the support of the Treasury of the United States to conduct their business. They will demand, and undoubtedly they will receive in the very near future, a substantial increase

in freight rates, probably as high as 40 per cent, which, while not coming directly from the people, will come indirectly through the greatly increased cost of all the necessities of life.

The position I take in this railroad matter is this: That the railroads either be retained by the Government as at present for a period of from two to five years, or that they be returned entirely to private ownership with no subsidies, no revolving fund, no guaranteed return; in fact that they be returned under the conditions upon which they were taken over, the Government to pay whatever is owing them as the result of Government operation, and that the question of labor be left as it was before the Government assumed control. To comply with the wishes of the railroad executives, as far as dollars and cents are concerned, while denying the requests of labor, in which are involved human liberties and happiness, is tyranny of the worst sort. The method of handling labor disputes and grievances under Government control seemed to be very satisfactory. This system should have been continued by legislation in returning the railroads, or the labor question should have been left open, as it was when the railroads were taken over by the Government.

Too much stress can not be placed upon the fact that the common people are the losers under this plan to return the railroads. Congress will, by adopting this report, indorse the plan of taking something from one element of our population and giving it to another—the plan which has been followed by one of the great nations of the earth, and which has been universally condemned.

The transportation system should and must remain in the hands of the Government if the best interests of the people and the country are to be adequately, efficiently, and economically served and the future development and prosperity of the United States assured. There can be no half-and-half plan foisted on the people and on the country. It must be either one or the other—full Government control and operation or private control and operation with no financial aid from the Public Treasury; and if the latter plan is adopted by this Congress I feel reasonably certain that within a very short time those in charge of the railroads will again appeal to the Government to take over their properties to save them from utter destruction.

Veto Appeals Filed with President Wilson by Railroad Unions and the American Equity Society.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE BLACK,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 27, 1920.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, in reading the Washington papers to-day I read an article "Veto appeals filed. Railroad unions, farmers, and equity society petition Wilson." And reading further down in the article I read as follows:

Referring to the risks of crop failure taken by the farmers every year in order to feed the Nation, the American Equity Society declared that the outstanding debt against farm values was between six and seven billion dollars, with an interest charge of about $500,000 a year to the farmers. The Government, the equity society said, does not guarantee this charge.

Of course, it does not; neither does it guarantee any fixed returns to any railroad under the terms of the section in the railroad bill which prescribes a rule of rate making. But I submit that if the Government was assuming to fix the prices which the farmer should charge for his product, as it fixes the price which the railroads shall charge for their services, and prohibit him from getting more than the fixed price that we would owe him the duty to fix a price high enough which would enable the farmer, who honestly, efficiently, and economically manages his farm, to earn at least 5½ per cent on his investment. If we did not do it, there would go up a complaint, and justly so, from the farmers the like of which has never been heard in this country.

Ordinarily, the Government does not assume the authority to fix the price of the farmers' product, and I am not one who favors that it should do so. I do not believe the farmers favor it.

But during the war the Government deemed it wise to assume control over wheat and did fix the price.

In enacting that legislation did we say simply to the Food Administrator that you shall fix a just and reasonable price to the farmer for his wheat? Oh, no. That was what those who originally wrote the bill and others who advocated the legislation wanted to say, but the farmer demanded more. They demanded that the law should specifically set out what the minimum price of the wheat crop for 1918 should be and that for future years during the life of the bill the Government should guarantee to the farmer before planting his crop just what guaranteed price he should receive for his wheat. Let me quote the exact language of a part of section 14 of the food-control bill. Here it is:

The guaranteed prices for the several standard grades of wheat for the crop of 1918 shall be based upon No. 1 northern spring or its equivalent at not less than $2 per bushel at the principal interior primary markets. This guaranty shall not be dependent upon the action of the President under the first part of this section but is hereby made absolute and shall be binding until May 1, 1919.

I supported that bill because I thought if we were going to assume the authority to fix the price of one of the farmer's great basic commodities that we owed him a corresponding duty to make certain what his minimum price should be and not leave it to the caprices of administrative officials.

After the war was over I voted in favor of an appropriation of $1,000,000,000 to make that guaranty good, because I thought that good faith with the farmers demanded that it should be done.

On account of the high prices which have prevailed for wheat and its products, it is very likely that the Government will not lose anything on that billion-dollar wheat guaranty, and probably most of it will be returned to the Treasury, but we have demonstrated our entire willingness to observe good faith with the farmers by making the appropriation.

Now, in the railroad legislation about which this American Equity Society, which pretends to represent the farmers, are complaining so much, there is not a word which commits this Government to any guaranty after six months from March 1, 1920. The rate-making section is not a guaranty at all.

ANOTHER PARALLEL.

Another parallel which I want to draw between the rule of rate making in the railroad bill and the price-fixing provision for wheat in the food-control bill is this: When the President came to fix the minimum price for the 1919 crop it was contended by some of those who represented city consumers that $2 or even less would be an ample price to insure the farmer a profitable and safe return.

The farmers were forced to admit, in arguing the matter before the price-fixing committee, that there were some sections of the country where the land was fertile and the seasons regular and the yield abundant where the wheat grower could make a profit on even $1.75 wheat, but that the Government having assumed the arbitrary authority to fix the prices of wheat, that it therefore owed the farmer a duty to fix a price high enough to yield a fair margin of profit not only to the wheat grower who had his granaries in rich and fertile valleys but to the farmer who had pitched his crops on the frontier in the borderland between the valley and the desert.

Of course, this kind of a procedure had the effect to make some very rich earnings for the farmer who was especially well situated as to fertile lands and regular seasons, but the Government did not have any recapture clause in the food-control bill to recapture a part of the excess earnings which perchance might be made by any individual farmer.

It is different in the railroad bill. It does contain a recapture clause of one-half per cent of earnings in excess of 6 per cent made by the roads which are especially well located to be placed in a contingent fund to be used for the public interest.

GOVERNMENT DOES NOT GUARANTEE THE FARMER AGAINST CROP FAILURE.

These gentlemen of the American Equity Society say that "the Government does not guarantee the farmer against crop failure." No. Neither does the railroad bill guarantee any railroad against failure of traffic. Suppose a rate for any given territory is fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission, so as to raise as nearly as may be 5½ per cent on the aggregate value of the railroads within that rate territory.

Here, for example, is a railroad within that territory which runs through a farming section and depends principally upon farm traffic for its revenue. Suppose there is a disastrous failure of crops in that territory. Is there anything in the bill which guarantees the railroad in any sort of way against the loss of that traffic. No; not a single word. The railroad gets no more guarantee against such a loss as that than a farmer gets against a crop failure. The railroad simply collects the freight rates in that given territory on whatever tonnage it does haul, just as the farmer would sell his few bushels of

wheat that he might raise in such year of crop failure at the price which the Government had guaranteed. Both might lose on the year's operations. There is absolutely no difference in the two situations and no gentleman in this House or elsewhere gets anywhere by trying to befog the issue with such arguments as have been used in this memorial to the President.

The Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISRAEL M. FOSTER,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

On the conference report on the bill (H. R. 10453) to provide for the termination of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation; to provide for the settlement of disputes between carriers and their employees; to further amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, it has been suggested that the vote on this conference report is in reality a test vote between Government ownership and private control. I supported the "Anderson amendment" when the Esch bill passed the House. Although the opposition to this bill had the opportunity to-day to present a motion to recommit, with instruction to substitute the "Anderson amendment" for the present "labor" clause therein, yet this opportunity has been disregarded, and the one "motion to recommit" has been intrusted to the gentleman from Kentucky, who did not support the Anderson amendment when the Esch bill was before the House. I am perfectly willing to concede that those supporting each side of this conference report are perfectly honest in their conviction. No bill of this importance can meet all the desires of everyone. There are several changes which, personally, I would like to see made, but after deliberate consideration, and consultation, and reflection I have reached the conclusion that, with the railroads being returned by the President to private ownership on March 1, the best thing for the welfare of all concerned is to support the conference report, which I shall do. I am not unmindful of the presence in my district of the many members of organized labor, such as the United Mine Workers and Railroad Brotherhoods and others. I have tried to give, and have given, respectful consideration to their petitions and requests. Most of them, I believe, will favor this bill.

On Thursday, February 19, 1920, I attended the conference called by the Railroad Brotherhoods to consider their protests against the adoption of this conference report. Just prior to that conference each Member of Congress received a circular letter, dated February 17, from the heads of several of the brotherhoods, reciting reasons why the conference report should be defeated. The eighteenth reason recited therein contained this language:

* * * Coal alone costs the railroads $400,000,000 a year. The railroads will not electrify the lines. It will destroy the best market for coal which railroad operators themselves own. It will cut into their profits as coal operators. The United States will only electrify the lines by Government action.

At Thursday night's conference I directed the attention of Mr. Timothy Shea, acting president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, to this paragraph of their circular. I then suggested that the United Mine Workers of the tenth congressional district of Ohio were justly complaining because of loss of work part of the year, due, in the main, to a shortage in the coal market, and that it was rather unfair to the United Mine Workers for the railroad brotherhoods to take a stand in favor of electrifying all the railroad systems of America, and thereby remove a market for $400,000,000 worth of coal per year. I hope my calling the attention of both Mr. Shea and the other representatives of the brotherhood who were present to this suggestion to remove one-fourth of the present coal market might tend at least to remove this plank from their platform. No one assigned any reason why it was necessary to insist on electrifying the railroads and thus do away with an enormous coal market in order to safeguard the railroads while being turned over to private ownership. While these observations may not have an immediate bearing on the merits of the present conference report on the railroad bill, yet it is an outgrowth of this contest and has such a far-reaching effect on the output of over 300 coal mines in the tenth Ohio congressional district that I think it both advisable and expedient that it be given thoughtful consideration.

Some misconception prevails as to what has been improperly termed the "guaranty" feature of this bill. It has been erroneously asserted that this bill takes the earnings exceeding 6 per cent from the "well-managed" railroads and gives it to the "poorly managed" railroads. The fact is that the railroad which earns in excess of 6 per cent retains one-half of such excess, the remaining one-half of such excess becoming the property of the United States Government, and by it loaned, at 6 per cent interest, to the poorer railroads which may need assistance. I submit that this is quite different from the claim that the Government takes all of the excess from the one and gives it to the other. We have 250,000 miles of railroad in the United States. We are told that it requires $6,000,000,000 to rehabilitate them. This is equal to one-half of all the mortgaged indebtedness on all of our railroads. If the railroads can not be rehabilitated, they of necessity must go into bankruptcy. If we contemplate their going into bankruptcy, we must not forget that 25 per cent of all railroad bonds are owned by our insurance companies and savings banks; in other words, the average citizen who is carrying life insurance for the protection of his family has his money invested in the very securities which will be destroyed by such bankruptcy.

We are told that the railroads have cost our Government $1,000,000 for every day they have been under Government operation, despite the fact that while under Government operation they have received the benefit of a 50 per cent raise in passenger rates and a 25 per cent raise in freight rates. With this condition confronting us, I hesitate at this time to concur with those who advocate Government ownership of railroads. In any event, with the President's declaration in effect returning the roads on March 1, the main question before us now is what conditions shall surround them on their return in order to prevent a breakdown to our transportation systems. It is a very poor time for any of us to play politics. I propose to vote just as though my vote determined the future of this question. I believe that should be the test of every Member. If we do not adopt this conference report and vote for a "general motion to recommit," we are told by those who, by experience, should know that it actually means a return of the railroads to private ownership without any safeguards or protection until they can "get on their feet" and become established. This bill not only provides for assistance to those roads needing such assistance during a two-year period, but it also guarantees a preservation of the present wage scale of the employees.

So that there may be no misunderstanding as to the labor clause in this bill, I wish to quote from its provisions to show what elements are to be considered in determining wages thereunder:

In determining the justness and reasonableness of such wages and salaries or working conditions the board shall, so far as applicable, take into consideration among other relevant circumstances:
1. The scale of wages paid for similar kinds of work in other industries.
2. The relation between wages and the cost of living.
3. The hazards of the employment.
4. The training and skill required.
5. The degree of responsibility.
6. The character and regularity of the employment.
7. Inequalities of increases in wages or of treatment, the result of previous orders or adjustments.

I submit that these provisions, if carried out as I believe they will be, ought to insure fair treatment to labor. I surely hope it receives such fair treatment, and did I not believe it would I would hesitate in supporting this conference report.

Another thing that operates on my mind in causing me to reach a conclusion to support this bill in its present form is personal to my congressional district. We have many coal mines, many factories, and many small farms, and the railroads that penetrate our district are what might fairly be called the "weaker roads." In my judgment, the best interests of the miners and operators, manufacturers, farmers, and others will be served by the enactment of a law which will keep these so-called poorer railroads financed and in operation during the next two years while our country is going through the uncertainties attending our reconstruction. I believe our congressional district is not alone in this respect, and the safeguards contained in this bill will preserve the credit and keep from bankruptcy these weaker roads during the two-year period immediately following their return by the President to private ownership.

For nine months our railroad experts in both the Senate and House of Representatives have labored, almost day and night, in trying to secure the best possible laws under which these railroads might be returned to private ownership. We now have before us the product of those nine months' labor. To defeat it and allow the railroads to return to private ownership within

10 days, without any safeguards as to either labor or capital, would in my judgment be folly.

Therefore, while there are several features which I should personally wish to see changed, including the labor clause, yet I am compelled to choose between the support of this bill or allowing the railroads to return with every prospect of bankruptcy ahead. After the best thought I can give the matter I have reached the firm conviction that the best interests of the tenth congressional district of Ohio, as well as the best interests of the country, will be served by the passage of the bill and I shall vote accordingly.

This bill need not be the final word on railroad legislation. Where it is proven to be unworkable it can be modified. Any element that may develop by experience to be unjust to either employer, employee, or the public can be modified. I shall feel free at all times to vote for any modification of its provisions which may seem to be in the best interests of all parties concerned, but as it now stands I have the choice between this bill, calculated to safeguard the railroads on their return, or to invite bankruptcy with Government ownership as the final goal, toward which such chaos must inevitably tend. Therefore I shall support the bill. To vote otherwise would be to vote against my best judgment, honestly arrived at after painstaking consideration.

The Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. EVANS,

OF MONTANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920,

On the conference report on the bill (H. R. 10453) to provide for the termination of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation; to provide for the settlement of disputes between carriers and their employees; to further amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. EVANS of Montana. Mr. Speaker, on so important a question as this bill I regret to find myself out of accord with what appears to be a majority of the Members of this House. I can not find it consistent with my present views to vote for this measure. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, it seems to me to be unfortunate that this matter now comes before the House only a week before the day set for the return of the railroads to private ownership, and we find ourselves in the parliamentary situation that will not allow us to change or amend this bill. We must either vote for this conference report and thereby pass this bill, or vote against the conference report and thereby defeat the bill. I have great respect for the members of the committee who brought in this bill; great respect for the conferees who have agreed to this conference report, but I know of no guide for the performance of duty, either public or private, except a man's conscience, and, believing as I do that this measure is unjust to the American people and that it sets up and creates a favored class of investors and guarantees a fixed return upon capital invested in one particular and special line of industry, I can not under such circumstances bring myself to the belief that I am faithful to my country and to the oath of office I took if I vote for this measure.

There are some features of the bill—in fact, many features—which I should like to support. But under the circumstances I am compelled to reject them all or to sustain them all. I shall, therefore, vote against them.

The railroads were taken over by the Government for the conduct of a great war. It is not necessary to discuss the details of the policy or even the necessity which resulted in taking over these properties. When they were taken over the legislation provided that they should be returned to their owners within a certain period after the war. Twelve months ago the President of the United States in a message to Congress advised us that under the enactment we had made he would return the roads on January 1, 1920, and urged that necessary legislation be enacted for the future ownership, control, or supervision of these properties. When the date for the return of these roads approached and the necessary legislation had not been enacted, the President, by proclamation, fixed March 1 of this year as the date upon which the roads would be returned, thus giving Congress an additional 60 days' time in which to perform a duty that should have been completed months ago. We are now, therefore, confronted with a situation where we are compelled to enact this bill or allow the roads to be returned to their owners without any supervision over them other than exercised when we took the roads at the beginning of the war. If Congress finds it is in an embarrassing position, if it finds it is in a position that it must return the roads without additional control or supervision, or it must enact this bill, which, in my judgment, does violence to the rights of 110,000,000 people, Congress has nobody to blame but itself for its failure in the consideration and enactment of legislation of such vital importance.

We took over the roads and operated them during the war. We agreed to pay and did pay a sum equal to their average income for three years preceding the war, and we agreed to return the roads in practically the same condition as we took them. In order that these agreements might be faithfully kept we have taxed the American people more than $800,000,000. This money has been paid out of the National Treasury. It will be wiped off the books as a war loss. That water has now gone over the wheel.

My particular objection and complaint to the bill is that it is in effect a guaranty of 5½ to 6 per cent upon the investment of these properties. In order that we may understand just what this provision does for the railroads and to the people, let me state it in a few sentences. It directs the commission to "initiate, modify, establish, or adjust" rates so that carriers, as a whole, will earn an aggregate annual net income equal to a "fair" return upon the aggregate value of the railway property of such carriers held for and used in the service of transportation, and then follows a provision which declares that for the next two years this "fair" return shall be fixed at 5½ per cent plus an additional one-half of 1 per cent for betterments and improvements, which makes a total of 6 per cent net that the bill instructs the commission to produce on the aggregate value of all the property of all the railroads in the country. It then provides that if any road shall make more than 6 per cent under the rates fixed by the commission, one-half of the excess shall be set apart in a fund to be used by the roads in making improvements and betterments chargeable to capital account and the other one-half shall be paid to the Interstate Commerce Commission for the creation of a "revolving" fund to be used in making loans to other railroads or in purchasing equipment, such as cars, engines, and other equipment to be leased to them.

If this provision of the bill goes into effect, the Congress puts its stamp of approval on improvidence, negligence, and inefficiency. There will no longer be a reward for energy, initiative, frugality, and efficiency. I can not support a measure which compels the people of the Nation to pay tribute to inefficiency and extravagance in order that those who do not deserve it may get 6 per cent or any other established return. I can not bring myself to believe that any measure that insures one class of our people against failure in business by levying tribute on another class is good legislation.

This bill provides that if any railroad shall make more than 6 per cent on rates which have been declared to be legal, just, and reasonable, one-half of the excess of said 6 per cent shall be taken from it and used to create a fund to be used for the benefit of other roads. In other words, when the Interstate Commerce Commission has fixed a rate that under the law is just and reasonable, and any road through honesty, energy, and economy and efficiency and good management makes more than 6 per cent, it is to be penalized because of its honesty, efficiency, and good management, and one-half of the said excess is to be turned over to those roads whose management is negligent, inefficient, and possibly dishonest, or are for some other reason a financial failure. Such legislation is a departure from all the precedents of the Government.

I will not at length discuss the question of its constitutionality. I prefer to leave it to men better qualified than myself, but it appears to me that we are going far afield when we establish such a precedent. Permit me to make just one observation on the constitutionality of this provision of the law. We all know there is a provision in the fundamental law of the land which provides that property shall not be taken from its owner except by due process of law and for just compensation.

Let us see how this legislation will operate to do violence to the rights of property. In order that this average of 6 per cent net may be guaranteed to all the railroads, it will be admittedly necessary for those who live along or patronize well-managed, successful, and honest roads to pay more than the service they receive is worth, more than the roads themselves may ask for or need, in order that a fund may be created which is to be used for the benefit of others. Therefore, if these well-managed and successful roads, under lawful rates which must in theory, at least, be "just and reasonable," are able by the exercise of

economy and prudent business management to earn more than 6 per cent net, under the law and under the guaranties provided in the Constitution, it belongs to them. If the rate is lawful, if it is approved by the commission as just and reasonable, it is entitled to earn all it can under that rate, and the road is entitled to keep it as its reward for efficiency and economy.

We have no legal right to take away from them what they have saved honestly through efficient management in order to bolster up the credit of weak, mismanaged, or inefficient railroads. And if, upon the theory that the particular road is earning more than it is entitled to, we have a right to take away a part of its earnings, certainly we have no right, in the first place, to take it away from the people who pay it. For if a railroad earns more than it is entitled to earn or retain, it is because it is permitted or compelled to collect from the people an unreasonable rate which results in the excess, and if the people are paying an unreasonable rate to one road in order that some other road somewhere else may be helped, we are taking away from them a part of their property without due process of law and without compensation. This, in my opinion, renders the law doubly unconstitutional. If the rates which the railroads collect are lawful rates, are just and reasonable for the service rendered, the road is entitled to the earnings it may be able to realize from them.

If they collect, even with the permission of the commission, or under its compulsion, rates which are more than reasonable, and therefore unreasonable and unlawful, the excess belongs to the people, and they are entitled to retain what is theirs until it is taken away from them in the manner prescribed by the Constitution. And if this provision for taking a part of the excess shall be declared unconstitutional and many roads are allowed or compelled to collect rates higher than they are entitled to, the result will be the taking from the people of hundreds of millions of dollars in excessive freight rates without even receiving an indirect benefit from the excess payment.

PRESENT VALUE.

Again if 5½ or 6 per cent, or any other per cent, is to be guaranteed as the earnings upon the valuation of the roads, it is necessary to ascertain the value of the roads. Who to-day can say what the value of any given road is? Who has figures which we can use to do it? Are we to take the book value as shown by the roads themselves? Are we to take the estimate that some engineer will give us as to what it will cost to reproduce the road, or shall we wait until the Interstate Commerce Commission completes its work of appraising the physical value of these properties? It is a well-known fact that it will take some years to complete that work. One of the leading railroad officials of the United States estimated the total value of the railroad properties of the United States at $24,000,000,000. The Interstate Commerce Commission report estimates the capitalization of these properties at about $19,000,000,000, and this same report estimates the actual investment of these properties at a little more than $18,000,000,000. One can get as many estimates of the value of these properties as people with whom he talks upon the subject. Who, then, is to make the estimate upon which the American people are to guarantee a return of 6 per cent? Whose figures are to be used as a basis upon which this tribute is to be exacted from the people of the country?

The absurdity of fastening upon the country this guaranty upon the valuation of these properties that can only be guessed at is so obvious that it is inconceivable that it should be seriously considered by an American Congress. Not only that, it is a guaranty against failure. It is an attempt at legislative favoritism never before practiced in the history of this country. As above stated, it penalizes thrift, energy, efficiency, and ambition on the one hand and it removes the initiative for all these things on the other. It takes away the hope of reward for work well done. It pays tribute to improvidence. It attempts to insure one class of investments against risks and hazards of business, leaving all others to battle against the handicaps that besiege us in all our undertakings. Such a scheme was never before proposed in a legislative body in the history of the world. By what line of reasoning can we justify ourselves when we attempt to guarantee one branch of industry, one kind of business, one kind of security, against failure while we leave all others to battle for themselves? The merchant takes his chances, the professional man accepts the hazards and uncertainty of his profession, the manufacturer risks his judgment, the farmer contends with the elements and the soil and assumes the risks and hazards and the vicissitudes that surround him. None of these have any guaranty from the Government; they never had and they never will. Is it fair to them, is it fair to all those who work and toil and save, and who ask the Government for nothing but to be allowed to pursue their business unrestricted and without interference? Is it fair, I say, to them to guarantee the returns upon the stocks and securities of the railroad owners and the railroad investors under the circumstances as provided in this bill?

NOT OPPOSED TO RAILROADS.

I hope that what I have said will not be construed to mean that I am opposed to the railroads. Such is not the case. The railroads should be dealt with fairly, justly, and equitably. I am willing that they be dealt with liberally. I want them to succeed. I want everybody to succeed. I hope they may pay dividends and that the owners and stockholders will get a fair return upon their investment. If they succeed generally other business men and the country itself will prosper and succeed. But I am not willing to guarantee success to the owners or stockholders of the railroads, for the simple reason that we can not guarantee success to men engaged in any other line of industry, business, and investment.

I know it is said that this is not a guaranty, and that this money will not come out of the Treasury of the United States. On the first proposition it may not be a guaranty in name, but it is a guaranty in effect. On the second proposition the money may not come out of the Treasury of the United States, but it comes out of the pockets of the people of the United States. Call it a guaranty or call it what you will, the bill provides that the Interstate Commerce Commission shall fix a rate for freight and passenger traffic that will allow the roads to earn a fair return upon their capital. The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that a fair return is 6 per cent. It must therefore necessarily follow that the Interstate Commerce Commission will fix a rate for traffic over these properties that will guarantee them 6 per cent. Therefore when men say that this is not a guaranty they are simply juggling with words.

Mr. Speaker, there never was a time in the history of the country that every railroad made money; that every investment in railroad securities, stocks, and bonds realized a profit. Probably some of the time all of the railroads made money. Probably at some time all the roads incurred a deficit. Some of the investors in stocks and bonds have made large profits and at times some of them have suffered losses. Investments in these securities and properties, like investors in every other kind of business, have taken their chances of gain or loss. I dare say there has never been a day in the history of railroading in this country when some of these properties were not running behind and probably in the hands of a receiver. But when this report is adopted and when this law goes upon the statute books, for the first time in the history of any government on earth the Government itself says to the people you must pay such a rate to your transportation companies for your business over them that will bring to the said companies a fair return upon their investments, which the Supreme Court of the United States says is at least 6 per cent. You may call it a guaranty or call it what you please.

The advocates of this report hold up to this House a bugaboo of bankruptcy on the one hand and Government ownership on the other. They say if this bill is not promptly passed with all its defects that on the 1st of March or a few weeks or months thereafter these roads will all be in bankruptcy, and that in the end the Government will be compelled to take them over with an investment of eighteen to twenty-five billion dollars.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP.

Mr. Speaker, it is my personal opinion that worse things could happen to this country than Government ownership, and one of those things is to leave a perpetual burden upon the people of this country to guarantee a return of 6 per cent upon these properties. I am not afraid of bankruptcy of these properties, nor am I afraid for the Government to take these properties, own them, and operate them. Much has been said upon the floor of this House that the operation of these properties by the Government during the war was a failure. I challenge that statement. They say it has cost the Government a million dollars a day to operate these roads, and that they have run behind approximately a billion dollars. I admit, Mr. Speaker, that it has cost the Government large sums of money, possibly a million dollars a day, possibly a billion dollars in the aggregate, for the operation of the railroads during the war, and I think it should be charged off as a war loss. I think it will not be recovered, but it was a war necessity, and we will recover just as much of the money we spent as a war necessity in the operation of the railroads as we will of the money we spent as a war necessity for ships, for cannons, for ammunition, for powder, for uniforms for soldiers, for poisonous gasses, and for the hundreds of other things for which we spent money to carry on a great war. Of course, it costs money to run a railroad during a war period.

The roads were run during that period not for the benefit of the roads but for the benefit of the Government. Thirteen mil-

lions of soldiers, seamen, and marines were transported by railroads for which the Government paid the railroads only one-third of what would have been charged for the transportation of an equal number of civilians. Priority orders were issued and millions of tons of freight which would have brought the railroads a handsome figure were set aside in order that the troops and munitions of war might have the preference over these roads. The railroads were operated under the pressure of war conditions. The question of destruction of cars, engines, roadbeds, and bridges were not considered in the great rush to put our men, munitions, and supplies to the front. Of course, it cost money to operate the roads under such unusual circumstances.

But I say without fear of successful contradiction that for the same service rendered under the same conditions it would cost the Government no more than it would had they been run under private management. In a recent discussion of this very question Director General Hines is quoted in the press as having made the following statement:

Had the railroads proceeded during the war under private control they would have been subject to just as heavy increases in operating expenses as the Government encountered—perhaps heavier, for they would not have been able to offset many economies possible under a central administration.

If the Railroad Administration had been able to raise its prices as quickly as other industries did to meet the rapidly advancing costs, there would have been no loss, but an actual profit, in operation of the roads for the first year and ten months of Government control. There would have been no deficit until October, 1919, and succeeding months, when bad weather, the coal strike, and the steel strike created abnormal conditions.

Government ownership of railroads may not be desirable, but I am myself not prepared to say that Government ownership is a failure because of the experience of the operation of the railroads during the past two years. The two-year operation under such abnormal conditions was by no means a fair test. Men who insist that the Government can not successfully operate its railroads should furnish better evidence than the fact that it cost the Government a large sum of money to operate its roads during the war period. And I venture the opinion that those who are so frightened about the question of Government ownership and are voting for this bill fastening a burden upon the people to guarantee a return upon slothfulness, inefficiency, and mismanagement are hastening the day when they will be face to face with Government ownership of the railroads.

GOVERNMENT SPENT MILLIONS BENEFITING ROADS.

Mr. Speaker, it is contended by some of the Members in favor of this bill that the owners of the railroads made a big sacrifice to the Government in time of need. Was that the situation? It is a well-known fact that the roads were taken over by the Government only after conference with the railroad officials. They knew they could not stand the burden of the Great War and sell their bonds when the Government was selling bonds for carrying on the Great War. They knew their finances would soon be depleted and they would be threatened with bankruptcy, as many of them were. They knew that the Government would take hold of the roads, improve them, spend millions on their upkeep, and then return them to their owners. They knew they could not make big profits during this period, but that they could exact from the American Government and its people a handsome profit without any hazards.

When the Government took the roads for war purposes steps were immediately taken to place the needed finances to their credit. Insolvent roads were advanced money to keep them operating successfully. Roundhouses and repair shops were built. Equipment, rolling stock, and other necessary improvements were provided as war necessities. To be accurate, $1,000,000,000 was given for improvements and equipment and a rental of $2,000,000,000 net profit was paid for the use of the roads. Hundreds of formerly sound business enterprises failed during the war by reason of the stress. But the railroad industry was stabilized, placed on a sound operating basis, profits guaranteed, and hundreds of unnecessary offices abolished. The cry that bankruptcy was bound to follow under the great pressure was heard, and the Government came to their relief.

Now, shall we with a realization of all this listen to another cry of bankruptcy if we do not guarantee set profits? Shall we at the expense of the taxpayer, the shipper, the merchant, and the consumer guarantee the railroads that we will make up any deficit they may have from time to time by simply having them come to the Interstate Commerce Commission and letting us know?

It is again asserted by some that the defeat of this measure will mean the ruin of the roads, result in Government ownership, and chaos through the country. Should we not approve this bill, the roads will immediately go back to the owners, without any of the entangling guaranties of financial assistance in the form of a continuous burden on the people. Without these assurances, the roads would go to work, get on a sound businesslike working basis, cut down their personal and overhead expenses, curtail where they can, eliminate the high-salaried officers when advisable, and in a short time, I dare say, have paid back their great indebtedness now existing.

ECONOMY.

For weeks the song of economy has been heard in the Halls of this House. It is economy here and economy there. The reclamation projects of the great West are to starve to death because we have no money. The service of the great Agricultural Department is to be cut to the quick. The diplomatic bill must be cut in two. The fees for grazing on the forest reserves in the mountain States must be raised 300 per cent to get $5,000,000 to help save the Government. The public domain in all the public-land States is to be withdrawn and put in grazing reserves, with the hope of getting a few million more. Millions must be cut from the soldiers' rehabilitation bill. All public building must stop. The steering committee decrees there shall be no public-buildings bill this Congress; and so it goes all along the line. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, only yesterday there came into this House the legislative bill with a provision for the abolishment of some of the assay offices in the great mining States, and in support of such a proposition it is argued that the abandonment of these facilities, which mean so much to the mining industry, will save the Government the magnificent sum of $15,000 a year. Not only that, Mr. Speaker, this same bill, and for the same reason and supported by the same argument, abolishes the offices of surveyor general in all the public-land States—13 in number—because, as the report of the committee says, it will redound to our policy of economy to the extent of $39,000 a year. And yet in the face of these facts we are advised that the people and the Government are so rich and so generous that we can contribute $1,000,000,000 to security holders of the railroads, in addition to the $1,000,000,000 advanced for betterment and equipment, to say nothing of the $2,000,000,000 net profits paid them during the war period, when if left to their own resources they would probably have gone into bankruptcy.

Mr. Speaker, in the name of the American people I protest against the passage of this bill.

The Late J. Willard Ragsdale.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. JAMES F. BYRNES,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, January 25, 1920.

The House had under consideration the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. J. WILLARD RAGSDALE, late a Member of this House from the State of South Carolina.

"*Resolved*, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of the exercises of this day, shall stand adjourned.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, as I have listened to my friends pay tribute to the life and character of our deceased colleague and friend I have become greatly depressed. I recall that when I came to the House in 1911 I found constituting the South Carolina delegation Messrs. Legare, Ellerbe, Aiken, Lever, Johnson, and Finley. Of these six men, all young, four have passed away. Our beloved friend George Legare was first claimed by death. Later, Ellerbe, who loved Legare as few men love each other in this life, was called to his reward. Judge Finley, who for 18 years had served as a Member of this House, died while still in service. Judge Johnson, a few years after he left this body, passed away. I might also say that in the other body Senator Tillman, only a short while ago, after a service long and distinguished, was claimed by death, and one year after his death, in July, 1919, he was followed by a man who always loved him and was one of his stanchest political supporters, J. WILLARD RAGSDALE.

I doubt if in the House there is another State delegation in which there is more geniality and more true comradeship than in the delegation of the State of South Carolina, and I say this, notwithstanding the fact that I know how closely men are drawn together when they come from States far distant. It is not surprising that this comradeship exists, for when human beings come to know each other they generally come to entertain for each other a more genuine affection. This certainly has been the rule in our delegation, and therefore you can appreciate how shocked and grieved we were to learn of the sudden death of WILLARD RAGSDALE. To me it was especially shocking, for during the two or three days preceding his death I had spent much time with him. I knew that he was not a well man. He told me he was consulting a physician, but I little dreamed, and he little dreamed, that he was so near to death.

I knew him, Mr. Speaker, before I came to the House, but I was not as intimately acquainted with him then as I afterwards became. I knew, however, that he was what we generally call a self-made man. He was born at Timmonsville, Florence County, S. C. After attending the schools of the little city of Timmonsville and the school at Darlington, where he resided for a short time, he went to Wilmington, N. C., where he spent a few years, and his first employment in life was there with the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad. Leaving there, he returned to South Carolina, attended the University of our State, studying law under Pope, whose reputation extends beyond the borders of South Carolina. Admitted to the bar, his success as a young lawyer was phenomenal. Those of us who knew him can understand it. RAGSDALE was a great jury lawyer. He quickly became recognized as one of the best criminal lawyers in the eastern part of the State, and there was hardly a case of any importance in which he was not employed either as counsel for the defendant or assisting the solicitor in the prosecution.

In addressing a jury he was effective, because RAGSDALE knew men. As a master who plays upon the strings of a musical instrument, he could play upon the feelings and upon the prejudices of a jury or of an audience.

He was a most effective stump speaker. As an illustration of his effectiveness as a stump speaker—I saw and heard him in Philadelphia in the last national campaign. He told me he was going to speak at a monster meeting in the opera house. I went to hear him, and I found that I was correct in believing that RAGSDALE knew men, for here, addressing men whom he had never seen before and with whom he had never been associated, with his fiery eloquence and his knowledge of human nature he soon had the audience applauding and yelling for him. I understood then as I listened to him how successful he was as a stump speaker in his own district.

Possessing this gift, and possessing, too, his unlimited energy and his love of excitement and adventure, it was only natural that he early entered politics. He was elected to the legislature and served two years in the house. He was then elected to the senate, and after serving one term he became a candidate for the office of attorney general. In that contest he was defeated. But, though defeated, he won for himself throughout the entire State of South Carolina friends who always remembered him and who always admired him. Two years later he became a candidate for Congress, opposing our former colleague, Mr. Ellerbe. He was defeated, but in the next contest he was successful, and he served here for three terms and was serving his fourth term when claimed by death.

During his first term here he was a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency. I saw him then exhibit a trait, referred to by my colleague, Mr. STEVENSON, a few moments ago, that convinced me that Mr. RAGSDALE could diagnose a situation much better than the average man. In the caucus upon the currency bill, where a number of us who were interested in securing the recognition of agricultural products as the basis for the rediscount privilege had been making an earnest fight for many days, RAGSDALE, with some of his friends, immediately assumed what we regarded as an extreme position.

Finally, after many days of debate and of contest in this House, when I offered to the chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency a compromise, which was agreed to by the then chairman, Mr. GLASS, I went to my colleague, Mr. RAGSDALE, asking him to agree to my compromise and stop the fight upon the bill. I anticipated a very difficult time in persuading him; but, to my amazement, as soon as I presented the compromise, he said, "Why, I never had any idea of obtaining anything better, but only by assuming this attitude did I have any hope of securing a compromise." He had truly analyzed the situation and had pursued his course, regarded then by many as unwise, with the sole purpose of securing such a compromise as we did secure upon that question.

Later he served upon the committee having jurisdiction of the District of Columbia affairs, and then on the Committee on Foreign Affairs. In the House he was always forceful. As the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] has said "there was never any doubt of where RAGSDALE stood upon any question. He was a man of decided opinions, and he always expressed those opinions. He was fearless; he was independent. He often differed from his party associates here, but he always gave good reasons for doing so. Aggressive and forceful, it was remarkable that so fluent a speaker was so accurate a speaker. Time and again I have seen him turn in the manuscript of his remarks delivered upon the floor with the rapidity so characteristic of him without revising or changing a single word in the pages of manuscript.

Mr. Speaker, those who saw Mr. RAGSDALE only when he was engaged in some contest on this floor and who regarded his manner as stormy, can have no true conception of his kindly nature. Those of us who knew him intimately knew that while he was impulsive and quick-tempered, he was at the same time generous and forgiving. RAGSDALE was true to his friends, and it was doubtless this loyalty and sincerity that won for him the friendship of men who were true to him during his entire political career. In his home he was a devoted husband and a loving father. In early life, shortly after leaving college, he married Miss Louise Joynes, a daughter of Dr. Joynes, of South Carolina University. This union was blessed by two children, a son, James, who is now 18 years of age, and a daughter, Louise, now 14 years of age. I have never known a happier family. His was possibly the most hospitable home in congressional circles. He loved to have his friends around him, and his greatest pleasure was to bring happiness to them.

Reference has been made to his success in business. He was successful. He organized the Farmers and Merchants Bank of Florence, which he served as president for many years; he operated extensive farms, and even during his service in Congress here he practiced law at home. He made money, but he believed in spending money. He valued it only for the happiness it could bring to himself, his family, and his friends. He was as charitable as any other man in my acquaintance, and, as my colleague Mr. MANN has said, many young men in the State of South Carolina to-day are prospering because they were the beneficiaries of his unselfishness.

No greater tribute to the life of a man can be asked than the love of the people among whom he lived. J. WILLARD RAGSDALE possessed that love, and no better evidence of this could have been asked than the gathering of thousands of his friends from all over the congressional district to pay tribute to his memory when his funeral services were held last July. They came from all walks of life, and the tears in the eyes of men, as well as of women, gave proof of the fact that they came not out of idle curiosity, but in order to pay tribute to a man whose memory they loved. His body rests in the little cemetery at Florence, in the soil of the State he loved so well, but his memory rests secure in the hearts of those whose good fortune it was to know him and to love him.

"Why Should the Public Sit In?"

The brotherhood of the general public does not maintain any lobby, but it shall nevertheless be represented in Congress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM N. VAILE,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

On the conference report on the bill (H. R. 10453) to provide for the termination of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation; to provide for the settlement of disputes between carriers and their employees; to further amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. VAILE. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. GARLAND], whom we all love and admire, has made a most shocking disclosure to us concerning the iniquities of the railroad bill regarding the settlement of labor disputes.

He says:

You have in this bill a provision that the public shall sit in all cases, and the public shall be one of the board making the decision.

He contends that this is grossly unfair to organized labor.

Until I heard my distinguished friend I had a lingering impression that I was here to protect the public, that I was to be an advocate of the public. Now he tells me that this is all wrong. As a Member of the House of Representatives, the body which is supposed to be the palladium of our liberties, close to the people and directly responsible to their will, he stands here and tells us that the bill is wrong, because it permits the public to "interfere between the men who work on the railroads and their employers."

The horror of this situation is increased, not diminished, by the fact that the only force behind such a decision is the force of public opinion. He reminds us that the decision, to which the consent of the public must be secured, "is not compulsory, but everyone knows that where a finding is made by a board of the character provided for, in which the railroads and the public agree, the majority of the board, it would be practically compulsory upon the men who work on the roads. There is no question about that. Everyone will agree to that."

Public opinion elected the gentleman from Pennsylvania to this House. He and I are answerable to it for our conduct here. But labor, according to the gentleman's argument, shall not be answerable to it. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUDDLESTON] says that the compulsion of public opinion will drive me out of Congress, but, of course, it is to have no binding effect upon labor.

And if Congress should be misguided enough to give some voice to the public, that voice must not be heard in agreement with the employers but only in agreement with the employees. The only award which should be binding, even by moral suasion, is the award which labor may agree to. If the public agrees to it, the public shows a proper submissive spirit. If the public does not agree to it, then the public is simply out of luck.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it is only human nature for all of us to consider principally our own individual interests. Capital does it and labor does it. For months the Washington hotels have swarmed with representatives of organized labor. They have been very active in visiting and interviewing Congressmen and they fill the galleries of the House whenever there is a discussion or a vote on matters affecting labor. It is just as legitimate for the railroad brotherhoods to keep a lobby here to advocate legislation which they desire, or to oppose legislation which they deem unfavorable to their best interests, as it is for the United States Chamber of Commerce to maintain its offices and agents here. It is perfectly proper for either a railroad attorney or a railroad brotherhood delegate to appear before congressional committees or to visit individual Congressmen for the purpose of arguing the cause of his clients.

But the great brotherhood of the general public does not maintain any lobby at Washington. I am, however, a member of it, and while I remain in Congress I shall represent it to the extent of my ability upon this floor. I am in favor of this bill, but not for the reason that it is opposed by organized labor. I hope the time will never come when my judgment shall be so obscured as to be in favor of any bill merely because it is opposed by somebody else. When I vote for a bill, as I vote for this one, it is because I am convinced of its merits. If Mr. Gompers were in favor of it I would welcome his support, but it would not increase my advocacy of this bill any more than his opposition shall drive me away.

Now, we are all members of the brotherhood of the general public, even though we may also be members of some other brotherhoods, and I believe that this brotherhood of the general public has been somewhat neglected in the past in controversies between labor and capital. The time is coming—in fact, the time has arrived—when this old good-natured, long-suffering brotherhood of the general public, which has been so much of an easy mark in the past, is going to be heard. When, for example, a railroad strike is threatened which would keep the coal from our factories, and the milk from our babies in the cities, and bring some measure of inconvenience and suffering to every man, woman, and child in the United States, the people of the United States are going henceforth to take a hand in the settlement of that dispute.

Ah, my friends of the railroad brotherhoods, it ought to be easy for you to see that your cause is so just that it need not fear the voice of public opinion. I concede that the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors, and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, and the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, and any other organization or group of employees should be represented in the settlement of a dispute between them and their employers, and this bill provides that they shall be. But I demand that the brotherhood of the general public should also "sit in." And it seems to me not unreasonable to insist that the decision which is made should be equitable enough and fair enough to be concurred in by at least one out of the public's three representatives.

That is all that this bill provides. There is no interference in it with "free speech" or "free assembly" or "collective bargaining." There is no attachment of union funds or of any property of a union or of any of its members. There is no judgment, civil or criminal, against a union or any union man. There is no penalty whatever for going on strike—that is, no penalty except the condemnation of public opinion. That is absolutely all there is to the so-called "antistrike" provisions of this bill.

A strike may be the only means of obtaining a worthy end. The same thing may be said of war. A war causes great suffering and loss, not only to the combatants but to noncombatants. The same thing is true of a strike. He who proposes either a war or a strike may have overwhelmingly the merits of the case. He also has the burden of proof. You should expect to be able to prove the justice of your strike, but if it is just you need not fear public opinion. If it is unjust you ought to fear it.

The great labor spokesman, Mr. John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers, in his book "Organized Labor," page 310, says that:

> In railroad and street railway strikes the greatest sufferers are the public, who are deprived of comforts or even of necessaries.

This bill simply means that these sufferers are going to have something to say.

You of the railroad brotherhoods have enjoyed the confidence of the public for a long time. I can not believe that you are unwilling now to submit your case to its judgment. I certainly do not fear that judgment in my own case.

Agreement to Conference Report of Railroad Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. STRONG,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920.

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I wish to state the conditions which now confront the Nation, affecting every line of business, including both capital and labor; and the reasons which, in the interest of the people of my district and the whole country, make it necessary that we should pass this bill.

The railroads were taken over by the Government as a war necessity, the agreement being made that a "standard return," or rental, would be paid to the owners, and that they would be returned when the war was over. The Government loss during the operation of the roads has been over $636,000,000; many millions have been expended in improvements which the roads are to repay when they are able. The present expenditures over receipts is between $1,000,000 and $2,000,000 per day.

When the President announced that the railroads would be returned on January 1, 1920, it became the duty of Congress to pass legislation which would provide for a settlement between the Government and the roads and would enable them to meet the present losses, finance their needs, and continue to give employment to the men and service to the people.

The special session of Congress was convened on May 19 to pass the appropriation bills which had failed in the prior session, and as soon as they were out of the way the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce began the consideration of railroad legislation and for nearly 10 weeks held hearings and secured expert testimony on every proposition which anyone cared to present; these included the Plumb plan, proposed by the heads of the labor unions; the Warfield plan, proposed by the security holders; the executive plan, proposed by the owners; the Interstate Commerce Commission plan, proposed by Government heads; and other propositions. These hearings were published in three large volumes and comprise 3,669 pages and constitute the most exact information on the subject ever collected in the world. It has been the duty of the committee to draft a bill which would include what they felt to be the best of all the plans proposed, avoiding what they believed to be objectionable. On November 8 the Esch bill, named after the chairman of the committee, was finished and reported to the House. It contained guaranties necessary to continue the

standard return until such time as it was thought the owners could either reduce their expenses or increase incomes; it provided for many matters, such as rates, financing, regulations, and so forth, and included a labor section which, when changed by the Anderson amendment, was declared to be satisfactory by the labor leaders, and which passed the House on November 17. The Senate passed the Cummins bill a month later, and three days thereafter the two bills were sent to a conference composed of five of the most experienced members of the committees of each body which had prepared them, and whose duty it was to reach an agreement if possible. This conference committee met every day until February 19, when it reached a complete agreement and reported out the present bill. That it is the result of many compromises is, of course, true, nor can it be claimed that it is perfect. There are many features to which Members object, and there are those which I myself do not indorse; but it is the result of over seven months of close study by the most expert and experienced men of this Nation. I believe it to be a step forward in the better control and service by our transportation facilities so necessary to every farmer and business man, every factory and mine, and all labor. It provides for a settlement of accounts between the Government and the railroads; it stops the conflict of authority between State and Government regulation by giving full control to the Interstate Commerce Commission; it puts an end to watered-stock issues and railroad wrecking by giving the commission full power to authorize or refuse all issues of stocks or bonds, as well as to regulate railroad building, rates, service, and so forth. It provides for financing at a return to the Government at 6 per cent. It continues the same standard return provided in the Esch bill for a period of six months, during which time the wages now paid the men are not to be reduced. There is no further guaranty by the Government as alleged by those who oppose the bill. The rate-making section is not a guaranty. It merely directs the Interstate Commerce Commission that in so far as was practicable it should make rates that would yield "under honest, efficient, and economical management" earnings "equal to a fair return on the value of the railroad property," and that for two years 5½ per cent shall be taken as a fair return. Any establishment of rates, of course, will permit some roads to earn a large return, while small branch roads will earn less, and so the bill provides that of all profits earned over 6 per cent one-half shall be taken by the Government and placed in a fund to be used to assist the weaker roads, which is a provision that will be greatly appreciated both by the employees and the shippers on the many branch lines throughout the country.

The labor section is opposed by the labor leaders here in Washington, but after a careful study of its provisions I am unable to see wherein it is unfair to the employees. Having lost my father when a young man and inheriting no property, I have had to earn every dollar I possess or which has gone to the support of my family and the education of my children. I have always lived in a small town and have not even had a "speaking acquaintance" with capital, and my sympathies are always with those who must work for the needs of life. I have many railway employees in my district whose interests it is my duty to represent, compatible with the greater agricultural and business interests I am obligated to protect, and I would not knowingly do either an injustice, and I do not believe that this bill does so. Sections 301 and 302 simply provide that boards for labor adjustments may be established, and leaves it to the railroads and the employees to arrange between themselves as to how these boards may be formed and used, and provide that any carrier, or labor organization, or subordinate officials, or unorganized employees or officials to the number of 100 or more, may present their disputes to such boards. Section 304 to section 316 provide for the organization by the Government of a labor board, to which deadlocks and appeals from the adjustment boards may be taken. It is composed of nine members, paid by the Government, three members of whom are chosen from nominations made by the labor organizations, three from nominations made by the carriers, and three chosen by the President and confirmed by the Senate, who are to represent the public. No one is compelled to appeal to this board or to abide by its decision. It is not compulsory arbitration. The board has the right to make investigations on its own initiative, and has the power to procure evidence which, together with its decisions, when published, will leave to public opinion the condemnation of those who are at fault, recognizing that public opinion is our great governing force. Surely this is not unfair to labor, and I can not believe railroad employees can be induced to so misconstrue it.

Of course, the bill will be opposed by all those who favor Government ownership or an extension of Government control, but the people of my district, by a large majority, desire the railroads returned to their owners, and it is my duty to comply with their wishes, in which, for many reasons, I am in full accord.

To reject this conference bill would be to permit the return of the railroads on March 1, which is the time now set by the President, and which is but eight days away, without any provision for their maintenance or operation, which I believe would result in bringing about the financial and industrial crisis which we are endeavoring so earnestly to avoid. I would not share the responsibility which such action may involve. The people need, and must have, good, well-regulated transportation facilities, and I conscientiously believe this legislation will produce such results.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILTON H. WELLING.

OF UTAH,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 2, 1920.

Mr. WELLING. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the right to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit the bill to establish the standard of the weights, measures, and coins of the United States.

Accompanying the bill is a statement of the details of the legislation and an analysis of the measure prepared by Mr. Samuel Russell, who has given much thought and study to this problem and is an earnest advocate of the proposed reform.

The bill and statement are as follows.

A bill (H. R. 12850) to establish the standard and decimal divisions of the weights, measures, and coins of the United States.

Be it enacted, etc., That the standard of the weights, measures, and coins of the United States, and the decimal divisions thereof, shall, after the 1st day of January, 1921, be as follows:

The standard for the measure of length shall be the foot as heretofore commonly used and established as a measure of length in the United States of America, and which is the standard foot of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

The decimal divisions of the foot shall be the tenth or decimal inch, the hundredth or line, and the thousandth or point, of which 10 points equal 1 line, 10 lines equal 1 decimal inch, and 10 decimal inches equal 1 foot. One hundred points equal 1 decimal inch, and 1,000 points equal 1 foot.

The common fractions of the foot shall be the half, third, quarter, and twelfth, of which the twelfth shall be denominated the common inch.

The common multiples of the foot shall be the yard, the fathom, the rod, the furlong, and the mile, of which the yard equals 3 feet, the fathom equals 6 feet, the rod equals 16½ feet, the furlong equals 40 rods and the mile equals 320 rods.

The standard for the measure of plane surfaces shall be the square of the foot, which shall be designated the square. The decimal division of the square shall be the square of the decimal inch, which shall be designated the decimal square, and of which 100 decimal squares equal 1 square.

The squares of the respective multiples and divisions of the foot may be used for the measurement of plane surfaces.

The standard for the measure of land surfaces shall be the acre of 160 square rods. The square furlong equals 10 acres. The acre-foot is the measure of water, having a surface of 1 acre and a depth of 1 foot.

The standard for the measure of volume shall be the cube of the foot, which shall be designated the cube. The decimal division of the cube shall be the cube of the decimal inch, which shall be designated the decimal cube, and of which 1,000 decimal cubes equal 1 cube.

The cubes of the respective multiples and divisions of the foot may be used for the measurement of volume.

The standard for the measurement of weight shall be the weight of the cube of water at maximum density, which shall be designated the weight unit. The decimal unit for the measurement of weight shall be the ounce, which shall be the weight of the decimal cube of water at maximum density. The decimal divisions of the ounce shall be the dram and the grain, of which 10 drams equal 1 ounce, 1,000 grains equal 1 ounce. One hundred grains equal 1 dram.

The multiples of the ounce shall be the decimal pound, the weight unit, the quarter, and the ton, of which 10 ounces equal 1 decimal pound, 100 decimal pounds equal 1 weight unit, 1,000 ounces equal 1 weight unit, 8 weight units equal 1 quarter, 4 quarters equal 1 ton.

Multiples of the decimal pound of 10 ounces may be used for measures of weight.

The avoirdupois or common pound equals 16 ounces; the ton equals 2,000 avoirdupois pounds.

The standard for the measure of liquids shall be the liquid ounce, which is equal to the decimal cube, and of which 10 liquid ounces equal 1 decimal pint, and 1,000 liquid ounces equal 1 liquid cube.

Multiples of the decimal pint of 10 decimal cubes may be used for liquid or dry measure.

The standard for the measure of dry commodities shall be the cube measure, which is the cube of the foot. The common divisions of the cube for dry measure shall be the quart, the pot, the gallon, the peck, and the half cube, of which 2 quarts equal 1 pot, 2 pots equal 1 gallon, 2 gallons equal 1 peck, 2 pecks equal 1 half cube, 2 half cubes equal 1 cube.

The bushel shall be equal to 1,250 decimal cubes. The bushel is equal to 5 pecks, 10 gallons, 20 pots, or 40 quarts.

The water-flow unit shall be the flow of 1 cube of water in one second of time.

The mechanical-power unit shall be the quantity of power required to raise 1 weight unit 1 foot in one second of time.

The thermal unit shall be the quantity of heat required to raise 1 ounce of water 1 degree of the scale of the Fahrenheit thermometer.

The water-pressure unit is the pressure of 1 ounce in weight upon the surface of 1 decimal square.

The steam-pressure unit is the pressure of 1 ounce in weight upon the surface of 1 decimal square.

The Bureau of Standards shall, upon the basis of the standard weights and measures herein established, determine the standards for technical application in the arts and sciences.

The silver coins of the United States shall be the dollar, the 2-franc piece, the franc, and the dime. The weight of the dollar shall be 1 ounce, 900 fine, of silver; the weight of the 2-franc piece shall be 400 grains, or two-fifths of 1 ounce of silver, 800 fine; the weight of the franc shall be 200 grains, or one-fifth of an ounce of silver, 800 fine; and the weight of the dime shall be 100 grains, or one-tenth of an ounce of silver, 800 fine.

The minor coins of the United States shall be the nickel, the penny, and the cent. The weight of the nickel shall be 100 grains of an alloy of three parts of copper and one part of nickel; the weight of the penny shall be 100 grains of an alloy of 95 per cent copper and 5 per cent of tin and zinc; and the weight of the cent shall be 50 grains of an alloy of 95 per cent of copper and 5 per cent of tin and zinc, in such proportions as shall be determined by the Director of the Mint.

The gold coins of the United States shall be the pound, the eagle, and the double eagle. The standard weight of the pound shall be 294.8 grains of gold, 900 fine; the weight of the eagle shall be 589.6 grains of gold, 900 fine; and the weight of the double eagle shall be 1,179.2 grains of gold, 900 fine.

The standard of value shall be the dollar, equivalent to 58.96 grains of gold, 900 fine, or one-fifth of the gold pound.

The coins of the United States shall have the following relative values: 1 cent equals 10 mills, 1 penny equals 2 cents, 1 nickel equals 5 cents, 1 dime equals 10 cents, 1 franc equals 20 cents, 1 franc equals 10 pence, 2 francs equal 40 cents, 1 dollar equals 100 cents, 1 dollar equals 5 francs, 1 pound equals 5 dollars, 1 pound equals 25 francs, 1 eagle equals 10 dollars, 1 eagle equals 2 pounds, 1 eagle equals 50 francs, 1 double eagle equals 20 dollars, 1 double eagle equals 4 pounds, 1 double eagle equals 100 francs.

Congress has never exercised the authority conferred expressly by the Constitution to fix the standard of weights and measures for the United States, although this was regarded as a necessary project at the time of the union of the Colonies. The Articles of Confederation contained a similar provision in regard to a uniform system of weights and measures for the Colonies.

The fact that our common measures, in terms of the foot, the inch, the pound, the ounce, and the ton, have been preferred to the metric system, is because of their great superiority in point of convenience. The meter itself is a very inconvenient and awkward measure. The metric system, moreover, offers no unit between the centimeter of about 4 inches and the meter of about 40 inches; that is to say, it offers no unit of measure that is adapted, in a practical way, to the customary needs of the people. This is demonstrated by the fact that our yard measure, which is even more convenient for our purposes than the meter, has itself gone into relative obsolescence with the extended use of the more convenient foot as the primary unit of mensuration. The height of mountains, the depth of the sea, and the dimensions of all artificial structures are determined by the foot measure.

The clear preference of custom for the foot is not to be ignored. It is not a restricted or provincial view which declares the superiority of the foot over the meter. The fact is that every important country in the world has a similar customary unit. For example, the Roman pes is 11.65 inches, the Danish fod is 1.03 feet, the Swedish fot is 11.69 inches, the Norwegian fot is 12.35 inches. The Russian foute is exactly 12 inches, the Rhine fuss is 1.03 feet, the Vienna fuss is 1.037 feet, the Portuguese and the Brazilian pè is 1.08 feet, the French pied is 1.066 feet, the Attic pous is 1.011 feet, the Olympic pous is 1.051 feet, and the Japanese shaku is 0.994 foot. It thus appears that every important country in the world has adapted its customs of trade and mechanics to a measure analogous and almost exactly comparable to our present English foot.

The only virtue in the metric system is the convenience of computation resulting from the decimal notation upon which it is arranged. But even in the matter of decimal notation the metric system goes to such absurd extremes that the decimal multiples of the meter have been ignored and many of its other denominations have gone into disuse. A true decimal system has its advantages and is to be desired. It must be said, however, that the utility of the decimal system is confined to the divisions of the unit or standard. The decimal arrangement has no special utility when dealing with integers or units in any number whatever. Upon this principle we have ignored our eagles and double eagles when counting dollars, and for the same reason dekameters, hektometers, and myriameters are not much used.

The great consideration is to preserve our customary units of measure and weight and to bring the divisions of the same into proper decimal relations. This will afford all the advantages of the decimal features of the metric system and preserve for us the great convenience of our own common measures. Inasmuch as these common measures are practically universal in all countries they offer the only true basis for a real international system.

The desirability of a decimal arrangement was clearly perceived by James Watt, the great English engineer and mechanician. In November, 1783, he proposed the international "philosophical pound" of 10 ounces and the division of the ounce into 1,000 grains. He said, "Let all elastic fluids be measured by the ounce measure of water by which the valuation of different cubic inches will be avoided and the common decimal tables of specific gravities will immediately give the weights of those elastic fluids." The ounce to which Watt referred is the weight of the cube of one-tenth of the foot of water at maximum density. Watt was quick to perceive this decimal relation between the foot and ounce and proposed that the measure of weight be thus derived from the measure of length. Watt expressly stated that the proper plan for an ideal decimal system should retain the foot and the ounce. In a letter to Mr. Magellan he said:

"As to the precise foot or pound, I do not look upon it to be very material, in chemistry at least. Either the common English foot may be adopted according to your proposal, which has the advantage that a cubic foot is exactly 1,000 ounces, consequently the present foot and ounce would be retained; or a pendulum which vibrates 100 times a minute may be adopted for the standard, which would make the foot 14.2 of our present inches, and the cubic foot would be very exactly a bushel and would weigh 101 of the present pounds, so that the present pound would not be much altered. But I think that by this scheme the foot would be too large and that the inconvenience of changing all the foot measures and things depending on them would be much greater than changing all the pounds, bushels, gallons, etc. I therefore give the preference to those plans which retain the foot and the ounce."

There was a great deal of speculation at the end of the eighteenth century with respect to finding some definite measure in the natural world to which our artificial measures might be referred. There is obviously no such unit within the possibility of practical application. The most definite measure we have is that of time made by the diurnal revolution of the earth, which we have divided into 86,400 seconds. The pendulum adjusted to vibrate in seconds has a definite length at a given altitude and latitude. The second pendulum vibrating in a vacuum at London is 39.13908 inches in length. The standard foot has been determined to be $\frac{1}{39.13908}$ of the second pendulum at London, and by this method the foot has been referred to the second pendulum just as definitely as though it were an aliquot part of the pendulum. The theoretical advantage of changing the foot to the one-third or one-fourth part of the second pendulum would in no wise compensate for the tremendous inconvenience which would result. The present relation between the foot and the ounce by which the measures of weight may be derived from the measures of length would be definitely dislocated. The proper plan, therefore, is to decimalize the foot.

Thomas Jefferson clearly perceived this, and in 1790, while Secretary of State, elaborated a plan for this purpose. Jefferson divided the foot into inches, lines, and points comparable with the division of the French pied into pouces, lignes, and points. The French division is upon the duo-decimal system, whereas Jefferson's arrangement is upon the decimal system. The bill which has been introduced is in conformity with the original conception of Watt and with the essentials of Jefferson's plan. It is entirely practical and makes no radical alterations in our present measures, but merely points the way to their improvement in a true and convenient decimal system.

The foot is the unit from which the whole system is derived. One-tenth of the foot, or the decimal inch, is the primary division in the system. The square of the decimal inch is called the decimal square, and the cube of the decimal inch is called the decimal cube. The decimal cube of water at maximum density is the ounce. The ounce is divided into 1,000 grains, or, more properly, decimal grains, and the cube or cubic foot of water at maximum density is equal to 1,000 ounces and is called the weight unit. Thirty-two of these weight units constitute one ton.

It is intended that the decimal grain will be the unit for fine weights in the mechanical and chemical sciences, the ounce the unit for retail trade weights, and the weight unit for the measure of gross weights. It is intended that the point, 1,000 of which are equal to 1 foot, and 100 of which are equal to the decimal inch, will be the unit for fine mechanical and scientific measuration, in place of the fractions of the inch, the centimeter, and the millimeter. The proposed system is entirely logical, consistent, and practical and is built upon units long sanctioned by custom and utility. It brings order into our customary system of weights and measures and is formulated for this purpose. The time has come when Congres should exercise its constitutional power to establish a uniform, rationalized system of measures and weights for the United States. The plan proposed offers the only alternative to the metric system and is superior from every point of view to the metric system for our country.

It is also intrinsically superior as the standard for a true international system of mensuration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD S. BROOKS,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 2, 1920.

Mr. BROOKS of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I am particularly interested in this amendment providing for appropriation for continuing the work of commercial attachés in foreign countries, because I know of the importance of their work. My home, York city, is the third city in the great manufacturing State of Pennsylvania in point of diversified manufacturing industries. Only two cities in my State make a larger variety of goods.

The exporters of my city and of the entire country want this service continued, and I insist their needs should be regarded. I received the following letter from Hon. A. B. Farquhar, president of the A. B. Farquhar Co. (Ltd.), of York, Pa.:

YORK, PA., *February 26, 1920.*

Hon. E. S. BROOKS,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BROOKS: As a manufacturer of over 60 years and an exporter for over 50 years I have followed the work of the commercial attachés with a great deal of interest. This work has been of immense service and should be continued and enlarged, care being taken that our attachés should be familiar with business methods and, above all, with the language of the country to which they are sent. Notice the disposition on the part of some Members of Congress to drop this important department. Such action could only come of want of knowledge of their advantage and even necessity to the business of the country. We can not grow rich swapping jackknives; we must have foreign trade; and the commercial attaché is an important factor in foreign trade.

Very truly, yours,

A. B. FARQUHAR.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. GARLAND DUPRÉ,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 2, 1920.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the following resolutions of the New Orleans Board of Trade:

THE NEW ORLEANS BOARD OF TRADE, LTD.,
February 25, 1920.

Hon. H. GARLAND DUPRÉ,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Herewith please find resolutions adopted by the board of trade following the announcement made through the press that the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives had favorably reported a cut in the estimate for the foreign trade bureau of the Department of Commerce.

These resolutions are self-explanatory, and I sincerely trust that when the matter is presented to you, you will oppose vigorously the proposed cut.

Yours, very truly,

WARREN KEARNY, *President.*

Resolutions adopted by the New Orleans Board of Trade (Ltd.) February 21, 1920.

Whereas press reports announce that the Appropriation Committee of the House of Representatives has reported in favor of cutting the foreign-trade estimates of the Department of Commerce from $1,658,000 to $490,000; and

Whereas Secretary of Commerce Alexander advises that this reduction is the most serious blow ever aimed from within at our foreign trade, the sum allowed being only one-half of the appropriation now used; at the very time when our rivals have an almost overwhelming trade advantage in exchange rates, this bill proposes to handicap American manufacturers by practically withdrawing the helping hand of the Government. Almost on the day when our merchant marine becomes a fact, it is virtually announced that foreign trade is not worth supporting.

Funds for the promotion of trade in the Far East are cut in half. This means a great slacking of effort in a district where Japan, Germany, and England are redoubling their efforts.

The great markets of the East will return a thousandfold every dollar this Government spends there. The effect of the bill is the abolition of the department's commercial attachés and the reduction in the number of foreign-trade commissioners, despite the rapidly changing conditions in Europe and the critical reconstruction developments with which they have kept American manufacturers in touch.

As a result of the cut in appropriations, district offices must be abolished in New York, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, San Francisco, Seattle, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Dayton, Los Angeles, and Portland, Oreg.: Therefore be it

Resolved by the foreign-trade development committee, That the Board of Trade of New Orleans be requested to take immediate action in protesting to our Representatives in Congress against this extraordinary action undertaken in the name of economy, but which will result instead in great loss to the country's growing export trade now in the critical stage of development, and requiring the valuable assistance of the foreign-trade branch of the Department of Commerce in fostering its growth and expansion; be it further

Resolved, That the New Orleans Board of Trade take steps to secure the cooperation of commercial bodies throughout the South and Middle West in an effort to secure the passage of a bill carrying an adequate amount for the continuance and enlargement of the foreign-trade branch of the Department of Commerce.

WARREN KEARNY, *President.*
THOMAS F. CUNNINGHAM,
Chairman Foreign Trade Development Committee.

Spanish-American Pension Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILL TAYLOR,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 1, 1920.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the gentlemen from Texas [Messrs. CONNALLY, BLACK, and RAYBURN] take the ungenerous and anomalous position that inasmuch as this bill relieves the veterans of the Spanish-American War and the Philippine insurrection from the necessity of tracing their disabilities to service origin that, therefore, this bill is vicious and ought to be defeated. Why, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, this very provision so strenuously objected to by these distinguished gentlemen from the Lone Star State is the very basis, soul, and substance of this very meritorious measure and the chief reason for its enactment. These men came to the rescue of the Government in times of stress, and for this Government to treat them now as the priest and Levite treated the man who fell among thieves, when they have suffered misfortune and are in need of assistance—whether that misfortune resulted from their military service or not—would be the basest sort of ingratitude. The principle that the man who helped you when you were in trouble is entitled to similar treatment at your hands when he finds himself similarly situated applies with equal propriety to the relation of the country to its citizens. This principle is as old as justice herself, and it finds its highest expression and exemplification in the golden rule.

Simply because an American soldier, after he retires to civil pursuits and for some cause becomes disabled to earn a livelihood, can not trace his disability to his military service should be no bar to a pension at the hands of the Government, and a Government that would insist on such a barbarous and ungrateful condition would not, and could not, deserve long to endure.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD KNUTSON,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 2, 1920.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, in view of certain legislation now pending before Congress which proposes to appropriate $50,000,000 from the Federal Treasury for the ostensible purpose of giving food relief to Europe, I can not but feel that the report recently made by the Federal grand jury at Spokane is of especial interest and significance at this time, and under leave granted herewith append same for the consideration of Congress and the American people:

HOOVER IS HELPING SPECULATORS BY HIS PROPAGANDA, SAYS JURY—GOVERNMENT PURCHASE OF WHEAT AND FLOUR FOR EUROPE "WOULD MAKE PEOPLE HERE FOOT BILLS."

SPOKANE, WASH., *February 29.*

The Federal grand jury which recently ended its sessions here has made a scathing report to the United States Department of Justice, expressing belief that wheat speculators have used the credit of the United States Government to corner the great bulk of its stupendous 1919 wheat crop; that through their manipulations the price of wheat, and consequently the price of bread, has been increased 50 per cent.

Officials high in the United States Grain Corporation, organized by the Government to protect its citizens against just such manipulation, are mentioned in the report. At least one of them is accused of manipulating grain on a gigantic scale and reaping immense profit to himself.

Declaring that the Government can reduce the price of flour and related necessities whenever it so elects, the grand jury demands an immediate investigation into all grain centers of the United States. The report follows:

"When the Government appropriated $1,000,000,000 to buy the 1919 wheat crop, wheat receipts became as good as Government bonds. Banks were glad to loan money in any quantity to purchase wheat, for the money paid the farmers was immediately redeposited in the banks.

"The minimum price of wheat was fixed in the Northwest at $2.20 for soft wheat and $2.22 for hard wheat, coast points, and the prices paid the farmers were these sums, less freight to coast points, averaging about 13 cents per bushel, and certain other charges, which amounted to from 4 to 6 cents per bushel. In some cases a small premium was paid for hard wheat.

"The majority of the mills in the Northwest are owned by a half dozen concerns, and each in turn has a grain company, which is officered and operated by the men who own the milling concerns.

"EIGHTY-FIVE PER CENT OF CROP CORNERED.

"From a great mass of testimony presented before the grand jury we believe that 85 per cent of the 1919 wheat crop of this State, estimated at 42,000,000 bushels, went into the hands of these half dozen grain companies and was purchased prior to October 15, before any material advance in price.

"The banks of this State are honeycombed with warehouse receipts. Spokane banks at one time were carrying $9,000,000 worth of warehouse receipts, and it is not unusual to find that a small country bank has loaned $1,000,000 on wheat receipts.

"Having bought practically all of the wheat in the States of Oregon and Washington, these grain companies have been able to advance the price by sales to each other and through manipulations of the grain market centered at Minneapolis and by other methods.

"HOW PRICE WAS BOOSTED.

"Although the greater part of the wheat was purchased around $2.07, the grain companies are selling the wheat to their own milling concerns at the prevailing market price, which at present is from $3 to $3.30 per bushel for hard wheat. Their own mills are asserting the rights to manufacture flour on the basis of the price paid for the wheat—a price which is the result of their own acts of manipulation.

"The by-products of flour, bran, and shorts are a necessary food for dairy cattle, and the prices now demanded for these by-products mean destruction of the dairy industry.

"Under regulations existing in 1918, millers were prohibited from making more than 50 cents a ton on mill feeds, and a 'fair' price on carload lots was fixed by the United States Food Administrator at $28.75 per ton, while to-day mill feeds are selling in Spokane at $43 per ton, carload lots, and $50 at coast points.

"The Pacific Grain Co., the successor of the M. H. Houser Grain Co., the Pacific Coast Elevator Co., and the Puget Sound Warehouse & Elevator Co., are owned and operated in connection with the Portland Flour Mills concern, with headquarters at Portland, Oreg.

"BELIEVES HOUSER A MANIPULATOR.

"These corporations were owned by M. H. Houser, vice president of the United States Grain Corporation for the northwestern district. At the time he became vice president he made some kind of a transfer of his interests in these concerns, and does not at this time appear as the owner.

"The offices of the United States Grain Corporation for the northwestern district and the offices of the above named being located in a building owned by M. H. Houser in Portland, Oreg., it is, by reason thereof, the belief of the grand jurors that he, Houser, is the real party in interest in the milling and grain concerns above named, and that by reason of his connection with the United States Grain Corporation he has been able to manipulate and operate them to an immense profit to himself and associates.

"The Pacific Grain Co. admits having bought 11,000,000 bushels of the 1919 wheat crop.

"It is impossible for this district to obtain relief, for the grain companies threaten in case action is taken to force them to sell the grain to the mills at the price paid by them, plus a reasonable carrying charge, to close the mills and ship the grain to eastern points.

"ASKS ACTION ALL OVER COUNTRY.

"To frustrate any concerted plan of evasion, we would urge that the Department of Justice take simultaneous action in all wheat and flour centers of the United States.

"Lately the press reported that Julius Barnes, president of the United States Grain Corporation, had joined with Herbert Hoover in the purchase of one of the large newspapers of Washington, D. C. We now note daily newspaper articles which seem to indicate a propaganda is being carried on through the newspapers by Mr. Hoover, urging the financing on a huge scale of flour and wheat to foreign countries.

"According to press reports, former Secretary of the Treasury GLASS recommended to Congress the appropriation of $150,000,000 to purchase flour and wheat. It is our belief that this wheat is now owned largely by speculators and, in some cases, by interests directly and indirectly connected with some of the officers of the United States Grain Corporation. Sales to Europe will benefit only the purse of individuals and the consumer will pay the bills.

"GOVERNMENT CREDIT USED BY SPECULATORS.

"We believe the credit of this Government, through the national and Federal reserve banks, has been used by wheat speculators to carry the great bulk of the 1919 wheat crop, and that it is within the power of the Government to reduce the price of flour and related necessities whenever it chooses to act.

"Under section 5 of the act approved March 4, 1919, commonly known as the wheat-guaranty act, the President of the United States is given the power by proclamation to find what is a fair, just, or reasonable practice, device, rate, commission, charge, profit, or price. And we would recommend that a proclamation be issued under said act fixing a selling price of all wheat now held in the United States at the price paid the farmers, plus a reasonable carrying charge, said fixed price not to apply to the producer, and that similar prices be fixed on flour and mill feeds.

"We further recommend that no appropriation be made by Congress to finance the sales of wheat, flour, or mill products to foreign countries until such time as the American people are relieved from paying the extortionate prices now required of them by reason of the grain manipulation as herein stated.

"Dated this 7th day of February, 1920.

"L. ROY SLATER, *Foreman.*
"GEORGE W. FULLER, *Secretary.*"

Mr. Speaker, the Federal grand jury charge that there has never been such an orgy of profiteering in the history of the world as has been witnessed under this administration is absolutely correct. Where is that "pitiless publicity" of which the President prated so much when he first took office? What has become of his pledge made to the American people early in 1913 that he would reduce the cost of living? Why has it increased over 80 per cent since he took office? In this connection it may not be amiss to throw a little light on the sugar situation, and incidentally place the blame for the sugar shortage and the unheard-of prices which we now have to pay where it belongs.

On July 29, 1919, the Sugar Equalization Board, which was appointed by President Wilson to regulate the price and distribution of sugar during the war, was approached by representatives of the Cuban producers and offered the entire Cuban crop for 1919–20, or so much of it as might be necessary, at a price of about 6½ cents per pound. The board, with one exception, joined in recommending to President Wilson that the offer be accepted. This was on August 14. On September 20, having received no response from President Wilson—he was probably too busy with the League of Nations covenant to pay attention to so small a matter as the sugar supply of the American people—the president of the Sugar Equalization Board again wrote Mr. Wilson, informing him that quick action was necessary if the Cuban crop was to be secured. On September 23 the Cuban representatives advised the board that its offer was withdrawn.

The administration did not display any great interest in the Cuban sugar crop, but when the sugar crop from that rock-ribbed State of Democracy, Louisiana, was nearly ready for the market the Department of Justice, or rather Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer himself, sent the following telegram to the United States attorney at New Orleans, which speaks for itself and utterly refutes statements subsequently made by him:

NOVEMBER 8, 1919.

MOONEY,
United States Attorney, New Orleans, La.:

Your wire of the 8th, detailing results of conference. Consider agreed price rather high, but hereby concur in maximum fixed price of 17 cents for Louisiana plantation clarifieds, 18 cents for Louisiana clear granulated. Understanding that all contracts for a higher figure to be abrogated. Further suggest, if possible, you secure an agreement in writing by authorized committee of Louisiana producers and refiners, to be used as prima facie evidence where prices are charged in excess of agreement. You are hereby instructed to immediately prosecute any violator of this agreed price.

PALMER.

To-day sugar is selling as high as 25 cents per pound in Minnesota, and not a great deal to be had. England bought a large portion of the Cuban crop and speculators gobbled the balance. The speculators have been holding festive sway, and the Americans have been and are being robbed of millions and millions of dollars. An increase of 2 cents per pound in the cost of sugar represents an additional expense of $180,000,000 to the people at large. The amount in excessive profits which was made possible by the President's failure to act will run well up around the billion mark and may exceed that figure. I foresee that it will be possible for the Democratic national committee to raise the $5,000,000 campaign fund which they will use this year from the sugar speculators alone. It should not be necessary to call upon the hundreds and thousands of others who have amassed huge fortunes from fat war contracts and inside tips on the stock market.

Congress has given the Department of Justice everything it has asked for in the way of legislation to check profiteering. We have extended the life of the Lever food control act; we have done likewise for the Sugar Equalization Board and the Grain Corporation. We were told that all this was necessary to enable the Attorney General to act. Has he? Yes; he has compromised the Government's suit against the packers in a way most advantageous to the Big Five packers, who are paying the farmers less than 7 cents for cattle on the hoof, while we have to pay as high as 45 cents. Hogs bring less than 20 cents alive, while we are paying 38 and 40 cents per pound for the finished article. The Government minimum price on wheat was maintained until the farmers had sold nearly all of their crop. As soon as the speculators got hold of it prices commenced to soar. Ye gods, has there ever been such an orgy and saturnalia of profiteering in the history of man? If so, when and where? I fail to find anything like it in the annals of history. Think of a dollar only buying four pounds of sugar. Is it any wonder that the people are in an angry mood? The grumblings which the Attorney General hears over the country are not the mutterings of Bolshevists, as he would have us believe, but they come from a long-suffering people, who have been robbed and plundered by unscrupulous individuals who spell patriotism with a "y," and who would substitute the dollar mark for the stars in the beautiful emblem for which thousands and thousands have fought, bled, and died. But, my friends, let us not be dismayed or cast down. Just as sure as there is a God in the heavens, so sure will the great American people, the greatest jury in the world, register their verdict in November, and that verdict will consign the Democratic Party, the party of inefficiency, waste—yes, and worse—to the scrap heap, where it belongs. It has shown its utter incapacity to rule, and a woeful disregard for the best interests of the people as a whole.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. BABKA,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3, 1920.

Mr. BABKA. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday next the first American transport is destined to leave Danzig, the port of what is now the free country of Poland. Thousands of soldiers of Polish origin who resided in this country at the outbreak of the late war and who volunteered for service in the armies of our allies, because of their ineligibility to serve in our Army by reason of the fact that they were not citizens of the United States and, in the cases of many of them, because they came from that part of Poland under Prussian rule, are stranded in camps near this port, unable to come home, as they are

without funds. They were unable to save anything out of their meager pay, which was made up of voluntary contributions and which was barely enough to keep their bodies and souls together. They were transported across the seas on the transports of our allies, Great Britain and France, neither of whom seem able to assist them now. Mr. Speaker, these men were actuated by the spirit of most noble patriotism to go to the assistance of the land of their origin in its hour of need. Many of them tried to enlist in our Army, but because of the technical obstacles in the way were denied admittance. They fought to preserve and maintain the same ideals that our boys fought for; their cause was our cause; and now that the war is over and the work done it is fitting and proper that our Government bring them back to their adopted land, the land which they left only to serve the high and noble purposes that I have mentioned. When they embarked upon this noble journey many of them left wives and children behind in this country. Their families are anxiously waiting for their early return. They need their support. They were willing to bear the burdens of life while the conflict was on, but now that it is over it is only just and fair that their husbands, fathers, and brothers be returned to them. Mr. Speaker, I know of no nobler act that we can do than to give our assistance to these valiant men. They will no doubt prove an asset to our country. They are of a people that have long been a credit to our citizenship. Men of Polish blood have served with honor and distinction in our Army. Two splendid young men of Polish blood, namely, Adam Blazikowski and John Cochanski, citizens of Ironwood, Mich., have the honor of capturing the first German prisoners in the war. We need more men of the noble spirit that these men have exhibited in this country. You do not find any Reds among their class. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to note the almost unanimous approval of this resolution by this House.

Penny Postage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. B. ROUSE,
OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1920.

Mr. ROUSE. Mr. Speaker, on the 7th day of December, 1916, I introduced in the House of Representatives a bill to reduce the postage on local first-class mail and on mail matter of the first class on local rural routes. The wording of the bill was as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That upon all mail matter of the first class and all mail matter of the first class on local rural routes postage shall be charged on and after the 1st day of July, 1917, at the rate of 1 cent per ounce or fraction thereof.

This bill was never considered by the House on account of the World War.

On December 5, 1919, I reintroduced the bill, using the same language except as to the date on which the bill would be effective. The reintroduced bill provides for the reduction of postage to be effective July 1, 1920.

I referred this bill to the Postmaster General and asked for the attitude of the department on same. I insert herewith a letter from the Postmaster General giving his indorsement to the provisions of the bill:

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, D. C., February 3, 1920.

Hon. A. B. ROUSE,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. ROUSE: Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of the 29th instant, inclosing a copy of bill H. R. 11203, introduced by you, for the reduction of postage on first-class mail intended for local delivery.

The rates of postage on the various classes of mail should be more equitably arranged. At this time the first-class mail yields a very large profit, while there is a very heavy loss in the transportation and handling of mail of the second class. As the rates on second-class mail have been increased during the past two years and will continue to be increased under the present law until July 1, 1921, when they will reach the maximum, it is believed that the public should have the benefit of these increases through reduced rates on the class of mail which now yields the greatest profit and what is known as drop letters or first-class mail intended for local delivery. As your bill proposes to do this, it has my approval and I trust it will be favorably acted on at an early date.

Sincerely,

A. S. BURLESON,
Postmaster General.

Mr. Speaker, on the 13th day of January, while the annual Post Office appropriation bill was before the House, I inserted in my remarks on the bill a statement which I obtained from Hon. John C. Koons, First Assistant Postmaster General, which showed that during the three months of October, November, and December, 1919, the revenues of the Post Office Department were increased more than 10 per cent over the corresponding period of 1918, and bear in mind during the same months of 1918 the people were paying 3 cents an ounce on first-class matter.

These figures show the enormous increase in business in the Post Office Department. It is estimated that the profit on first-class postage amounts to approximately $72,000,000 a year and the profit on parcel post amounts to $10,000,000 a year.

The reduction may not be equaled in dollars by increased business the first year of its adoption, but, in my opinion, it will more than make up the loss in postage after the first year.

The faithful employees who administer the Postal Service are entitled to an increased compensation. The commission to investigate postal salaries, of which I have the honor of being a member, should make its report in the near future in order that the increases, which I firmly believe will be provided for, can be included in the appropriation bill which will become effective the 1st of July.

If there is a surplus after the payment of all appropriations, it should be distributed among those who make possible the many millions of profit.

Compulsory Military Training.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MASON,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1920.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, one of the live questions before Congress and the people is the compulsory military training bill. As I was desirous of taking the sentiment of the people in my State, I addressed a letter to the Republican precinct committeemen, more than 3,000, outside of Chicago. In the letter asking for this opinion I gave my reasons for opposing the first bill introduced, which had the approval, as I was informed, of the administration and General Staff. It is House bill 8287. It was introduced by the distinguished chairman, Mr. KAHN. I wished my constituents to know why I opposed that bill. I asked these two direct questions, as follows: "Are you in favor of compulsory military training of all American boys of 18 years of age? Second, if you favor the general principle, are you in favor of passing that law at the present time?" Over 1,500 have answered, all courteously, as Republican committeemen always do. I have received so far very few who have answered that they were in favor of compulsory military training. At this time in making this statement, to be entirely fair, out of the more than fifteen hundred answers received at least fourteen hundred are opposed to compulsory training, and so answered in response to the first question. Out of the 150 who answered that they were in favor of compulsory military training, more—very much more than one-half of them—qualified their answers, some of them saying it should be done in the public schools, some saying that it should not be done under the present administration, but not 2 in 100 of the answers I have received have answered that they were in favor of compulsory military training and in favor of beginning now. I have received letters from these same committeemen, at least 300, giving a variety of reasons for opposing compulsory military training in any form.

Many of them have stated on the cards or in the letters that they are opposed to it, because just now they need all the help of their boys, particularly on the farms; scores of them have opposed it because they say that they do not want their boys put under the training of the Regular Army at 18 on account of the temptations that surround; hundreds of them have said that compulsory military training is what killed the Kaiser, and we do not want to imitate him; and hundreds of them have said we have millions of young men already trained and they will volunteer in case of emergency. Many of them say we have taxes enough now; very many of them replied stating they have no reply to my request to get the sentiment of the voting people in their precincts, and in every such case they stated that practically everyone they talked to was opposed to compulsory military

training. Some of them responded saying I could use their names, but not having that authority from all I shall not take the liberty of using their names. In my letter of request I asked those who favored the immediate passage of the compulsory training bill to suggest how to get the money, and out of those who were in favor of the immediate passage of a compulsory military training measure only two suggested the means of raising the revenue. One was to discharge a lot of Government employees and one suggested an increase in the surplus-profit tax. I think it fair to set out here a copy of the letter I wrote them, and if any of my colleagues find that I have misquoted any part of the bill I was discussing I shall be glad to have my attention called to it. It may be stated that other bills have been or will be introduced that are less offensive, and we will take care of those bills when they are presented to the House. One of my correspondents favored putting all of the boys of 18 after three months service into the Regular Army and then into war, in case of war. The act of May 18, 1917, and August 31, 1918, immediately comes into force and uses as far as possible the organization created by this act. One of my correspondents who favors this says that I should take the figures of an expert as to the cost.

Of course, no two experts agree. The estimates agree that there will be a million boys compelled to train the first year and one and one-half million the second year, and anyone now who will look over the cost of the present administration of "mobilizing" can not fail to reach the conclusion that it will take in the second year at least a billion dollars. The loss to the Government in production alone, in the farms, factories, and offices, would be at least $500,000,000, and the debt we have to pay, which we must pay by production, will grow larger instead of smaller. One enthusiastic correspondent who wants this money spent, and spent now, does not stop at all to consider that the manner of raising taxes is more burdensome now than ever. The internal-revenue tax has been depleted, as we all know; the import duties, under the low tariff passed by our Democratic brethren, does not produce within a million dollars a day of what it ought to produce and what it did under a protective tariff. So that all taxes are direct taxes and add to the high cost of living. We know there is great unrest, and we know that unrest comes from the fact that the income of those who work has not kept pace with the high cost of living. The farmer is taxed in every way, not only on his implements but the high cost of living in his family and for labor. This tax on farmers makes it necessary for him to get more on everything, including the hides of his cattle. The tanner must get more for tanning the hides; every man in the shoe factory, including the owner, must have more for manufacturing the shoes, so that all of this taxation is reflected in the high price of the shoes, and that tax on the consumer of the shoes is the same to the man who labors as it is to the millionaire. This is true of everything that we eat and wear, everything that we consume, and I defy any student to show how it is possible to add even $500,000,000 annual taxes without increasing the high cost of living. If the man who labors must pay more for his food and clothing, he must have an increased wage, and if Mr. Rockefeller is called upon for additional taxes, he adds it to the price of gasoline for your car and kerosene for your lamps. So I most respectfully insist that even one-half a billion dollars added to our tax is the burning of our candle at both ends. The direct tax adds to the cost of living, and taking the stalwart young men off of the farms and out of the shops and offices destroys production, and that decreases the supply and also adds to the high cost of living. Mr. Speaker, there may come a time when you can please the people by increasing their burdens, but that time is not now.

I wish, in conclusion, to answer the claims of those who are in favor of immediate compulsory military training. Of course, we all believe in preparedness. There are many things necessary to be prepared. One of the essential things is the man power. The other essential thing is to have the machinery of war, including equipment and supplies for every one of the many branches of the military service, and when those people who are supporting the lobby here in Washington to secure immediate compulsory military training send out their propaganda that the United States suffered by reason of the inefficiency of our man power, I deny it. The young men of this country were ready to fight our battles and prepared to do it long before we were ready to arm and equip them for the service. If delays came, it was not from want of patriotism, it was not from the failure of brain, heart, or muscle in the American youth. These delays came from the incompetence of big business men of this country and from the failure of the administration to function in the preparation of arms, ammunition, airplanes, and guns, great and small. One of the circulars issued by the organization that questions the loyalty and patriotism of every man who disagreed with them sends out this circular trying to make it appear that loss of honor and prestige came to the American arms by reason of the untrained condition of our boys. I will not recount now the shame and disgrace from the waste of the billion dollars in the hands of the airplane incompetents, nor would I mention the fact of the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars to build a powder city without producing a pound of powder for the Army, nor would I call attention to the billion dollars that was stolen by the contract traitorous profiteers from our country while we were at war, if it were not for the fact that many of those men who have grown rich on Government contracts and whose property came by reason of the delays in manufacture, are now the ones who are crying for this additional tax for compulsory military training, and claim that our delays in preparedness was by reason of the lack of training in the man power. Have you forgotten that under section 6 we authorized the President of the United States to take over a hundred thousand men who were ready to go with Roosevelt to fight the very first campaign after the declaration of war? Have you forgotten that I charged on this floor that this very President refused to let them go on account of his political animosity toward Roosevelt? Have you forgotten how you explained by saying that they did not have the Army equipment? Have you forgotten how in many camps they drilled with broomsticks? Have you forgotten how the Secretary of War delayed the manufacture of machine guns?

Have you read Pershing's report, where in cold, cold figures he shows the unpreparedness of the War Department? Will you turn to page 69 of his report, and find that in four months of 1918, when he had cabled for supplies, during these months the Government failed to send him over 960,000 tons of supplies which he had asked for? Have you forgotten our shortage of ships, and will you still lay our misfortune to failure of man power while you were preparing to sell a great fleet of ships to our commercial rivals for 20 per cent of their actual value? If we want to be prepared, let the Military Affairs Committee, in response to my resolution, recommend some legislation so that the War and Navy Departments may have a complete knowledge of every manufacturing plant in the United States, so that on 24 hours' notice they could begin to supply arms, munitions, and equipment. In our own arsenals we should have presses, drills, and all of the other machinery necessary in the preparation of our defense. Then let us have a good, strong standing Army, as provided for in the present bill; maintain liberally our training of officers at West Point and Annapolis; give good pay to these men who make military service their life work; keep a few of the powder plants that you have spent so much money to build, instead of giving them away to speculators, and let the Regular Army keep them in order and ready for quick action—and even then, with all of the war material to be supplied at quick notice, the patriotic young men of this country will be ready to shoot before you will be ready to give them a gun.

Mr. Speaker, I am tired of reading the stuff from the millionaires' club about the failure of man power. Once again, in defense of my position, I return to the report of Gen. Pershing. Read, I beg of you, his report on the actual battles of the war; read the different phases of the Argonne, Chateau-Thierry. Begin with the first engagement; read, in his simple language, how, when it was left for him to choose between two sectors and he chose the more difficult one, because, "in my opinion, no other allied troops had the morale or the offensive spirit to overcome successfully the difficulties that had to be met in the Meuse-Argonne sector * * * and so the Meuse-Argonne front was chosen."

That sector had a front of 150 kilometers. Read how they moved, these "untrained, undisciplined" boys under the command of Pershing, moved and carried out the plan agreed to between Foch and Pershing. At sunrise September 12 they overwhelmed the enemy, and all of the objectives were reached by the afternoon of September 13. They captured 16,000 prisoners, 443 guns, large stores of material and supplies. On the 15th and 16th they moved beyond the objectives originally laid down and stabilized the line, the line that the enemy never crossed again except as a prisoner of war. Pershing says with his characteristic modesty: "The material results of the victory achieved were very important. An American Army was an accomplished fact, and the enemy had felt its power. No form of propaganda could overcome the depressing effect on the morale of the enemy of this demonstration of our ability to organize a large American force and drive it successfully through his defenses. It gave our troops implicit confidence in their superiority and raised their morale to the highest pitch." Read his report on the different phases of the Ar-

gonne; find in it one word, if you can, of the lack of training; no such complaint is there; but he says in conclusion of his report of the second phase on the Argonne: "It was the spirit of determination animating every American soldier that made it impossible for the enemy to maintain the struggle until 1919."

Thousands of our men had been well trained in the National Guard, thousands had been well trained as cadets in the public schools. Every lad that attended one of the "little schoolhouses" had drilled into him every day two great essentials for the soldier—love of country and courage. No, Mr. Speaker; let those who believe in militarism burden the people with more taxes if they will, let them add to the high cost of living, let them take the boys out from the influence of home, placed in units in the Regular Army, make them, if you will, subject to the Articles of War before they are 19 years old, to be used in any form asked by Congress, whenever and wherever the President of the United States may direct; but when you make this step in imitation of the Kaiser, do not say that it was necessary by reason of inefficiency on the part of the American youth.

Commercial Attachés.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ERNEST R. ACKERMAN,
OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3, 1920.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I regret exceedingly to have to differ with the committee that has given so much time and consideration to this bill, to the extent of having held hearings on the same which produced 2,600 pages of testimony, and if the times were of only ordinary importance I would hesitate long and seriously before attempting to put my judgment against those who have served so much longer in the House than I have. However, I happen to have seen the activities of our competitor nations in every continent, and I believe it would be highly unwise at the present time, in view of the great importance of maintaining our foreign trade, especially when foreign nations have announced that they are not going to purchase from us anything more than they possibly can do so, therefore it seems to me to be the very occasion when we should put forth not only extra efforts to retain the trade which we already have but additional efforts so as to increase it.

In the district which I have the honor of representing are located manufactories having world-wide points of distribution for their products, and the hold they have in the markets of the world must be maintained if they are to keep up home activities and thus keep therein steadily employed the thousands of employees now earning remunerative wages.

I have seen the products of their factories in Constantinople and Beirut, Cairo and Wady-Halfa, Caracas and Port of Spain, Rio de Janeiro and Santos, Montevideo and Valparaiso, Buenos Aires and Mendoza, Yokohama and Osaka, Shanghai and Peking, Reikjavik and Tromsoe, Calcutta and Darjeeling, Rangoon and Mandelay, Hongkong and Macau, Mukden and Seoul, Kobe and Nagasaki, Batavia and Djokakarta, Colombo and Kandy, Palermo and Naples, Kingston and St. Vincent, Progreso and Merida, Guadalajara and Chihuahua, Madrid and Lisbon, Singapore and Johore, Agra and Delhi, Prague and Botzen, Warsaw and Helsingfors, Leichtenstein and Monaco.

Last fall when in Paris in the interest of the trade-finance bill which I had the honor of introducing into the House last July, and which has since become a law, I had an interview with Francois Crozier, the ministere plenipotentiaire and directeur de l'office national du commerce exterieur. He told me of the vigorous policy that the French were about adopting in their efforts to extend their foreign trade, and one of them was the chartering of a special train to traverse the Dominion of Canada next summer for a period of 80 days which would carry large samples of everything that France had to sell and which they wanted Canada to buy, and which was to be accompanied by commercial attachés that could intelligently explain whatever inquiries might be made by intending purchasers.

May I also be permitted to refer to the many resolutions that have been passed by trade organizations explaining why it would be unwise to curtail this service at the present time?

Here are the resolutions unanimously adopted Friday, February 27, at a meeting of protest held in New York City, against the reduction of funds for the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, at which the following large trade organizations were represented: National Foreign Trade Council, National Association of Manufacturers, American Manufacturers' Export Association, American Exporters and Importers' Association, Merchants' Association of New York, National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, American Bankers' Association, National Association of Credit Men, Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, Tanners' Council of the United States of America, Rubber Association of America, American Chamber of Commerce for Brazil, International Association of Garment Manufacturers, New York Board of Trade and Transportation, Bridgeport Chamber of Commerce, Queens Borough Chamber of Commerce, and Bronx Board of Trade:

Whereas this is an appropriate time for constructive economy by Congress, but is most certainly not the time for a false economy which will hamper or restrict our foreign commerce and thereby diminish the Government revenues; and

Whereas the export trade of the United States must be maintained in order to supply an outlet for the full productive capacity of our factories, and in order to maintain conditions of steady employment after the present abnormal domestic demand has subsided; and

Whereas such foreign trade is seriously menaced in many of our best known foreign markets by adverse exchange and by the ever-increasing competition of foreign nations; and

Whereas the value of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, especially to our smaller manufacturers, has been definitely established; and

Whereas the services afforded by the bureau under the appropriations requested of Congress are inadequate properly to carry on the work of obtaining and disseminating information on foreign markets; and

Whereas the work of the commercial attachés of the bureau is vital to the successful maintenance of the service of foreign information; and

Whereas Great Britain maintains commercial secretaries in most of her foreign embassies and legations, and is making elaborate plans to land governmental support to British foreign trade; and

Whereas our Government has been requested for enormous sums for military and naval purposes (Army, $982,000,000; fortifications, $117,000,000; Military Academy, $6,000,000; Navy, $573,000,000), while the "services of construction" have asked for the meager appropriation of $1,833,190, in order to support a foreign trade valued in 1919 at over $10,000,000,000; and

Whereas the Customs Service of our Government has been so handicapped by lack of funds as to result in the serious delay in the compilation of our import and export figures; and

Whereas such delay is resulting in the falsification and vitiation of our trade statistics; and

Whereas 15,000,000 American people are directly supported by American foreign trade, including in this number all elements of our agricultural, industrial, seafaring, railroad, and raw material workers: Be it

Resolved, That the original appropriation of $1,833,190 requested the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce is inadequate to carry on this important work; that any decrease in this appropriation would be disastrous to American foreign trade; that the commercial attachés' service is essential to the securing of authentic business information nowhere else obtainable; that the Customs Service should be granted funds adequate to maintain an accurate and up-to-date service of trade statistics; that all other departments of the Government concerned with foreign trade should be granted sufficient appropriations to enable them to deal in a constructive manner with a national foreign trade that has undergone enormous developments; that the previous policy of Congress favorable to foreign trade, as evidenced by the Webb law, Edge law, etc., can be reversed only at the risk of hampering seriously our foreign trade and of causing thereby conditions of employment and general depression; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution, and of the argument on which it is based, be submitted to all Members of Congress; and that a committee be appointed to bring this matter to the attention of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives.

Therefore I hope this amendment will be adopted.

Return of the Polish Legion to the United States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,
OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3, 1920,

On the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 156) authorizing the Secretary of War to bring back on Army transports from Danzig, Poland, residents of the United States of Polish origin who were engaged in the war on the side of the allied and associated powers.

Mr. LONERGAN. Mr. Speaker, this resolution should pass at once, so that the young men of Polish origin who readily volunteered to fight on the side of the Allies so as to crush their ancient enemy should be returned as soon as possible to the United States.

I remember, in September, 1918, when there was held in New Britain, Conn., in Hartford County, which I have the honor to represent, a meeting of the friends of the Polish Legion at a big benefit for the Polish White Cross.

The new premier of Poland, Ian Paderewski, was present, and spoke in warm terms of the culmination of Poland's dream for freedom.

Hundreds of young men went out from Hartford, New Britain, and other Connecticut cities to join the Polish Legion. They went with the sanction of the United States. Some went early in the war and were recruited through Canadian sources and others later going directly from the United States. They knew that the President of the United States had expressed it as an axiom of world peace that Poland should have her freedom, and they felt rightly that in serving the United States they were serving Poland.

France and Great Britain at the time transported the men to Europe. The United States can hardly state that it will not return these men to their homes in America.

Mr. Chairman, the efforts of Poland in the war have been prodigious. Caught between the Russian autocracy, the German bureaucracy, and the Austrian monarchy, she nevertheless kept alive the light of freedom, and the world as well as herself is to be congratulated on her success.

I trust the present measure will prevail and that these men will soon be among us again.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MOSES P. KINKAID,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 21, 1920,

On the conference report on the bill (H. R. 10453) to provide for the termination of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation; to provide for the settlement of disputes between carriers and their employees; to further amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. KINKAID. Mr. Speaker, some are in doubt as to how the pending bill will operate if enacted, but this is the way with all legislation. Extended hearings and seemingly very mature deliberations have been accorded the measure, and the time will have arrived in a few days when the roads are to go back to their owners pursuant to the proclamation made by the President December 24, 1919, for their return to private ownership March 1. By virtue of this presidential proclamation the roads will be returned to private ownership on the date named, independently of any act of Congress. The purpose of the pending measure is to facilitate their return and to promote successful operation thereafter. It has been made clear by the hearings that without the help of the provisions contained in the pending bill, financial and otherwise, the roads would not be able to function very long, but would go into the hands of receivers.

The questions of Government ownership and Government operation for two or five years longer are not involved, inasmuch as the proclamation has already been made for the return to private ownership, and in the opinion of the able chairman of the committee is now in effect and irrevocable. The membership of the House who oppose the bill freely grant that neither the question of Government ownership nor further Government operation is here in issue; in fact, most of the opponents of the measure express themselves as opposed to further governmental operation or Government ownership outright. Anyhow, the great majority are of the opinion that the Government can not longer endure the financial burden of Government operation, since the losses since January 1 have been at the rate of $100,000,000 per month.

The books show that in operating expenses alone the Government has lost $854,423,434. The books also show that the Government has loaned and advanced to the roads, for which they are indebted to the Government, the sum of $938,316,551, and there are other liabilities amounting to $93,283,900. But the roads can not pay this at the present time, and it must be funded. Members of the committee have ascertained that by adding the advancements and loans made by the Government to the actual losses in operation there is realized a total of $1,792,739,985, which the Government now has invested in the roads.

This bill will add $200,000,000 more to that as an appropriation to help the roads resume operation under private ownership, thus making a grand total of $2,086,322,885. But the committee reports that there will yet remain a deficit that the Congress will be called upon to appropriate for, whereby to satisfy the liabilities of the Government for its operation, of $436,322,885. And besides this it has been necessary for this bill to provide for an appropriation of $300,000,000 more to be loaned to the roads within the next two years to keep them going in a normal way. Some members of the committee who have given the matter very faithful and careful investigation are fearful that yet more financial help will have to be granted by the Government than I have already mentioned. Certainly the losses of the Government, which is the loss of the taxpayers, during Government operation already had, is to be greatly deplored, and it is evident this would prove ruinous, continued at the rate of a loss of $100,000,000 per month.

But it must be granted that the efficient operation of the railroads to the full extent of their capacities is indispensable to the welfare of every industry and every individual interest of the Nation. Inefficient operation and inadequate accommodations of passenger and freight service are demoralizing and injurious to business interests to the extent to which these evils may exist.

The report has gone abroad that the bill contains a guaranty of a profit or dividend of 5½ per cent to the railways, but the able chairmen of the House and Senate committees have both explained that this clause does not guarantee any certain profit or dividend to the roads, and in substance that it constitutes a limit upon the earning power the amount which shall be made and retained by the railroads; that not more than 6 per cent profit or dividend can be realized without yielding one-half of the excess thereof to the Government, to be devoted as a revolving fund to the improvement of railways in general.

But viewed in a general way, the prosperity of the railroads is necessary to their continued and efficient operation. Adequate accommodations can not and will not be afforded unless a reasonable income shall be realized, and thus there are involved the interests of every shipper and every passenger, and the interests of everyone in any way concerned, directly or indirectly. It is very plain, too, that the roads must produce reasonable financial returns, or adequate wages and salaries can not be paid the employees. It logically follows that every industry and all of the people have a community of interest in the efficient and successful operation of the railways, and this means that they must be reasonably prosperous that the end may be realized; hence the necessity and justification for granting the financial aid provided by the bill.

What warrant have we for the belief that private operation will prove more successful than that by the Government, now to be terminated March 1? It is that for more than a decade previous to the commencement of the war the efficiency and prosperity of railroads had been making gains, and that the three years immediately preceding the war recorded the best service, accommodations, and greatest prosperity of our railway history. And why can not this be repeated with the war over and readjustment completed, when the latter shall be fully realized? On the other hand, figures show there never has been a period when greater volumes of freight and greater numbers of passengers were carried, with higher charges imposed for each, than what has occurred during governmental operation, while at the same time the greatest complaints of inadequate freight and passenger car accommodations and inefficiency in the service have occurred of any time in our history.

Certainly, due allowance should be made for the circumstances of war, with the attendant obstacles and disadvantages, yet this, with higher priced employees, constituted one of the reasons for the increased rates required to be paid by patrons. Thus the comparisons of the only Governmental operations with that of private ownership management are favorable to the operation of the roads by their owners, and it is believed that this justifies giving a preference to providing the legislation contained in the pending bill, to accompany the private ownership operation, to ensue by virtue of the proclamation made by the President for the return of the roads to take effect independently of any legislation by the Congress. Why need the roads be financed by the Government, when, previous to the war, such had not been the case; especially why, when private ownership operation during the three years immediately preceding the war was so successful and satisfactory? This is the effect of governmental operation. By this is meant the private ownership operation of the individual railways or individual systems has been obliterated and supplanted by all the railways being merged together as one great system under Government control during the war. These separate individual systems must now be reorganized and reestablished and time will be required to accomplish this. During governmental operation there has been no chance whatever afforded for competition between the individual roads or systems, with the result that the incentive to efficiency, increasing volumes of business, and consequent profit and dividends, with the distinction to be gained

by chief officers for their business qualifications, has been destroyed. What has been everybody's business and responsibility in general has not been fixed upon particular individuals—in other words, the individual responsibility has been so widely distributed as to render identification impossible.

A governmental general freight manager of one of the largest systems, who, because of his efficiency, was continued by the Government in the official position the duties of which he had discharged so successfully for several years previous to the war, is reputed to have stated that one of the chief objections to governmental operation was the lack of competition, which had been destroyed by a combination of all the railways and systems into one. However, I do not maintain that competition carried to the extent of a survival of the fittest would be economic either for the railways or the patrons of the roads; but I do insist that latitude for incentive of individual initiative and a reasonable reward therefor to employees, operators, and stockholders should be continually kept alive, that a high degree of efficiency be attained and preserved.

The financial relief afforded by the pending bill may reasonably suggest the inquiry whether the Government is going to make it a policy to subsidize the railways. I for one am positively opposed to such a policy, and I am satisfied that such is the attitude of Members of Congress generally, if not entirely. I am convinced that with the consideration accorded the railways in the pending bill they will be expected to make good generally; but they and the merits of this legislation will be deemed to be on trial, and it is hoped they may succeed so far in the public estimation as to vindicate the relief afforded by the measure. If this end may be accomplished, all industrial and individual interests and economic conditions in general will have been very greatly advanced.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS GALLAGHER,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3, 1920,

On the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of Senate joint resolution 156, being a resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to bring back on Army transports from Danzig, Poland, residents of the United States of Polish origin who were engaged in the war on the side of the allied and associated powers."

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I trust there will be no opposition or delay in passing this resolution from the Committee on Rules. It comes before us as a unanimous report from the committee, and the Senate has already passed, without opposition, joint resolution 156 for this purpose.

The Secretary of War desires authority to bring back these troops, and it will seem strange if there should be any delay or long debate in this matter, when it is said that United States Government transports are bringing back Czecho-Slovak troops to this country—and I am not opposed to it—without any authority of law. The reason we should hurry the passage of this resolution is because of the fact that the next American transport that is to leave for Danzig, the free port of Poland, is to sail the latter part of the week, and we want these soldiers brought back.

No troops in the allied army fought more bravely or rendered more patriotic service than did this Polish Volunteer Army raised in the United States. After the signing of the armistice they were sent from France to the eastern front of Poland to protect that border from Bolsheviki attack. Some ten or twelve thousand of them are now in concentration camps near Warsaw, Poland; they are without means and desire to return to America, and I believe it to be one of the first duties of this Government to see that they are returned here to their parents, relatives, and friends.

As I have stated, the Senate very promptly passed the resolution, and while there is some talk here of striking from the resolution the preamble, I can see no reason why it should not be adopted as passed by the Senate. Let me read the resolution and preamble:

Joint resolution (S. J. Res. 156) authorizing the Secretary of War to bring back on Army transports from Danzig, Poland, residents of the United States of Polish origin who were engaged in the war on the side of the allied and associated powers.

Whereas there are now in concentration camps at or near Warsaw, Poland, and have been since November, 1919, upward of 12,000 residents of the United States of Polish origin who were equipped and transported at the expense of Great Britain and France from the United States to Poland, and who were engaged in active service in behalf of the allied cause during the war; and

Whereas they are desirous of returning to their homes in this country and are without means to accomplish such repatriation: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That authority be, and hereby is, given to the Secretary of War to use such Army transports as may be available to bring back to the United States from Danzig, Poland, such residents of the United States of Polish origin as were engaged in the war on the side of the allied and associated powers.

I represent, I believe, one of the largest Polish settlements in the United States; the headquarters of the Polish National Alliance and the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, great national organizations, are in my district. Many of these men of the Polish Army are from Chicago and my district, and a large percentage of them, although willing, were not eligible to join the American Army; they were not covered by the American draft regulations, and while a large proportion were aliens, former residents of German Poland, Austrian Poland, and Russian Poland, they were inspired by the same principles for which we fought and volunteered to serve with little or no pay. They were recruited under the auspices of the Polish National Committee, and fought for the freedom of their country, for liberty and justice.

Nearly 25,000 joined the Polish army in America and were transported to the French front by the French Government. A great many of them have been released and have returned, and it seems but an act of justice on the part of our Government to bring back the rest of these troops to America.

On February 14 I received a letter from the Polish daily, Kurjer Narodowy, 1225 North Ashland Avenue, Chicago, asking me "to join in the request of Secretary Baker for permission to transport to America 12,000 former residents of America who joined Gen. Haller's army," signed "Jos. Borkowski, Mgr."

Also a telegram asking me "to favor this resolution" from "the National Polish Committee, 2138 Pierce Avenue, Chicago."

And another telegram from the Polish Catholic Union of America, which reads as follows:

We will consider it a great favor, which will be greatly appreciated by the Poles, if you would assist in bringing about the passage of the resolution.

N. L. PIOTROWSKI, *President.*
I. WROBLEWSKI, *Secretary.*

I hope the resolution will pass unanimously.

Agricultural Production.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILTON A. ROMJUE,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1920.

Mr. ROMJUE. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House of Representatives, I venture to invite your attention for a few minutes to a line of thought which it seems to me is worthy of consideration and most serious reflection—a line of thought which if followed properly must inevitably lead one to the conclusion that a very grave injury might come, but which ought not to come, to a very important branch of industry or vocation in our country. That is agriculture, or you may term it "the farmer's status and his future." There is no reason for any injustice or injury coming to the farmer or to any other class of industrious citizens of this country, and broadly stated, the way to avoid doing economic injustice to any class is to go carefully about the work of reconstruction.

It is proper that justice be adhered to in dealing with all questions affecting the interests and rights of the various citizens of our Government and of the various classes of industry and business in the country. I am unwilling, either by legislation or otherwise, to make the public suffer for the benefit of a few. I am unwilling to make one man poor that another may be rich, and I adhere to the doctrine that if one class of men is to become poorer and another richer, such change should come about as a result of the conduct, judgment, and

industry, or the lack of judgment and industry, of the particular man or class of men or business, and not by legislation. I stand by that doctrine that gives the man whose face sweats, the fruits of his toil.

Every thoughtful citizen in our country knows that a great World War brings in its wake unsettled conditions and that speculation gets rampant, and more or less excitement prevails when the necessity for readjustment comes.

More or less radicalism may arise wherein it seeks to take away from some one that which a radical may desire, yet be unwilling to earn.

As it takes time for the atmospheric elements to calm and become once again normal after a storm, so it is, after a great upheaval in the world's business, political, and social conditions, that the minds and habits of thought of the world's races of men must have time to accustom themselves once again to a peace-time status and condition.

True it is that often legislation may be required to steady or adjust matters which by virtue of an abnormal situation have become overbalanced. And certain it is that legislation becomes pertinent and needy to check and punish profiteers and speculators in grain and foodstuffs, and in all commodities where the profiteer pokes his slimy hand to filch the rights and reward from those who have earned it by their own sweat and toil.

To do this, however, it must be borne in mind always that a proper remedy must be had and a proper instrument for applying that remedy must be available.

A wrong remedy with a wrong instrument of application, of course, will only result in a general injury. A wrong remedy even in the hands of a proper agency or instrument of application will likewise be futile and fall short of what is necessary.

Therefore, the remedy and the agency or instrument of its application must be right and correctly applied in order to be of service rather than of injury.

While you hold in your mind the necessity of a right remedy and its right application, may I take occasion to say that in studying the problems of a nation we must of necessity after all study the problems of the individual citizen himself. And the temperament and impulses of a nation after all are but the composite temperament and impulse of the individuals who constitute the nation.

No nation can have permanent life save and except it be founded upon and be accustomed to exercise justice and equity, which, after all, in common parlance is but a square deal.

And a square deal is but basic or fundamental principles of right as between all affected.

It is indeed high time for everyone to recognize and bring themselves within the sphere of information that one's desire or wish does not always make right. I fear there may be, unfortunately, those who too often demand that which they desire without first pausing to consider whether its procurement is compatible with the general public welfare and within the individual's rights. To insistently wish for any specific object or to demand its possession without regard to reason and right is a species of activity too common in our country to-day. Hence it is that there is to be found here and there in our country individuals who seem to think that it is their duty, without honest effort and industry, to take as they may the product of some other which has been brought forth by sweat of brow, labor, and industry of the producer.

I am glad that the overwhelming sentiment of this country is opposed to that method of thought and practice, and I am glad that there are those, like myself, who believe that the producer should not be robbed of the reasonable fruits of his labor and sweat.

If there ever was a time in the history of our Government when there was a demand for cool-headedness and hard, sober thinking, that time is now and will continue to be during the next few years of the reconstruction period. It is no time for excitement. It is no time for pomp and glamor. It is no time for visions and dreams. The burden of war taxation is upon the people, and our future expenditures must be guarded carefully, and such as are made must be made conservatively, wisely, and justly and not extravagantly.

High prices have been rather prevalent on many commodities, including manufactured articles as well as others. Articles such as leather, harness, and machinery have advanced materially, until the farmer finds himself meeting heavy expenditures in those things he has to buy.

Continuing rising prices in commodities and property have a tendency to induce speculation, and rapid speculation has a tendency to disquiet previously estimated values. Actual value becomes confusing to the minds of many, and men's judgment as to values are matched and pitted the one against the other with rapidity and excitement in driving bargains, until increased prices and estimated values become as a dog chasing his own tail, and wages beg to keep pace with advancing cost of living, and the speculator seeing wages go up undertakes to take the increased wage as an additional profit for the product in which he is speculating, but which has been produced by some one else.

The high cost of living is a relative problem, and many people make a mistake, and a legislative body will make a mistake, when attention is confined solely to grain and food products in an effort to solve the problem of the high cost of living. I say the matter is a relative problem, and to let the manufacturer go scot free and the price of machinery, plows, harrows, harness, and leather keep soaring and maintaining their advanced price and make an effort to drive down the price of live stock, corn, and wheat is unjust and an unfair undertaking.

A Republican Congress is now and has been in control of national legislation since May 19 last. It is in the power of that party to legislate as they desire. I insist now that they see to it that the farmer is not treated unfairly in the shuffle of reconstruction legislation. I appeal to the membership of this House to deal fairly with the farmer and thereby encourage and not stifle and diminish our agricultural production.

Great as was the World War, brilliant and successful as were America's achievements in that war, honorable and decisive as was our victory, matchless and astounding as was America's accomplishments in mobilizing all our material resources and the thoroughness with which we executed our plans and consummated our purpose in order that right and justice should prevail on this earth and that the sacred and fundamental principles of our Government should not perish, we must realize that the present and immediate future of our country demands as full measure of thought, study, and cooperative action on the part of America's citizenship as did the period of conflict out of which we have but so recently emerged.

Periods of excitement or a brass band parade must not enlist the noble impulses of American citizenship more intensely, more devotedly, and more resolutely than the fundamental structure of this Government and the great problems which lie immediately before us and around us for solution.

And he who has not seen or does not see the many important problems which lie before the American people for solution has not the real, true American perspective and vision so essential to our national good.

Most of my life has been spent upon a Missouri farm, and I am, indeed, glad that I was born and reared there; these facts have permitted me to be familiar with the ways of farm life and with the habits, opportunities, possibilities, the handicaps, and drawbacks that center about the farmer's life.

Understanding the farmer's relation, as I do, to the whole industrial machinery of our country, I only demand for him fair treatment and consideration.

There are those who want to put an embargo on and stop the shipment of meat and food products out of this country in order to reduce the price of those products. This would be a serious blow to the farming class of people, and I am opposed to it. We are not starving in this country, and we are not going to starve if we are only willing to work.

Such an embargo would be unfair to the farmer and work to his injury, and it must not be put in force.

I am in favor of suppressing the profiteer, so that the speculator can neither unfairly pay the farmer nor unjustly extort from the consumer.

The markets for the agricultural products must not only be left open, but extended and encouraged.

The manufacturer is seeking an extension of the market for his products, and that is right, and so also must the farmer be encouraged and given an equal opportunity.

To compel any group of citizens to sell their products in a regulated market and to buy their supplies and necessities in an unregulated market is an unjust and dangerous discrimination.

My experience with the farmer while on the farm and my observation in the capacity of legislator have proven to me that he belongs to a class that is last to take hold of and follow radical and revolutionary ideas. His very make-up and temperament are conservative. As a class in our country he has never been known to attack his Government.

The first and constant obligation of every citizen and of every class of citizens is undivided loyalty to our country. Its institutions must be protected and its traditions preserved and respected. No conflicting obligations can be tolerated.

This is the best country the sun shines on. Its opportunities are boundless and are open to every individual who cares to avail himself of them. Its Government is the best in the world. There is nothing fundamentally wrong with it. A people who would not appreciate and defend it would be unworthy to exist as a nation. A man who would injure or destroy it is unfit to live under the protection of its flag.

The farmer has done his full duty in his line of work during our recent war. He has performed his full service. He had as much to do with the winning of the war as any other class. I have not known of any farmer claiming that he alone won the war. He is not so selfish as to deny to all good Americans their full measure of assistance in their own line of work.

The farmer went willingly to his work and exerted every effort to increase production, and without him and the strenuous efforts he put forth it would have been impossible for our country to have been the important factor which it was in the war, and the criticism that occasionally has been directed toward the farmer is unjustified. The farmer has not been given to bragging upon himself. Deeds well done always speak for themselves, and he who performs a service to humanity or in the affairs of the world, and performs it well, is very often last to claim credit for it. The daylight-saving law, in my opinion, was never at any time necessary to spur the farmer on to increased activity; it was rather a hindrance.

I am glad to join those in Congress in a program which will make certain the protection of the farmer in all his rights, stabilizing the agricultural industry; and the prevention of the taking away from the farmer that which justly belongs to him means the surest guaranty to the successful operation of the whole scheme of American industries, for agriculture is the basic and foundation structure upon which all other industries rest and depend. It may be truly said that it is primarily the safety valve to the industries of our country, and the agriculturist himself is a mighty force and factor in balancing and making certain the right course of our Republic.

One great handicap to the farming industry is the difficulty in securing labor or help on the farm. The theory that farming must be reduced to a basis wherein each farmer does all his own work, dispensing with hired help as something beyond his means, is untenable. It implies working hours so long and tasks so arduous that no man other than one compelled by necessity to protect his investment at the expense of his health and sacrifice of well-earned hours of rest or recreation will perform them. Society has no right to exact or expect such service from any class of citizens.

The farmer must not be penalized by an unfair reduction of the legitimate profit on his products. He is not at fault. This talk we sometimes hear about farmers all getting rich is "sheer moonshine." There is no class of citizens who toil longer hours and more faithfully than the farmer, and none that more honestly earn the fruit of their toil.

Let us turn to the speculator and profiteer. Within his class is to be found the real fly in the ointment, the real party who forces, in part at least, the high living cost. Let the searchlight of the law be turned on him and pursue him and bring him to account. Then, and then only, will we see unfair extortion conquered.

Commercializing Short Grass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 25, 1920.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted I desire to insert in the RECORD a few telegrams and a letter upon the subject of the attempt of the Agriculture Committee of the House to increase the charge to the stockmen of the West for grazing their stock in the national forests.

When the Agricultural appropriation bill, H. R. 12272, was under consideration before the House on February 10, 1920, the chairman of that committee [Mr. HAUGEN] offered an amendment, as follows:

Provided further, That no part of any appropriation in this act for Forest Service shall be expended on any national forest in which the fees charged for grazing shall be at a rate less than 300 per cent of the existing rate.

When that amendment was, after extended discussion, ruled out on a point of order there were several other similar amendments offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON] and by Mr. MCLAUGHLIN of Michigan and others, and finally an amendment was adopted over the vigorous protest of the western Members, as follows:

Provided, That $25,000 may be used by the Secretary of Agriculture for the purpose of ascertaining the appraised value of pasturage upon the national forests, which appraised value, when determined, may, in the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture, be made the basis of the charge for grazing permits upon such forests.

That amendment is the first deliberate and bold attempt of Congress to capitalize and commercialize the short and thin grass that grows during a very short season on the forest reserves in the Western States.

It is not only contrary to the definite understanding that the stockmen and people of the West generally have always had ever since the forest reserves were created, but it is contrary to (1) the universal frontier custom of our country for over a hundred years, and also (2) in direct violation of the proclamations, statements, and promises of three or four Presidents of the United States, the Department of Agriculture, the Forest Service, and many other Federal officials, including Congress itself, when the forest reserves were created and ever since, and (3) it is a brazen and outrageous attempt to repudiate all the existing five-year permit agreements that were entered into about a year ago between the stockmen and Forest Service officials.

If the committee did not intend to deliberately repudiate those express agreements, it would provide in this amendment for that appraisement to be made not before the years 1923 or 1924; because it is sheer nonsense to assume that any appraisement made during the next fiscal year would be of any practical value four years from now.

However, I discussed this subject briefly during the general debate on February 11 (pp. 2764, 2765, 2775, 2777, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD) and will not go into the matter at length further at this time, because I feel perfectly confident that this provision will be stricken out of the bill in the Senate. But I do feel that the House and the country should know the position of the stockmen themselves upon this subject, and some of their reasons for protesting against this action; and inasmuch as they have had no hearing upon the subject or any notice of this provision, the least we can in justice do for them at this time is to insert in the RECORD a few of their statements.

The telegrams to which I refer are only a few of a large number received but they are typical of all the rest. They conclusively show the injustice and hardship of any increase in grazing fees. The letter to me from the Colorado Stock Growers' Association is a brief but very accurate summary of the situation in the West at this time, which I urge the Members of the House and especially the Committee on Agriculture to carefully consider. The telegrams are as follows:

RIFLE, COLO., *February 15, 1920.*

Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We, the Grand River Stock Growers' Association, now in session at Rifle, Colo., do most earnestly protest against any raise in grazing fees on the national forests. Many cattlemen are at present producing their cattle at a loss, owing to the high price of feed, high labor, and taxes, and great range loss from poison and wild animals and other causes, besides natural losses. There are always many handicaps against the stockmen on the forest reserves, and conditions have been much worse in 1919 than they were in 1918, and these unfavorable conditions, together with the fact the export of meat is practically cut off, we feel certain that any further raise in range fees would naturally force many of us out of business.

F. D. SQUIRES, *President.*
G. S. BUTLER, *Assistant Secretary.*

RIFLE, COLO., *February 14, 1920.*

Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the South Side Stock Growers' Association, of Silt, Colo., do hereby condemn the effort of the Agriculture Committee of the House to increase 300 per cent the grazing fees on stock grazing in the national forests: First, because it will necessarily increase the high cost of living by increasing the cost of production of meat animals; second, because it is in direct violation of the five-year permits issued a year or more ago by express agreement made between the stock growers who use the forest reserves and the Secretary of Agriculture and Forest Service officials; third, because the cost of production of meat animals has lately been enormously increased, owing to the scarcity and high price of labor, the very great increase in cost of hay, high taxes, severe losses, high freight rates, poor transportation facilities, and many other adverse conditions, whereby the net profits of raising stock on the forest reserves are now so small that we feel this proposed 300 per cent increase in grazing fees would make the cost of production of meat animals actually in excess of their market value; fourth, we further protest against and condemn as utterly unwarranted and unjust the apparent practice of both the Senate and House in not giving the West a proper representation upon the most important committees, especially the Agriculture Committee, that so vitally affects the stock interests and welfare of the West generally. Our stock-raising conditions on the forest reserves and our agricultural interests, owing to necessary irrigation, are so entirely different from the conditions in the East, North, and South that we can not possibly have proper recognition or protection without a fair representation upon that committee of western Members who have actual, personal knowledge of our conditions and who can intelligently present our situation in conjunction with the other members of the committee. Fifth, the stock associations using the forest reserves of the arid West most earnestly and respectfully urge the Agriculture Committee to

grant to them a hearing before any increase is made in the grazing fees. or other change in present conditions, in order that that committee and Congress may learn our real and practical situation and conditions, and also that we may be advised as to who is making this demand and why this hardship is being urged upon us. We also hope it may be possible for the members of the committee to visit the forest reserves of the West and personally examine the grazing conditions themselves.

Respectfully,

SOUTH SIDE STOCK GROWERS' ASSOCIATION,
A. L. LARSON, *President.*
F. F. PARKS, *Secretary.*

—

GUNNISON, COLO., *February 14, 1920.*

Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

A PROTEST FROM THE GUNNISON COUNTY STOCK GROWERS' ASSOCIATION.

We understand the Agricultural appropriation bill carries a clause placing the grazing on the national forests on a commercial basis beginning in 1921. This violates the agreement of 1919, when our present five-year permits began, making a scrap of paper of our present contract with the United States Government. The present conditions of the country are so abnormal that it is unfair to the stockmen to attempt to raise the grazing fee before the expiration of the present permits in 1924. The Forest Service has always said and declared that the national forests were established for conservation and not to be placed upon a commercial basis. If it goes upon a commercial basis it means the elimination of the small stockmen and the homesteaders, who are trying to get a start. It means higher beef to the consumer, for the present loss from all causes in this country is 8 per cent per annum.

F. D. MCKREE,
Vice President of the Gunnison County Stock Growers' Association.
T. W. GRAY,
Chairman of the Advisory Board.

I am proud of the distinction of being the first honorary member of the association which sends me the following telegram:

RIFLE, COLO., *February 14, 1920.*

Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We, The Western Slope Live Stock and Protective Association, in session to-day, do most emphatically protest against the proposed raise in forest-reserve grazing fees. Cattle are $4 per hundred lower, labor much higher, and feed three times the normal price. We represent the largest industry in the State of Colorado. We have in our district and this association is a federation of 32 stock associations, representing 3,500 members. and we are now wintering about one-half million cattle. We therefore respectfully insist upon a hearing to show our side of our conditions. The Government officials have made a five-year contract with us. If our Government does not stand by its word, how can we put any trust in anyone? Our western Senators and Congressmen are being ignored in most important matters pertaining to our western interests. We further demand of the Senate and House that in its appointments on various committees there shall be a fair representation of Senators and Congressmen from the West, who are personally familiar with our conditions.

THE WESTERN SLOPE LIVE STOCK AND PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION,
BEN. M. WHITE, *President,*
R. C. CALLEN, *Vice President,*
CLYDE H. REESE, *Secretary.*

The very prosperous little city of Rifle, which is in my home county—Garfield County, Colo.—is undoubtedly the greatest range-cattle shipping point in the United States, and has held that distinction for many years. It being a great gathering place for cattlemen is the reason that several different associations have wired me from there.

RIFLE, COLO., *February 14, 1920.*

Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We have been informed that there is a bill before the House to increase the grazing fee of live stock on the forest reserve 300 per cent. That would be an outrage to the stock industry of western Colorado. As a banker I know it would, in all probability, decrease our business around 50 per cent if such a law was passed at this time, because it would practically eliminate the cattle and sheep business in this country, as the fee would be absolutely prohibitive, and I earnestly request that you use your best efforts to defeat this bill.

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF RIFLE,
W. H. HALEY, *Vice President.*

—

RIFLE, COLO., *February 14, 1920.*

Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

A raise of 300 per cent of the grazing on the forest reserve is more than we can stand. At the average prices we receive for our mutton the loss is now very great from poison weeds and coyotes and other wild animals that feed on our herds. The average man with 1,200 to 3,000 sheep has not made one dollar the last two years because of our losses and the expenses and winter feed have been so high. Any raise in price of range fees should be held up long enough to hear the users of the forest side of the matter. We also believe that Colorado should have a representative on the Agricultural Committee.

THE E. MCLEARN MERCANTILE CO.,
By ED MCLEARN.

—

NEW CASTLE, COLO., *February 14, 1920.*

Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
Washington, D. C.:

Elk Park Cattle Association wishes to go on record as protesting any raise in range fees. Owing to climatic conditions, number of years in maturing animals for market, loss of live stock from poisonous weeds and other dangerous causes from running stock at large upon national forest, and decline in market condition has caused stockmen on western slope to ship heavier this last fall than ever before in the history of the industry, and now if more expense is to be added the live-stock industry on western slope will soon be a thing of the past.

ELK PARK CATTLE ASSOCIATION,
B. J. THURSTON, *Secretary.*

—

NEW CASTLE, COLO., *February 14, 1920.*

Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
Washington, D. C.:

The Boiler Live Stock Association protests against the insertion in the Agricultural appropriation bill of any item increasing grazing fees on the forest reserves in this country. As a proof of our difficulties, we point out the great number of cattle shipped out from here the past year, which stockmen do not intend to replace. Fewer cattle are now on the western slope than ever before in its history. Losses during a single season from poison frequently run as high as 10 per cent. Stockmen feel an additional fee for grazing will further curtail the live-stock industry.

BOILER LIVE STOCK ASSOCIATION,
By S. J. SAMPLE, *Secretary.*

—

DENVER, COLO., *February 16, 1920.*

Congressman EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
Washington, D. C.:

We are advised by various live-stock associations of western Colorado that the Government is contemplating to increase the grazing fees on the forest reserve from three to four hundred per cent, notwithstanding a five-year permit was issued last year at a stipulated price of 70 cents per head on cattle and 9½ cents per head on sheep. All are endeavoring to reduce the high cost of living, and to have the Government take a stand of this kind is bound to react on the producer and have a tendency to curtail his operations; and would thank you to investigate the matter with the Agricultural Department, and should you find the conditions as stated above you should file a strong protest in behalf of many of your constituents, who are stock growers as well as ourselves who are acting as agents of the stockmen of the West.

BEN KEMPER,
President Denver Live Stock Exchange.

—

DENVER, COLO., *February 17, 1920.*

Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
Washington, D. C.:

Denver Clearing House Association informed that House Committee on Agriculture is making vigorous attempts to insert an item in Agricultural appropriation bill providing for 300 per cent increase in grazing fees on forest reserves in plain disregard of five-year permits granted last year. Condition of live-stock industry does not justify increased burdens upon stockmen, especially in view of high labor, feed, and operating costs, when at same time market prices of cattle going rapidly to lower levels. Having vital interest in maintaining integrity of live-stock operations, we desire to file emphatic protest against proposed action, and bespeak your prompt investigation of subject, knowing that you will make every possible effort to prevent injustice to one of Colorado's most important industries.

W. A. HOVER,
President the Denver Clearing House Association.

—

DENVER, COLO., *February 20, 1920.*

Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

This association opposes increase in grazing tax on national forests in Colorado, or further inclusion of nontimbered land therein. Less than one-half of Colorado's territory is taxable for upkeep of State institutions. Government reservations include valuable land. While Government makes some returns of fees collected, nothing is paid for support of State government and institutions, nor for ordinary police protection of citizens, including forestry officers. Government grass-land should not be expected to yield rentals equal to privately owned lands which are fenced and improved and pay taxes to support State and local government.

DENVER CIVIC AND COMMERCIAL ASSOCIATION,
By ARTHUR J. DODGE, *Business Manager.*

I received the following letter from the Colorado Stock Growers' Association, which was published in the Denver Daily Record Stockman of February 23, 1920, preceded by an introductory editorial by the Hon. Arthur C. Johnson, editor of that official stockmen's paper, as follows:

[From the Denver Daily Record Stockman, Feb. 23, 1920.]

STOCKMEN'S STRIKE WOULD RAISE A HOWL, SUGGESTS COLORADO ASSOCIATION PROTEST TO WASHINGTON, OVER GRAZING INCREASE—STOCK GROWERS' BODY, IN STRONG TERMS, DENOUNCES TENDENCY OF GOVERNMENT TO CROWD CATTLEMEN WITH BURDENS BEYOND THEIR ENDURANCE AND VIGOROUSLY RESENTS ACTION TO INCREASE GRAZING FEES TO COMMERCIAL STATUS.

Straight from the shoulder and in terms unmistakable in their import, the Colorado Stock Growers' Association informs Congress that the plan for commercializing the rates of all public grazing at this time can not be countenanced. The association's board of control, which on Saturday gave consideration to the move to hoist the grazing tax on forest reserve permittees to virtually treble its present size, took its pen in hand and wrote some genuine gospel on the situation for Representative EDWARD T. TAYLOR to distribute to his House colleagues and others who insist on the western stock grower paying the full expense of maintaining the forest reserves.

"The farmer and live-stock grower who is giving 12 to 16 hours a day in producing at a loss to supply an indifferent, unappreciative, improvident, and profiteering public is growing weary of the game," writes the board at the close of its vigorous epistle. "If we should strike, somebody will howl."

The letter, which was mailed Saturday, may be regarded as the most effective communication in the way of protest concerning the grazing-fee increase that has gone forward to Washington. It sets forth in graphic and succinct manner the hardships and inconveniences experienced by the stockmen who use the reserves.

The board's letter follows:

FEBRUARY 21, 1920.

Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TAYLOR: In discussing the relative merits and demerits in raising the fees on the forest reserve, we wish to preface our remarks by explicitly declaring that we are in no way hostile to the Forestry Department, nor opposed to its general administrative efficiency.

Believing that the department is not in possession of all the actual facts in the case and that unfair and uninformed influences are striving to dangerously jeopardize the western live-stock interests, we offer the following for your consideration:

First. We believe that our business interests will be greatly jeopardized if the department does not live up to its moral obligations in fulfilling the five-year permit regulation indorsed at Cheyenne, in 1917. If the department is going to repudiate its word in this instance, our confidence and faith is destroyed. We can not plan for any future for our business if we do not have the assurances that both parties to an agreement will not consider their promises inviolate. The corner stone of men's living in a civilized community is the certain knowledge that the other man's promise will be fulfilled.

Second. Owing to the present unsettled state of conditions, politically and economically, no man can say to-day what is fair and equitable in prices. Our barometers of stability have been destroyed; and relative comparisons are impossible from a purely monetary standpoint.

Third. In view of general conditions of unrest and dissatisfaction due to the ever-soaring cost of the necessities of life, it seems to us an unsound business policy to add fuel to the smoldering fires of economic unrest by further increasing the cost of live-stock production.

The Federal Government should be the first to attempt to ameliorate living conditions by reducing their fees, rather than by increasing them. An increase in range fees means an extra expense in raising live stock, and if the producers are to avoid bankruptcy the consumer must, and ultimately will, pay the bill. Your eastern feeder can only remain in business if the western producer can raise the product to supply him. Present prices are touching the prohibitive point from the consumer's standpoint as well as from the producer's standpoint.

Permit us to call your attention to the fact that as soon as war was declared every live-stock producer was urged to increase his holdings to the limit, under the slogan "Food will win the war." Your patriotic stockman did not slack in his duty, but put aside the chance for temporary gain and did withhold his stock from market and carried to full capacity his farm and range holdings. Then the Government arbitrarily passed the meatless-day law, destroying the market for live stock, until the end of the war found us with a surplus of stock, and now money-exchange rates have decreased the export demand, and we are holding the fatted calf, produced at a great expense and depreciated from 25 to 50 per cent in value. Now, to reward us for our patriotism, self-sacrifice, and unselfishness you propose to add insult to injury by imposing a destructive range fee upon us.

Our products show a greater decline in values than any other commodity. We were not at any time during the last three years permitted to take advantage of the exorbitant profits to tide us over periods of stress that the laborer and manufacturer enjoyed and are still enjoying. When this opportunity presented itself the Government stepped in and arbitrarily tacked the price on our meats, wool, and grain. The war took most of our best men in uniform; the rest were lured away from us by wages that would be confiscatory in our business. Our products have tumbled. Everything that we use from labor to machinery, as well as transportation services, have doubled and trebled in prices, and the quality and efficiency at the same time depreciating 50 per cent in value.

Regarding the relative value of range conditions as compared to private pastures, without at this time elaborating the details, we ask you to consider the following before judging the merits of each:

The relative great distance from railroad to markets.

The loss entailed by long drives to and from the range.

The difference in the carrying capacity per acre on the forests, forcing stock to travel great distances in search of food and water.

The loss incidental to storms, lightning, predatory animals, high altitude, and rough topography of the country.

The difficulty of breeding our cows in rough mountainous regions; the inability to keep close watch over the stock on account of the extent and character of the country.

The expense and danger of hauling and placing salt in proper places on the high range.

The increased cost and difficulty in getting men who are willing to stay in these remote and isolated camps, who have to do their own cooking, horseshoeing, washing, and who are familiar with the range.

The shrinkage incidental to round-ups and gathering time, holding the herd on poor feed for days until the gathering is completed, and then driving without feed or water, in many cases for from two to three days, before the cattle are finally distributed to their respective winter quarters.

Loss due to poisonous plants. Mudholes that mire the stock, especially in the spring.

The inability to give close supervision to the stock on account of the wide area of distribution.

Many of these above-mentioned facts contribute to a calf crop running from 40 per cent to 60 per cent, as compared with the 90 per cent or 95 per cent calf crop in private pastures. Loss of range live stock amounts to 10 per cent, whereas in private pastures less than 1 per cent is lost.

On account of the general mixing of large numbers of cattle on the range, the danger is always great for infection—sharcoptic and saroptic mange in cattle; scabies, tick infection, and hemorrhagic septicemia in sheep. The loss from theft of stock from the range and encroachment upon our range to-day by hundreds of fishermen and tourists and campers is causing considerable loss by disturbing the live stock in their grazing and scaring them farther from the better feed in the bottoms and watering places along the streams, besides an actual damage to forage by campers. The ever-present danger from forest fires by careless campers and occasional loss from careless hunters.

Would you consider a private pasture as valuable if your stock was continually molested by tourists and your grass and streams encroached upon by them, if you had no control over those conditions? We think not.

You sell us feed and rent us certain territory at a good price and then advertise the same place as a national playground for the whole world to come to and pollute as they see fit—the great national forests. Yes; they belong to all the people, but without the special privilege of grazing that we pay a good price for the world would go hungry. The necessities of life must transcend in their rights and privileges those of purely sentimental and recreational rights or privileges; the world can not be clothed or fed if the majority or a large per cent of its people are unproductive. Every loafer that exists some one else must do an extra share for. The farmer and live-stock producer is getting tired of working 12 to 16 hours a day and producing at a loss to supply an indifferent, unappreciative, improvident, and profiteering public.

If we should strike, somebody will howl.

Very truly, yours,

BOARD OF CONTROL OF COLORADO
STOCK GROWERS' ASSOCIATION.

Pensions for the Spanish War and Other War Veterans.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. M. C. SMITH,
OF MICHIGAN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 1, 1920.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of a pension for the Spanish War veterans and for those who served in the Philippine insurrection and Boxer uprising. I have voted for pensions to our American soldiers in recognition of our debt to them and for the reason that our country is under more obligation to our soldiers than any other individuals or class of citizens. If it were not for our soldiers we would have no Nation. Our country in the time of need depends upon its soldiers for its very existence and our soldiers always respond liberally, patriotically, and heroically. What more can a man do than to offer his life for his country? It is the very highest mark of citizenship to respond to our country's need, and the Spanish War veterans answered the call. They did their duty and offered their lives as willingly and as patriotically as the soldiers of other wars. So timely was their response that the war was of short duration, but many of them were afflicted by disease in a new and tropical climate. There was no lagging on their part, and now I am in favor of doing justice by them. I voted for this bill willingly and gladly. The cost will not be much. The veterans of the Civil War are passing to their reward more rapidly than their number will be supplied on the pension roll by the Spanish War and these other veterans. It is a simple duty of justice and right that we now give them their due and just recognition. It is not wholly because of the amount of the pension these veterans will receive, but they will be honored by their country in such recognition. No more honorable list or roll can be made up than the honor roll of a country's soldiery.

There were in the Spanish War 434,000 soldiers. They have patiently waited and bided their time for their country to act, and I am pleased that the justice so long delayed has at last been done them. If there is any reason why these soldiers should not be given a pension, I have not heard it. The amount of their pensions from $12 to $30 per month for their injuries will be a slight benefit and aid to them, and for all the pensions that will be allowed under this bill, it is estimated the cost will not exceed $2,232,000 for the first year.

I am for giving it to them now. One of the most important bills yet remaining before Congress is to grant extra compensation to the World War veterans. I am in favor of that. We have allowed the Federal clerks a bonus of $240 a year in addition to their salaries, and no good reason can be given for not granting a just compensation to our World War veterans, who left their homes to fight on foreign soil, and whose places were filled by others who were paid unheard-of wages and salaries in their absence. Under the present stress and unsettled conditions of our country no one knows at what time we may call them to arms again. I hope never. But if need be there is no doubt but what they will again take their places with the colors, and the more so if they know that should want and necessity demand our country will respond to their needs as they did to the needs of their country.

I am pleased to incorporate as a part of my remarks section 1 of the bill as it passed the House:

Be it enacted, etc., That all persons who served 90 days or more in the military or naval service of the United States during the War with Spain, the Philippine insurrection, and the China relief expedition, and who have been honorably discharged therefrom, and who are now or who may hereafter be suffering from any mental or physical disability or disabilities of a permanent character, not the result of their own vicious habits, which so incapacitates them from the performance of manual labor as to render them unable to earn a support, shall, upon making due proof of the fact, according to such rules and regu-

lations as the Secretary of the Interior may provide, be placed upon the list of invalid pensioners of the United States, and be entitled to receive a pension not exceeding $30 per month and not less than $12 per month, proportioned to the degree of inability to earn a support; and in determining such inability each and every infirmity shall be duly considered, and the aggregate of the disabilities shown be rated, and such pension shall commence from the date of the filing of the application in the Bureau of Pensions, after the passage of this act, upon proof that the disability or disabilities then existed, and shall continue during the existence of the same: *Provided*, That any such person who has reached the age of 62 years shall, upon making proof of such fact, be placed upon the pension roll and entitled to receive a pension of $12 per month. In case such person has reached the age of 68 years, $18 per month; in case such person has reached the age of 72 years, $24 per month; and in case such person has reached the age of 75 years, $30 per month: *Provided further*, That persons who are now receiving pensions under existing laws, or whose claims are pending in the Bureau of Pensions, may, by application to the Commissioner of Pensions, in such form as he may prescribe, showing themselves entitled thereto, receive the benefits of this act; and nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to prevent any pensioner thereunder from prosecuting his claim and receiving his pension under any other general or special act: *Provided, however*, That no person shall receive more than one pension for the same period: *And provided further*, That rank in the service shall not be considered in applications filed under this act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. KEARNS,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1920.

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, I have asked this privilege of extending my remarks in order that I might have printed in the RECORD a speech delivered at Defiance, Ohio, on February 12, 1920, by my colleague, Hon. ROSCOE C. MCCULLOCH, of Ohio, who is seeking the Republican nomination for governor of that State. I desire to do this because I feel that it contains language and thought that ought to be given to the American public. I know of no better way to do this than through the medium of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The speech that was delivered by Mr. MCCULLOCH on that occasion is as follows:

AMERICA FIRST.

"Mr. Toastmaster and Gentlemen: Every true American should be proud of the part our country has taken in the events of the past three years. The soldiers of the Republic have carried the Stars and Stripes to victory on foreign soil, and the great sacrifices they have made for humanity will constitute one of the brightest pages in all history.

"Some thoughtless people have said that Americans have taken too much credit for their part in the World War. The soldiers of France were brave; the soldiers of England were brave; the soldiers of Italy were brave; the allied armies covered themselves with glory before we entered the war, but to my humble way of thinking the boys who left their homes and went 3,000 miles across the ocean, with very little, if any, real military training, and met the most powerful military machine the world has ever known, turning the tide of battle from defeat to victory, that the world might be free—they are the greatest heroes in all the mighty tide of time.

"The soldiers of European countries were fighting to save their homes and their people from immediate destruction by the menacing foe who was right at their doors; it was fight and die with them, or submit to ignominious defeat. The American soldiers and the American people went to their rescue, and while our soldiers were fighting for American rights that had been violated under the technical rules of international law, yet they fought, also, for an ideal; not for themselves but for others; not for conquest but for conscience.

"The bravery of the American soldier and the patriotism of the American people in responding to every call for help in this terrible world conflict have no parallel in the history of the world. Those who would minimize the credit due our soldiers, or seek to detract in the slightest degree from the honor and the glory that should be theirs, are not good Americans, and as that great patriot and exponent of the doctrine of America first, the late Theodore Roosevelt, said:

"The man who loves some other country better than his own should go to that other country, for we have no room for him here.

THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE.

"The war is over and peace is in the making. Let us hope that it will be a peace so lasting that war, that relic of barbarism, may never again lift its hideous form, wreaking death, destruction, and disaster upon the human race. With the making of peace we are confronted with the problems of peace. Will these problems be more difficult of solution than the problems of war have been? Sometimes I think they will. America has played a great part in the World War. To use the language of the President, we have 'assumed the responsibilities of a world power.' To what extent our entrance into the war will change our policies of government remains to be seen. There can be no doubt that we, with every other civilized nation, owe a duty to all downtrodden peoples, but in our enthusiasm of the hour we must not forget our obligations to our own people and to our own country.

AMERICA FOR AMERICANS.

"I have always believed in the doctrine of America for Americans. I believed in that doctrine before the European war began, and I have gone through, as a Member of Congress, all the complexities of the legislative program made necessary by our entrance into the war, and I have come out as firm, if not firmer, in my belief in that doctrine than ever before. I have faith in the American people and their ability to meet and deal intelligently with every problem that may involve the integrity of our principles of government and the great policies upon which this American Republic was founded and has been maintained.

"My adherence to the doctrine of America for Americans has been variously interpreted. Some have contended that to advocate this doctrine was to be disloyal; others have been more charitable and have said that it only evidenced a lack of vision; others say that it is a selfish doctrine, and condemn it alone upon that ground. The doctrine of America for Americans, which has been in a large measure my creed, to me simply means to look after America first and the rest of the world afterwards. There are people in this country who refuse to recognize any doctrine except the altruistic doctrine, which means to look after everybody else first and ourselves afterwards. But I apprehend that, as the days go on and the attitude of other nations is better understood, the doctrine of America for Americans will become more and more popular, even among those who have been loudest in their claims that the interests of their own country should be subordinated to the interests of the countries of the Old World.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"This Republic was established 130 years ago. It was 'conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created free and equal.' The fathers of our country believed in certain principles of government, and, using those principles as a basis, they evolved and determined upon certain policies. Those policies were reviewed by George Washington in his Farewell Address. I would not want to advocate a blind adherence to principles that are obsolete. I would not want to contend that conditions might not force a change of policies, but I submit that the change of the policy of a nation is serious business, and it is the part of wisdom to give thought and consideration to the views of those who founded the Republic, especially since those views have prevailed for over a century.

"We live in the past by a knowledge of its history and in the future by hope and anticipation. The problem of the present-day statesman and of those who determine the course of this great Republic in the present world crisis is to protect the future of this country. Our forefathers have done their work well. Their success and the success of the policies they pursued is evidenced on every hand by a great, free, prosperous, and contented people. If we of the present day are as successful as our forefathers have been, we can be truly proud of our achievements. Everyone is or should be familiar with the admonitions of George Washington in his Farewell Address:

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government * * *.

"The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connection as possible. * * *

"Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our conscience. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, the ordinary combinations and collusions of her friendships or enmities. * * *

"Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, and interests? It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world.

"* * * taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

"It remained for the Nation George Washington founded in 1776 on this Western Hemisphere to save in 1918 the Old World on the Eastern Hemisphere. Under the policies laid down by Washington this country has grown from a wilderness to an

industrial and commercial miracle land, so vast, so varied, and so wonderful that the mind of man can scarce conceive what the forces of liberty and civilization have wrought. The history of the development of our great country reads like a romance.

AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT.

"What made the United States of America the most powerful, the most enlightened, and the richest nation in the world? It was our policy of government as laid down by Washington, approved by Jefferson and Hamilton, and maintained by Monroe and Lincoln and McKinley and Roosevelt. True, it was a land especially prepared by the forces of nature for the birth and development of the greatest nation and the greatest people on the face of the earth. The Atlantic on the east, the Pacific on the west, connected from the north to the south by great navigable rivers, furnishing wonderful natural means of transportation and of power; great forests of sturdy timbers; soil of marvelous fertility, made so by the decay of the vegetation of hundreds of years; vast treasures of mineral wealth—gold, silver, copper, iron, and coal; natural resources, indeed, unsurpassed, but inhabited by an uncivilized race; a wilderness undeveloped from the frozen lands of the north to the tropical southern seas, with no man possessing the intellect or the genius to bridle the rivers and utilize their power to mine or make use of the ores, or till the soil for more than a mere subsistence. Then came the Pilgrim Fathers, and finally George Washington, who, with sturdy, patriotic purpose, struggled first for independence and then for a place among the nations of the earth. They developed the wonders of the New World by establishing a nation founded upon the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and to-day the barren plains are covered with beehives of industry, with schools and churches. Our population has increased to 110,000,000 people. We have built great cities. Our domain has extended from ocean to ocean. We are the foremost nation in the world in intelligence, in education, in wealth, and in man power, and the countless thousands who have found in the land of the free a haven of refuge from oppression and who have lived and prospered beneath the Stars and Stripes should never let a day pass that they do not give thanks and due honor to the name of George Washington and the land of the free which he and his band of sturdy associates founded and established on the solid rock of justice, equality, and human liberty. This is the only country on the face of the earth that offers equal opportunities for all. It is the only country that says to the son of the penniless widow as well as to the son of the multimillionaire, "Young man, all the avenues of honor, distinction, and success are open to you." No barriers of serfdom, no restrictions of liberty lift their foul forms to cast shadows in the sunlight of our freedom.

NATIONS DESTROYED.

"A policy of government has made us great. Can a policy of government destroy us? History is filled with examples of nations that have grown, developed, and prospered, only to decline and fade away, and always it was the policy of government or the degeneracy and incompetency of their rulers and leaders that wrought their destruction.

EGYPT.

"Egypt was a mighty empire 6,000 years ago. She had a civilization all her own. The ruins of her great temples are the mute witnesses to the marvelous skill of her people as sculptors and builders. The Sphinx has brooded over the ages of men—no one knows how long—and the mystery of that stony face has puzzled the greatest thinkers of the world. Egypt finally, because of the incompetency of her rulers, sank to the rank of a mere province.

CARTHAGE.

"Carthage was a power in her day. She rose to opulence by the commercial pursuits of her citizens, gradually extending her activities and acquisitions until she had subjugated not only all of Africa but a great part of Spain. Due to extravagance and the incompetency of her leaders and rulers, her great success was turned to failure.

ROME.

"Who does not know the history of Rome, in her day the mistress of the world? There was a time when her possessions embraced half of Europe, a considerable part of Africa, and portions of Asia. From insignificant beginnings she steadily rose to power through seven centuries. From that time forward for nearly five centuries, while her fortunes varied, she held the pinnacle of success, until finally, due to the incompetency of her rulers and leaders, the Empire was destroyed.

GERMANY.

"German efficiency, German production, German science and philosophy for years challenged the admiration of the world. Through her system of government, the industry of her people, and what became known the world over as 'German efficiency' she grew to be a powerful and influential nation. A policy of government and a false philosophy has destroyed the German Empire.

"Nations succeed or fail according to their policies of government. How important, therefore, that the greatest care and the greatest thought should be exercised before a change of a policy of government is even contemplated.

OUR POLICIES BEFORE THE WAR.

"Early in the history of the Republic, in order that this new Government might be protected against threatened encroachments by monarchies on the other side of the ocean, we established what has been known as the 'Monroe doctrine.' We gave a warning against foreign interference with governmental affairs on this continent, and in return we pledged ourselves not to interfere with political affairs or policies of government on the Old Continent. Every great American statesman up to the present day has not only stood for but has believed in the wisdom of the 'Monroe doctrine.' Under the operation of that great policy of government we have not experienced any serious interference upon the part of any foreign Government in our affairs. We have been able, and we have taken it upon ourselves, to exercise a guardianship over smaller and less powerful Governments existing on this continent.

"The American people, up to this time and up to the beginning of this war, have remained steadfast in the belief that no foreign power, however great, and no coalition of foreign powers, however powerful, could successfully violate the 'Monroe doctrine,' and we stood ready at all times to defend the policy laid down in that doctrine at all hazards. So strong has been our belief in the 'Monroe doctrine' that in both conferences at The Hague in 1899 and in 1907 we reaffirmed and again promulgated that as our policy. The following appears in the minutes signed by our delegates at the first convention in regard to arbitration:

"Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon or interfering with or entangling itself in the political questions or policy or internal administration of any foreign State; nor shall anything contained in the said convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions.

"Up until the beginning of the present war we have constantly refused to permit ourselves to be drawn, directly or indirectly, into any foreign conflict, and we have preserved inviolate always the spirit as well as the letter of the 'Monroe doctrine.'

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.

"We have always stood firm for our rights upon the high seas. In 1812 we fought for the freedom of the seas and to maintain another policy upon which our country has always acted, and that is that the seas are and should always be regarded as the common highways of nations, and that any interference or attempted interference by one nation with the trade of any other nation on the seas is a violation of the right of every other nation and should be resented as such.

MILITARISM.

"We as a Nation have always opposed militarism. The fathers of our country broke away in the beginning from the system of military service established in foreign countries. We have never been a military Nation. Every expression in our Constitution and in the constitutions of the various States which relates to the military defines it as a means of defense and as an institution to be maintained for the purpose of protecting the people of this country in the exercise of their personal liberty and their property rights. We have never entered upon a war of conquest, and at every great diplomatic conference in which the delegates of this country have participated we have stood for the settlement of disputes among nations by arbitration and not by force, so that the committee on public information, consisting of the present Secretary of State, the present Secretary of War, the present Secretary of the Navy, and a civilian appointee, in a pamphlet issued on June 14, 1917, declared:

"On the eve of the present conflict our position toward other nations might have been summarized under three heads:

"1. The Monroe doctrine.—We had pledged ourselves to defend the New World from European aggression, and we have by word and deed made it clear that we would not intervene in any European dispute.

"2. The freedom of the seas.—In every naval conference our influence had been given in support of the principle that sea law, to be just and worthy of general respect, must be based on the consent of the governed.

"3. Arbitration.—As we had secured peace at home by referring interstate disputes to a Federal tribunal, we urged a similar settlement of international controversies. Our ideal was a permanent world court. We had already signed treaties, not only with great powers which might conceivably attack us but even more freely with weaker neighbors, in order to show our good faith in recognizing the equality of all nations, both great and small. We had made plain to the nations our purpose to forestall by every means in our power the recurrence of wars in the world.

"I can not conceive how a policy or policies could be broader, more comprehensive, and more in keeping with the principles of liberty, of freedom, and of justice which actuated and inspired the fathers of our country and every succeeding statesman than those three great principles which embodied the policy of this country toward the nations of the world at the beginning of the World War.

"These policies need not be changed now. We need not surrender our sovereignty in order to be able to help to prevent wars in the world. We can cooperate as a civilized nation with other civilized nations to prevent war and still hold inviolate the policies laid down by our fathers.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

"I believe that the civilized nations of the world should cooperate together for the purpose of preventing another war such as we have just gone through. I do not believe that there is any great difference of opinion upon this point. The militarist might oppose such a plan; those who desire to establish a military government might oppose it; but I believe the great mass of the American people are united in thought upon the proposition that the diplomacy of the world should be exercised to prevent war. But while the American people may be united upon the broad proposition of cooperating with other civilized nations to prevent war, yet that does not mean that we are ready to accept any kind of a proposal that may be submitted blindly and without consideration. Personally, I am irrevocably opposed to the surrender of sovereignty. We should reserve to ourselves home rule, and the integrity of the Monroe doctrine should be upheld in any covenant to which we agree. We must reserve the right to provide for our defense. We should weigh well what we promise and then keep our promise to the letter.

"'I am for the treaty with Americanizing reservations. This treaty controversy should be settled and settled now. The sooner peace is proclaimed the sooner the world will settle down to normal. But men who arbitrarily take the position as the President has done, that they will not compromise, usually get nowhere, and I predict that the United States Senate will continue to function as a coordinate branch of this Government, and when historians come to chronicle the events of this epoch it will be written that the Senate of the United States in 1919 and 1920 rendered one of the greatest patriotic services in all American history.

"In considering America's problems some things are absolutely certain. The time for a strict American policy has arrived. Government extravagance must stop. We must protect American labor against the influx of immigrants from the devastated countries of Europe. We must protect the American market for the protection of American labor by proper tariff laws. We must see to it to the extent that the Government is able to do so that our people are employed.

NATIONAL FINANCES.

"The enormous expenses resulting from our prosecution of the war and the burden of debt which the Federal Government must pay have brought about very important changes in our financial system. Chairman GOOD, of the House Committee on Appropriations, has recently given a very interesting review of these changes. Until in very recent years the revenues for running the Federal Government were secured through a system of indirect taxation, the effect of the operation of which was that the ordinary taxpayer did not feel it and industry was not affected.

"Our revenues came from tariff duties, taxes on tobacco, and sources of similar character. To-day it is necessary for the Federal Government to tax almost everything, and in order to secure the revenues necessary to meet our enormous expenditures the Federal Government has been compelled to resort to direct taxation, so that the ordinary taxpayer must pay taxes on income and in many ways where the burden of the tax is personally and directly felt.

"For 52 years, or from 1866 to 1917, inclusive, the revenues exceeded the expenditures during 42 years, and only during 11 years were the expenditures greater than the revenues. During this period the net increase of revenues over expenditures exceeded $2,147,000,000, and during all of that time only $636,554,225.07 of direct taxes were levied and collected, and these were paid by comparatively few persons.

"Before the system of direct taxation became necessary and while we were relying for the revenues for running the Federal Government upon the system of indirect taxes I have referred to, for the year 1907, which was a typical year according to the Secretary of the Treasury's report, revenues that were received for that year from the various sources of indirect taxation totaled $842,879,000.

"The receipts for that year were $111,000,000 in excess of the expenditures and there was not a single dollar collected in the form of direct taxes. It is estimated for the next fiscal year $3,750,000,000 of our revenue will come through direct taxation, to the payment of which 4,000,000 persons will contribute.

EXPENDITURES.

"I quote the following from a speech recently made by Chairman GOOD of the House Appropriations Committee:

"The total estimated requirements for the next fiscal year, excluding any estimates for the United States Railroad Administration, which undoubtedly will make large demands, are $5,250,000,000, or an equivalent of $47 for every person in the United States. In order to collect even a much smaller sum the hand of the taxgatherer must fall heavily upon a great many of our people. The result is that from the taxpayer is coming a demand that is both increasing and constant for greater economy and efficiency in the Government's fiscal affairs. That demand can only be satisfied in two practical ways: First, by the adoption of a sound budget system; and, second, by the practice in the executive departments of the Government of those homely virtues of economy that successful business men everywhere have found necessary in the successful conduct of their business affairs.

STATE ECONOMY.

"Not only must the National Government economize but the time has come when an economy program must be put into operation in our State governments.

"I have recently devoted some time to a study of conditions in our State government.

NOT ON BUSINESS BASIS.

"The affairs of the State of Ohio are not now, in my judgment, on a sound business basis. Public officials of the State for many years have pointed out the need for economy, but I fail to find in my examination of the records of the State the inauguration of a really constructive program to eliminate waste and extravagance. The result has been that the expenses of the State have increased yearly by leaps and bounds out of all proportion to the increase in population. A careful analysis of the activities of our State administrations will disclose that there have been no extraordinary emergencies to meet and no large building programs in recent years which would justify our lavish expenditures, and we must therefore look for other causes to account for the enormous increase.

"In 1900 we expended from the general revenue fund about $5,000,000; in 1918 we expended from the general revenue fund over $20,000,000, an increase of $15,000,000, or over 300 per cent, for the conduct of the State government. These figures do not include expenditures made for the operation of the State government alone.

HUGE SUM FOR SALARIES.

"One of the principal items responsible for this great increase is the amount paid as salaries each year to the added army of employees. It cost the State for salaries alone in 1918 $2,000,000 more than the total of the entire expenses of the State for any one year under Gov. McKinley. The salaries of the State's employees for 1918 amounted to $6,645,456.64, which was more by $92,326.36 than the entire cost of the State government in 1907.

"While the revenues of the State for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, increased $1,781,608.89 over the previous year, the expenditures increased $3,106,808.72 during the same period. The expenditures therefore last year increased nearly twice as fast as the revenues.

APPROPRIATIONS INCREASED.

"The increased authorized appropriation for 1918 over 1917 was more than $9,000,000. Thus the increased authorized expenditures for 1918 were more than all expenditures from the general revenue fund for two years under Gov. McKinley's administration.

"On July 1, 1918, according to an official report, the public debt of the cities, townships, villages, and school districts of the State of Ohio aggregated $434,047,793.03. From 1915 to 1918, or in four years, our public debt increased over $140,000,000. Easy and unlimited facilities for obtaining money are a stimulus to extravagant expenditures. We frequently hear the statement made that 'our State is growing rapidly in wealth and population, and we can in safety increase our public debt,' but the cold facts are that debt and taxation always far outdistance in the race with population.

STATE DEBT PILES UP.

"According to an official report the population of Ohio since 1880 has only increased 49 per cent, but taxation has increased 300 per cent and public debt has beat population by 900 per cent.

"Before we attempt to further levy tribute by taxation upon the industries and homes of our State, upon the farmer to whom we must look and depend for relief from the burdensome living conditions confronting the whole world, and upon the people generally, we would do well to reduce expenditures and by consolidation, elimination, and economic, businesslike administration obviate any necessity for increasing the tax burdens.

"The enormous revenues required by reason of the war have made it necessary for the Federal Government to tax about everything and to the limit. The cost of living is beyond all previous records. The people are forced to economize in their homes; the National Government must economize; so, too, the State should economize and strive to relieve the people from further burdens of taxation. That this can be done without injury and with profit to the State I am fully confident.

"The facts I have just reviewed, taken from the official records of the State, should prove to every thinking citizen of Ohio that there is something radically wrong with the methods employed in conducting our State government. The truth is the State is burdened with many needless and useless boards, commissions, and governmental agencies, many of them overlapping one another, their operation resulting in no real good, but adding every hour to the expenses that the people must pay by increased taxation. The methods that have been followed in the State of Ohio of increasing each year the number of governmental agencies and adding unnecessarily to the army of employees may be effective in the building of a powerful political machine, but it is certainly not conducive to the welfare of the State nor is it good business administration.

CONSOLIDATION OF DEPARTMENTS.

"There should be an immediate reorganization of the administrative forces now under the control of the executive, with a view to economy and efficiency. I am a firm believer in applying the same business principles in the conduct of our governmental affairs that are successfully employed in the conduct of every-day business affairs, and I will immediately formulate recommendations for the adoption of a civil administrative code for the State which would result in an elimination and consolidation along economic lines of the various administrative departments now under the governor.

"I am convinced that such a reorganization would not only mean placing the affairs of the State upon a sound business basis, which would result in more efficient administration, but it should result in great economy and a very material reduction in the burdens of taxation upon the people.

"Illinois, a State which was as badly burdened with boards and commissions as Ohio, accomplished such a reorganization, and as a result was able to reduce materially the tax levy. What was done in Illinois can be done in Ohio.

REAL BUDGET SYSTEM.

"I am a firm believer in a comprehensive budget system. No budget system can be made really effective without a centralization of authority and responsibility. There should be a comprehensive financial plan, a careful analysis of expenditures, and a well-founded system for determining appropriation needs with a study and report on the sources of revenue necessary to meet the State's requirements. This should be accomplished under direct executive authority, with the responsibility for the demands made upon the treasury fixed, so that if economy is not practiced and the State's finances are not properly adjusted the people can reach those responsible for extravagance and lack of management.

"When William McKinley became governor of Ohio in 1891 he found the State treasury in a deplorable condition. There was not enough money available to meet the current monthly pay rolls. Shortly after his inauguration the State auditor presented to him what were called advance drafts, drawn on some of the larger counties of the State, to secure funds to meet current expenses. The governor naturally inquired why this was necessary, and was informed that this had been the practice for some years and was traceable directly to the administration of Gov. Hoadley, when the legislature authorized the building of an intermediate penitentiary and hospital for epileptics and appropriated the sum of $300,000 for each, but made no provision for raising the money, whereupon Gov. Hoadley drew advance drafts on his successor's revenues to take care of the deficit thus created, and each succeeding governor had followed the same practice. William McKinley refused to continue the practice and would not sign these advanced drafts, contending that the time had come when the finances of the State should be put upon a sound business basis. He immediately recommended the passage of our franchise laws and other revenue measures, thereby securing the revenue necessary to pay the running expenses of the State government and free the State from debt.

EACH TAXPAYER'S SHARE $1,074.

"As a result of William McKinley's wisdom and foresight, when Gen. Andrew L. Harris left the governor's office in January, 1909, the State had loaned at interest more than $2,000,000. During succeeding administrations this surplus had been entirely wiped away and the condition of the State's finances are as I have outlined. The State has been victimized by political machine building. The increase in our State expenditures has been so great that every thoughtful citizen must know when the facts are disclosed that a stop must be put at once to these wild extravagances.

"It has been stated in an official report that if each taxpayer in Ohio should be called upon to meet his proportion of the National, State, and local expenditures for one fiscal year, each and every one of them would be required to pay $1,074.10 and, in addition to that amount, he would still have hanging over him a local debt of $434 and a still larger amount of national debt.

"The people should demand that responsibility for our financial conditions in the State be fixed and that an effective plan be inaugurated and put into operation to correct them.

"Appropriations are made largely on estimates furnished by executive departments. Money is expended through executive agencies and the governor has the veto power. He can veto an entire appropriation bill or any item in any bill. The governor can not escape his full share of the responsibility.

NEED CONSOLIDATION AND FIXING RESPONSIBILITY.

"My experience in connection with the work of certain important committees of Congress investigating expenditures has convinced me that the shifting of responsibility is one of the most dangerous elements in all governmental activities. What is everybody's business is nobody's business. The average private business would be bankrupt in a week if it were run as the Government business is conducted. Results are the only real tests of efficiency. The results of our present system of conducting affairs in Ohio have increased the tax burdens of the people by increasing the expenditures out of all proportion to the benefits received by the people.

"A consolidation of our State departments under responsible heads and the elimination of needless agencies should reduce the expenditures and thereby reduce taxation. A real budget system will show up the leaks and insure efficiency, for there is no force so powerful in public affairs as the truth disclosed.

FINAL.

"We need have no fear for the future of our country so long as we adhere to the doctrine of America first and cling to the traditions of the fathers.

"The first great advocate of the doctrine of America first was George Washington. The last great advocate of this doctrine was Theodore Roosevelt.

"'America first'—what does it mean?

"It means to continue the policies that have developed the greatest Republic the world has ever known or is ever likely to know. It means to beware of foreign entanglements. It means to look after our own country first and the rest of the world afterwards. It means security, for under that policy we must always be in a proper defensive posture. It means education under the greatest free educational system on earth. It means the opportunity to live in an atmosphere of freedom where class distinctions are unknown. It means reverence for the Stars and Stripes, the one flag in all the world that stands for human liberty and all that that implies.

"I used to like to tell the story of the American who stood in a foreign land watching the troops of all nations pass by. I believe the occurrence was during the Paris Exposition, and it was first told by the late Charles Emory Smith at a banquet given in honor of the martyred President McKinley at Canton, Ohio.

"A foreigner stood beside the American pointing out the soldiers of the various countries and their flags. He said: 'Those are the English troops and that is the flag of the King; those are the German soldiers and that is the flag of the Kaiser; those are the Japanese troops and that is the flag of the Mikado; those are the soldiers of Russia and that is the flag of the Czar.' Presently, as the American troops approached, flying the Stars and Stripes, marching to the tune of the Star-Spangled Banner, the American spoke for the first time, and, turning to his foreign friend, he said: 'And those are the American soldiers and that is my flag; not the flag of any King, not the flag of any Czar, not the flag of any Kaiser, but my flag and the flag of every man, woman, and child in my great country, the land of the free.'"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDW. D. HAYS,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 1, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 2) to pension soldiers of the War with Spain, the Philippine insurrection, and the China relief expedition.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, in 1898 this Nation was worthy of every sacrifice made by the men who wore her uniform; to-day the survivors of that army are worthy of our grateful recognition. The measure we are now considering, commonly called the Selis bill, reaches none but these survivors. In general terms it provides that all of them who are suffering from disability may receive pensions ranging from $12 per month to $30 per month, according to the degree of reduced earning power.

When the Spanish-American War began a call for men was made by President McKinley, and 300,000 volunteers at once enlisted to protect our flag. Not one of them was moved by a selfish hope for financial reward. There was no allurement in the insanitary camp life of that day. The soldiers and sailors and marines who served our cause in that conflict assumed all the perils of battle generally attending such an enterprise. Moreover, they met the danger of disease lurking in the tropical climate where much of the fighting was done. Their one inspiring and impelling motive was that loyal spirit of patriotism so ardent in every true American heart since 1776.

The war did not last long, but it was of momentous consequence to mankind. Autocracy was driven from the Western World. A new Republic was born in Cuba. Civil and religious liberty came to millions of souls in the islands of both great oceans. The glory of American arms was maintained, and the matchless humanity of the Stars and Stripes became a leavening factor in world affairs.

Most of the participants in that struggle were young men when they gave their service, but 22 years have passed since then and they have come to middle age. Some of them were already well on in life, and they are old men to-day. All of them have now begun to feel the heavy hand of time. Their increasing years and the hardships they endured have brought many of them to a state of physical infirmity, and some of them are enduring the distress of poverty and disease.

The long-established policy of our Government in granting pensions to the men who fought its wars needs no defense. That principle is grounded in justice and humanity. The Nation called these men and they responded. The strength of a popular government is measured by the devotion of its people. Love of country in this Republic is essential to our national unity. These men were not slackers when their country needed them; let us not be slackers now in the day when they need us. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for this bill.

Civil Service Retirement.

SPEECH

OF

HON. REED SMOOT,

OF UTAH,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Wednesday, February 11, 1920.

The Senate had under consideration the bill (S. 1699) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service, and for other purposes.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I am not contemplating taking very much time of the Senate to-day, but I wish briefly to review this character of legislation as it has been presented to the Senate for the purpose of the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.

If I remember correctly, eight years ago the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS] was chairman of the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment. As I remember, the subcommittee having the subject in hand consisted of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE], and myself.

A retirement bill was reported to the Senate. At that session of Congress it developed that there was not time for the proper discussion of the bill. I may add, Mr. President, that at that time there was very little interest in the subject, either in the House or in the Senate. From that time forward there has been a constant propaganda to create a public sentiment for this kind of legislation, and I am frank to say that in the last few years there has grown up a sentiment throughout the land for legislation of this character.

I was heartily in favor of the retirement bill that was reported to the Senate at that time. I think for six weeks there was scarcely a day that the Senator from Iowa and the subcommittee did no meet for the consideration of legislation, with a view of reporting a bill for the retirement of the employees in the civil service.

The question at that time was, Should the bill be on a contributory plan on the part of the employees, or should the Government of the United States pay the entire expense? It soon developed among the members of the committee and also among the Senators who had given any attention whatever to the subject matter that the proper legislation would be a contributory plan. From that day to this there has never been a bill reported to the Senate unless it was based upon a contributory plan.

The bill referred to was known as the half-and-half plan; in other words, the employees of the Government were to pay one half of whatever it cost for their retirement on an annuity, and the Government of the United States was to pay the other half. If I remember correctly, the first bill that was introduced into the Senate would have cost the Government about $44,000,000. I have the papers in my office showing the details of the cost to the Government and the cost to the employees for every year beginning with the first year and ending with the fiftieth year.

I want it understood that I am in favor of legislation of this character, but I am also in favor of a contributory plan that will require the Government of the United States to pay one half of the expense and the employees of the Government to pay the other half of the expense.

When the bill known as the McKellar bill was reported to the Senate, the report of the committee at that time stated that the bill was virtually a plan for the Government to pay 50 per cent and the employees to pay 50 per cent of the expense. I have quotations before me from statements made upon the floor of the Senate to that effect. It was understood at the time by all who were in favor of reporting the bill from the committee that that was the plan adopted. But it soon developed that such was not the case. A thorough examination into the bill itself developed the fact that it was not a fifty-fifty plan, but, on the contrary, it was merely a plan that approximately 75 per cent should be paid by the Government and 25 per cent should be paid by the employees.

The bill which has been reported to the Senate at this session of Congress, the bill under consideration at this time, is supposed to be as nearly as possible a fifty-fifty plan. If that were the case I would not take a moment's time of the Senate to speak upon the measure, but I am positive that if any Senator will take the time to go to the Bureau of Efficiency and take any one year or any fixed salary that may be paid to any employee and apply it to the provisions of the pending bill, he will have to admit that the figures that have been reported by the committee are not correct. We should not make the mistake that was made in England when the first retirement bill was enacted. Before the discussion is concluded I may call attention to the report that was made about 60 years after the first retirement bill was passed in England. That, I think, will show beyond any question of doubt that the estimates made at the time were such that they did not show upon their face one-half of the amount that it actually cost the British Government. I hope that we are not going to have a repetition of England's history in the passage of the pending bill.

The estimates that I shall present to the Senate to-day and which I desire to have go into the RECORD in detail are based on statistics of employees as of July 1, 1916, and include 263,152 persons, that being the number at that time in the employ of the Government. The statements will show that the cost to the Government the first year will be $4,584,871, and that this amount will steadily increase until about the thirty-fifth year, when the cost to the Government will be about $34,500,000. The cost to the Government will then gradually fall to about $28,000,000 a year and remain there from that time forward, provided there is not an increase in the number of the estimated employees by the Government.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TOWNSEND in the chair). Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. SMOOT. Certainly.

Mr. STERLING. May I ask the Senator from Utah if he means by "cost to the Government" the cost exclusive of the

contributions of the employees or including the contributions of the employees?

Mr. SMOOT. If the Senator had not interrupted me, I would have stated that. I should have said the cost to the Government under the bill. The employees are to pay a certain percentage of the cost under the bill. Of course, the employees retired on the passage of the bill would not contribute a cent. If the number of employees of the Government increases, of course the amount paid by the Government will increase.

Mr. POMERENE. I may add, if the Senator from Utah will permit me, that the experience of the past conclusively demonstrates that the number of employees is going very materially to increase.

Mr. SMOOT. There is no question about that. For instance, since these figures were prepared, on July 1, 1916, when we had 263,152 persons in the classified service, we find that in the District of Columbia alone there has been an increase in the number of employees of over 50,000. We thought when the armistice was signed that the number of employees of the Government would quickly diminish, but the number of employees will never be less than to-day unless Congress takes the matter into its hands and refuses to make appropriations with which to pay them.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; I yield.

Mr. STERLING. Will the Senator state on what average annual salary the estimate which he has just furnished the Senate is based?

Mr. SMOOT. The figures which I shall put into the RECORD will begin with the $1,000 salary and include up to the $5,000 salary. The average salary is about $1,138 per annum.

Mr. STERLING. The average salary for 1916 was $1,138. It now would amount to more than $1,200; it will amount to at least $1,260 or $1,275 now.

Mr. POMERENE. In order that we may have the facts accurately, may I ask the Senator from South Dakota was he taking into consideration merely the basic salary, or the basic salary plus the bonus which has been allowed within the last year or two?

Mr. STERLING. I was taking into consideration what the salaries will be henceforth and what the average annual basic salary will be from this time on, I will say to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, there will be no question about the figures, because the figures as they will be inserted in the RECORD begin with a salary of $1,000—they are not based on an average salary at all—and then proceed up to salaries of $5,000.

In this connection I desire to say that there is one thing I do not like about the pending bill, and no other country in the world has such a provision in its civil-service law. I refer to the fact that an employee receiving, I will say, $1,200 annually and an employee receiving $5,000 a year shall each contribute 2½ per cent of his annual salary for the purpose of the retirement fund, and when those employees leave the service, provided they do so at the same age and under the same conditions, the annuity which they receive is virtually the same.

The total amount of the retirement allowances under this bill the first year will be paid out of the Federal Treasury, as I have already stated.

Mr. NUGENT. Will the Senator yield for a moment?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes.

Mr. NUGENT. I desire to inquire of the Senator whether or not he thinks it would be advisable to retire all of the so-called superannuated employees during the first year or as soon as possible?

Mr. SMOOT. As a rule, I should say during the first year; but there are exceptions. The Senator from Idaho knows as well as I know that some of the most efficient clerks or employees of the Government to-day are men who are over 70 years of age. I know two or three of the Government bureaus in the District of Columbia where, if such men are removed, I can not conceive how it would be possible to transact the business as usual, at least for some time to come. They have had the whole business of the bureaus at their fingers' ends; they know it as a child knows his A, B, C's after he has thoroughly learned them; and those men are also physically fit for the performance of their duties.

I desire to say to the Senator from Idaho that when the first bill on this subject was reported to this body there was a provision to take care of just such cases as those; but under the pending bill retirement finally is compulsory when the ages fixed have been reached, with this exception: First, that an extension of two years may be granted, and then there may be another extension of two years, making a total extension of four years. When we take into consideration that the first of the other civil-service retirement bills which were introduced into this body fixed the age of retirement at 70 years, while under the pending bill the ages of retirement are 60 years, 62 years, and 65 years, the maximum being 65 years, we can readily see what effect it is going to have as to some of the very best employees of the Government.

Mr. NUGENT. If the Senator from Utah will yield——

Mr. STERLING. I think it but fair——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. SMOOT. If the Senator from Idaho wishes to conclude his questions——

Mr. STERLING. It was in connection with the question asked by the Senator from Idaho that I desire to make a statement, qualifying the statement made by the Senator from Utah in answer to the Senator from Idaho.

Mr. SMOOT. I am willing to yield for any qualification of my statement if it is not correct.

Mr. STERLING. The Senator from Utah is correct in saying that there may be successive extensions for periods of two years each; but, according to the terms of the bill, for the first 10 years after the bill goes into effect there may be extensions covering the entire 10 years after the person has reached the retirement age of 65 years, provided, of course, that the head of the department or bureau or independent branch of the service certifies to the efficiency of the aged employee and the employee is willing to remain in the service. After the expiration of 10 years the periods of extension are limited to two periods of two years each, so that the maximum would be, after 10 years of the operation of the law, an extension of four years, making the retirement age in the case of such extension 69 years.

Mr. SMOOT. That is as I stated it; and if I did not state it clearly, it is as I intended it.

Mr. STERLING. The Senator's statement was accurate as far as he went, but he did not state the whole case.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator from Utah has not been given an opportunity to continue the making of his statement. However, the maximum age of retirement is not 69 years in all cases; it is 64 years, 66 years, and 69 years, according to the class of employees.

Mr. STERLING. The Senator ought to say in that connection—and I think he will grant that is fair—that the great body of the employees are to be retired at 65 years unless the successive extensions are availed of. For employees engaged in special service, such as mechanics, rural letter carriers, and city carriers 62 years is the retirement age, with a like privilege of extension; for railway postal clerks, the age of retirement is 60 years, with the like privilege of extension.

Mr. NUGENT. I desire to ask the Senator from Utah whether or not he can advise the Senate whether the amount of salary to be drawn during the first year by the so-called superannuates, in the event they remain on the pay roll, will be lesser or greater than the amount of the annuity that will be paid to them in the event that they are separated from the service?

Mr. SMOOT. The salaries will be greater.

Mr. President, I do not want the Senator from South Dakota to try to make it appear that I am endeavoring to misrepresent the provisions of the bill.

Mr. STERLING. Oh, I have not attempted to do so, and I hope the Senator from Utah will not think so.

Mr. SMOOT. That was farthest from my thoughts. I merely desire to state the condition exactly as it is.

Mr. STERLING. Yes; and I think in this very connection it ought to be brought, not only to the attention of the Senator from Idaho, but to the attention of every other Senator, exactly what the facts are concerning the periods of extension; that is all.

Mr. SMOOT. I made the statement and I can make it again, and I will say that my former statement is right.

Mr. STERLING. I will say that it is not right in that it does not go to the full extent of the bill.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I simply repeat that there are three ages for retirement which are named in the bill; one is 60 years; and after 10 years there are only four years' extension allowed, in two periods of two years each, which would make an extension to 64 years for the class of employees who are retired at 60 years.

There is another class provided for under the same provision who are to be retired at 62 years. Four years added to that makes 66 years as the maximum age of retirement. Then there is another class under the same provision for whom the retirement age is 65 years, and four years added to that makes 69

years. That is exactly what I said, and that is what the bill provides.

Mr. NUGENT. Mr. President, as I understand the matter, it would be to the financial advantage of the Government to pay the annuities to the so-called superannuates and separate them from the service during the first year of the operation of the bill. Am I correct in that?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes. In that connection, Mr. President, everyone knows that we have a great many old employees to-day in the service of the Government, more so than there ever will be again. I wish to be perfectly frank with the Senator and say that, so far as I am personally concerned, I would not want to see all of the old employees who have served the Government for years, for instance, employees in the Pension Office, thrown out of employment with no annuity; I do not think that would be a good thing for the Government of the United States to do; but some of them are 80 years old—I do not remember just how many of them, but I could by looking up the figures tell the Senator the exact number—and many of them are above 70 years. Those physically unfit employees ought to be relieved at once by the Government, and will be under this bill.

Mr. NUGENT. I understood the Senator to say that at the expiration of 35 years the expense to the Government under the operations of this bill would be approximately $28,000,000. I should like to have the Senator advise the Senate, if he can, what the expense will be to the employees themselves; in other words, what proportion of money they would be obliged to contribute.

Mr. SMOOT. Under the bill the expense would be $28,000,000, and the employees would at that time contribute about 25 per cent, or $7,000,000, and the Government of the United States would contribute approximately $21,000,000. The employees retiring the tenth year will provide about 3 per cent of their annuities; in the twentieth year about 9 per cent; in the thirtieth year about 15 per cent. With each succeeding year the employees' contributions will provide an increasing proportion of the cost, until at the end of about 50 years the employees' contributions will, as I have already stated to the Senate, provide about one-fourth of the annual cost. Thereafter the employees will contribute about one-fourth of the annual cost.

Mr. NUGENT. They will contribute not more than one-fourth, then, at any time.

Mr. SMOOT. Not much more than 25 and a fraction per cent. The increased cost of this plan over similar plans previously considered is due to the earlier ages of retirement. The earlier ages of retirement reduces the number of years during which the contributions will be made by the employees, cuts off the return of compound interest at the time the interest accumulations are growing most rapidly, and increases the number of employees to receive annuity.

There is no necessity for my stopping to explain that; every Senator will recognize that fact. In the last five years of the period when contributions are paid by the employees interest is compounded upon all the previous payments in addition to the contributions for the five years. There is where the advantage would come to the Government of the United States, and there would be scarcely any disadvantage to the employees; in other words, in many cases, if the period of contributions were five years longer or if the age of retirement were 70 years instead of 65 years, then, of course, the 5 years' interest upon the amount of the contributions for five years, together with the interest on all of the contributions up to that time, would make a substantial difference in the cost. This is one reason why this bill does not provide a fifty-fifty plan. Therefore I hope that those Senators who are interested in the matter will study the question before voting upon the bill.

I wish to say to the Senate at this point that the figures to which I have referred have not been arrived at in a haphazard manner; they do not represent guesswork on the part of the Bureau of Efficiency. As I have already said, I can take any Senator down to the Bureau of Efficiency and secure a file covering the estimate on any employee of the Government, no matter what salary he may be receiving, and follow it according to the provisions of this bill. If after such a visit any Senator would say that the figures I intend to put into the RECORD are not correct, I would apologize to the Senate and to the country. These figures were arrived at after a careful study, as the table of contents of the volume before me indicate. That table includes "list of operations required in the valuation"; "distribution of employees by age, salary, and length of service"; "specimen sheet of Table 1"; "preparation of table of exposure of employees separated from the service during the period from July 1, 1911, to June 30, 1916." We do not have to guess; we know what happened; we know why they were separated; we know for what causes they were separated; how many of them; and the percentage of the employees that were separated. My figures, Mr. President, are based upon information collected along that line—determination of rates of separation from the service with a pension plan in operation.

Mr. President, I must hasten on, and I am not going to take the time of the Senate unduly; but I will simply say that the figures are collected on a definite plan, and can be proven beyond the question of a doubt.

Let us see if the plan provided for by this bill will be self-supporting in the beginning; and if so, for how long. A statement to that effect was made by the Senator from Tennessee on the floor the other day. Let us see how.

It will not require any aid from the Government during the first few years if the Government sees fit to use the contributions of the younger employees to pay the older ones. If that is to be the policy, the statement made here upon the floor of the Senate is correct; but is such a thing conceivable? If so, who is going to meet it at the end of the row? Somebody will have to do it.

The contributions are more than sufficient to pay the annuities during the first few years, because the number of eligibles will be few at first; but as the number reaching retirement age will increase at about the same rate that the service has increased during the past 30 or 40 years, it is obvious that in a short time the income will be inadequate to cover the entire cost of the plan. If the contributions of all of the employees are accumulated with interest at 4 per cent, compounded annually, and are used to pay the annuities of employees retiring during the first few years, the plan will require no aid from the Government during the first 10 years of its operation. Under the terms of the bill, however, money paid in by an employee remains the property of that employee, and must ultimately be returned to him, with interest at 4 per cent, compounded annually, in one of the following two ways:

(a) In one sum, in case of his resignation, or to his estate in case of his death; and

(b) In the form of an annuity upon his retirement.

When an employee pays an annuity in the first year, that money belongs to him. The Government of the United States holds it as a trust fund, and the Government of the United States agrees to pay him 4 per cent interest, compounded annually. If the Government of the United States takes that money to pay somebody else because he retires from the Government service, the Government in the end will have to pay the employee who paid the money that was used by the Government, and add to it 4 per cent interest, compounded annually.

Mr. President, I have before me a statement of the cost of pensioning the employees of the classified civil service. In one column is the year, beginning with 1 and ending with 77. The next column gives the cost of pensioning employees; first, the cost to the Government, and, second, the cost to the employees.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KIRBY in the chair). Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. SMOOT. I do.

Mr. KELLOGG. Is that under this bill or under the substitute?

Mr. SMOOT. That is under this bill. Then I want to say to the Senator that I hope to put in the cost under this bill as compared with the cost under what was known as the McKellar bill that was before the Senate in the last session of Congress.

Then this statement gives the total cost of the annuities. The next column shows the percentage of the total cost, first, to the Government, and the percentage of the cost each year to the employees; and then follows the summations of cost to the Government and to the employees, and the total cost, which would be the same as the total cost in the first-mentioned column.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah further yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. SMOOT. I do.

Mr. KELLOGG. I notice by the report of the committee on the Sterling bill that the amount the Government would have to pay the first year is stated as $4,178,500.

Mr. SMOOT. Yes.

Mr. KELLOGG. Under the bill now before the Senate?

Mr. SMOOT. That is the estimate that they have there.

Mr. KELLOGG. Is that correct?

Mr. SMOOT. No, Mr. President; it is not correct.

Mr. KELLOGG. What is the estimate that the Senator has?

Mr. SMOOT. The estimate is $4,584,871. There is not very much difference the first year. The difference comes later; and I want the Senator to follow me, and I will tell him why these differences exist. I am not going to read this table, but I am going just to begin with the first year and take it in five-year

periods, and show the Senate how the increased percentage on the part of the employees grows as the years elapse. Of course when the bill goes into effect this year the retired employees will pay nothing whatever; the Government of the United States will pay 100 per cent of the cost.

In the fifth year the percentage paid by the Government would be reduced from 100 per cent to 99 per cent, and the employees would pay 1 per cent.

At the end of the tenth year the Government would pay 96.98 per cent and the employees would pay 3.02 per cent.

At the end of the fifteenth year the Government would pay 94.36 per cent and the employees would pay 5.64 per cent.

At the end of the twentieth year the Government would pay 91.38 per cent and the employees would pay 8.62 per cent.

At the end of the twenty-fifth year the Government would pay 88.15 per cent and the employees would pay 11.85 per cent.

At the end of the thirtieth year the Government would pay 84.74 per cent, and the employees would pay 15.26 per cent.

At the end of the thirty-fifth year the Government would pay 81.34 per cent, and the employees would pay 18.66 per cent.

At the end of the fortieth year the Government would pay 78.39 per cent, and the employees would pay 21.61 per cent.

At the end of the forty-fifth year the Government would pay 76.43 per cent, and the employees would pay 23.57 per cent.

At the end of the fiftieth year the Government would pay 75.24 per cent, and the employees would pay 24.76 per cent.

At the end of the fifty-fifth year the Government would pay 74.65 per cent, and the employees would pay 25.35 per cent.

At the end of the sixtieth year the Government would pay 74.44 per cent, and the employees would pay 25.56 per cent.

At the end of the sixty-fifth year the Government would pay 74.39 per cent, and the employees would pay 25.61 per cent.

At the end of the seventieth year the Government would pay 74.38 per cent, and the employees would pay 25.62 per cent.

At the end of the seventy-fifth year the Government would pay 74.38 per cent, and the employees would pay 25.62 per cent.

Taking the total for the 75 years and averaging the figures, the Government would pay 80 and a fraction per cent, and the employees would pay a fraction less than 20 per cent.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. SMOOT. I do.

Mr. STERLING. Can the Senator tell me, from the table or the estimate that he has, what the Government would pay in the tenth year in dollars and cents?

Mr. SMOOT. The Government would pay $11,706,324, and the employees would pay $364,300.

Mr. STERLING. Of that amount?

Mr. SMOOT. Of that amount; a total of $12,070,624. The percentages are 96.98 per cent for the Government, and 3.02 per cent for the employees.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I think the Senator from Utah misunderstood the question. I want to get it right.

Mr. SMOOT. I may have misunderstood what the Senator said.

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator gave a total of something over $12,000,000. I wish the Senator would state again how much the Government would pay. It is eleven million and something.

Mr. SMOOT. Did I say eleven million?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. SMOOT. I meant to say $11,706,324.

Mr. NORRIS. That is the total?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes.

Mr. NORRIS. But the Senator gave first the figures that the Government would pay.

Mr. SMOOT. Eleven million seven hundred and six thousand three hundred and twenty-four dollars.

Mr. NORRIS. And then he gave the amount that the employees would pay.

Mr. SMOOT. Three hundred and sixty-four thousand three hundred dollars.

Mr. NORRIS. And then the Senator from South Dakota asked whether the part paid by the employees was not a part of the other sum that the Senator gave.

Mr. SMOOT. Oh, no.

Mr. NORRIS. Then the Senator from Utah misunderstood the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; then I misunderstood him. I say the total of the two is $12,070,624, and the percentage the Government would pay is 96.98 per cent, and the percentage the employees would pay is 3.02 per cent.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, will the Senator please state again the amount that the employees would pay at the end of the tenth year?

Mr. SMOOT. Certainly—$364,300. The Senator smiles.

Mr. STERLING. I do.

Mr. SMOOT. I want to say to the Senator now that we can prove that that is right.

Mr. STERLING. Just let me suggest to the Senator a few figures. Suppose there are 300,000 employees. They are getting an average of $1,200 a year. Two and a half per cent of that will be how much?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, such a question demonstrates the whole trouble with the theory upon which the committee report has been made up. I do not suppose anything in the statements I have made. We know what the ages are; we know what the employees are receiving; we know when they can retire; and we know what they pay every year under this bill at the assessment of 2½ per cent. There is not any supposition about it. Mr. President, under the committee report that we were asked to consider the estimates made and the number of persons in the various classes are incorrect. I have a statement showing the number of persons in the various classes who will reach retirement age under this bill during the next 17 years. From this statement the Senator will see that the number reaching the retirement age during the 17 years is as follows. Now, there is no guesswork about this, because we know their present ages:

The number of all the employees will be 8,218, but in the committee estimate the number is given at 6,400. The number for the second year is 1,361, and the committee estimate is 1,000. The number for the third year is 1,604, and the committee estimate is 1,000. In other words, they go on for five years with the estimate of 1,000, whereas the number runs all the way from 1,361 up to 2,008. This must be true, because we know their present ages, and if they remain in the Government service we know very well that they will be retired under this bill, and it can not be less than the number I have stated.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me to interrupt him, I think I understand the manner in which the distinguished chairman of the committee has been misled in his calculations. The figures which are given by the Senator from Utah give, first, the amount of the cost to the Government, and, secondly, the amount of the annuities which are paid by the annuitants. The difficulty with the Senator from South Dakota is that he is taking into consideration all of the assessments that are paid by all of the employees. A part of those will be paid by annuitants under the figures which are given by the Senator. The others should be credited to the accounts of the hundreds of thousands of employees, and our friend the Senator from South Dakota is borrowing from some of the employees to pay the others. That is the difficulty.

Mr. SMOOT. Just as I referred to before. I will say to the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG] that under the bill the Government, if it saw fit, need not make an appropriation of a dollar for nearly 10 years, with the exception of the first payment, but in so doing it would be taking the payments of employees to meet future annuities to pay employees on account of age retirement within the 10-year period, but a time will come for the retirement of the employees who are thus used and there will be no reserve to meet the same.

Mr. STERLING. I am glad to have the Senator make that admission, for I think if he makes that admission he must make others.

Mr. SMOOT. I had already made the admission, and I wish to call it to the attention of the Senator again. I thought he was listening to it. This is what I said, and I happen to have it here in writing and I am going to repeat it, so there will be no mistake about it:

> Under this bill the total amount of the retirement allowances the first year will be paid out of the Federal Treasury. With each succeeding year the employees retiring will have provided a larger proportion of their annuities.
>
> Will the plan provided by this bill be self-supporting in the beginning, and if so, for how long?

This is what I stated:

> It will not require any aid from the Government during the first few years if the Government sees fit to use the contributions of the younger employees to pay the older ones.

I then continued:

> The contributions are more than sufficient to pay the annuities during the first few years, because the number of eligibles will be few at first, but as the number reaching retirement age will increase at about the same rate that the service has increased during the past 30 or 40 years, it is obvious that in a short time the income will be inadequate to cover the entire cost of the plan. If the contributions of all of the employees are accumulated at interest at 4 per cent, compounded annually, and are used to pay the annuities of employees retiring during the first few years, the plan will require no aid from the Government during the first 10 years of its operation.

That is what I said, and that is what I say now. It will be exactly as though the Senator from Nebraska should go to a

bank and deposit every month $5, and if he did not draw it for 10 years and the bank had made use of money in paying the withdrawals of some other depositor, the bank would have to raise the money from some other source when the Senator demanded his money.

I wish to call the attention of the Senator to another vital mistake in the estimates of the committee, and very vital. I wish to invite attention to the estimate of separations from service shown on page 4 of the report of the committee. The probable number of employees who will leave the service is shown as 20,000 during each of the first 10 years of the operation of the plan. I have a tabulation which shows the number that will leave the service, according to the actual statistics for the five years ending June 30, 1916; the number that will leave the service according to Mr. Beach's estimate; and the difference. Here they are:

All employees, based on 300,000 as the Senator suggested, the separations will be during the first year 15,290, while Mr. Beach says 20,000; the second year 14,688 and Mr. Beach says 20,000; the third year 14,222 and Mr. Beach says 20,000; the fourth year 15,838 and Mr. Beach says 20,000; the fifth year 15,552, and Mr. Beach says 20,000; the sixth year 13,247 and Mr. Beach says 20,000.

Mr. STERLING. If the Senator will permit me——

Mr. SMOOT. Will the Senator please wait until I complete my statement, and then I will yield?

The overstatement of separations, ranging from 4,710 in the first year up to 7,298 in the tenth year, results in a very great underestimate of the cost of the plan.

In this connection I have here estimated the number of employees leaving the service each year to whom contributions must be returned, and I have it for 20 years, as applied to the railway postal clerks, the rural letter carriers, the city letter carriers, the post-office clerks, the mechanics, the general employees of the District of Columbia, the general employees outside of the District of Columbia—to all employees in the Government service—and all based on 300,000 employees. I show the number of refunds and then the difference. That picture itself is enough to convince any Senator that the report of the committee is based upon figures that can not be sustained.

I ask at this point in my remarks that the table to which I have just referred be inserted in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The table referred to is as follows:

Estimated number of employees leaving the service each year to whom contributions must be returned.

Year. (a)	Railway postal clerks. (b)	Rural letter carriers. (c)	City letter carriers. (d)	Post-office clerks. (e)	Mechanics. (f)	General employees in District of Columbia. (g)	General employees elsewhere. (h)	All employees (based on 263,152). (i)	All employees (based on 300,000). (j)	Number of refunds (Mr. Beach's estimate). (k)	Difference (k—j). (l)
1	472	1,652	689	1,478	1,604	1,591	5,926	13,412	15,290	20,000	+4,710
2	460	1,600	678	1,403	1,563	1,525	5,646	12,875	14,678	20,000	+5,322
3	452	1,563	676	1,354	1,535	1,471	5,424	12,475	14,222	20,000	+5,778
4	443	1,532	676	1,314	1,499	1,424	5,250	12,138	13,838	20,000	+6,162
5	443	1,514	670	1,290	1,469	1,391	5,110	11,887	13,552	20,000	+6,448
6	438	1,486	674	1,220	1,441	1,362	4,999	11,620	13,247	20,000	+6,753
7	433	1,477	675	1,258	1,418	1,336	4,905	11,502	13,113	20,000	+6,887
8	428	1,462	676	1,327	1,391	1,319	4,832	11,435	13,036	20,000	+6,964
9	425	1,452	679	1,233	1,373	1,303	4,768	11,233	12,806	20,000	+7,194
10	425	1,438	683	1,221	1,358	1,296	4,721	11,142	12,702	20,000	+7,298
11	422	1,433	687	1,217	1,345	1,283	4,675	11,062	12,611	.....	.....
12	421	1,421	687	1,212	1,335	1,273	4,629	10,978	12,515	.....	.....
13	426	1,419	692	1,216	1,325	1,271	4,595	10,944	12,476	.....	.....
14	424	1,419	692	1,218	1,318	1,265	4,572	10,908	12,435	.....	.....
15	430	1,425	697	1,225	1,312	1,265	4,554	10,908	12,435	.....	.....
16	437	1,429	699	1,236	1,316	1,265	4,549	10,931	12,462	.....	.....
17	436	1,435	700	1,247	1,310	1,271	4,553	10,952	12,486	.....	.....
18	446	1,435	703	1,255	1,311	1,295	4,562	11,007	12,548	.....	.....
19	445	1,435	706	1,264	1,312	1,281	4,565	11,008	12,549	.....	.....
20	455	1,449	704	1,278	1,317	1,286	4,592	11,081	12,633	.....	.....

Mr. SMOOT. I wish now to say to the Senator from South Dakota that rather than have it claimed that the bill is a half-and-half contributory bill, I would prefer that the Government of the United States pay every cent of the expense. If we are going to be fair, let us be fair to all. If it is a half-and-half contributory plan, let it be so. If it is not, let us say to the employees of the Government, "The Government of the United States will not ask you to contribute a cent." There would be some sense in a plan like that. But this is neither fish nor fowl; it is neither the one thing nor the other.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. SMOOT. Certainly.

Mr. STERLING. I should like to ask the Senator from Utah how far this comes from the estimates made when the hearings were had on the McKellar bill by Dr. Maddrill in regard to contributions, which was a trifle over 5 per cent. It was insisted that 5 per cent of the salaries would pay the annuities provided for in the McKellar bill, the maximum annuity, I think, being $600.

Mr. SMOOT. I expected the Senator to ask that question, and I hope to be able to answer it in detail.

Mr. POMERENE. Before the Senator from Utah answers the question, allow me to say that the statement just quoted from the hearings on the McKellar bill is another of those very loose statements which are made when it comes to trying at least to minimize the amount to be paid by the Government. Those hearings indicate not that the total cost would be 5 per cent of the salaries paid, but nearly 6 per cent. To use the exact language used by Dr. Maddrill, one of the witnesses, it is to the effect that it would be a few tenths less than 1 per cent over and above 5 per cent, of which amount 2½ per cent would be paid by the employees and 2½ per cent plus a few tenths less than 1 per cent by the Government. That is what it means.

Mr. STERLING. The thought that occurred to me is that even under the corrected figures given by Dr. Maddrill this would be strictly a contributory or partially contributory plan in which the employees would contribute nearly if not quite one-half of the cost of the system. I will quote from the hearings, soon after Dr. Maddrill had changed his view a little in regard to the percentage that would be required, the previous estimate being upon a basis of 5 per cent of the salary of the employees. Five per cent of the salaries of the employees, it was stated, would finance the system, and that it would be a half-and-half system. If the employees paid 2½ per cent as provided in that bill, how much would it lack of being a half-and-half system?

Mr. SMOOT. Why does the Senator speak that way when he knows that the bill has nothing to do with the ages that were provided in the bill to which he has referred? The McKellar bill did not retire the employees at the ages which are provided in the pending bill.

Mr. STERLING. It has something to do with the ages. The ages are approximately the same.

Mr. SMOOT. Approximately is where a part of the difference in cost is found. I desire to answer the question asked by the Senator——

Mr. STERLING. May I, as I started to do, quote from Dr. Maddrill?

Mr. SMOOT. I have a reference to the doctor also in my answer.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; to make a statement.

Mr. STERLING. The chairman of the committee said:

> Doctor, you do not feel that there is any doubt about 5 per cent being sufficient to pay the annuities provided for in this bill, do you?
>
> Mr. MADDRILL. Five per cent will cover the annuity, as provided in the proposed plan.
>
> Mr. JORDAN. But not in this one?
>
> Mr. MADDRILL. It will be five and a fraction in this one.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you stated before that 5 per cent would cover it.

Mr. MADDRILL. My statement was that the 5 per cent would come within a few tenths of 1 per cent.

Mr. JORDAN. It can be referred to still as a 5 per cent bill?

Mr. MADDRILL. It can be referred to still as a 5 per cent bill.

Mr. SMOOT. Now, let me answer the Senator if he is through.

Mr. STERLING. He says it can still be referred to as a 5 per cent plan.

Mr. POMERENE. It was Mr. Jordan who made that statement.

Mr. STERLING. Oh, no.

Mr. POMERENE. Yes; he does make it.

Mr. STERLING. So does Dr. Maddrill. I read:

Mr. JORDAN. It can be referred to still as a 5 per cent bill?

Mr. MADDRILL. It can be referred to still as a 5 per cent bill.

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; it can be referred to, but it is not so.

I will answer the Senator's question and say Mr. Beach and Mr. McCoy used the tables prepared by Dr. Maddrill. The table submitted by Dr. Maddrill and printed in the hearings before Senator MCKELLAR's committee were compiled exclusively with reference to the McKellar bill and could not be used in calculating the cost of the Sterling bill, because the groupings of the employees in the two bills are entirely different, as shown in the table. I hope the Senator will follow this statement.

As to the group of railway postal clerks, the age of retirement under the Sterling bill is 60 years, under the McKellar bill 65 years. That is where that five-year service brings to the Government of the United States, as I have already said, not only the amount that the postal clerk pays for the five years toward meeting the annuity when he retires, but the Government of the United States receives for five years compound interest upon all of the payments that he has made during the whole time, and that amounts to perhaps almost as much as the preceding 20 years amount to.

Mr. STERLING. Will the Senator from Utah state how many of those railway postal clerk employees there are?

Mr. SMOOT. I think I have put that statement in the RECORD already and I am not going to refer to it again, but I do desire to complete my answer.

For another group, the city letter carriers, the age of retirement under the Sterling bill is 62 years, the age under the McKellar bill was 65 years; rural carriers, under the Sterling bill 62 years, under the McKellar bill 65 years; mechanics, under the Sterling bill 62 years and under the McKellar bill 65 years; post-office clerks, under the Sterling bill 62 years, under the McKellar bill 68 years; general employees, 65 years under the Sterling bill and 68 years under the McKellar bill. In all the bills previously reported to the Senate the retirement age was 70 years, the very lowest that had ever been reported before.

I desire that Senators shall know that the additional age of retirement of five years is what imposes upon the Government of the United States the burdensome payments of 75 per cent of cost as against 25 per cent by the employees.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. SMOOT. Certainly.

Mr. KELLOGG. I find it utterly impossible to reconcile the estimates given by the Senator from South Dakota and those given by the Senator from Utah. As I understood the Senator from Utah, he stated that at the end of the tenth year the Government would be contributing approximately 96 per cent and the employees 4 per cent, while the statement made by the Senator from South Dakota is that at the end of 10 years the Government would be contributing only about 60 per cent.

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to the Senator from Minnesota that if he will go to the Bureau of Efficiency and examine an individual case under the figures that I have given—and what will apply to an individual case will apply to all employees when we know the total number that we are to figure on and that we are all agreed upon—and carry that one case through to the end, I am positive that he will find that the figures I have given are correct.

Mr. KELLOGG. Then the Senator from Utah insists that the figures of the Senator from South Dakota are not correct?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; and I have called attention to that fact. I have placed in the RECORD a statement showing the number of persons of the various classes who will reach the age of retirement under the bill during the next 17 years, and from that statement the Senator will see that the total number who will reach the age of retirement during the next 17 years is as I shall state.

Note the difference between the actual figures and the estimates made in the report of the committee:

The first year the number of employees reaching the age of retirement, and we know their ages, are 8,218. The estimate in the committee report is 6,400. The second year the number would be 1,361. The committee report says 1,000. The third year the number would be 1,604, and the committee report says 1,000; the fourth year 1,790, and the committee report says 1,000; the fifth year 1,963, and the committee report says 1,000; the sixth year 2,088, and the committee report says 1,000. There need be no guessing about the numbers. I will say further that I called attention to the number of refunds as to all employees, based on 300,000, for the first 10 years, and this greatly affects the cost to be paid by the Government. The committee report shows the number of refunds under the bill will be 20,000 a year for the first 10 years. Based on the actual figures, the highest number of refunds will be 15,290, and at the end of the tenth year will be but 12,702 instead of 20,000, as claimed in the committee report. Of course that is sufficient to make a great part of the difference between the actual cost and the estimated cost of the committee. If we are to have a retirement plan, as I said before, let us have one that employees in the Government service can not say they have contributed a cent to it, or else let us have a contributory plan as was first intended and has always been intended and is what the pending bill is claimed to be, but is not.

Mr. POMERENE. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him at that point?

Mr. SMOOT. Certainly.

Mr. POMERENE. I am sure the Senator will recall that employees of the Government generally object to a straight pension plan, and this is out of the abundance of experience that employees had under the British law. It turned out that every time the employees would ask for an increase in their pay they would constantly be reminded that they had a straight pension, and so forth, so that it developed later that that portion of the employees who were under the straight pension plan were paid less than those who were contributing to their pension. That is the experience everywhere.

Mr. SMOOT. If it were not for taking too much space in the RECORD I should like to have a copy of the statement that was made in the British Parliament 60 years after the first retirement bill went into effect in England, showing the mistakes that were made and how they were made. I desire to say now that if we pass the pending bill as reported to the Senate, it will not be 60 years before Senators will arise upon the floor of the Senate stating that those who passed the bill and who made the reports upon it knew very little about what the cost of it would be. Yes, as far as I am concerned, I would rather have a bill that would require the Government to pay every cent of the annuity, so that no employees of the Government could say that the Government retained one cent of their salaries to pay for their annuities at retirement.

Mr. President, I have enough data before me to occupy not only the balance of this day but another day, but what is the use?

I will close for to-day by stating to the few Senators who are in the Chamber that if we could have 75 Senators present who would remain two hours and discuss this bill in all its details I know what would happen to it. It would be just what happened before when we discussed this question and when the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] offered his bill as a substitute for the McKellar bill.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Utah yield to me?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. SMOOT. I yield.

Mr. MYERS. If the Senator from Utah will permit me, I will suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. SMOOT. Oh, no; I will not yield for that purpose, for I desire to conclude. I will ask the Senator not to make that suggestion now.

Mr. MYERS. Then I withdraw the suggestion.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, at this time I shall for the present conclude what I have to say. Later on I may say a few words more. I desire to get the tables which I wish to put into the RECORD in shape so that they will summarize the whole case.

I desire again to assure Senators that I am in sympathy with a retirement plan; I think such a plan is absolutely necessary and I should dislike to see the defeat of all legislation of this character; but I do not desire a bill to go through the Senate of the United States upon a false basis. Remember, Senators, that every Senator who votes for this bill, based upon the figures furnished in the committee report, will live to see the day when he will and must admit they are not correct.

Pensions for the Spanish War and Other War Veterans.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. SUMMERS,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 1, 1920.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, more than 20 years have passed since the world stood appalled at the cruelties, the outrages, and the butcheries that were implicated upon the weak and helpless Cubans by the Spanish Armies. More than 20 years since an overwrought, humane, and justice-loving United States was shocked by the sinking of the *Maine* in Habana Harbor and the slaughter of our own citizens.

Then came the call to arms to vindicate our rights and to maintain the honor and the supremacy of the Stars and Stripes. Within a remarkably short time 335,000 volunteers joined with 100,000 Regulars and entrained for southern camps, while tens of thousands of us who tendered our services were denied an opportunity to serve.

These strong and sturdy young patriots were taken to hastily constructed, insanitary camps, located in a climate to which most of the men were not accustomed. They were fed upon unwholesome food and were stricken with malaria, dysentery, typhoid, and other semitropical diseases by the thousands and by the tens of thousands. Medicines were scarce and, unfortunately for the men, medical records were poorly and incompletely kept, so that Spanish-American War veterans from my district, and no doubt from every district in the United States, are finding great difficulty in establishing the connecting link between the insidious, undermining illness of 22 years ago and the physical disability of to-day.

Through the Pension Department and by special bills I am endeavoring to secure tardy justice for these veterans of my district, but the burden of proof falls upon a petitioner who seeks in vain through the War Department for records which were never kept.

In Cuba, in the Philippines, and in China they participated in 826 battles, engagements, and skirmishes, in which 515 men were killed or wounded. Their record is little less than marvelous. While hurriedly recruited, poorly equipped, and fed on hardtack and the appetizing flesh of bucking bronchos, they fought on foreign soil and never lost by capture a man, a boat, a gun, nor an inch of ground. But disease claimed 11,500 of them. Thus, disease and bullets claimed 12,000 men out of an army of 435,000 in 1898 and 1899, while sanitation and warfare had made such progress than an American Army of 800,000 only lost 8,634 men during the first 12 months of the great World War.

Spanish-American War vetersans are patriotic leaders in every community and have been loath to press their claims, but now that the ravages of long-lurking diseases are being felt, there comes to this Congress the patriotic duty of lending a helping hand. The bill provides:

Be it enacted, etc., That all persons who served 90 days or more in the military or naval service of the United States during the War with Spain, the Philippine insurrection, and the China relief expedition, and who have been honorably discharged therefrom, and who are now or who may hereafter be suffering from any mental or physical disability or disabilities of a permanent character, not the result of their own vicious habits, which so incapacitates them from the performance of manual labor as to render them unable to earn a support, shall, upon making due proof of the fact, according to such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may provide, be placed upon the list of invalid pensioners of the United States, and be entitled to receive a pension not exceeding $30 per month and not less than $12 per month, proportioned to the degree of inability to earn a support; and in determining such inability each and every infirmity shall be duly considered, and the aggregate of the disabilities shown be rated, and such pension shall commence from the date of the filing of the application in the Bureau of Pensions, after the passage of this act, upon proof that the disability or disabilities then existed, and shall continue during the existence of the same: *Provided*, That any such person who has reached the age of 62 years shall, upon making proof of such fact, be placed upon the pension roll and entitled to receive a pension of $12 per month. In case such person has reached the age of 68 years, $18 per month; in case such person has reached the age of 72 years, $24 per month; and in case such person has reached the age of 75 years, $30 per month: *Provided further*, That persons who are now receiving pensions under existing laws, or whose claims are pending in the Bureau of Pensions, may, by application to the Commissioner of Pensions, in such form as he may prescribe, showing themselves entitled thereto, receive the benefits of this act; and nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to prevent any pensioner thereunder from prosecuting his claim and receiving his pension under any other general or special act: *Provided, however*, That no person shall receive more than one pension for the same period: *And provided further*, That rank in the service shall not be considered in applications filed under this act.

SEC. 2. That no agent, attorney, or other person engaged in preparing, presenting, or prosecuting any claim under the provisions of this act, shall, directly or indirectly, contract for, demand, receive, or retain for such services in preparing, presenting, or prosecuting such claim a sum greater than $20, and any person who shall violate any of the provisions of this section, or who shall wrongfully withhold from a pensioner or claimant the whole or any part of a pension or claim allowed or due such pensioner or claimant under this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall, for each and every such offense, be fined not exceeding $500, or be imprisoned at hard labor not exceeding two years, or both, in the discretion of the court.

While Civil War pensions have always been opposed by the great majority of Southern Members, the Spanish-American War was not a sectional war and I can not understand the opposition of the gentlemen from Texas [Messrs CONNALLY, BLACK, and RAYBURN]. They insist they are opposed to the general policy of pensions. On the other hand, may I say, no legislation has appealed to me more than that which gives at least some degree of justice and comfort and support to the men of all American wars, who have upheld American rights and American standards and who have preserved to us a Nation and a flag that are the just pride of every American patriot.

I sincerely trust the Senate may give the bill the favorable and speedy consideration which it has received in the House.

National Victory Memorial Building.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROYAL C. JOHNSON,

OF SOUTH DAKOTA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVE

Thursday, February 26, 1920.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, the great book of America's participation in the World War requires the erection of a formal national symbol of its effort, sacrifice, achievement and glory—an enduring physical memorial monument—of some kind. Without it the war and all it means would seem to pass into history like a denoted but unmarked grave. There is need for an enduring record in lasting material of the esteem in which the Republic holds the heroic fighting men; the tireless labor and business leaders who directed the industrial mobilization and administration of the country; and the magnificent contribution in effort and sacrifice of the women of the land.

Such a memorial must be more than a beautiful monument; it must be of patriotic service—the national center of patriotic activities and the conserver of the lessons of the war; the gathering place of great national societies, the home of conventions, and the preserver of invaluable records of the war effort in all its phases.

This war memorial for the Nation as a whole is to be erected in Washington, the Capital, and is to take the form of a majestic national victory memorial building. Congress has donated the site for the building on the spacious Mall, about halfway between the White House and the Capitol, adjoining the new National Museum, and has authorized the George Washington Memorial Association to collect the necessary funds for its construction and maintenance—$10,000,000.

Plans for the building were submitted in open competition by many of the leading architects of the country. From them the Society of Fine Arts selected the design submitted by Tracy & Swartwout, architects of the Missouri State Capitol and of other public buildings throughout the country.

It is the essence of the memorial idea and of the plans that the building shall be at once a noble monument to the men and women of the great struggle and importantly and nationally useful. It will supply a long-felt national want—an edifice that will be the national center of the quasi official and unofficial public life of the Nation. There is no place in the National Capital large enough or dignified enough to house the great social gatherings, conferences, and conventions that will naturally be held in Washington, such as the annual meetings of the great national associations and patriotic societies, inauguration functions, international conferences, musical festivals, and so forth.

There is need also for a fitting place in which may be kept many of the public and private documents and records relating to America's part in the Great War. By housing such papers in a monumental building, where they may be classified, studied, digested, and referred to, it will become and remain a perpetual

source of information and inspiration, thus preserving the lessons of the war, preparing the Nation for wars that may yet come, and making of the commemorative building something that will be daily of patriotic service.

A GREAT AUDITORIUM.

The national victory memorial building will contain an auditorium accommodating more than 7,000 persons, several smaller halls and reception rooms; a banquet hall seating more than 700 persons; a special room for each State in the Union and for each of its outlying possessions; national headquarters rooms for the George Washington Memorial Association, the National Council of Women and its affiliated organizations, and Washington headquarters for the American Legion and other patriotic, industrial, social, and civic bodies of a national character.

In front of the great building will be a suitable victory commemoration statue or statuary group surrounded by beautiful gardens, which will be particularly symbolical of the part played by the women of America in the Great War.

The national victory memorial building conception has been approved by persons high in the official, educational, social, and industrial life of the country, including the President, all the members of the Cabinet, and the governors of all the States. They commend it as a most necessary addition to Washington's great group of national buildings as well as a fitting tribute to the epoch of the World War. The idea has also been indorsed by the churches and the most prominent fraternal, patriotic, and social organizations of national scope.

The building, together with the endowment fund, will be administered by the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, of which the President of the United States is the presiding officer.

A MONUMENT OF SERVICE.

More than half a million dollars has already been subscribed, and many more thousands have been promised. It is intended to raise quickly the whole of the $10,000,000 required, so that work may be begun at once and rushed rapidly to completion.

The victory building will not only commemorate the war, but it will preserve within its walls many of the original records of the manifold activities of the American people in relation to the war. American business men and toilers played as great a part in the war as did the fighting men themselves. In no other war did they participate so greatly and decisively as in this war, but no permanent record of their work has been compiled. Neither is any record being kept of the splendid service rendered by the women of America in the organization and conducting of the war effort. The George Washington Memorial Association purposes to place in the public archives of the national victory memorial building the histories of the participation by America's women and her industrial leaders in the World War. It is intended to preserve in the building also the official records of the cooperation between business and industry, the women of the country and the masses of the civilian cooperators and the Government, such as the records and files of the Council of National Defense, the War Industries Board, the War Trade Board, the Committee of Public Information, the Division of Planning and Statistics, and possibly of the district and local draft boards, and so forth.

Personal records will also be kept of the services rendered by those who assist in the organization required to raise the building fund, of those who contribute to the fund, of the men and boys who served under the flag, and of those who gave their lives.

THE WOMEN'S WORK.

Inasmuch as the national victory memorial building is to commemorate the work the women did for the soldiers and the Nation, as well as the deeds of the fighting men and the patriotic labors of men of affairs, it has been decided that as a fitting finale of their war work the privilege of raising the fund shall be theirs, and that the enterprise shall be directed by the Women's Division of the Council of National Defense. To the Women's Division has been tendered the active cooperation and support of the National Council of Women and of the Council of National Defense itself, which is a permanent governmental agency in peace as well as in war. Many other organizations of a public or patriotic nature have offered to cooperate.

A well-known author writes of the national victory momorial building project as follows:

"As the curtain descends on the last act in the greatest drama of all history comes the consciousness of a demand for a fitting token in commemoration of the deeds of American men.

"The Nation's heart pumps quick with emotion at the sight of her returning heroes; it bleeds with the wounds which her manhood has suffered; it swells with justifiable pride at her thorough, decisive achievement. The whole Nation, as though actuated by a single mind, desires a perpetual tribute to those millions of her men who saved the day for self-government and brought peace to a stricken world.

"And so the George Washington Memorial Association arose to the occasion. Its project already is under way—a national victory memorial building, which will link the glories of Washington and Pershing, the spirit of '17 and the spirit of '76. The mettle which endured at Valley Forge triumphed in the Argonne. The men of '76 may sleep in peace.

"What, indeed, more fitting than a linking up for all time of these great epochs of American life? Where, indeed, a place more suitable for such acknowledgment of a nation's debt to her men than the Nation's Capital?

"Congress has granted the George Washington Memorial Association an ideal location on the Mall, in the center of the city of Washington, which formerly was occupied by the Pennsylvania Station.

A SUPREME ARCHITECTURAL GLORY.

"On this site will be erected immediately, according to designs which have been selected in a competition of foremost American architects, a majestic monument—not a monument in the accepted meaning of the term, but a monument in the form of a spacious and architecturally beautiful building, to be daily devoted to patriotic utilities, to national and international conventions and usages, and to be made the center of both American and world activity. This national memorial structure at Washington, of course, is to be apart from the many arches and columns and shafts to be erected in the local communities. It is to be a practical monument to the memory and eternal honor of the Nation's men and women. It must be inspiringly grand and beautiful. The exterior will therefore be one of the supreme architectural glories of the world.

"The central feature of the edifice will be a national auditorium of spacious dimensions, thus giving to the Nation's capital what, strangely enough, it now entirely lacks—a public meeting place of ample size. It will be completely canopied by an acoustical dome three times the diameter of the dome of St. Peter's. This auditorium will seat 7,000 people and will consist of a main floor of 38,500 square feet and a gallery of 10,000 square feet. Here in the future will be held inaugural receptions, national and international conventions, concerts, public ceremonies, and celebrations.

* * * * * * *

"A great war, nobly undertaken, bravely and victoriously fought, proving that after the lapse of nearly 150 years the hopes, principles, and aspirations of the founders of the Nation are still cherished, will thus receive adequate national memorial acknowledgment.

"What the Pantheon is to France, Westminster Abbey to Britain, such in some degree and manner the national victory memorial will be to America. Greatly conceived, nationally erected, dedicated to patriotism, it will stand through the generations as the national monument raised in the awful presence of the world's greatest political convulsion to commemorate the victorious feats of American democracy in arms. Hallowed by the passage of time, stored with the pictures and sculptuary that will record the achievements of the Republic and its conspicuous sons from age to age, it will become the Mecca of American patriotism and an inexhaustible source of stimulation to national duty and service.

"You gave your sons—you gave your services—that democracy might live. The opportunity is now offered to perpetuate the memory of your sons' great deeds and your own sacrifices."

A unique and peculiarly appropriate plan for raising the funds required for the erection of the building has been devised by a business man who is the world's leading distributor and producer in his line. It has been called the service-star plan and is described as follows:

SERVICE STAR PLAN.

CONTRIBUTIONS ARE A PRIVILEGE.

"The service-star plan, by which the fund to erect the national victory memorial building is to be raised, was submitted to many representative men and women and national organizations and numerous commercial, financial, industrial, and educational institutions and was approved by them.

"It will be recalled that early in the war every family, business house, club, college, factory, community, or institution of any sort took up the practice of displaying flags with a star thereon for each member of the organization serving with the

colors—hence the name, 'service flag.' These flags were displayed as a mark of honor, respect, and gratitude to the service men and as a proud proof of the organization's representation in the war effort. To the boys themselves the thought that somewhere at home at least one service flag had a star that represented them individually had a tremendously inspiring and gratifying effect. It seemed as if a shining symbol of their sacrificial spirit had been left at home to cheer their dear ones. And mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, and sweethearts, and organizations did derive solace and pride from those stars. They also meant much of inspiration and cheer to all of us who remained behind. Wherever one went there was always before his eyes a stimulus to his own patriotic bit, whatever it was, in these reminders of how much more others were doing. These flags will remain indefinitely among the treasured relics and records of families and all manner of associations of men and women.

"Now, the central idea of the service-star plan is to have every one of the more than 4,000,000 service stars represented in the victory memorial building and to have the stars themselves actually, separately, and individually reproduced on some suitable surface in the building, thus in effect making a great national service flag which will for all time be a visual record and reminder of what each and all of the 'boys' did. Supplementing the transferred stars will be the records of honor of the men and women who sacrificed and toiled behind the lines that victory might be ours.

"In fact, the whole great national victory memorial building will be, figuratively, the Nation's service flag, thus preserving in the national recollection and consciousness what is so sacredly preserved in every home, for every brick and stone in it will proceed from the idea and the idealism of the service flags.

"Under the service-star plan each individual employer, institution, club, church, college, organization, or community, as the case may be, will be permitted the honor of financial representation in proportion to the number of stars in its respective flag—$5 for each blue star and $100 for each gold star, and no more.

"For example, if a given firm had 10 men in the service, 2 of whom did not return, it would be entitled to have the stars on its service flag represented in the national victory memorial building and be permitted to raise in its organization and contribute $200 for the two gold stars and $40 for the eight blue stars, or a total of $240.

IN SMALL COMMUNITIES.

"While in larger towns and cities the service stars and honor rolls will be fully represented by a careful inclusion of all employers, clubs, associations, institutions, and so forth, that had the privilege of displaying service flags, it will be advisable in small communities and in country districts to treat them as units and call upon the local representatives of the plan in such localities to ascertain the number of stars that represent the community as a whole, and see that the representative amount is subscribed by the community in order that their service flag or honor roll is represented. As it may often happen that a 'star' family is not in a position to avail itself of its privilege from its own means, other interested families, better circumstanced, will doubtless count it a special privilege to contribute beyond their proportion. Again, as the honor of the whole community is involved, it would be proper here for those who have no service-star associations through family or business or social relationship to be permitted to share in the raising of the fund. In a word, the smaller communities may be treated as a large family, whose sons honored them with the right to display service stars; and, in fact, many such communities did display community service flags or honor rolls.

"When the campaign is concluded the service stars will be carefully recorded, as represented in the building fund raised through it; and in due time will, figuratively speaking, be transferred to the national victory memorial building, where each star will be reproduced probably with the initials and possibly the name of the man it stands for, each in its proper geographical group, so that it may be readily located. The details of the manner in which this shall be done have not yet been completely worked out, but it is now the intention of the architects to use the interior walls and the ceiling of the great dome of the auditorium for that purpose. Thus it will be possible for the service men themselves and their associates who made possible the great memorial building, and their relatives and friends, to realize by aid of physical vision that the edifice of patriotic honor was raised from sources that honor them intimately, and that their spirit is built into the lofty structure and visually symbolized in the reproduced service stars. The men of this war and their children from generation unto generation will feel, as they visit the great temple of patriotism, that it is theirs in substance, sentiment, and symbol.

"So it will come about by this unique plan the national victory memorial building will be more intimately and sacredly related to the cause it honors than any other public building erected in all the history of the world. No unit that has the right to participation in this patriotic enterprise will for a moment hesitate to avail itself of that right."

I append data regarding the George Washington Memorial Association and the Smithsonian Institution, comments of President Wilson, Gen. Pershing, and others, and excerpts from the law granting the site for the building, and a portion of the address of Wallace D. Simmons, of St. Louis, before the biennial convention of the National Women's Council.

OFFICERS OF THE GEORGE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.

Honorary president: Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, the White House.

President: Mrs. Henry F. Dimock, 1301 Sixteenth Street, Washington, D. C.

Vice presidents: Mrs. Daniel Manning, Mrs. Joseph B. Foraker, Mrs. Henry R. Mallory, Miss Bessie J. Kibbey, Mrs. Charles J. Bell, Mrs. Frederick Thompson.

Trustees: Mrs. Charles Hamlin, Mrs. Philip North Moore.

Recording secretary: Mrs. Nelson Herrick Henry, New York.

Corresponding secretary: Mrs. Mary Cleveland Perkins.

Treasurer: Mrs. Frank Northrop.

Advisory council: Hon. Elihu Root, Dr. William Welch, Gen. Horace Porter, Dr. Charles D. Walcott, Prof. William H. Taft, Dr. Ira Remsen, Prof. Fairchild Osborn, Dr. Charles W. Dabney, Mr. Charles J. Bell, Dr. John A. Wyeth, Dr. Thomas Nelson Page, Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge.

Trustee of permanent fund: Mr. Charles J. Bell, Washington, D. C., president American Security & Trust Co.

BOARD OF REGENTS, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, UNDER WHOSE CONTROL THE NATIONAL VICTORY MEMORIAL BUILDING AND THE PERPETUAL ENDOWMENT WILL BE ADMINISTERED.

Presiding officer: Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States.

Chancellor: Edward D. White, Chief Justice of the United States.

Thomas R. Marshall, Vice President of the United States; Henry Cabot Lodge, Member of the Senate; Henry F. Hollis, former Senator; Charles S. Thomas, Member of the Senate; Scott Ferris, Member of the House of Representatives; Lemuel P. Padgett, Member of the House of Representatives; Frank L. Greene, Member of the House of Representatives; Alexander Graham Bell, Washington, D. C.; George Gray, Wilmington, Del.; Charles F. Choate, jr., Boston, Mass.; John B. Henderson, Washington, D. C.; Henry White, Washington, D. C.

EXCERPTS FROM LAW OF CONGRESS WHICH GRANTS THE SITE ON WHICH THE NATIONAL VICTORY MEMORIAL BUILDING WILL BE BUILT.

"Whereas at the present time there is not any suitable building in the city of Washington where large conferences or in which large public functions can be held or where the permanent headquarters and records of national organizations can be administered; and

"Whereas a building should be provided in which there shall be a large auditorium, halls of different sizes, where all the societies pertaining to the growth of our best interests can meet, and such as is deemed desirable may have permanent headquarters; and

"That in order to carry into effect this act permission is granted the George Washington Memorial Association to erect said building in the north end of the reservation known as Armory Square, bound by Sixth and Seventh Streets west, and B Street north and B Street south. The south front of said building is to be on a line with the south front of the New National Museum Building, in the north end of the Smithsonian Park, and the said land is hereby appropriated for the purpose.

"That said building may be used for inaugural receptions and other special public meetings."

SOME COMMENTS ON THE NATIONAL VICTORY MEMORIAL.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington.

Mrs. SUSAN WHITNEY DIMOCK,
Scott Circle, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MRS. DIMOCK: I have noted with genuine interest the plans of the George Washington Memorial Association for a memorial to the Boys of 1917 as well as those of '76. No one could withhold approval from such plans. They undoubtedly express what the heart of the whole country approves.

Cordially and sincerely, yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

—

Mrs. HENRY F. DIMOCK,
President George Washington Memorial Association,
Washington:

I indorse in strong terms the efforts of the George Washington Memorial Association to raise funds for the construction of the national victory memorial in Washington. This building, dedicated to the gallant men who have died for their country, will be of great value in offering headquarters for the various war memorial associations, and will afford facilities, which

have heretofore been lacking, for conventions that may be called from time to time to honor the memory of the dead and to help those who have fought and survived the conflict.

PERSHING.

David Jayne Hill: "I consider the Washington memorial the most important of the movements of this kind now appealing to the patriotism of the country and shall neglect no opportunity to urge upon all my friends who are able to promote it by their generous consideration."

Hon. William H. Taft: "The memorial must be accomplished on a magnificent scale."

Hon. Elihu Root: "Such a building is very much needed, and if erected will contribute very materially toward the process of conference, consultation, discussion, awakening of public interest and conscience, reconciliation of views, recognition of abuses—the processes through which a great self-governing people works out its problems and reaches its results."

President Hadley: "It will certainly be a most worthy memorial."

Dr. William Welch: "One of the most urgent needs is a suitable meeting place for national and international societies in Washington."

Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior: "It is a most happy idea to make the George Washington memorial a memorial to our soldiers and sailors of 1917."

Frank P. Glass, president American Newspaper Publishers' Association: "The need of such a building at Washington as well as the desirability of such a memorial is manifest to every thinking citizen."

Hon. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War: "I am naturally interested in projects which aim to memorialize the splendid services of the American soldiers in the Great War. My interest in the George Washington Memorial Association, however, has an added spur from the fact that it associates those who defended our institutions in 1917 with those who established them in 1776, and covers the patriotic fathers and the patriotic sons with the great and inspiring name of George Washington, whose work is only now showing its full fruits. Washington will undoubtedly become some day a city of great memorials. There ought, therefore, to be a memorial of this war, and as your association plans to make such a memorial useful and an addition to the public facilities of the city, it is especially to be commended. I wish the project every success, expressing as it does the grateful sentiments of the country for its soldiers."

Admiral Henry T. Mayo, United States Navy: "It is a memorial to the service of the young men; those who lived on field rations and sometimes no rations at all; who endured the mud and the cold and rain on the front in France; who suffered from wounds and disease; who lost limbs, eyesight; and who to the number of fifty or sixty thousand made the supreme sacrifice."

[Excerpts from an address by Wallace D. Simmons, president Simmons Hardware Co., to the biennial convention of the National Women's Council, St. Louis, Nov. 12, 1919.]

DON'T FURL YOUR SERVICE FLAGS; IMMORTALIZE THEM.

"I greet you as representative women of America, and as such I address to you this message of commendation of a great and beautiful work which is about to be undertaken by the women of this country as a fitting finale of their wonderful work during the war. It revealed to the world a new concept of American character and was a large factor in giving to this Nation the new place it now holds and should keep in the esteem of all peoples.

"So rapidly are great history-making events coming, one upon the heels of another, that I am constantly reminded that 'we live in deeds, not in years.'

"It seems to me this thought is particularly applicable to the work which has been undertaken by the George Washington Memorial Association, because it is designed not only to memorialize the heroic deeds of all defenders of America's liberty, but thereby to inspire worthy deeds by others for all time to come.

"I do not know when any project has impressed me so favorably right from the beginning as that of having the women of America undertake the erection of this beautiful memorial to the soldiers, sailors, and marines who have done their parts in the establishment and the preservation of those great principles of democracy which have made these United States of America the foremost of all nations and which have enabled its people to assist all other peoples in their efforts for freedom and in their progress toward government by the consent of the governed.

"The project seemed to me to have in its make-up not only all the elements necessary to what is usually deemed to constitute success in such efforts, but what appealed to me particularly were its wonderfully great possibilities for widespread and most beneficial influence not only upon our own people of this and coming generations but upon all other peoples. It appeals to me as having potential influence upon the future of the world to an extent which it is difficult to foresee.

"It is very gratifying to me to know that my suggestion of a plan by which the money might be readily and promptly raised has been deemed worthy of adoption, and even of being protected by copyright, and I think it fitting that I should tell you of a situation which I find exists quite generally throughout the country and which suggested to me the idea of having the service flag the basis of a popular subscription.

"The nature of our business brings me into most intimate and sympathetic touch with the people in all parts of the country, not only in the larger cities and towns but even in the smaller villages of every State in the Union.

"I know that not only among the larger business firms in our cities, but to an even greater degree among the people of these smaller towns and villages, there is a feeling that what we started out to do in the unfurling of our service flags is now lacking in some final ceremony through which we might make permanent, in fitting manner, that record of which we are all proud and of which our service flags were the first exponents.

"There is universal reluctance to put aside and to appear to forget this outward evidence of our worthy pride in the relatives and friends who joined the colors to fight for the greatest and most unselfish cause that ever brought together a great force of fighting men.

"These are the thoughts to which frequent expression is given whenever the question of the service flag is discussed:

"'We want to do something, something worthy of the occasion, something that will satisfy the depth of feeling in our hearts. But what can our little village do with its limited resources? What could be done with the few dollars that we could raise here, even to the straining of our purses?'

"There seems to be a universal desire to do some big and beautiful and fitting thing, in which each group may have its full and proportionate part, something in which all may feel that they have had their full share, and to which all have contributed on the same basis.

"I can not imagine a plan for meeting this universal desire with more general satisfaction than the erection of this beautiful temple in the Nation's Capital, not alone to be a memorial to all who took part in this great World War but also to link them up for all time in the memories of our people with the patriots of former generations who fought and died that freedom might live.

A PLAN THAT APPEALS.

"So it seems to me your plan has a most unusual setting. First, you have a great subject. There never was one more worthy of commemoration. Next, you have a great people, who are not only ready to cooperate in doing something of this kind—they are most patriotically restive to put some such fitting final touch upon the great work which was done so well. And last, but by no means least in importance, you have assured a memorial which in beauty and artistic merit will leave nothing to be desired. That is guaranteed through its selection by a jury of most competent judges and from a number of designs submitted by the best and foremost architects of the entire country and by the high quality of other work by the same men—work which has been pronounced by our ablest critics as the best work done in America.

"So, as I see it, you have a great subject, a most beautiful design for your building, a country anxious for just such a project, and a plan that will appeal to them so instantly that it is only a question of working out the details of your nation-wide organization through which to reach the American people with a message to this effect:

"'The women of America have undertaken to build in the Nation's Capital a beautiful and fitting memorial to the soldiers, sailors, and marines who have fought for America's freedom.

"'Instead of allowing a few wealthy people to contribute the required funds, we mean to allow the people throughout the length and breadth of the land to do that upon a basis of share and share alike, and in such a manner as to make it a burden to none, but an equal honor to all.

"'We find among the American people everywhere a feeling that there should be some fitting and final sequel to the unfurling of our service flags—some permanent record of our pride in them and in those whose patriotism they symbolized.

"'We find that by allowing all to contribute in proportion to the number of stars in their service flags, it will keep easily within the giving ability of even the smallest village an opportunity to have the same proportionate share in erecting this great national memorial as will be given to the richest metropolitan district in any State in the Union.

"'We propose to invite all to share alike in this democratic plan in order that the building and its memorials may be representative of our whole people, rather than any one class or geographical section.'

"The germ of the success of the service flag was in its personal touch: First of all, in the single-star flag which hung in the window of the little country home, and then in the flag of the village which the good ladies of the sewing circle made and hung with great pride over the principal street as evidence of that little community's patriotism. Each star in those flags stood for an individual in somebody's heart, and the success of this plan to perpetuate the sentiment of the service flag will be largely in proportion as you find a definite manner of making these fathers and mothers and wives and sisters and daughters and sons feel that this memorial is designed to perpetuate the memory of that particular service star—that it is to establish and keep alive for all time the record that John Lawrence Adams was one of those who served his country in the Great War for humanity.

"Put that kind of personal touch into your plan. Make it definitely effective in some simple, practical manner, and for every man who wore Uncle Sam's uniform you will have at least a mother or a wife or a daughter or a father or a son, or all of them, enthusiastically working for the success of your movement.

IMMORTALIZING THE SERVICE FLAG.

"Say to them that instead of withdrawing from view that service star of which they are so justly proud, you propose to display it in the Nation's Capital in a beautiful memorial temple, where it will stand as a public record for all time. Say to them:

"'We mean to put that service star where it will never cease to shine forth as an evidence of his patriotism and an example to future Americans to support the Government of the United States and the principles for which it stands.' Say to them:

"'We mean to place there, in that beautiful temple, where you and your great-grandchildren may always see it, a star bearing his initials and other identification marks, so that it may be found there a hundred years hence by your descendants when they go to the Nation's Capital to see the memorial to the men who have helped to make and save to them this land of the free.'

"But how can we put into effect such a program of individual record, one that will measure up to such a prospectus? That, it seems to me, is only a matter of detail, and one which, in comparison to similar war work in which I took part during my two years' service in Washington, will be very simple.

"My first thought is of the great dome over the convention hall. Could there be any more appropriate treatment of it than that of a starry heaven, each star bearing marks which in military language are called name, rank, and organization, necessary to associate it with the individual for whom it stands? The location or grouping of these stars could be worked out geographically, so that all of those which appeared in the service flag of some small town would be found together.

"I believe the whole 4,000,000 stars could be thus placed, the location of each duly charted, and the result be not only most effective from an artistic standpoint, but when considered with respect to human interest and the influence it may exert in the future upon our national life will be wholly beyond comparison with that of any other building that was ever erected.

"If it should be found not practical to place all of the 4,000,000 stars in the great dome of the convention hall, as I hope they can be, certainly the golden stars can be placed there and the blue stars used to make up some unique and appropriate decoration which your architects are so eminently qualified to design for this Temple of the Stars.

"The way to test the real merit of such a project is to intelligently think out just what will be its effect and influence upon people; and with that idea let us for a moment draw one or two mental pictures of the scenes that may be brought about by the influence of this building upon those who will visit it.

"Let us think first of the poor mother whose son fell in France, a martyr to the cause of humanity. She feels that only in her heart is now being fittingly kept alive the memory of that supreme sacrifice. She yearns to see some permanent memorial of it, but she has not the means to do anything that will satisfy that most natural and worthy ambition. Think of the joy that will come to her when she learns of the project of building this beautiful temple and of placing in it a golden star, to be definitely identified as her boy's star, in order to make it evident to the world that this great temple has been erected to memoralize his service and that of others who fought for the cause—but as much for him as for any other one man, whether general or private."

In Opposition to Compulsory Military Training.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WELLS GOODYKOONTZ,
OF WEST VIRGINIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 6, 1920.

Mr. GOODYKOONTZ. Mr. Speaker, the bill now under consideration, brought before this body by the Appropriations Committee, on its face clearly indicates a good-faith effort on the part of that committee to reduce expenditures. Almost every section of the bill shows a reduction not only below the estimate of the department calling for the appropriation but, indeed, below what in normal times would be a reasonable appropriation for the particular object or purpose involved. The people who sent me here as their Representative in Congress insist on retrenchment. They want a reduction of the cost and expense of every department and bureau of the Government, except, of course, in those rare cases where such reduction would unduly cripple the service and prejudice the interests of the public. Systematically and almost constantly have I voted against every amendment to increase expenditures and for every amendment tending to reduce expenditures. While I am on this subject of economy in governmental affairs, I propose to say a word in opposition to what I regard as the un-American policy of compulsory military education. It seems that the President, the Secretary of War, the General Staff, and a majority of the members of the Committee on Military Affairs of both the House and the Senate are in favor of the passage of a law compelling young men of a certain age to enter a military school and be subject to Army discipline and regulations and be forced to take military education and training. Members of the respective committees who favor this plan and proposition are mainly from communities that have been engaged in manufacturing the implements of war. Insidious propaganda is being circulated to induce Members of Congress to vote for the bill. Not long ago I received through the mails an illustrated booklet which must have cost more than a dollar the copy, sent out by a society styling itself "Universal Military Training League." I have no means of knowing how many of these booklets have been distributed throughout the land, but the cost of printing and circulating them perhaps ran well up into the thousands of dollars. Who is putting up the money for this propaganda? What insidious influences are working for this compulsory business?

We have hundreds of military schools and academies in this country. Also the War College, at Washington; the Military Academy, at West Point; and the Naval Academy, at Annapolis. But these do not seem to be sufficient to meet the requirements of those who are inoculated with the military germ. It is true that the present proposition only provides that the young man shall be required to attend a military school for six months, but if the measure should be enacted into law, and the country be taxed for an amount estimated all the way between four hundred millions and a billion dollars annually, then it will be insisted that military education can not be completed within six months, which assertion we would immediately recognize as absolutely true, and that, therefore, the time for such schooling should be extended to 12 months, and Congress would be besieged and bombarded with propaganda for an extension of the term to 12 months. This done, it would be only a little while until there would come another agitation and more propaganda, and in the meanwhile the military would have gotten into the saddle, for a further extension, this time to two years. Having been successful in that effort we then would find ourselves in the same predicament as Germany for years before and at the time of the World War. By this gradual process of induction our country would be transformed from an American democracy into a Prussian military camp.

Since I came to Congress I have had much advice from certain older Members. These generally advise never to commit oneself on a given proposition until necessity compels, but I am not a "time server." My object is not to stay in Congress, but rather to give expression to honest views. I regard it as a duty, when under a conviction, not to remain in silence and follow public opinion, but rather to undertake to lead the minds of the people in what I believe to be the proper direction. Members of Congress are presumed to have been chosen for their fitness to represent their constituents. Their time is devoted to a study of the questions—public questions—that concern the

welfare and happiness of the people. If Members of Congress be so cowardly or weak as to shirk this responsibility in the hope of sustaining themselves in public life, then they are unworthy of the trust and confidence that the people have reposed in them.

Should my mind change on this subject, I will have the courage to say so and to reverse myself, but now, in the light of the present, my understanding and convictions are entirely and strongly opposed to the military plan. The Secretary of War insists upon a peace-time Army of 600,000 men, not to include officers. This shows the military spirit that takes hold of a man after he gets into the Army or at the head of the Department of War. We well know that the Secretary, before he was put at the head of the department, was the last man in the world to stand for a great standing army. The military, by reason of its training and traditions, is a fighting force. It is militant, and fights for power, for additional authority, and is constantly engaged in extending its jurisdiction by an encroachment upon the domain of the civil authority, and if not curbed ultimately it becomes paramount to civil authority.

The influence of these Departments of War and Navy, respectively, I see operating now. The fact that a majority of the Military Committee of each branch of Congress has reported in favor of military education indicates to my mind that the Army and Navy fellows have been busy. There is no demand in this country for any such program outside of the military and the concerns engaged in manufacturing dreadnoughts and superdreadnoughts, machine guns, cannon, and the like, and perhaps a few coast cities, where the people's minds have been wrought upon by propaganda circulated at the behest of the producers of munitions and implements of war. The people of this country are not for such a program. The American people are already staggering and groaning under a great burden of taxation. They do not admit that it is necessary to take the young men from home at a time when they are needed in the various occupations that engage our people and put them in a military school to learn how to shoot a musket or to flourish a sword or wear a spur, and at the same time subject the people to the enormous expense of maintaining such great military schools. There are thousands of swivel-chair officers who do not want to take off their uniforms and go back to work. These gentlemen are holding their commissions and with folded hands waiting to be called as military instructors. What parent wants to give up his son for 6 months or 12 months or 2 years to be taught in a military school and there subjected to the mandatory orders of subaltern officers who would land the boy in the penitentiary for five years for refusing to shine that officer's boots?

In this connection a brief consideration of the fate of Rome might be profitable. The Romans declared that the voice of the people was the voice of God, but the rulers of Rome were, generally, of the aristocratic class. The right of one of plebeian birth to hold office was recognized in the jurisprudence of that country, but in practical effect it was seldom that men of the proletariat sought public office; the latter were content to allow their representatives—men of erudition and culture—to voice their will. This, nevertheless, was a kind of representative government, and under it Rome prospered and expanded. But the mistress of the world, with all her matchless civilization, her orators, poets, painters, sculptors, philosophers, having reached the apotheosis, began to decay and went into decline, and as she receded into darkness she lost her power and finally was dissolved.

Like a great meteor performing a trajectory across the celestial vault, she shone with a brilliancy and luster that was wonderful to behold, but when the fires of her civilization were extinguished she collapsed and went down.

Two main causes have been assigned for the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, and I believe the phenomenon explicable on these two grounds, one being the opulence of the people, their resultant indolence and consequent profligacy, and the other being the ascendancy of the military over the civilian branch of the Government.

Aside from the potential considerations involved in the war with Germany, I am constrained to believe that, in addition thereto, it was necessary for the perpetuity of the Republic that the tremendous fortunes, whether they be the accumulation of generations or the acquisitions of the noveau riche, should be severally pruned; that the indolent, reclining on flowery beds of ease, should be aroused from their slumber and made either to work or else to keep step with soldiers who marched to the strains of martial music; that mental, moral, and physical strength be restored to the people; that their ability to undergo pain, sorrow, and privation be renewed; that the power of resistance and endurance of the race be established; and that the souls of men should be chastened in the crucible of war, notwithstanding that many had to suffer the agony of pain and others enter the penumbra of death.

So may it not be that the Almighty Power whose hand controls the revolutions of the uncounted millions of spheres which constitute the universe and whose infinite mind, comprehending all things, even the fall of a sparrow, has subjected us to the travail of war that we might experience a new birth in order that the great Republic of the New World might properly perform its function in the accomplishment of the destiny of the race.

But, Mr. Speaker, military power fattens upon what it feeds, namely, war. It becomes impatient of the slow processes of the courts. It prefers summary action, such as the command of the general or the verdict of a drumhead court-martial.

I have made allusion to the ascendancy of the military power in Rome as one of the main causes of her downfall. It was perhaps the chief cause of her destruction.

Although Nero had murdered his brother, his mother, and finally, I believe, his wife, and had committed almost every other crime in the category; although he was not only hated and despised by the people, yet he was permitted to continue for many years in his ignoble career, characterized at all times by corruption and crime. Why? Because of the military power. He was backed by the Roman legions. Our forefathers dreaded the malign influence of the military forces, and therefore wrote into the Constitution the words that read:

> The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Democracy may institute war, and wisely did so in the recent circumstances, but armies and navies, the forces of war, should never be allowed to become paramount to the people themselves, and thus become the instruments of oppression.

The war being over, the people, ever vigilant as they should be of their constitutional rights, demand the repeal of the statutory laws that have vested autocratic power in the hands of the Executive.

Human freedom will continue to flourish when cultivated by a democracy in a Republic like ours, provided the people remain on guard, for, as we have been told, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

In these fitful times we, as the Representatives of the people, should deeply meditate upon our duty to the country and, employing Lincoln's words, "highly resolve" to give to the Nation the best that is in us, confident in the hope that it matters not with what difficulties we are beset—the clouds of war having dispersed and the great Republic having emerged from its baptism of fire, consecrated as never before to the cause of human freedom—if we let compulsory military education alone America will continue to be independent and free of internal danger.

And let me further say that if we steer clear of the League of Nations we will thereby avoid an external danger more imminent and sinister than any that have hitherto cast their baleful shadows across our national pathway.

Return of the Polish Legion to the United States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. NEWTON,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3, 1920.

Mr. NEWTON of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, during the late war 229,000 alien registrants from the first draft claimed exemption from military service by setting up their citizenship in a foreign country. This has justly called forth censure and condemnation. In striking contrast to the unpatriotic action of these was the action of thousands of other noncitizens who, not having fully completed their naturalization, waived any claim to exemption and gladly went forth to fight for their adopted country.

Many of them died in the service. This is attested by the names marked upon many a simple cross in various cemeteries that I visited in northern France.

Among the various peoples of foreign birth who thus so nobly responded to the defense of our country were none who showed more devotion than those of Polish birth and origin.

They came from a country with an interesting and glorious history. During the Middle Ages Poland was one of the great

and independent powers of eastern Europe. For several centuries it was the chief bulwark of Christendom against the repeated onslaughts of the Moslem Turks. In the seventeenth century the Turk had made his way into Austria and was besieging the great city of Vienna itself. It was then that John Sobieski and his army of fighting Poles went to the succor of Vienna. By the fiercest kind of fighting the Turkish Army was driven back with tremendous losses and Vienna and Christian civilization was saved. The defeat was so decisive that the Turk never tried it again.

A century and a half later the nations of Europe, under the leadership of autocratic kings and emperors, including among them Frederick the Great of Prussia, a direct ancestor of William of Germany, the deposed Kaiser, ignored the debt that they owed to the Polish people and broke up the country, parceling it out to Austria, Germany, and Russia.

Thus it remained until the close of the Great War. Its people, however, as of old, continued to be lovers of freedom. Every American knows of the gallant soldier, Count Pulaski, who, driven out of Poland during the days of our Revolutionary War, came over to America and fought side by side with Washington for our independence. He lost his life in gallantly and successfully resisting the British in South Carolina.

When this Great War broke out the Poles, by reason of their division among Austria, Germany, and Russia, were conscripted into the respective armies of these countries and were compelled thereby to fight each other.

The sympathies of those people of Polish blood in America from almost the very start of the great conflict was with the allied nations of France, Britain, and Belgium and not with Germany. They knew what German autocracy meant. They knew that if Germany triumphed the freedom of America would be destroyed. What did they do? Thousands joined our own Army, while hundreds of others, unable to gain admission for one reason or another into our own armies, enlisted in the Polish Legion recruited in America and went over to France and there fought nobly under the command of Gen. Haller until the armistice was signed.

They then proceeded to their native land, which was being attacked from the east by the Bolshevist forces of Russia. There, as John Sobieski and the Poles of old, they fought to save Christian civilization from the Turk, they fought to save it from the menace of Russian Bolshevism.

Their labors over, several thousand of them desire to return to this country and complete their American citizenship. In their struggles in Europe with the Army of Gen. Haller the members of the Polish Legion have been compatriots and contemporaries of the American doughboy. This resolution, which will authorize the War Department to bring these brave men back to America at our expense upon American transports, should pass. All honor to these brave men who are in every respect worthy successors to John Sobieski and the soldiers of his day.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CALEB R. LAYTON,

OF DELAWARE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 8, 1920.

Mr. LAYTON. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I desire to bring to the attention of the House a matter not only of interest to my constituents and to those of several other States of the Union, from a manufacturing standpoint, but also of great interest to the consuming public generally. I refer to the present condition of the glazed-kid industry in the United States. About 50 per cent of the raw material used in the manufacture of glazed kid is exported from India. India has an export duty of 15 per cent, 10 units of which she remits to Great Britain, including Canada. This is in effect a bounty in competition with the glazed-kid manufacturers of this country, and logically threatens the labor employed in these industries. There is a law upon the statute books, enacted October 3, 1913, chapter 16, Thirty-eighth Statutes, page 193, expressly passed by Congress to meet such conditions. This is known as a countervailing duty, the power to impose which is placed in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury, by the direction of the President, to impose upon any article imported into this country an additional import duty to that already established under a tariff equal to any bounty which the manufacturer of foreign countries may enjoy. This law was evidently enacted to give flexibility and additional protection to our own industries, without waiting for Congress to correct the same. Great Britain is evidently seeking to command this trade by building it up not only in India but in England and Canada as well. I have interested myself in this matter not only because the city of Wilmington, situated in the State which I represent, is the center of the glazed-kid industry, but because this industry is also established in New Jersey and Pennsylvania and other States of the Union. In my State there are 8,000 working men and women jeopardized by this Indian preferential export duty, and there are throughout the country engaged in this industry some 20,000 working men and women also jeopardized by this preferential export duty.

[U. S. Stat. L., vol. 38, Oct. 3, 1913, sec. 4, E, p. 193.]

E. That whenever any country, dependency, colony, province, or other political subdivision of government shall pay or bestow, directly or indirectly, any bounty or grant upon the exportation of any article or merchandise from such country, dependency, colony, province, or other political subdivision of government, and such article or merchandise is dutiable under the provisions of this act, then upon the importation of any such article or merchandise into the United States, whether the same shall be imported directly from the country of production or otherwise, and whether such article or merchandise is imported in the same conditon as when exported from the country of production or has been changed in condition by remanufacture or otherwise, there shall be levied and paid, in all such cases, in addition to the duties otherwise imposed by this act, an additional duty equal to the net amount of such bounty or grant, however the same be paid or bestowed. The net amount of all such bounties or grants shall be from time to ascertained, determined, and declared by the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall make all needful regulations for the identification of such articles and merchandise and for the assessment and collection of such additional duties.

[United Leather Workers' International Union; affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. General office, 504–505 Postal Building, Kansas City, Mo. General executive council: William E. Bryan, general president, 504 Postal Building, Kansas City, Mo.; Edward E. Shilling, general vice president, 504 Postal Building, Kansas City, Mo.; John J. Pfeiffer, general secretary-treasurer, 504 Postal Building, Kansas City, Mo.; F. P. Maloney, Newark, N. J.; John Doran, Boston, Mass.; William F. Alterman, Dallas, Tex.; R. E. Ladwig, Denver, Colo.; J. W. Trapp, Los Angeles, Calif.; joint committee of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey.]

WILMINGTON, DEL., *March 8, 1920.*

To the honorable Secretary of the Treasury and Members of the Senate and House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., greeting:

The workers engaged in the manufacture of glazed kid desire to protest against the unfair discriminatory export tax placed by Great Britain on all Indian goatskins coming into the United States. The American manufacturer must pay this export tax of 15 per cent, while the English tanner secures a rebate of 10 per cent of this tax, giving him an unfair advantage. The effect of this rebate on the part of India to Great Britain is that it is extremely harmful to the workers engaged in glazed-kid production.

On this exhibit there appears a frank statement of the true present condition of the glazed-kid industry. It is a well-known fact that the center of the industry of glazed kid in the United States lies in Wilmington, Del., Philadelphia, Pa., and Camden, N. J. Our joint local committee represents a total of 19,000 leather workers who gain their livelihood in the industry. The discriminatory tax on raw goatskins is harming the industry in which we are engaged, and we feel that a serious mistake is being made by Great Britain (one of our allies in the World War) in imposing the tax on goatskins exported to the United States, while rebating 10 per cent of the tax to its own tanners. When the call to arms came, then our boys went across and did their part in winning the war, side by side with the soldiers of France and England. To-day it seems rather peculiar to see England, by the discriminatory tax on goatskins, harming the interests of workers engaged in the production of glazed kid who did their utmost to help this Nation's and the Allies' war program. Members of our organization who went across, and who saw strenuous service abroad alongside of the soldiers of Great Britain, who are back once more at their machines or toiling in the different departments of the tanneries, can not understand why one of the nations by whom America stood would be guilty of placing the tax referred to previously.

It is our understanding that it is within the power of our Government to settle the unfair tax situation by enforcement of the "countervailing duty law." It is our desire as glazed-kid workers to have Great Britain remove the discriminatory tax, but if it is not possible to have the situation adjusted by action along this line, then we would most respectfully submit that it would be right and just and proper to enforce the "countervailing duty law," by which the honorable Secretary of the Treasury of the United States can impose a duty in addition to the tariff schedule to equalize any bounty which any nation enjoys, by which that nation would have the advantage in competition due to such bounty.

We can not make our position too clear. As leather workers in the glazed-kid industry we believe the industry is entitled to protection from discriminatory taxation. We most respectfully desire to call full attention to the situation and to submit to the honorable Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and the honorable Members of the Senate and House of Representatives, that their attention be given to fully considering the facts in the hope that the matter can be adjusted satisfactorily to all concerned.

Most respectfully,

[SEAL.]

Joint committee Wilmington, Philadelphia, and Camden United Leather Workers' International Union: John A. Grant, chairman; Elizabeth McKeown; William Sears; Walter Underwood; Michael Brown; Lawrence Burns, secretary; Rachael Castelow; James Sweeney; Joseph McGowan; Albert Drews; John C. Saylor; and John F. Harlan, advisory committee.

THE NEWS ABOUT THE GLAZED-KID INDUSTRY IN INDIA FROM A PAPER PRINTED IN CALCUTTA REGULARLY—NEWS ITEMS PUBLISHED IN CAPITAL, A PUBLICATION ISSUED IN CALCUTTA, INDIA, PROVE CONCLUSIVELY THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD FACE THE SITUATION REGARDING THE PRESENT CONDITION OF OUR GLAZED-KID INDUSTRY—BIG PROGRAM AHEAD IN INDIA.

To further augment the statement of facts regarding the condition of the glazed-kid industry of the United States and to prove that India (a colony of Great Britain) is preparing to endeavor to destroy the prestige of that industry in which there are in the Pennsylvania-Delaware-New Jersey center over 19,000 workers engaged, news items published in Capital, a publication issued at Calcutta, India, are herewith reproduced. The items given appear in the issue of Capital dated Calcutta, India, October 31, 1919.

A careful perusal of the news items will prove conclusively that the United States Government can well afford to give full consideration to helping the glazed-kid industry and these workers by using its utmost endeavor to have the discriminatory tax situation adjusted satisfactorily to all concerned.

The items are as follows:

The imposition of an export duty on all raw hides and skins has been adversely criticized by shippers on the grounds that the price of other countries' hides must affect Indian values, and consequently the duty will, in effect, be borne by Indian dealers. Within a month of the imposition, however, local market prices have gone up to the highest recorded for some years, especially in goatskins.

Judging from criticisms in their trade journals, American buyers fear as an immediate result that the preferential rebate will enable Canada to seriously threaten America's predominant position. There is no suggestion (or even hope) that India will suffer, but, on the contrary, one can clearly trace in all their criticisms a feeling of disquietude at the most probable outcome of the very strong position in which the export duty places the British Empire generally.

Indian tanners are satisfied that the duty will put their industry on its feet for good. The world shortage of leather makes it impossible for foreign tanners to dictate terms to rawhide sellers for some time, and it is during this period that the Indian tanner will be able to concentrate on improving qualities and building up connections to such an extent that it is anticipated that the duty can be safely removed before the world's leather markets have adjusted themselves to such an extent that the duty might really be a handicap to Indian hide dealers or encourage retaliatory tariffs.

The ideal is that there should be practically no raw hide or skin exports from India, but it will take many years before that position is reached, and the Indian tanner says: "Give me a good start for the first two or three years and I'll be strong enough to finish the job myself."

To the vast body of middlemen who collect hides from up-country districts and carry them to central markets, such as Cawnpore and Calcutta, it is immaterial whether exporters or tanners buy the hides, and it was only the possibility that they might suffer while Indian tanneries increased their capacity that led to any opposition to the duty from them. Indian tanneries are, however, developing very rapidly, and each week sees new concerns come into being, and the comprehensiveness of some of the recent schemes are evidence that some of our leading merchants are quite satisfied with the prospects of Indian tanning.

Messrs. Bird & Co.'s group seems particularly strong. Besides being one of the largest shippers of raw hides, we understand they will shortly have two tanneries and a boot and shoe factory. The Kidderpore factory of Indian Tanneries (Ltd.) will, when completed in March, be the biggest single unit tannery in India, its daily capacity being 600 hides by vegetable process, 600 hides by chrome, and 400 skins.

The Allahabad factory, recently acquired from the Government, will, when extended and equipped similar to Kidderpore, have a capacity of 400 hides per day by vegetable and 100 per day by chrome, and the boot factory at Kidderpore will be capable of producing 250,000 pairs of boots and shoes per annum. The plant and machinery will all be the most modern available, and particular attention is being paid to the equipment and staffing of the currying and finishing department, the processes, in fact, upon which the success of a vast Indian tanning industry depends.

The boot factory will contain some 200 of the most modern machines, the place being equipped solely by the world-famous British United Shoe Machinery Manufacturing Co., of Leicester, whose confidence in the prospects of such concerns is illustrated by their opening depots in India and introducing similar leasing and royalty terms to those which have given them 95 per cent of the factory-equipment business in Britain.

The selling value of the products of these three concerns, assuming full capacity and good quality upon which every new Indian tannery depends, will be about Rs. 1 crore per annum, and we believe arrangements have been made for India Tanneries (Ltd.) to acquire both Allahabad and the boot factory without any increase in their capital of Rs. 10,000,000 lakhs.

Right here is shown the immense strength of India's managing agents' system. The capacity to not only provide working capital but also to nurse a new industry by temporarily financing a part of actual block expenditure, and thus keep the issued capital down to the lowest possible is of immeasurable advantage to shareholders; and this group, which we have detailed as an example, with a prospective turnover of ten times its called-up capital, is in an extraordinarily strong position compared with most other industries and with other concerns in the same industry. We understand that Messrs. Bird & Co. anticipate, given initial success, having running within the next five years probably 10 large tanneries, all part and parcel of India Tanneries (Ltd.). Messrs. Bird & Co.'s group, however, represent a very small fraction of the total development to date in this new and most promising industry.

Messrs. Graham & Co., also shippers of large quantities of raw hides and skins, have already in the Bengal Tanneries (Ltd.) one of the most up-to-date vegetable tanneries in the world, with a capacity of some 600 hides per day. Under construction is a boot and shoe factory, with a capacity of 250,000 pairs per annum, and we believe that they contemplate the erection of a chrome tannery for 600 hides per day and also the installation of a modern plant in a really serious attempt to produce first-class pickers, belting, etc.

Messrs. Walker & Co., for many years tanners and exporters of first-class crust tannages, are now also doing a large business in the export of raw hides and skins; and Messrs. David Sassoon & Co. (Ltd.) are also exporters of both raw and crust tanned leather, their tanning capacity being about 300 hides per day.

As purely tanners we have Messrs. Chari & Co., whose latest venture, India Glacé Kids (Ltd.), is capable of tanning over 2,000,000 skins per year. Calcutta Chrome Tanning Co. (Ltd.), managed by the same people, has a capacity of about 500 hides per day, and Messrs. Chari & Co. are directly or indirectly interested in several smaller concerns.

Messrs. Martin & Co., Kilburn & Co., and R. A. Dickie & Co. have already moderate-sized concerns, and, we understand, are contemplating either large extensions to existing plant or development elsewhere. Messrs. R. A. Dickie & Co., in particular, we believe, contemplate very large extensions.

Messrs. Davenport & Co. are the last, but by no means the least, in this new enterprise. Already two companies—Rajshahi and Behar—have been located. Very shortly, we understand, a scheme in Central India will be put out. This one is reckoned by many experts to be the finest one in India, inasmuch as the tannery will be situated alongside a slaughterhouse dealing with about 1,000 head of cattle per day.

The above concerns, when running full capacity, together with many small schemes we have not enumerated, give an addition to India's prewar tanning capacity of approximately 2,250,000 hides and 2,500,000 skins per annum, and the value of India-produced leather will by 1921 be at least £8,000,000.

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PROSPECTUS OF INDIAN TANNERY TELLS ANOTHER SERIES OF FACTS ON SERIOUSNESS OF THE GLAZED-KID INDUSTRY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Following is the wording of a prospectus of the Indian Glace Kids (Ltd.), of Calcutta, India, giving in detail the hopes and ideals of England's colony for the domination of the glazed-kid manufacturing of the world:

THE INDIAN GLACE KIDS (LTD.).

A copy of the prospectus has been filed with the registrar of joint-stock companies, Calcutta. Capital, Rs. 50,000,000, divided into 500,000 ordinary shares of Rs. 10, each payable as follows: Rs. 2 on application, Rs. 2 on allotment, and the balance in calls of Rs. 3 per share at intervals of not less than four months each. Twenty-five lakhs of rupees worth of shares have already been taken up and the balance is now available for public subscription.

Directors: Hon. Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, merchant, Bombay, chairman; Rai Boikuntannath Sen Bahadur, vice president, Vakil & Zemindar, Berhampore, Bengal; Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhicary, LL. D., solicitor, Calcutta; N. S. Bayanker, merchant, Bombay; N. S. T. Chari, M. A., 2 Lyons Range, governing director, Chari & Co. (Ltd.), Calcutta; John M. Gregory, solicitor, Old P. O. Street, Calcutta.

Bankers: The National Bank of India (Ltd.), Calcutta.

Solicitors: Messrs. Morgan & Co., Calcutta.

Auditors: Messrs. Batlibhoy & Prohit, Bombay.

Managing agents: Messrs. Chari & Co. (Ltd.), 2 Lyons Range, Calcutta.

Registered office: 2 Lyons Range, Calcutta.

PROSPECTUS.

Though India produces an enormous number of goatskins annually of excellent quality and eminently suitable for the production of kid leather, by far the greater number have hitherto been exported to the United States of America, where, in the huge American tanneries, which are especially constructed for the purpose, the raw skins are transformed into glace kid by means of the chrome process, and, after satisfying the domestic requirements of America, the balance is exported to the United Kingdom.

During the years 1916–17–18, when, as it is well known, the import of leather into the United Kingdom was greatly restricted, the United States exported annually to the United Kingdom 30,000,000 square feet of glace kid, and in addition to this the United States exported to other countries in Europe an almost equally large quantity, and this in face of the fact that such European countries had a very high restrictive tariff on the import of foreign leather, in certain cases amounting to 25 and to 30 per cent ad valorem.

There is no possible reason why India should not take advantage of her large supplies of goatskins by converting them into glace kid in the country itself and not only satisfy her own requirements in this particular commodity but export the balance at prices which would show a very handsome return.

The promoters of this company have made extensive experiments some time past with respect to the production of glace kid, with the result that they have satisfied themselves that first-class glace kid leather can be produced in this country which will favorably compare with that manufactured in any other part of the world.

The business, however, of manufacturing glace kid if it is to be a success must be conducted on a large scale, since the market conditions require that glace kid should be produced in a number of different grades, and this naturally means that there must be a big output of the kid leather if the business is to be a paying one.

The proposal of this undertaking is, therefore, to start a large glace-kid tannery having a capacity of 500 dozen skins per diem. To accomplish this it has been estimated that the capital of the company must not be less than Rs. 50 lakhs, which will be divided into 5 lakhs of shares of Rs. 10 each.

A strong inducement for the flotation of this company lies in the important fact that there has been a recent announcement by the Government of India under which a 15 per cent duty on the export of raw hides and skins will be levied with respect to countries outside the British Empire, the effect of which will be to place this company in a very favorable position, enabling it to hold its own even in the protected markets of the world.

It is estimated that the machinery which will be required for this company's tannery will cost somewhere about £65,000, and a further sum of £35,000 will be required to meet the expenses of erecting the necessary buildings, including managers' and workmen's quarters, as well as a filter and septic tank for the disposal of effluents, which means that the block account will absorb some Rs. 15 lakhs will be required for chemicals and for a three-month supply of skins. This will leave a balance of Rs. 10 lakhs of the company's capital, and out of this a sum of Rs. 2 lakhs should be set aside to cover the cost and expenses of training skilled labor for the manufacture of glace kid.

Set out below is a comparative statement of the cost of manufacture of glace kid on the basis of prewar and present prices:

Cost of manufacture per foot.

AT PRESENT PRICES.

Raw materials	Rs. 0	13	0
Chemicals	0	2	0
Establishment	0	0	4
Labor	0	0	6
Power	0	0	3
Depreciation	0	0	1½
Sundries	0	0	1½
Travel allowance, auditors, and managing agent	0	0	8
Total	1	1	0

The present prices of glace kids vary from Rs. 1–40 to Rs. 3 per foot, according to quality and selection.

AT PREWAR PRICES.

Raw materials	Rs. 0	6	0
Chemicals	Rs. 0	0	9
Establishment	Rs. 0	0	4
Labor	Rs. 0	0	4
Power	Rs. 0	0	2
Depreciation	Ds. 0	0	1
Sundries	Ds. 0	0	1
Auditors and managing agents and traveling allowance	Rs. 0	0	8
Total	Rs. 0	8	5

The prewar prices of glace kids varied from 9 annas to Rs. 1–8–0 per foot, according to quality and selection.

It is reasonable to suppose that the company's tannery, when fully equipped, will be in a position to turn out 9 lakhs of square feet of kid leather per mensem, and taking a profit of 3 annas a foot the total yearly profits would amount to Rs. 20,250,000; in other words, a return of nearly 40 per cent on the capital.

The erection of the necessary factory buildings and the installation of machinery will naturally take some little time, but, all being well, the factory should be in a position to commence work within 18 months from the present time. Prompt deliveries of machinery have been promised by the American manufacturers from whom it is being purchased.

Qualification of directors and their remuneration: The number of directors shall not be less than three nor more than eight, and the qualification of every director shall be his holding in his own right not less than 200 shares. Each of the directors, unless otherwise determined at the general meeting, shall be paid Rs. 100 per mensem, plus all necessary traveling expenses for such of the directors who reside outside Calcutta.

Agreements: The following agreements will be entered into by or on behalf of the company:

A contract between the company and Messrs. Chari & Co. (Ltd.), whereby the latter are appointed as managing agents of the company for a period of 30 years unless they shall voluntarily resign the office, and subject to various terms and conditions as to remuneration and otherwise as contained in the agreement.

Commission: No commission exceeding 2 per cent on the face value of the shares will be paid to brokers.

Allotment: The company shall not proceed to allotment unless and until 20 per cent of the total share capital is subscribed for.

Preliminary expenses: The preliminary expenses are expected to be Rs. 30,000.

Application for shares: Application for shares should be made in the accompanying form and forwarded to the managing agents, together with a remittance for the amount payable on application.

(a) If no allotment is made, the deposit will be returned in full, and, where the number of shares allotted is less than the number applied for, the surplus will be credited in reduction of the amount payable on allotment.

(b) Failure to pay any calls on shares allotted when due will render previous payments liable to forfeiture.

(c) Copies of the prospectus and forms of application for shares may be obtained from the company's managing agents, Chari & Co. (Ltd.), 2 Lyons Range, Calcutta.

General: Copies of the memorandum and articles of association of the company and of the agreement referred to may be inspected at the registered office of the company at any time during the usual business hours, and any person applying for any shares in this company, or who is allotted any shares in this company, will be deemed to have inspected the documents and agreements above referred to and to be bound by the same.

A copy of the memorandum of association of the company is attached to this prospectus and forms part of it.

CALCUTTA, *September 27, 1919.*

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN Q. TILSON,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 11, 1920.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with permission granted me by the House, I here insert some remarks made by me at the annual dinner of my college class at the Yale Club in New York City, on Friday evening, March 5, 1920, as follows:

"Mr. Toastmaster and gentlemen of the class, as I journeyed from Washington to-day in the day coach of a Pennsylvania Railroad train, I pondered somewhat upon what I should try to say at this annual gathering of our class. It occurred to me that in the twenty-ninth year after our graduation and in the first year of the great national drought, it might be possible for me to make a spread-eagle, flap-doodle speech and get away with it. Of course I knew that nothing of the kind could have been put over in the earlier days of your pristine vigor, when there was a more healthy and less stealthy flow of spirits. Such speeches are easy now because there are so many safe subjects to talk about, such as Americanism; the reds; service to mankind; Bolshevism; the League of Nations, with or without, and the like. I see and hear it done every day, but I do not wish you to go away with the notion that Senators and Representatives are the only ones who indulge in such pastime. However, in line with safety-first principles, I have decided to take no chances with such a program this evening.

"Another suggestion was to follow the lead of the great Methodist Church class meeting and give the testimony of my experience, especially during the war. It is said that life consists largely in its experiences. If it is measured by them it would require only about one more first-class war to put me in the Methuselah class.

"Some of these experiences have been most encouraging in their revelation of the higher and better side of human nature, while others have been equally disheartening in revealing the existence of traits of human character that should not exist. Many experiences have been of the most absorbing interest, while all have been broadening in their effect upon one's outlook upon life and the world. However, I shall not venture upon this field.

"Among the other courses left to me I might turn schoolmaster for the moment and proceed to read you a lecture upon your duty as citizens, for I have no doubt whatever as to your deserving it. There is the still further possibility of taking the toastmaster seriously and proceeding to defend myself and the wisdom of my official acts, for it must be admitted that not even a Member of Congress is omniscient. I might even take up the task of defending Congress as a body and its Members as individuals. Doubtless most of you would say, 'Go to it; they need it,' while the wary ones would say, 'Spare us; we have not time for another four-years' course now.' I am going to surprise you by saying that neither Congress nor Members of Congress need a defender. Collectively and individually they are as a rule much better than you, representing the great popular electorate, deserve. They come from the people and soon return to the people; sometimes too soon, as I found to my regret upon one occasion.

"As a rule Members of Congress are just as good as the people will permit them to be and continue them in service. When I reflect upon some of the things that Members of Congress are asked by some of our very 'best citizens' to do, I feel that if Congress and the Government were half as bad as people assume when asking something for themselves, we should be unfortunate indeed.

"A few decades ago there was sometimes talk of graft in connection with Congress. Fortunately, if there was ever ground for such talk it has long since disappeared. No sensible person would think of making such an accusation now, much less think of believing it.

"Cowardice is the most glaring weakness in the character of mankind, and unfortunately not all Members of Congress are entirely free from this most human defect; but again I warn you not to go away with the idea that they have any monopoly of it.

"The Psalmist tells us that he said in his haste 'All men are liars.' He might have added after more mature deliberation, 'And, for the most part, cowards.' If I see a weak-kneed Member of Congress in the cloakroom trembling like Belshazzar at the approach of a 'yea' or 'nay' vote that may mean political life or death to him, I feel pity rather than contempt. I do not attempt to justify him if, regardless of his own convictions, he decides to vote the way he thinks will lose him the least number of votes. He ought to stand up and vote for what he conceives to be right regardless of the possible disastrous effect upon himself; but if all those who fail to act up to this high standard in every walk of life are to be condemned along with him he will have the satisfaction of much excellently reputed company. Scarcely a week goes by without its instances of reputable, high-grade men coming to me with matters of great import involving the good name or reputation of some official or other individual, calling upon me to take up something liable to burn my own fingers before I can let go of it, and in almost every case the public-spirited citizen furnishing the accusations makes the reservation that his name is not to be used lest it do him some slight injury in his business. How often we hear the excuse, 'I should be glad to help in this unpleasant matter, but it might injure my business.' Another might give information, but not if it endangers his job. Even he of the most exalted calling among us, the minister, is sometimes said to hesitate in proclaiming the highest truths for the same worldly reason. Even such men as frequent the Yale Club and other clubs of its high character, where withering scorn and contempt may be freely and safely poured out upon the heads of cowardly Congressmen who fail to vote properly, have been known to keep themselves well in the background until all danger of injury has passed. Again I say that I do not approve or justify the legislator who votes one way or another through fear of losing votes at the next election, but his punishment will probably be somewhat delayed and mitigated if we wait for him who is guiltless of the same offense in principle to cast the first stone.

"The general theme of to-night's meeting was announced to be what is being done toward meeting the issues of the day.

There are now many great, far-reaching, and all-absorbing problems. These must and will be fairly met and eventually solved, for I have full confidence in the strength, capacity, and resourcefulness of America. I shall speak only from the viewpoint of my own little niche in the great structure and only of some of the problems facing the Government and the Congress as part of the work immediately in front of us.

"In order to win the war quickly it was thought necessary to rapidly and very largely increase the number, magnify the scope, and multiply the personnel of the civil establishment of the Government. I seriously doubt the wisdom of many of them, but numerous new activities were entered upon and the expense of Government was rapidly rolling up when the armistice suddenly came. It would seem that it ought to be an easy task, as it would surely be the natural thing to expect, to begin at once to reduce the war-time expenditure. It has proved, in fact, to be an almost insuperable task. Congress has tackled the job, but with little or no help from the executive branch, has not achieved all that should have been accomplished. Without such help Congress must cut appropriations somewhat blindly, if at all, and then the trouble begins. All the employees affected begin at once a campaign of pressure upon Congress, which, as I have explained, is not always easy to resist. It has become a common saying that it requires nothing less forceful than dynamite or an earthquake to shake loose anyone once attached to an executive pay roll.

"Next to cutting down the war-time expenditure the most apparent thing would seem to be that taxes enough should be imposed to at least carry the current burden of expense, but this is not easy.

"Taxes are always distasteful and usually unscientifically imposed, even if there be any such thing as a scientifically imposed tax. Congress is urged from all sides to repeal this, that, or the other tax, without even so much as a suggestion as to what should take its place, except to take it off of 'us' and place it upon the 'other fellow.'

"In addition to all the other perplexing problems with which we are contending, a new one is now up to Congress, and that is to make an additional payment to ex-service men of the late war. The smallest demand would aggregate $2,000,000,000, while the most liberal would doubtless amount to $20,000,000,000. Every American with a heart, soul, or patriotism in him wishes to do the right thing by the boys who fought the Great War. What shall be done? How shall the expense be met? What will be the effect upon the ex-service men themselves and upon the rest of the people? These are difficult and perplexing questions. Members of Congress must face them and try to answer them correctly.

"Some of you who made fine records in the service during the war have appealed to me to-night to stand firmly against any form of bonus for ex-service men, declaring that you do not wish to see a patriotic service thus commercialized. Such an appeal is perfectly safe when made within the confidential portals of the Yale Club. Who of you will go to Washington and in the presence of the legislative representatives of several service organizations say the same thing to the Ways and Means Committee? It will require courage not less than that displayed in the Argonne.

"How much help does the Member of Congress from the district in which any one of you lives ever receive from one of you in his effort to speak and act wisely upon any of these knotty questions? I will lay a wager that not one of you ever even wrote to your Representative, except to ask him to do one of three things—to do something for you or some friend individually, to increase some appropriation of doubtful utility, or to reduce some tax that particularly affects you or your business.

"Thanks in some measure to our alma mater and the four years spent at New Haven, you are men of position and influence in the several communities in which you live. You are leaders of thought and action. If Congress is not all that it should be, you can help to make it better. Education can do more than anything else, but be sure that you begin at the right place. Do not begin with the Congressman. Nine times out of ten he is doing the best that he can do under the circumstances. Do not try to educate him too much at once or you will end in educating him out of Congress. Help him change the circumstances.

"If he votes wisely and courageously on a matter of large importance, help see to it that he is not forced out of office for some trivial vote. The trouble is that if a Member votes to refuse or even reduce a doubtful appropriation, or declines to vote for the special benefit of some class, every person injuriously affected will never forgive him and will consider it a religious duty to vote against him to the end of the chapter. On the other hand, the great public, for whose benefit he has made the sacrifice, goes straightway and forgets all about him, even before election time. You say that the case of Gov. Coolidge proves the contrary. It is only the exception that proves the rule. Gov. Coolidge did his duty courageously. Fortunately the election came immediately and so soon that no one could possibly forget it. The people of Massachusetts rose to the occasion, and Gov. Coolidge became a national figure for a few weeks.

"Do not misunderstand me. I would not condone the servile acts or attitude of spineless Congressmen. No position within the gift of man is worth such a price. Only such men should be chosen as will stand when the rub comes, regardless of consequences to themselves, but meanwhile do not forget that the other kind will always be numerous in every body chosen by the people, and this will be so for the very reason of the demands and attitude of the people themselves."

Favoring the Retention of Commercial Attachés in Foreign Countries.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 2, 1920,

On the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill.

To the item appropriating for the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, an amendment was offered increasing the amount to be expended for commercial attachés abroad.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, I am concerned less with the parliamentary situation of the amendment and more with the urgent necessity of the appropriation itself. Whether the attachés are appointed by the Secretary of State or the Secretary of Commerce is of little moment. It is not the method of selection, but the results of the selection which are vital. Last year we appropriated for this service $910,000, and the committee, in their desire to economize, has reduced the item to $487,000. No one is more anxious to curtail Federal expenditures than am I, and by my votes on appropriation bills I feel I have consistently demonstrated my determination to practice rigid economy. But to me saving should not produce waste or retrenchment create loss. I respectfully submit that unless this amendment, and those coupled with it as natural corollaries, are agreed to, both waste and loss will result. We will throw away that which we already possess and be deprived of obtaining that which we should have.

America stands forth to-day as the leading financial, industrial and agricultural nation of all the world. We are the richest in resources, the greatest in inventive genius, the foremost in production, and the freest from entangling political alliances, racial prejudices and economic jealousies. The markets of the world are open to our products. It is for us to accept the premier position we occupy and profit thereby.

The purpose of the proposed legislation is to provide commercial attachés who will stimulate our trade relations with foreign countries. They will be the agencies through which our American manufacturers and producers will be kept in touch with markets abroad. They will be investigators and observers of economic conditions, charged with the duty of supplying our business men with information.

The World War of arms has terminated; the world war of trade has begun. As we were unprepared for the former, let us not be unprepared for the latter. Every other nation is reaching out for these markets, endeavoring to possess them, and should we fail to meet the situation we will be derelict in our duty to our home producers and neglectful of the opportunities presented to increase still further the wealth of our country and the prosperity of our people.

Great Britain, I understand, has increased her appropriation for this service to $1,450,320, and France, with possibilities far less than ours, has appropriated $852,000. Japan is spending $500,000 to develop her trade and, I am informed, will shortly have an attaché established in New York City. Italy, Sweden, and, in fact, every country is reaching out for foreign markets. Now is the time to capture the overseas trade, to possess it, and by caring for it we will hold it. Expansion, not retrenchment, should be our policy in this field, for if this trade is lost now it will probably be lost forever.

We have built up a great merchant marine, a service which every patriotic American demands shall be retained under the

flag. From less than 2,000,000 gross tons of overseas shipping in 1915 our ocean fleets have grown to 9,000,000 tons. We should encourage and assist, not discourage and retard, the American merchant marine, which again carries the commerce of the Nation to the seven seas.

For years our goods have been carried in vessels flying foreign flags, and now with American ships once more upon the deep, to keep the flag flying we must provide cargoes. By building up a great foreign trade through the medium of this Bureau of Commerce we will accomplish this purpose. I favor the amendment and urge its passage.

ADDENDUM.

[From testimony given by Mr. Philip B. Kennedy, Director Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, before the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Feb. 24, 1920.]

Mr. KENNEDY. The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce is the governmental agency which distributes commercial information to American business men. This information comes not only from our own foreign representatives but also from foreign representatives of the State Department.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Just what character of information do you distribute so as to develop foreign trade?

Mr. KENNEDY. The reports of a commercial character made by representatives of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce abroad, by the consuls and others, all of which come to our bureau. We are receiving at the present time at the rate of about 40,000 consular reports a year in addition to all of our own reports. That material we publish in the form of Daily Commerce Reports and in the form of special monographs on trade. We also publish the foreign-trade statistics. We are writing large numbers of commercial letters in answer to specific inquiries about commerce. I think we write about 3,000 letters of that kind every week from our Washington headquarters.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Can you state some of the features of that correspondence?

Mr. KENNEDY. We have our work in the bureau divided into divisions. We have one division on tariff information. That division receives tariff laws from all over the world. It has the finest collection of laws on foreign tariffs in the United States, if not in the world. That division receives inquiries as to the tariff on a certain article in a certain country and as to the procedure which has to be followed. Their correspondence is very large. For instance, they have specific and definite information on what is the tariff on lawn mowers in Brazil and what procedure has to be complied with. That division has also handled restrictions. There have recently been restrictions on the importation of American goods into European countries, including restrictions on exchange. All these laws have been compiled there and that information is made available to the American exporters.

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The commercial information division receives all the letters which can be answered from our files without highly technical information. These letters come in from everywhere. A man wants to know about a market for certain goods in certain countries. Trade letters that come in from our own representatives and from the Consular Service have the essential information taken off and put on a sheet of paper in our file. In this commercial information division we have files containing this recent and essential information about markets for all kinds of American goods in different countries. When a letter comes in, that file is consulted. We have right there conveniently at hand the latest information. In this commercial information division we have correspondents who are answering those letters, every one of which is a specific inquiry.

Certain letters come in that are more technical in character. Some one wishes certain information about the Far East or Latin America or western Europe or Russia. We have geographical divisions with experts in charge, men who have been in those countries, who are continually assembling information particularly on those markets. All these geographical divisions reply to these specific inquiries of a technical character on their respective markets.

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We also have a statistical division which publishes the import and export statistics of the United States. They are constantly receiving letters asking for the most recent statistics of imports and exports of a certain article to a certain country. They have a large correspondence.

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What we need is a steady policy in our foreign trade. Bankers whom I have been conferring with realize this. Instead of closing up the book and giving up this question, they are studying it more carefully to-day than, I believe, they have ever done before in the history of this country. And just at this time, when the ablest and most experienced business men in this country want our information, it is very discouraging to feel that our Washington staff, which has to handle it, instead of being increased and more highly paid, as it ought to be, is to be severely cut.

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I was in London myself during the war as commercial attaché. I feel very keenly the need of our following what is going on in Europe. We may not be able to do much trade there for the time being, while exchange is against us, but we should follow developments. Great Britain, for the year ending January 1, had a greater foreign trade than we did, considering both imports and exports. British ships are putting up the keenest kind of competition on the high seas. British factories are in far better shape than they were a year ago. The president of a large American company, who himself has run a plant in England, returned recently. He told me that manufacturing in Great Britain was much improved over what it was when I left there 10 months ago. He said labor is getting down to work; they have their raw materials; they are reaching out for foreign markets. He said that they are going to give us the keenest kind of competition. At a time when our foreign trade is in the balance we ought to follow what is going on in Great Britain.

As regards France, our commercial attaché, Mr. Snow, who has just come back to the United States, recently took a swing around the industrial cities of France. Every place he visited he went to the chamber of commerce or the labor bureau and asked: "How many unemployed have you?" He was struck with the fact that in the industrial cities of France there are now virtually no unemployed. The factories were working full time. He believes that the French manufacturing industry is going ahead very vigorously.

It is not all dark in the picture of Europe. It is possible the American foreign trade in the future may run up against the keenest kind of competition.

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Taking Europe as a whole, I feel that it would be a very grave error for us to be forced to withdraw within two or three months these 15 trade commissioners that we now have reporting there. They are men who know those countries, who have had commercial training. Of course, the consuls are reporting, too. We receive the reports of the consuls through the State Department. We know the reports we are getting from our trade commissioners are not covered by the consuls. We know there would be a great loss of information to the American trade and to American shipping if our men were recalled. Just at the time when this readjustment is going on, when the future is being made, it impresses me as being a great mistake to think of withdrawing experienced men and saying that we have no interest in European trade because those nations can not pay for their goods at the present time. That seems to me a short-time rather than a long-time point of view. This appropriation for promoting commerce, which has been cut, is a small amount of money considering what is at stake.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Right there I want to ask this question, even if it breaks in on your statement, because this is the issue that is going to be before the House: You say, as a matter of fact, there is no duplication between the work of those trade commissioners and that of the consuls in furnishing information. You take that position?

Mr. KENNEDY. I say that there is very little. These trade commissioners are, as a rule, men of special training; they are devoting their entire time reporting on commercial subjects and advising with business men.

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Mr. BANKHEAD. There is one thing you have not explained yet to my satisfaction; you may have to the others. I want to know what trade functions your trade commissioners perform and report to your department that are not performed by the consuls of the State Department, that gives an advantage in their retention?

Mr. KENNEDY. This applies both to the trade commissioners and the commercial attachés. I think, however, it is generally recognized by the State Department that these trade commissioners are men who do not conflict with their consuls, because these trade commissioners are, as a rule, specialists. A man will go out with a knowledge of leather or shoes or some technical line. For example, in England we have a trade commissioner who was for three years the representative of the Grotton & Knight Leather Co., in London. He is a man who is technically trained in leather. He can go out and make reports on leather which no man could make who was not a technical man.

It is where the trade commissioners are technical men that they fill a special field. A trade commissioner, also, is a man who can pursue a line of investigation on one topic. A consul can not do that. A consul has to sit in his office. He has to attend to the passports, shipping, and notarial functions; all these various things come to the office of a consul. He can not travel from city to city; he can not take the topic of leather, for instance, and go around to different cities of Great Britain and confer with leather people and make a technical report on that subject. As a rule, I think, there has been no feeling that these trade commissioners duplicate the work of consuls. That charge has been leveled mainly against the commercial attachés who have been largely resident. Of course, we have a few trade commissioners who are resident, but that is only temporary.

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Mr. KENNEDY. This will only take one paragraph. They have cut us down in our promotion of trade in the Far East, I believe, under a misconception. The chairman of the subcommittee stated on the floor of the House that there was not much trade to be obtained in the Far East and there was no use spending money on it. The exchange is running against us in the Far East. We are sending silver over there and the Treasury is anxious to increase our trade with the Far East so as to protect our bullion. There is, in fact, a great opportunity for trade in the Far East, and I can conceive no reason whatever for cutting that appropriation from $100,000 to $50,000. I think it must be because of misunderstanding of the facts.

About South America, I will not deal particularly with that, because they have given us the same sum we had this year. I think we ought to increase it, because the exchange is running against us in South America. They are sending us more goods than we are sending them. We have a very fine opportunity there, and we ought to extend our work rather than hold it as it is.

Now, as regards commercial attachés. This item has been dropped entirely from the appropriation bill. The service was established six years ago in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce after a referendum of the commercial organizations of this country by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States that was overwhelmingly in favor of the establishment of that service in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

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Mr. CHINDBLOM. To what extent do other countries have these commercial attachés?

Mr. KENNEDY. The practice of the civilized world is favorable to the position which I maintain that is controlled by the Commerce Department. Great Britain has, within the last two or three years, entirely revised her system. The business men felt that they were getting virtually nothing from the consuls. They have made the consul subservient to the commercial attaché, from the commercial point of view. For instance, in the United States the commercial secretary of the British Embassy receives copies of the commercial reports made by all the British consuls in this country, and he can ask them to look up particular things in different parts of the country, so that all that information is assembled here in the British Embassy in Washington to help the ambassador in his conduct of policy. The consuls are put under the direction of the commercial attaché, so far as the commercial work goes. Great Britain has extended that system all over the world. They are trying to relieve the consuls of their shipping work, so that they can do more commercial work, and they head it up through their commercial attaché.

France is establishing under the minister of commerce a commercial attaché system, and some of their representatives have been through our bureau and studied it very closely, and they are just now in process of appointing some 15 or 20 commercial attachés, who are to report to the minister of commerce. In every country these commercial attachés are reporting to the minister of commerce, because that is his business. They universally want to get away from the foreign offices, where there has been a lot of red tape and delay and a great deal of secrecy, and where men have been more interested in political and diplomatic questions. The business men want something that has a business character. That is the reason that in all these foreign countries, including Japan, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Holland—every country that I know of—they are making these commercial attachés directly responsible to the minister of commerce.

Mr. WHITE. How many of these commercial attachés have we outside the United States at the present time, and how much of a contraction of the service will be required if this appropriation bill stands as it is reported?

Mr. KENNEDY. The present fiscal year we had an appropriation of $165,000, which provides, at the maximum, for 11 or 12 commercial attachés and their offices. If these men are withdrawn, that will mean we will have to dismiss from the service 11 or 12 commercial attachés and such clerks as they have. Those commercial attachés are at present in London, Paris, Madrid, Rome, The Hague, Copenhagen, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Santiago, Peking, and Tokyo.

Mr. WHITE. This bill carries nothing in its present form for those commercial attachés and their clerks?

Mr. KENNEDY. It wipes them out.

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Mr. KENNEDY. I should say that the commercial attachés were the nervous system of the Department of Commerce. If you take them away, we will be inert. We will not be in a position to protect the business interests of the country. I feel that it is possible for the present system to avoid duplication, and I think that it has been very largely done in the past. We receive the reports of the consuls in our bureau to distribute to the business men. We can read those over, and we can see where they are reporting on the same things as our commercial attachés. As a matter of fact, it is very seldom that there is any overlapping, because the consuls report on something local to their district, whereas the commercial attachés are usually considering broad commercial policies of the country as a whole; and the trade commissioners' reports are so technical and so complete that the consuls do not make any such reports.

General Pershing's Address.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. UPSHAW,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 11, 1920.

Mr. UPSHAW. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address by Gen. John J. Pershing, commander in chief of the American Expeditionary Forces, delivered at the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Southern Commercial Congress, Savannah, Ga., December 8, 1919:

ADDRESS BY GEN. JOHN J. PERSHING, COMMANDER IN CHIEF AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES, DELIVERED AT THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE SOUTHERN COMMERCIAL CONGRESS, SAVANNAH, GA., DECEMBER 8, 1919.

Dr. Clarence J. Owens, director general of the Southern Commercial Congress, in introducing Gen. Pershing, said:

"The tide is at the flood in Dixie. All minds to-day are centered in honor to the name and imperishable fame of America's hero of the World War. A son of Missouri, but now with Washington and Grant and Robert Edward Lee, a citizen of the empire of humanity and the kingdom of man, a sturdy and sterling patriot, Gen. John J. Pershing, the commander in chief of the American Expeditionary Forces."

Gen. Pershing's address is as follows:

"Mr. Chairman, your excellencies, and gentlemen of the Southern Commercial Congress, it gives me very much pleasure to have the honor of meeting the governors and other distinguished representatives of the South assembled here under the auspices of the Southern Commercial Congress. It is a privilege to know the men to whose initiative and creative genius this organization owes its success. With the ultimate purpose of building 'a greater Nation through a greater South,' your achievements have been large and they will be far larger in the future.

"Through the energy of your people and the cooperation of your Congress, an unequaled development of the agricultural, industrial, and mineral resources of the South has taken place during the past few years. To meet this expansion extensive improvements of your waterways have been undertaken, your railroads have increased in mileage and in efficiency, and your ports have been enlarged and deepened. Education of the people has steadily advanced, living conditions have grown better, and important progress has been made toward the highest ideals of citizenship.

"The cordial welcome which you have given me and my staff to-day, and the hospitable greeting extended from Washington to Savannah, I take not for myself alone, but also for the men I had the honor to command. The credit for our success belongs to them, and with all my heart I join with you in paying tribute to them.

SOUTHERN MEN IN OUR ARMY.

"The southern men in our armies quickly reached the high standard of our finest troops. They carried the banners of the Republic to the battle fields of France and victoriously crossed swords with the best troops the German Empire could furnish. The glory of our arms goes to that determined stand at Chateau-Thierry that stopped the enemy's advance; to the counterattack on the Marne salient that turned he tide of war; to their brilliant success at St. Mihiel; to the assault at the Canal du Nord, where southern men lost their lives; and to the decisive drive from Verdun to Sedan that ended the war, where, as worthy sons, your men maintained the best traditions of a martial people.

"But our young men, both at home and abroad, won other victories. Their cheerful acceptance of the rigor of military discipline, their patience in training, their fortitude in combat, were all that you in your pride and love of America could desire. No body of troops taken to battle in a foreign land far from the guidance and the influence of their homes were ever inspired by more lofty ideals. Their abstinence and morality gained for them the unstinted praise of our allies and returned them home to you in health. Your sons carried into their service the chivalrous spirit of the South, which is your boast and that of your fathers before you.

WOMAN'S PART IN THE VICTORY.

"The women of your States bravely bore their share of the burden. At home they waited, watched, and prayed that their sons might bring back the victory. Over there in the hospitals, where there was need of woman's tender care, at the canteens and shelters, at the recreation and amusement centers, and wherever woman could best do her work, there they labored with an ardor worthy of their brothers. It is a privilege to tell you of the services of your sons and daughters and to claim full kinship as an American with them and with you.

"These men and women did us another service that some of them may not suspect. They renewed and confirmed for all time our faith in Americans. It had been said that we loved ease and luxury and that money was our only thought. We were told that the race of men who stood with Prescott at Bunker Hill, who endured Valley Forge, and who followed Pickett at Gettysburg had passed away, and that our generation was different. But in the test we found the same high courage, the same intelligence, and the same manly vigor that has marked the soldiers of the Nation since it first came into being.

"They have brought home those qualities to be ours for the good of our common country. With discipline and experience they have returned better men and better citizens. Their sacrifices have confirmed the sacred value of our institutions and the obligation to maintain them. These confident men and their people behind them may be counted upon to go forward into the future as they have come down out of the past—a solid, steady, fearless column.

"One of the great lessons that the World War has taught us is the value of cooperative endeavor. During the war we had the tremendous inspiration of a united people, forgetting class distinction and working with exalted purpose for the common end of victory and the freedom of the world.

"In the actual conduct of the war this same spirit animated our armies. It was evident in the intensive training of the divisions, the corps, and armies for combat; in the rapid organization of the staffs; in the construction of wharves, railroads, and storehouses; in the accumulation of supplies and munitions and plans for distribution, all successfully accomplished and made effective by the loyalty and the valor of the fighting man.

PATRIOTISM A CURE FOR UNREST.

"It is this devotion to the Nation's welfare that will enable us to meet the unrest in the world to-day. While the cataclysm of war has brought the downfall of autocratic government, many of its misguided victims have embraced dangerous doctrines and would fain destroy all organized government. But the triumph of democratic government is its guaranty of permanence.

"I am optimistic about the future of America. We have our problems, of course, and, intensified by the war, some of them are difficult and troublesome, but the people who stood behind our Government from patriotic motives are going to solve them in the interest of the greatest number of Americans. They are

going to do so with the support of the gallant men who composed our armies. In their ranks you will not find men of anarchistic or revolutionary tendencies, nor among them the bearers of the red flag of destruction. I am confident that they will meet their new obligations as citizens with the same aggressiveness and the same heroism that carried our standards to victory.

"It is for all of us constantly to exercise in peace the patriotism that inspired us during the war. It is for us to make this country safe for real Americans. We shall neither permit revolutionary nor Bolshevist elements to spread terror and disorder. We shall teach them that ours is ever a Government of laws and not of individuals nor of cliques of lawless aliens.

"I hope that the last war has been fought, but it would be folly for the Nation to revert to a condition of unpreparedness. I am making this trip to study the material side of our necessities. The intelligent cooperation of the several branches of the Government and of all loyal people is needed to find an effective plan that will best suit our traditions, and at the same time bestow the highest benefits upon our youth, both native and foreign born. This is a matter of national importance, and I beg leave to urge its consideration upon every man in this congress.

THINKING OF THOSE WHO FELL.

"When I think of our Army in France my mind goes back to those who fell; to the men who gave their all that you and I might be free to work out our destiny without threat of foreign dictation. They deserve the love and veneration of all our people, and that they will receive in full measure for all time. Their example of fine courage and noble sacrifice has passed into our history, to be an inspiration to us always.

"I think, too, of the thousands who gave all but their lives and are now at home permanently disabled. We can not abandon those of our numbers who bravely met these misfortunes. If as a people we fail adequately and intelligently to care for these brave men and give them without delay the opportunities they deserve as self-respecting citizens, it will be to our everlasting shame.

"I am glad to have this opportunity to express to the governors and the people of the Southern States my own humble thanks for their unfaltering support, and to extend my congratulations upon the magnificent conduct of their stalwart soldiers in battle."

Opposition to Large Standing Army and Compulsory Military Training.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OSCAR E. KELLER,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 8, 1920.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks on this bill, I desire to set forth my views thereon, and also on the question of universal compulsory military training, which I think is indirectly written into this measure.

An analysis of the speech of the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ANTHONY], in presenting this measure to the House, creates the suspicion in the minds of a great many people that the sole purpose of this enormous standing Army is preparedness for a possible disturbance within our country; that the question of a near future foreign war is only secondary.

It is universally known that our internal condition at the present time is not such as would necessitate an immense standing Army, nor is there danger of any internal condition developing in the near future, unless the rights and liberties of the people are imposed upon by the enactment of vicious and reactionary legislation, which would call for such a large standing Army. It is my contention that at no time will we need such a large standing Army to protect this country from internal strife. The vast majority of the American people can be relied upon to stand up for their rights and privileges, and to exercise their right of franchise to obtain the enactment of any laws or to amend the Constitution if they see fit to do so. The tremendous expense involved in the upkeep of such a military machine as is proposed in this bill is absolutely unnecessary and beyond reason at this time. If the committee, with all its wisdom and foresight, could show by figures and facts and precedent that such an organization was indeed necessary to protect our country against external aggression by a foreign power at some time in the near future, there, of course, would be no argument against such a large standing Army.

The able gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. OLNEY] stated in his remarks a few days ago that "You would be considered careless and neglectful, indeed, if you failed to insure your dwelling house against loss by fire," but he failed to state that the law holds you criminally liable for pouring gasoline on your house and setting it afire. Our country all these years has been protected by our standing Army of 100,000 soldiers against any internal disturbance that has arisen, and it can safely and reasonably be assumed that a like force will adequately cope with any disturbance that might arise in the future. But it can readily be seen that by shackling labor and by interfering with the rights and liberties of the people by the enactment of vicious and reactionary legislation it will be necessary to maintain an Army infinitely greater than that now planned to combat the wave of unrest that will sweep the country. To burden the people with this enormous expense at a time when economy in this respect should be practiced to the limit would be "pouring gasoline on your house and setting it afire." We have all been urged to economize and retrench wherever possible; our Government has even eliminated a great deal of experimental work necessary to stimulate production, yet here in one lump sum we will spend $500,000,000 and then say we are economizing. I believe that money should be spent in developing our Navy to protect our merchant marine; money should be appropriated to develop our aerial service; to establish a scientific department to experiment with explosives, new guns, and so forth, to keep up with the times. Adequate provision should be made to develop officers for our Military Establishment. But to adopt a plan whereby the youth of our land would be taken from productive fields and placed in nonproductive activities, especially at a time when every ounce of our energy, when every bit of our man power is necessary to aid in the stupendous program of reconstruction that faces us, would be the height of folly. Let us organize our Military Establishment on the same basis existing prior to the war, utilizing, of course, the experiences taught us by the war; make it the foundation of a vast war-time Army, and the vast civilian army can be relied upon, in an emergency, to do its share in protecting the country, as in the war just past.

I am absolutely opposed to universal compulsory military training; and yet, while the committee has stricken from this bill the direct provision for this plan, I am forced to conclude that this measure is nothing more nor less than a compulsory military training measure. Experience has taught us in the past that it was impossible to obtain enough recruits to maintain our Military Establishment at full peace-time strength; I doubt whether our Army has ever been 100 per cent enlisted, with all the inducements that have been held out to the young men of our land. If we could not maintain an Army of 100,000 soldiers by voluntary enlistment in the past, how are we ever going to obtain 300,000 voluntary enlistments, even though the inducements are greater than in the past? The draft must again, necessarily, be resorted to, as in the war just past, to raise a peace-time Army; and, pray tell me, how many of our citizens are going to submit to such a militaristic plot in peace time? I venture to say that the very foundation of our existence will be rocked by the storm of protest that will be raised throughout the length and breadth of our land should such a plan be instituted. And yet it looms, dark and foreboding, should this measure be enacted into law.

A further comparison of the House bill and the Senate bill, which includes the provision for compulsory military training, discloses the fact that both measures provide for approximately the same number of officers—17,000. If the House committee is sincere in its statement that the provision for compulsory military training has been divorced from this measure, why does it provide the same number of officers for an Army one-third the size of that which would result from the adoption of a universal military training plan? Why has not the commissioned personnel been reduced one-third? Failure of the committee to make this reduction more firmly convinces me that this is in reality a compulsory universal military training measure, and that the plan as outlined above is to be resorted to to bring the Army to the strength provided for in this measure. The foundation is laid for a future compulsory military training program.

What our Government needs to do at the present time more than anything else is to imbue the young American with the knowledge that the foundation of our Government, that our very existence as a free and liberty-loving people, is rooted in the home. The spirit that guided the fearless Pilgrim Fathers, the founders of our country, was the yearning for a place they could call home. Their deeds of valor in protecting what, to them, was home have been indelibly inscribed on the pages of

history. It is our duty, as representatives of the people, to endeavor to perpetuate that spirit, to root it firmly in the minds of the younger generations; and the sooner the great mass of our young manhood become home owners and home lovers, the less will be the danger of physical unpreparedness in case of an emergency as developed during the recent war. Millions of young men will be physically fit and eager to defend their home, which means their country, against external aggression or internal strife. With a standing army of 150,000, properly officered, as a nucleus, a gigantic and all-powerful war-time army could shortly be whipped into shape to defend our country against any enemy that might raise its head.

The compulsory military training evil was clearly recognized by the representatives of the allied Governments in drafting the terms of the treaty of peace with Germany. It specifically provides that Germany's all-powerful system of compulsory military training, the perfection of which led the ex-Kaiser to believe that he could lick the world, must be abolished entirely; that her army must be raised by voluntary enlistments. Is this not sufficient proof that the system is menacing and destructive alike to the civilized world in general and to each individual nation in particular? If we deny the right to continue such a plan to a nation that has been forced to drink of the bitter cup of annihilation because of its misapplication of the tremendous power developed through the plan, should we, after spending thousands of lives and billions of dollars in successfully shattering this autocracy, adopt the very plan that caused the downfall of a mighty nation and brought suffering and sorrow and woe to every human heart? I repeat that I am most emphatically opposed to any plan of universal compulsory military training.

The Worm Turns—The State of Mississippi Rebels Against the Tyranny of the Federal Reserve Board.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. KING,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, March 12, 1920.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, on the 28th day of February I introduced, pursuant to an insistent demand for relief, H. Res. 476, to investigate the administration of the Federal Reserve Act, which resolution is now pending before the Rules Committee.

To show the necessity of such investigation and the tyranny under which the banks of the States are subjected by the Federal Reserve Board, I herewith attach a copy of a law passed by the Legislature of Mississippi and approved by the governor on the 6th day of March, 1920, as follows, to wit:

HOUSE BILL NO. 651, AS APPROVED BY THE GOVERNOR MARCH 6, 1920.

An act to prevent the Federal Reserve System from forcing the banks of this State into what is known as the parring of checks, drafts, bills, etc. (commonly known as "cash items"); and for that purpose making it mandatory on the banks of this State to charge exchange on such "cash items"; and fixing the rates of such exchange.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi*, That for the purpose of providing for the solvency, protection, and safety of the banking institutions of Mississippi, the established custom on the part of the banks of this State to charge a service fee (commonly called "exchange") for collecting and remitting, by exchange or otherwise, the proceeds of checks, drafts, bills, etc. (commonly known among banks as "cash items") is hereby declared to be the law of this State; and the banks of this State, both State and National, shall continue to make such charge as fixed by custom when such "cash items" are presented to the payer bank for payment through or by any bank, banker, trust company, Federal reserve bank, post office, express company, or any collection agency, or by any other agency whatsoever; and the amount of such charge is hereby fixed at one-tenth of 1 per cent of the total amount of such "cash items" so presented and paid at any one time, and not less than 10 cents on any one such transaction; provided, however, no such charge shall be made on checks or drafts given or drawn in settlement of obligations due the State of Mississippi or any subdivision thereof, or of the United States. And that no such charge can be made by banks for the collection of checks deposited with said banks, where the check is drawn on any other bank in the same municipality, city, town, or village, this being the long-established custom of such banks. And provided that nothing in this act shall be deemed to be mandatory upon the banks to charge exchange on checks or drafts payable to a person in this State, and drawn on a bank, trust company, or person within or without this State, but it shall be optional with such banks whether they shall charge exchange on checks or drafts payable to a person within this State, and drawn on a bank, trust company, or person within or without this State.

SEC. 2. That no officer in this State shall protest for nonpayment any such "cash item," when such nonpayment is solely on account of the failure or refusal of any of said agencies to pay such exchange; and there shall be no right of action, either at law or in equity, against any bank in this State for a refusal to pay such cash item, when such refusal is based alone on the ground of the nonpayment of such exchange.

SEC. 3. That if for any reason the courts should hold that the national banks in this State are not required to charge and collect such exchange, still this act shall remain in full force and effect as to all other banks in this State; and in the event of such holding by the courts, or the refusal of any national bank in this State to comply with this act, then it shall be optional with State banks located in the same municipality with a national bank or State banks which are members of the Federal Reserve System as to whether such charge shall be made.

SEC. 4. That this act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Is the Inflation of Money Responsible for Increased Cost of Living?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. KING,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, March 13, 1920.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, in support of House resolution 476, to investigate the administration of the Federal reserve act, I take pleasure in submitting to the honorable Members of the House of Representatives, for their information, a most intelligent and comprehensive explanation of the money conditions of the country in general by Mr. V. F. Newell, a widely known banking expert of Chicago, which is as follows, to wit:

CHICAGO *March 10, 1920.*

Hon. EDWARD J. KING, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Mention in the Chicago Tribune of your resolution on Federal reserve banks was a most agreeable surprise.

While the people are trying to reduce the cost of living, the banks seem to pull the other way. Published reports of the Chicago banks the 1st of this month shows they have added over $88,000,000 more to their lines of borrowed money in the last 60 days.

How can prices go down with loans and paper money going up?

Take the leading 12 banks of Chicago, combined; they showed in published reports on the 1st instant, $1,188,914,368 deposits and $1,124,214,370 money loaned. Having loaned out most of their deposits, they have borrowed $161,479,514. (The three banks called packer banks owe $101,337,000 of this amount.)

About $340,000,000 of their deposits are balances due to country and other banks, or about ten times the amount of actual cash on hand in their own vaults. Exchange and checks for the clearing house are not cash in case of need, any more than cashiers' checks were in the panic of 1907. Inflation has become a menace when 12 banks in a money center carry only 3 per cent of $1,200,000,000 deposits in cash on hand. Such banking is a scandalous condition, requiring drastic measures to avoid a great panic.

Banks not in the Reserve System should run exceptionally strong in cash at home. Big business wants to control all the money, to keep prices up and save being enveloped in their own folly and greed. Rival banks will not reform until the law compels them to act. If they are within the law, surely then the law is at fault.

Congress should prohibit any more issues of paper money at once. The reserve banks should not buy loans in the open market.

No member bank should be able to borrow more than half its own capital from the reserve bank. The largest banks have borrowed more than twice their capital. Any director of a reserve bank should not be allowed to borrow of it for any bank or company of which he is an officer.

If banks are not the cause of high prices, then why do they not help the people to lower them?

Banks should have been satisfied with their great increase in deposits the last three years without borrowing. It was very rare for banks in Chicago to borrow when they had to carry 25 per cent of their deposits in cash on hand.

I do not object to the high interest rates the reserve banks may charge on loans. I think the rate should be so high they never would make another loan, except to a bank which needs and can pay any price to save it in a storm.

Inclosed please find my article on present conditions. It has taken quite a little time to compile the figures and statements therein, which are correct.

I believe the information is not accessible as a rule to busy men in political activities.

Kindly read it carefully and then please have it read to the House and Senate Committees on Banking and Currency, for I hope it may be helpful in bringing about needed legislation.

I shall mail several copies, but wish it might be published by some concern, so bankers generally might read it.

I would mail 100 copies to the clearing houses of the country.

My article of last August to President Wilson was handed to the reserve board, and they honored me with a very kind and prompt reply at some length. But matters with the common people have been growing worse ever since from month to month, and a change must come, whether the banks like it or not.

Congress must help the reserve board to a new basis, that will make inflation impossible and start a return to normal prices.

Having served in banks for 20 years from messenger boy to cashier, I must confess it seems to me leading bankers have gone crazy and are incompetent to reform themselves or unnatural conditions.

Loans and prices must come down hand in hand.

I will gladly mail copies to any parties you may kindly suggest.

In giving a worker's viewpoint I hope I have not exceeded my privilege or taken too much of your time.

Yours, very truly,

V. F. NEWELL.

THE PUBLIC EXPLOITED BY BANKS.

(By V. F. Newell.)

After several years of advancing prices, with committees, commissions, investigations, and reports of incidents and conditions, we have become quite familiar with hoarding, profiteering, boycotting, and trade methods.

Those interested in maintaining high prices have cited many contributory causes for present unnatural conditions.

The naked facts have not been common information, nor has a real remedy been provided.

Population, property, prices, and money are four factors dependent on each other. Like four wheels, if any one of them is out of proportion, crooked, or out of track or larger than the rest, it disturbs the running of the other three wheels, and with any speed the vehicle is upset in the ditch.

To restore the normal relation of the four factors to each other it is necessary to secure a remedy from an investigation of the causes of inflation. The figures and facts which follow were compiled from regular published statements, and no competent person will deny them.

The big banks are responsible for present unnatural conditions and the high cost of most values. The high cost of living is the result of their reckless policies and profiteering in interest earnings.

A limit to the volume of money obtainable for use in trade is the only wall strong enough to halt human greed.

The Federal reserve banks tore this wall down.

Men did not profiteer without the funds to operate with.

Banks solicited their customers to use more money when they had all they needed on the old level of values. As a general rule securities and bonds have declined, throwing the burden of inflation onto the great staples of life.

Gold came from Europe, which was inflation enough of itself.

The 12 reserve banks were prostituted and run for profit. The reserve doors were opened for commercial business, and the reserve bank at Chicago had bought $92,650,000 bills in the open market on the first of the year. Their volume of expansion loans to member banks was the climax of inflation.

Banks borrowing money from each other from a common pot on which to expand was not the intention of the reserve bank act.

The 25 per cent reserve in cash on hand required of national banks in central reserve cities before reserve banks were organized was released, which added hundreds of millions more loanable funds.

Redundant money from these three sources must be absorbed and earn interest for the banks, no matter what the consequences might be.

It is hard to imagine the conditions of unrest that another billion of Europe's gold might have produced in the hands of the banker.

The volume of bank loans is now so great, based on high prices, banks will not cash an ordinary check in gold coin at their own counters, notwithstanding the stock of gold has doubled in the last five years.

The naked facts are, the men who should have protected society were the first to exploit and bleed it.

Everything sold to Europe during the war at exorbitant prices forced the home consumer to pay as much in a land of plenty.

When a man has been thrifty and saved a little money every year for many years, has he no rights that greed should respect, when the dollar is cut in halves?

War is the excuse offered by those who have benefited by unnatural prices. Suppose we had sent just a little gold to Europe instead of receiving it, does anyone think we would not have produced as much or more material wealth and moved it on the very satisfactory prices of 1913, giving most people better conditions than they have to-day?

Men produce when they need money, not when they have it. Too much paper money is the real cause of the lack of production.

How much less the national debt might have been, too, with sane policies and prices and avoided readjustment burdens.

With little increases in population, property, or real money, prices nearly doubled. The bankers were first on the field, and who but those with idle money could have started the ball to rolling?

Bankers may not have caused the storm of war, but did they keep the dikes in repair when the flood of inflation came?

An increase of money raises prices. A decrease in staples raises prices. Manipulation raises prices just as certainly.

With the three factors operating at the same time, the bankers added an avalanche of credit instruments. The banks did not exercise their power or duty to curb inflation. Men increased their debts, when increased funds should have enabled them to reduce or pay them.

Aside from the domination of banks in the high cost of living, perhaps the next cause for high prices was the management that permitted the Government to be defrauded out of several billion dollars on most of its war contracts. Children are now tax victims to pay culprits profits, who are still at liberty.

When the administration of departments at Washington gave early evidence of their lack of business experience, the bankers seemed to join the ranks of grabbers, instead of enforcing policies to keep the national debt at a minimum.

The nation-wide inflated condition of banking can not be maintained except by continued high prices. If bank excesses are within the law, the banks are still beyond the confines of prudence, and without regard to the lessons of history.

John Law's spirit must have joined many boards of directors.

It is up to the banks to rescue society from the turbulent whirlpool they set in motion.

The published reports of conditions of very many banks on the first of the year show that an astonishing number have borrowed money.

The majority of banks are still doing business on their own basis; the others should be compelled to do so.

Financing the staples of life for corporate gain was not as important as Government loans, which should have received first consideration.

The Federal reserve banks easily take first place among the causes of inflation in America. They have taught old established banks to borrow money for the interest scalp. They have taught banks to increase their loans faster than their deposits grew. Never before have banks in the central cities loaned out so recklessly hundreds of millions of the reserves of country banks deposited with them.

How delighted the Greenback Party of 40 years ago would have been with a machine that would print paper money as fast as do the new Federal reserve banks.

These times are not so mysterious in which we are living, when you consider the banks simply want the public to endure prices that will absorb the general stock of money of nearly $8,000,000,000.

For 20 years past gold and silver have increased fast enough for healthy growth without bank issues of paper money.

Coin, gold and silver certificates, legal-tender notes, national-bank bills, and the new stock of gold from Europe gave this Nation an ample supply of money of roundly $4,713,000,000.

Then the banks must try out the flexible currency fallacy, which has resulted in an issue of about $3,000,000,000 new paper money by the 12 Federal reserve banks. Prices had to advance to absorb this unwarranted increase of money. The result has been to undermine social conditions, rob the consumer, and add many billions of dollars to the national debt through unfair prices. The wonder of it all is that the public has been as patient as it has been.

A drastic reform must come, even if it is painful to the interest of profiteers and political banking.

Are the banks going to issue new paper money indefinitely and keep prices soaring still higher? What are their leaders dreaming of, anyway? To prevent still higher prices it is necessary for Congress to act at once and stop any further issue of paper money by the banks.

Competitive bankers will not voluntarily reduce their interest earnings by calling in loans or deflating the currency.

When banks are shown the limit of money obtainable, like an individual they will know on what basis they can safely operate.

Now is a good time to reduce the volume of paper money before gold goes out and goods increase the world over.

The Federal reserve banks have issued more paper money than all the 7,800 national banks combined four times over.

The Federal reserve bank at Chicago reported $541,088,475 of notes in circulation on the first of the year (1920).

While the people have been trying to reduce the cost of living, the reserve bank at Chicago issued $86,458,875 additional paper money in six months to January 1, 1920.

How is it possible to deflate prices and inflate the currency at the same time? This Chicago reserve bank reported the first of the year loans to member banks and bills bought $379,558,409.77 and deposits due to member banks $257,978,903.15.

To what extent are the reserves of country banks deposited with this reserve bank liquid and dependable when the reserve bank has loaned out $94,940,713.93 more than its own capital, surplus, and deposits? Suppose country or member banks wanted their reserves in cash, could the reserve bank meet the expectations of those who thought to make panics impossible by the Federal reserve bank act?

Let us consider the demoralizing effect the expensive reserve banks have had on old, established banks—banks, too, who would have scorned a few years ago to do what they are doing now.

Forty-five banks in Chicago alone reported in published statements of condition the first of the year the sum of $150,019,350 borrowed money.

Take the leading 12 banks of Chicago combined on the first of the year as an illustration of inflation most astonishing.

Ten of the banks showed $134,366,739.81 borrowed money. The 12 banks showed $346,711,748.87 due to country and other banks, or just about ten times the amount of actual cash on hand in their own vaults.

Their deposits were $1,218,833,391 against $716,968,490 June 30, 1914, a gain of 70 per cent or $501,864,901.

Their loans, stocks, and bonds were $1,090,473,807 against $583,004,668 June 30, 1914, a gain of 87 per cent or $507,469,139.

The 12 banks loaned $5,604,238 more than their gain in deposits, which accounts for 10 of them finding it necessary to borrow money.

Not one of them had any borrowed money five years ago.

Cash resources of the 12 banks, less borrowed money, are only $17,540,000 more than five and a half years ago, while their deposits are $501,864,901 greater.

Balances with other banks are little better than demand loans in case of need for cash, in a money center like Chicago.

Checks for the clearing house are balanced by checks received from the clearing house. The 12 banks had $371,000,000 of this kind of cash resources the first of the year.

Of actual cash in their own vaults they held around $35,000,000 or hardly 3 per cent of their deposits of $1,218,833,000.

June 30, 1914, they held 16 per cent in cash and no borrowed money.

When banks publish in reports of condition "Cash and due from banks" in one amount, the chances are their cash on hand is so low they are ashamed to print the amount separate from exchange on deposit with banks in other cities.

In the year 1907 banks had very much smaller deposits, and carried much stronger cash balances; still, to save themselves, they locked up their money and did business on cashiers' checks for several weeks.

Since June 30, 1914, in addition to paying regular dividends, the 12 banks increased their capital $9,300,000 and added to profits and surplus $20,067,065.

The gains of banks generally throughout the Nation demanded a very great increase in prices to place their loans on such a scale and gain such exceptional profits.

As securities declined the staples of life bore the burden.

This country never produced so much before, and foreign demand would have raised prices moderately with the former supply of money, and credit, and absence of manipulation.

So long as banks loan out their capital and most of their deposits, and then borrow money of the reserve banks with which to make more loans for the interest scalp, prices must remain on a high level to prevent a crash. So long as reserve banks are run for profit it appears inflation must continue.

The facts are banks made high prices possible, and now prices must remain high to keep the banks solvent.

Bankers can still climb down the ladder, and is it not better than to fall off? The fall might kill others.

How many banks are willing to call in one-fourth of their loans in order to restore more normal conditions?

Bank loans and earning power would still remain much greater than five years ago after such a reduction in most instances.

The claim that supply and demand caused the new level of prices can not be accepted, in view of the evidence of financial manipulation.

Every year experts report a grave shortage of cattle on the farm and range, when the reverse is the truth.

Receipts of cattle for the last three years at 53 live-stock markets were 64,717,400 head—enough hides to make shoes as low priced as before the war but for manipulation.

At the 14 principal markets for live stock, cattle receipts for three years (1913, 1914, 1915) were 30,522,000 head, and for the three years (1916, 1917, 1918) they were 43,900,000 head.

The last three years showed an increase of 50 per cent in supplies over the first three years.

This increase and reduced use of meats in the United States resulted in meats selling for about double the former price to the consumer.

The manipulation, of course, furnished the banks more good loans.

No other staple of daily life has compared to gasoline in its increased use the last three years. No other staple had as good an excuse for an inflation in price to a so-called war basis.

While the consumption of gasoline has increased sevenfold the last three years, the Chicago retail price has been very uniform for several years around 23 cents a gallon.

If manipulators in other staples had had control of it, how high would gas be selling for to-day?

Was not the price held uniform by the wisdom of the Standard Oil Co.? Does it not prove other staples with less demand were manipulated?

If the Standard Oil Co.'s policy had controlled staples generally there would have been much less demand for reserve bank paper money and little borrowing of money by banks.

Clearly prices were advanced without cause to absorb money and a new enormous volume of credit instruments. If the banks can now pay off their borrowed money before they have to pay their depositors they will be lucky indeed.

The claim that extravagance is the cause of the high-price level is absurd, when extravagance is only an incident of increased prices and wages. The great majority of the people are economizing to the limit and buy a pint of milk when they used to buy a quart.

With the advance in rents, milk and sugar will be as rare as gold coins in many homes.

How to bring the underfed school children in contact with the overfed pocketbook of inflation is a problem for the Nation to consider. How easy it is to raise money for gain incident to war, and how hard it is to properly adjust in times of peace.

The insane greed incident to war, the effect on the minds and time of men by the increase of sevenfold, or 4,209,000, automobiles in three years, speculation in land, price manipulation, selling the food from our own table, retailing goods for 100 per cent profit, ripening melons for big business, and the domination of labor unions who were simply trying to catch up, have all added to prices and the cost of living and thrown values out of their former relation to each other. Three billions of new paper money, issued by the Federal reserve banks, enabled the bankers to finance all these factors with great profit to themselves.

Gradually, but steadily, the reserve banks must retire their paper money. The system of banks borrowing each other's money from a Federal reserve bank pot is inflation enough of itself.

Prices and wages seek their relation to the volume of money as surely as water seeks its own level. Legal-tender notes and national-bank bills were just about $10 per capita for many years.

It would have been well for all if this amount of paper money had not been exceeded and the new stock of gold from Europe held as being inflation enough for all the increased demands of sane trade.

So long as the reserve banks are run for profit and enable thousands of banks to borrow and dangerously expand their own loans we will continue to inflate.

When gold goes out and goods increase something is going to give way.

The volume of money in actual circulation has increased 60 per cent within five years. Prices that have advanced more than 60 per cent are out of proportion to money. Bank loans have gone up more than the increase in the amount of money, and the leading banks have nearly doubled their loans and reduced their cash assets.

We have had an example of what the American banker will do with a flexible currency.

A higher power than banks or a reserve board must fix the volume of money in use. The amount must be continuous and uniform to insure stable conditions and prevent exploitation of the public.

A nimble working dollar is superior to bulky flexible currency for honorable trade.

Crops, the supply of goods, prices in general, and bank loans may fluctuate as the tides come and go, but the volume of money per capita should not vary except by act of Congress with a year's notice of change.

Why should a small class of men have the right to change the volume of money any more than a select few be granted the exclusive right to change the number of inches in a yardstick at their own will for profit?

Banks say prices will stay up for a long time to come. Of course, they wish to liquidate loans made on inflated values without loss to themselves. What a shameful comment on bank management that prices must remain unnatural to keep the banks solvent.

Let us compliment the banker who keeps the old-fashioned percentage of cash on hand without any borrowed money.

It is very good to organize, protest, and attack prices of food articles. A drive here and there may lower prices temporarily, but will fail to lower the price level as long as the reserve banks keep printing more money.

Land, raw materials, iron, cotton, wool, corn, wheat, live stock, and bank loans must go down to produce a lower price level.

World money will go where it will buy the most, which does not promise to continue the present price level here.

Another view: Readjustment and changed world conditions may stabilize the new level of prices.

The reserve banks may be reformed and continue without being a menace to finance. The present stock of gold in the United States may be maintained. The new order of things may be helpful in paying the Nation's debts and necessary to absorb the increasing supply of the precious metals, and better serve the needs of finance and trade.

Then let it be understood and proclaimed that there will be no reduction of money, prices, or credit, and stop looking for lower levels. In fact, low prices are not as desirable as that all prices have their proper relation to each other on a common level, high or low.

Then individuals and corporations can adjust to the new conditions and all participate in the prosperity that has come to others.

For 50 years preceding the war the average pay for an hour's labor, in many lines and sections, skilled and unskilled, was practically 1 per cent of the amount of money in circulation per capita.

Some were paid a little above, and some a little below at seasons.

Thus when the amount of money in circulation in 1879 was $16 for each person, 10 hours' labor received $1.60, or 16 cents an hour. When money rose to $23 per capita, 10 hours' labor received $2.30, or 23 cents an hour. When money reached $35 per capita, 10 hours' labor received $3.50, or 35 cents an hour.

To-day, with $55 per capita in circulation, 10 hours' labor should receive $5.50, or 55 cents an hour, as a minimum wage, if a person is to earn the same purchasing power as under former conditions, which have obtained for 60 years past.

Some unions have secured that rate; the rest of workers get much less, and therein lies the unrest and injustice of the times.

Fifty-five cents an hour as an average minimum wage would put a man only where he was when milk was 6 cents a quart, beef 12 cents a pound, flour $5 a barrel, and sugar 7 cents a pound, relatively.

Purchasing power must rise to the new level of prices, or prices must come down to a point where purchasing power is restored.

Big business demands melons and extravagant profits. Banks want greater interest earnings. Merchants want greater margins of profits on retail sales. Every tax is passed on to the consumer.

Labor wants the former purchasing power of wages on less hours. All must return to legitimate working margins of profit, forget the melons and speculative scoops, and follow the example of the Standard Oil Co. in a real service to society.

Women can organize and do much to crystallize public opinion into better laws. Not too low prices, but right prices, with the right proportion to each other, is the solution desired.

The reserve banks should begin at once to retire the greater part of their inflated paper money. Congress should compel this reform.

When a bank needs money let it collect part of its loans instead of hiking to the reserve bank to borrow for an extra interest scalp.

Reserve banks should not be run for profit any more than the office of the Comptroller of the Currency, or the United States Treasury at Washington.

Reform the banks and prices will reform themselves.

V. F. NEWELL.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. COOPER,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 17, 1920.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I ask permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing two editorials from the American Federationist, which is the official organ of the American Federation of Labor. These editorials deal with the question of bolshevism and the evil effect it has had on the people of Russia, and at the same time it is a patriotic appeal from Mr. Samuel Gompers to the American workingmen against this terrible menace which is trying to inject itself into the hearts and minds of the American people.

The editorials are as follows:

[From the American Federationist, February, 1920.]

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA AND BOLSHEVISM.

No possible opportunity for the creation of sentiment favorable to the soviet idea is overlooked by the soviet propagandists in America. That the Russian Bolshevist government maintains in this country a continuous propaganda is no longer a secret. It is to be doubted, however, whether the propaganda which emanates directly from the Bolshevist organization itself is more effective than the propaganda which is conducted by those who claim to be entirely detached from Russian influence and Russian pay rolls. It is doubtful whether those publications issued more or less directly by Russian Bolshevist agents have as great an effect in America as those publications which style themselves "liberal" and which like to be known as "journals of opinion," such as the Nation, the Dial, and the New Republic. In the same class with these are a number of newspaper and magazine writers who have within the last two years become more or less well known as writers on the Bolshevist question.

In all of these avenues of publicity there is what passes as an air of tolerance under the guise of which, however, support of the Bolshevist experiment has been at least generous.

The most recent plea of these "liberal" publications and individuals is for withholding all judgment on Russia; as was said in a recent editorial in one of the leading publications of this class, "We know nothing about Russia." It is set forth that our information concerning Russian affairs and Russian events is so incomplete as to make the passing of judgment unwise.

The American people are told that since they do not know what is going on in Russia it is unfair and unwise to pass judgment. There is something about a plea of this character that to the superficial sounds plausible enough. Of course, it is intended that it should sound plausible. On the surface it has all the earmarks of a plea for caution and fair play in the interests of balanced judgment and justice. Not everyone, however, will be deceived by this surface appearance. It will be apparent at once to a great many that bolshevism is an issue by itself and the merits or demerits of bolshevism as a system of government may be judged by Americans without reference to the facts as they concern conditions existing in Russia at the present moment.

It was not necessary for Americans to know at all times just what were the exact conditions in Germany before passing judgment on the form of government existing in Germany. It was necessary only to know what was the form of government and under what rules it operated. We do not have to wait for information about the form of government existing in what is called Soviet Russia. All the information necessary to the passing of judgment on bolshevism as a system of government and as a state of society is at hand from sources that are authentic.

The plea of those misguided persons in America who say, "Wait for facts before passing judgment," is nothing more than an excuse which it is hoped will gain time for the Russian experiment and enable it to spread to other countries. It may be of interest to set down here some of the facts about Bolshevist Russia which have long been accessible to all America and which have long been known to all those who cared to have the information.

The constitution adopted by the Fifth Pan-Russian Congress abandons all claim to represent the people as a whole and declares for "a dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry."

The largest bolshevist estimate of the numbers of the proletariat calculates them as being only one-fifth of the number of peasants. The

manner in which a great portion of the peasantry is disfranchised will be seen in the following extract from the new constitution (see sec. 8, art. 1):

"The Pan-Russian Congress of Soviets consists of representatives of the urban soviets—1 delegate for each 25,000 voters—and representatives of the provincial congresses—1 delegate for each 125,000 voters."

By this method democracy is repudiated in the practice of soviet government. Lenin's own antipathy to democracy is found more clearly stated in his denunciation of the menshviki, which is the rival faction of the social democratic party:

"In its class composition this party is not socialist at all. It doesn't represent the laboring masses; it represents fairly prosperous peasants and workingmen, petty traders, and many small and some even fairly large capitalists, and a certain number of real but gullible proletarians who have been caught in the bourgeoisie net."

It will be seen here that even a "fairly prosperous" workingman is not a proletarian and as an individual is to be looked upon with more or less of scorn.

Karl Radek, high in the councils of bolshevism, stated in an interview given in Berlin to a correspondent of the New York Globe that "the claim made by some of our people that the majority of the Russian people favor the soviet government is not true. The peasants are against the soviet government."

It is fair to say that the peasants constitute some 85 per cent of the Russian people.

Bolshevist statistics show how small is the Bolshevist minority which governs the soviets under the rule of absolutism in the name of the proletariat while truly representing neither the rural nor urban masses. These statistics show that the Bolshevist minority does not even represent the masses of the factory workers in Moscow, the stronghold. The following figures are from the Bolshevist publication, Communar, of May 17, 1919:

"The Sytin Printing Works employs 1,600 persons. In the communist nucleus there are 10 communists and 60 sympathizers. After the meeting at which an anti-Kolchak resolution was defeated, a "vindication committee" was elected to explain in the press the true attitude of the shop: The workers of the shop are against Kolchak, but they would not adopt the resolution because it came from the Bolsheviki.

"'Postavschik' employs 2,660 workmen. The nucleus has 36 communists and 10 sympathizers. Of these there are only 8 persons in the place and no party work is therefore conducted. The shop committee consists of communists. Literature is well distributed—700 copies of newspapers and from 15 to 200 copies of magazines.

"Here we see that even the immense soviet subsidies for propaganda are futile, in spite of the fact that the workers are advanced socialists, shut off from the outside world and without an independent press. It will be noted that in most of these factories the economic dependence of the workers on the soviets for jobs, bread tickets, and factory subsidies—to say nothing of terrorism—has led to Bolshevist committees or shop officials.

"'Bromley': One thousand two hundred workers employed. The group consists of 10 communists and 15 sympathizers. The group meets every week. The factory committee is communist. The general state of mind is improving.

"'Einem': Employs 1,400 workers, 850 of whom are women. The nucleus has 40 communists and 8 sympathizers. Their influence in the factory is little. The presiding officers of the shop committee are communists. Lectures are arranged occasionally. Newspapers are well distributed.

"'Centrosoyuz': Nine hundred working women are employed. The nucleus has 25 communists and 4 sympathizers. The women are very backward and party work among them is very difficult.

"'The Electric Station of 1886': One thousand three hundred workmen are employed. The communist group has 27 members. Party work is not being conducted. The general state of mind is calm. The shop committee is communist."

This publication lists 16,000 workers in one part of Moscow and finds among these 687 Bolshevist party members and sympathizers. The one union mentioned in the district shows about one-half of its members in these two classes.

Concerning the "chaotic, topsy-turvy" activities of the soviets, Maxim Gorky, while editor of an independent Bolshevist paper in Russia and while himself a Bolshevist, declared:

"The decrees of the government of people's commissioners are no more than newspaper feuilletons; no more, no less. It is that sort of literature which is written on water, and even though a real idea is now and then given expression, to the present circumstances forbid the realization of any idea.

"Lenin possesses all the qualities of a 'chief,' including the absolute moral indifference which is often necessary to such a part. This people has already paid for Lenin's 'experience' with thousands and thousands of lives. It will still cost tens of thousands more. But this atrocious tragedy never makes Lenin hesitate, for he is the slave of dogma, and his partisans are his slaves. The working classes are to Lenin what minerals are to the metallurgist. Can a socialist-nationalist State be made of this mineral? Indeed, no; and Lenin doubts it. But why not try? What does Lenin risk if the attempt does not come off? Nothing much."

Concerning those things for which bolshevism stands and the Bolshevist methods of obtaining power and of furthering the cause of bolshevism throughout the world there is ample documentary evidence.

Bruce Lockhart, whose competency is testified to by Raymond Robins, and who was in Russia at the same time as an unofficial English representative persona grata to the Bolshevist ruling powers, had this to say:

"The avowed ambition of Lenin is to create civil warfare throughout Europe. Every speech of Lenin's is a denunciation of constitutional methods and a glorification of the doctrine of physical force. With that object in view he is destroying systematically, both by execution and by deliberate starvation, every form of opposition to bolshevism. This system of 'terror' is aimed chiefly at the liberals and non-Bolshevist socialists, whom Lenin regards as his most dangerous opponents."

Oscar Tokoi, first constitutionally elected prime minister of Finland, who spent several months in Russia as a pro-Bolshevist, set down this verdict:

"In comparison with the entire population only a small minority supports the government, and, what is worse, to the supporters of the government are rallying all the hooligans, robbers, and others to whom this period of confusion promises a good chance of individual action.

"Even a great part of those who from the beginning could stay with the government and who still are sincere social democrats, having seen all this chaos, begin to step aside or to ally themselves with those openly opposing the government. Naturally, as time goes by, there remains only the worst and the most demoralized element. Terror, arbitrary rule, and open brigandage become more and more usual and the government is not able to prevent it.

"Naturally, only a small part of the people will remain backing such an order."

The world-wide revolutionary aims of the Bolsheviki are clearly indicated in last year's May-day proclamation of the Communist International, in which appeared this phrase:

"Long live civil war, the only just war in which the oppressed class fights its oppressors."

A more recent proclamation contained the following declaration:

"Conquest of the political power means not merely a change in personnel, but annihilation of the enemies' apparatus of the government. The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate its entire energies, namely, mass action with its logical resultant direct conflict with the government machinery in open combat."

The "mass terror" tactics of the Bolshevist rulers is characterized in numerous Bolshevist orders which have been published and of which the following official order of the commandant of the fortified district of Petrograd quoted from Izevestia of August 16, 1919, is a fair example:

"I warn all that in the event of repeated cases of arson, I will not hesitate to adopt extreme measures, including the shooting of the bourgeoisie hostages, in view of the fact that all the White Guard's plots directed against the proletariat state must be regarded not as the crime of individuals but as the offense of the entire enemy class.

"Signed: Acting commandant of the fortified district of Petrograd.

"B. KOZLOVSKY."

The following official soviet telegram dated September 2, 1918, justifies mass terror as a reprisal, but also refers to the fact that it had been previously adopted:

"Notwithstanding frequent pronouncements urging mass terror against the socialist revolutionaries, White Guards, and bourgeoisie, no real terror exists. Such a situation should decidedly be stopped. End should be put to weakness and softness. All right Socialist revolutionaries known to local soviets should be arrested immediately. Numerous hostages should be taken from the bourgeoisie and other classes. At the slightest attempt to resist or the slightest movement among the White Guards mass shooting should be applied at once. Initiative in this matter rests especially with the local executive committees."

Terrorism is not denied by the Bolsheviki. Soviet Russia, published in New York City, as an organ of "Ambassador" Martens, makes the plain declaration that if the policy of the Entente is not changed there may follow "total extermination of the Russian bourgeoisie by the exasperated masses."

Concerning the reasons for adoption of terrorist methods, Radek has said:

"I am one who does not deny that there has been terror in Russia. The government had to adopt drastic measures to keep the hungry, disgruntled, war-weary millions in leash."

Lenin himself does not always excuse his civil war as a defensive proposition. In his address to American workingmen, the text of which is declared genuine by Martens, Lenin said:

"In reality the class struggle in revolutionary times has always inevitably taken on the form of a civil war, and civil war is unthinkable without the worst kind of destruction, without terror and limitations on the form of democracy in the interest of war. One must be a sickly sentimentalist not to be able to see, to understand, and appreciate this necessity.

"The class struggle is permanent. We are living in revolutionary times. In order to fight the class struggle effectively in such times, in order to get power and keep it, civil war, terrorism, etc., are necessary. Here is the whole doctrine."

Early in Lenin's civil war Gorky wrote:

"The revolutionary army garrison at Sebastopol has already undertaken the last final struggle with the bourgeoisie. Without much ado they decided simply to massacre all the bourgeoisie who lived within their reach. They decided and did it. At first they massacred the inhabitants of the two most bourgeoisie streets in Sebastopol, then the same operation, in spite of the resistance of the local soviet, was extended to Simferopol and then came the turn of Eupatoria.

"Apparently similar radical methods of class war will soon be applied to Greater Russia.

"In Russia conscience is dead. The Russian people, in fact, have lost all sense of right and wrong. 'Pillage whatever there is to pillage.' Such is the motto of the two groups of bolsheviki. The red guards, constituted to attack the counter revolutionaries, shoot without trial anyone whom they suspect. Pillage in all its forms is the only thing which is organized. In Petrograd every bolshevist citizen may share in the spoil."

This was written by Gorky early in 1918. This date should be borne in mind upon reading the remainder of Gorky's statement, which follows:

"For the period of revolution 10,000 lynchings have already been accounted for. This is how democracy is meting out judgment upon those who have in some way sinned against the new order.

"During the days of the progress of drunkenness human beings were shot down like dogs and the cold-blooded destruction of human lives came to be a commonplace daily occurrence. In the newspaper Pravda the programs of the drunken mobs are written up as the 'provocative acts of the bourgeoisie,' which is clearly a misrepresentation, the employment of a petty phrase which can only lead to the further shedding of blood."

The Moscow wireless New Year's message for 1920 was:

"In 1920 we shall attain a victorious end of civil war. Siberia, the Ukraine, the Don region, and the Caucasus desire soviets. There will also be soviets at Berlin, Washington, Paris, and London. Soviet authority will be supreme throughout the world."

Die Freiheit, the Berlin organ of the Independent Social Democrats, a revolutionary organ which has been most friendly to the Bolsheviki, says:

"Purity of principles is for Russia only an article for exportation. Always seeking to introduce anarchy and disorder in the world, Lenin to-day finds his road to Damascus, for he is making a fresh appeal to capitalist forms in order to reestablish the general economy of the country. The dictatorship of the proletariat is reducing itself to the dictatorship of a few communist leaders. The councils' system is broken up, for the workers have no longer any influence in the factories. The agrarian program of the communists is a complete fiasco."

An interesting point which it is well to recall is the total lack of moral sense on the part of the Bolsheviki, using the term "moral sense" as it is understood in the civilized world.

Zinoview, president of the Petrograd Soviet, discussing the Prinkopo Island proposal February 2, 1919, said:

"We are willing to sign unfavorable peace with the Allies. It would only mean that we should put no trust whatever in the bit of paper we would sign. We should use the breathing space so obtained in order to gather our strength in order that the mere continued existence of our government would keep up the world-wide propaganda which Soviet Russia has been carrying on for more than a year."

A wireless dispatch from Moscow dated December 11, 1919, quotes Lenin as follows:

"In a mass, they (the well-to-do peasants) are on the side of the capitalists and are not content with the revolution that has taken place. It will be necessary to wage a long struggle yet against this group. The mass of the middle peasantry stand among those who have exploited others. Here is our most difficult task.

"'For the present there is no choice,' Lenin concludes, 'we must assist the workers or the least hesitation will give victory into the hands of the landowners and capitalists.'"

The economic condition in internal Russia at the present time has absolutely nothing to do with the merits or demerits of the bolshevist philosophy of government.

The Russian economic situation should have not the slightest influence in determining the judgment of any person on the question of bolshevism as a philosophy of government and of social organization. If the Russian economic organization were perfect and were functioning regularly with Prussian efficiency it would not add one iota to the weight of proof in favor of bolshevism and should not be considered as having any bearing upon the question.

The facts concerning the economic organization of Russia, however, do not show such a state of perfection but show a state of affairs decidedly the contrary. It may be of interest to quote one or two Bolshevist authorities on this phase of the question merely by way of illumination.

The Severnaya Communar No. 78:

"There is an unprecedented decline of productivity in mills and factories. We must combat this resolutely."

The following statements, also highly illuminating, have been recently submitted by responsible Russian trade-unionists to Mr. W. A. Appleton as president of the International Federation of Trade Unions, forwarded by him to the American Federation of Labor, and form the most recent direct information:

DECEMBER 12, 1919.

To W. A. APPLETON,
President International Federation of Trade-Unions:

Statement by the Workers' Delegation—Ijevski and Vodkinska factories.

This delegation, which arrived at London on December 6, 1919, has by general consent of the workers of Ijevski and Vodkinska factories, and by the resolution passed at the sitting of the Ural's trade-union on June 15 the following mission to perform:

To inform the citizens of England concerning the present condition of Russia and the Russian working class.

We come forward as nonparty representatives of workingmen, and we do not wish to involve ourselves in English party politics. We turn to you in the first place as the representatives of a nonparty labor organization and ask you to give us your cooperation in the fulfillment of our mission.

We have up to now given no interview to the English press. We wish to declare hereby that we are ready to answer all direct questions, both in meetings and the press, and if necessary, to answer them before the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam.

In submitting this statement we appeal in the name of justice to international democracy.

(Signed) YPOVALOV,
President Vodkinska Union Metal Workers.
STRUMELOV,
Member of Directorate of Metal Workers' Union, Perm.
JANDERMOV,
Vice President Federated Trade Unions of Urals.
MENSHEKOV,
Member of Executive Committee, Ijevski Union of Organization.

The following supplementary statement is made by the delegate from the Vodkinska workers:

"The causes of the rising against the soviet rule by Ijevski and Vodkinska peasant and workmen it is my wish to explain:

"People reading and hearing the thunderous logic and blatant rhetoric of Lenin, Trotski, and their associates, but unfamiliar with the actual state of affairs in Russia, are not in a position to understand it. They may think that the party which is fighting against soviet rule, as established by Lenin and Trotski, consists of the bourgeoisie and the old reactionary group. To emerge from this illusion it is necessary to master the history of the situation. It is necesary to listen to the voice of the real Russia.

"We recognize that Russia economically lags behind other nations; that Russian manufacturers are in their early stages of development, and from economic laws it is certain that where there are not manufactures there can be no working classes, consequently there can be no bourgeoisie.

"In Russia, out of 180,000,000 inhabitants, 150,000,000 are peasants and about 20,000,000 are workers. Then we hear the Bolshevists talk about 'power for the peasants and workers.' But is that what they have brought about? No. The voice of real Russia proclaims to all the world the following story:

"The Bolshevists established their power by bayonets and broke the strength of peasants and workers, broke the elected assembly, which was on the principle of universal, direct-equal, and secret voting; broke all the societies of a democratic nature, such as the Zempstvos, that self-governing body elected by universal, direct, and secret voting. The Bolshevists ruthlessly, like autocratic gendarmes, killed all labor, political, and socialistic organizations, throttled the labor press, as, for instance, its organ of the social democrats and social republicans, and finally the Bolshevists established by degree the dawn of their own Tsarist socialism.

"Who split up the reserve funds of the trade unions? The Bolshevists. Who split up the trade unions as a class? By whose orders were all strikes put down by force of arms and amid plentiful executions? It was the Bolshevists who broke the workmen's cooperative societies and converted their shops into communal stores. The Bolshevists promised the Russian people bread, peace, and freedom.

"Actually, in place of peace they gave civil war, which destroyed all manufacture and stained every side with blood; in place of freedom—prison, exile, and the shooting party; in place of bread—famine and the grave. So it was that, having drunk to the full the cup of humiliation and tasted this red-bayonet socialism, Ijevski and Vodkinska recognized that further life of this sort was impossible, and though without arms, and armed only with the armor of right, with only their blistered hands to fight with, united in spirit, to a man they rose against the oppressors, and, by virtue of their strength of will, snatched the rifles from the hands of the red guard and began the battle for citizens' rights and the freedom of the Russian people.

"The reader asks why bolshevism holds out so long if the peasants and workers are fighting against it. This is the true answer: All the world knows that the Bolshevists concluded peace with Wilhelm, disarmed the Russian Army, and with the Germans began to shoot down the workers and peasants. All the time their chief power has rested in Magyars, Chinese, Letts, Czar's gendarmes, capital criminals, and Communists.

"All these dark forces, armed to the teeth, are driving, under threat of death, father against son, brother against brother, and the Russian people, which bore the first brunt of the mailed fist of Teutonic junkerdom and, in the first place, saved France and all Europe from destruction's bite, now bleeds in the struggle against it, and looks to allied democracy all over the world in its turn to save Russia.

"(Signed) YPOVALOV."

A supplementary statement by a member for the Ijevski factory follows:

"We, Ijevski and Vodkinska workers, who raised the standard and took arms against bolshevism, are anxious to give our story to English workers and to English newspapers. We wish to explain the reason which led to our revolt, for we can not at present understand why part of the English press regards the Bolshevists as the friends of trade-unionism. We Russian workers have found that the Bolshevists turned out enemies to trade-unionism as big as the capitalists of the Czar's time. We are ready to give you details of the horrors which we workers have lived through under the régime of their despotic sway. We will give you the story of the decline of Russian productivity, and with it the eclipse of the industrial classes.

"We took up arms against our oppressors in the name of the duty which we owe to labor's flag, for which hundreds and thousands of its loyal defenders have died in our part of the world.

"(Signed) MENSHEKOV."

The point which it is intended to convey is that there is available in America and there has been in free circulation for months ample information of an authentic and official character descriptive of bolshevism as applied to government in Russia. No American who cares to take the pains to read that which is almost thrust under his observation need have the slightest doubt about the philosophy of bolshevism or about the aims of the Bolshevist government set up by Lenin and Trotski in what is known as Soviet Russia.

It is not necessary to withhold judgment on the ground of insufficient information, nor is it all to the point that there are facts about the economic structure in Russia concerning which we are not informed. Judgment as to whether the political structure of bolshevism is good or bad, democratic or antidemocratic, desirable or undesirable, must be formed on the basis of facts about the character of that structure itself. An autocracy may be efficient in feeding and clothing its subjects, but the American mind will insist upon passing judgment on autocracy upon the facts relating to the autocracy itself and not upon the basis of whether it feeds the people or doesn't feed them. Industrial efficiency can never pass current in the United States as a reason for the existence of an autocracy.

In all concepts of freedom within the American Nation one fundamental principle is that any involuntary servitude—that is, compulsory labor—shall not be enforced upon the working people. Indeed, as a result of the American Civil War of 1861–1865, 4,000,000 colored slaves were freed and an amendment to the Constitution of the United States adopted, as follows:

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

And that concept and the spirit of that amendment have been entirely reversed by the constitution of Bolshevist Russia, which provides for and enforces compulsory labor.

The plea to withhold judgment on the ground that "we know nothing about Russia" is a plea based on a false assumption and a plea which should be denied a hearing for the simple reason that we do know about Russia in all those essentials which are necessary in passing judgment on bolshevism. The plea to withhold judgment is a last desperate attempt to win favor from the American people for a system of government which by the confession of its own advocates and defenders is foreign to every concept of the American Republic.

We know about Russia. We know about bolshevism. We know the piteous story of cruelty and intolerance, and we know the autocratic concept that underlies the minority dictatorship which is hailed to the world by its dupes and advocates as the most perfect state of society yet devised.

We know about it and we condemn it completely, finally, and for all time.

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[From the American Federationist, March, 1920.]

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA AND BOLSHEVISM—NO. 2.

Fresh developments in France emphasize a truth about bolshevism which is too often overlooked by students of that manifestation of human fallibility. These new developments should serve to clarify the general understanding of the true character of bolshevism. The French Socialist Party has declared its adherence to what is known as the third international. In the course of a somewhat lengthy declaration there is this paragraph:

"The French Socialist Party indorses with all its power the suggestion of the German independents, and will work for the world unity of socialism by the fusion of all elements of the second international which have remained faithful to the class struggle with the groups that compose the third international."

The important and significant news is not alone that the French Socialist Party has indorsed the third or communist international, which was called into being by Lenin and is dominated wholly by him. The important and significant news is that the French socialists support bolshevism while the French trade-unionists do not.

That which the French socialists indorse and cling to has been repudiated by the trade-unionists by a vote of 4 to 1. This action was taken recently by the French Confederacion Generálé du Travail (the French Federation of Labor).

The truth that has been evident for a long time to those who understand the character of various movements which pretend to represent

"the working class" is that the main support of bolshevism really is closely akin to a bourgeoisie support and that the main strength of Bolshevist sentiment throughout the world is in reality a middle-class support and not at all a working-class support, except to a decidedly minor degree.

Examination of the facts will make this clear. The French Socialist Party is a political organization in which politics is played with extreme vigor and finesse, and which is wholly dominated by persons who, by every mark that goes to classify individuals, are of the middle class. Certainly they have no organic connection with the ranks of labor. French socialist leadership is, superficially at least, "a scholarly affair." It is much such a profession as the law, medicine, or journalism. In fact, almost every French socialist politician of note also is a journalist, for the one profession makes the other necessary. The French socialist leader truly belongs to that section of bumptiously revolutionary society now generally known as the intelligentsia.

French labor unionism, on the other hand, is labor. Real labor needs no identifying tag. Its genuineness is apparent. Those who say they speak for labor are constantly proclaiming their authenticity. It is necessary that they should.

The prophets of bolshevism in France are the leaders of the Socialist Party, together with such men as Henri Barbusse and Anatole France—men who live and have their prosperity in the realm of wits and theories.

Bolshevism, according to Lenin's pronouncements, is a scheme for the enrichment of the producers of wealth and a device with which to confound all who do no labor. The adherents of bolshevism, beginning with Lenin himself, are not the producers, except in an entirely unimportant sense and to an almost insignificant degree. Emphasis is brought to this truth by the situation now existing in France.

But what has happened in France is only what has happened elsewhere. France freshly emphasizes the matter by the fact that the unions and the Socialist Party have taken official action almost simultaneously.

The Socialist Party in the United States has just decided to support the Lenin international. The Socialist Party here is no less doctrinaire, no less an organization of pretense, no less a forum for "professionals," than the Socialist Party in France. The American Federation of Labor, on the other hand, which alone speaks for labor in America, because it alone is labor, has repudiated bolshevism and pronounced it a menace to the civilization of the world.

In America, as in France, the socialist politicians and theorists are joined by other theorists in their advocacy of bolshevism. The purple fringe of intellectual freakishness in America is for bolshevism. It happens to be the mode; what the consequences might be to civilization were bolshevism to overthrow democracy causes them no apprehension.

In France the real producers will have none of bolshevism. In America the real producers will have none of bolshevism. In England the story is much the same, though the line is less clearly drawn, due to the manner in which the intelligentsia has seeped into trade-union leadership. But in the main bolshevism in England is a thing stamped with the approval of such men as George Lansbury and Ramsay MacDonald, theorists and politicians. The masses of the producers of England may have an affliction, but it is not bolshevism at all.

Even in Russia the real producers of Russian wealth have fled from bolshevism and accept its presence only because of compulsion. Russia's great wealth has been and is in the products of her land. Russian city industry has never bothered the world. But Russian wheat in normal times was an export commodity of vast proportions. Russian industry could not provide for the needs of Russia. Russian agriculture could provide for the needs of Russia and overflow through all Europe in a great golden stream of abundance. And the Russian peasant, the greatest productive agent in Russia, has not accepted bolshevism. Lenin himself complains bitterly of that fact.

In November, 1919—three months ago—Lenin spoke before the "First All-Russian Conference on the Work in the Villages." Izvestia on November 13 quoted Lenin's lament over the obstinacy of the peasant, a lament which Lenin has uttered a hundred times in his dictatorial career. Said he then:

"Here we have the most complicated and important problem of socialist reconstruction. The soviet and socialist power will be finally solidified only when the peasant is in unquestioning alliance with the workers."

Lenin always notes a difference between peasants and workers. His language seems to indicate that the peasant is a different kind of entity, more in the nature of a tool. He makes it clear, however, that without peasant support bolshevism is doomed to fail. He continued:

"The victory over Denikine, which is now not remote, will not be the final destruction of capitalism. This is understood by everybody. They will make more than one attempt yet to throw the noose about the throat of soviet Russia. The peasant, therefore, has no alternative; either he will help the worker—and then we shall conquer capitalism—or the least little wavering will bring again the shackles of capitalism."

Lenin, here and elsewhere, makes it clear that peasant support and cooperation are something which he has not been able to get, either by cajolery or to compel by force and atrocity. And without this "the least little wavering" will bring down his house.

In addition to all this, there is the recent utterance of Minister of Munitions Krasin in the Lenin autocracy. Krasin's remarks are quoted in the course of a character sketch published in Le Temps, of Paris, and republished in the New Europe. Krasin is quoted as having said to a friend of the writer: "Who still believes in socialism in Russia? Anyhow, neither I nor Lenin." Krasin has held four ministerial posts under Lenin, and the Temps writer describes his efforts in each as having been to restore "good bourgeoisie practices."

There is the situation. It is not blockades and outside opposition that bring soreness and apprehension to the heart of Lenin; it is the failure of the great producing masses within his own realm to rally to the support of his fantastic structure.

Throughout the world the actual producing forces of society have not been swerved by the exotic chords of Bolshevist propaganda. Their hands are too close to the machinery or society to be caught pulling the wrong lever. But that semidetached, though clearly differentiated, body of men and women whose time is spent in theorizing about the salvation of society and the future welfare of labor has been made dizzy by the madness of the Bolshevist whirl and has fallen in, about as was to have been expected. It is a fair measure of bolshevism—a scheme set forth as the salvation of labor, yet discredited the world over by the great producing masses of enlightened society.

There are some working people who believe bolshevism is good. This can not be denied, because they proclaim themselves. There have been some who believed in the I. W. W. There always is a small minority in any national population that will do the erratic thing, that will set itself against the overwhelming majority, but that can in no sense pretend to represent the will or the wish or the sentiment of the rank and file.

Bolshevism is a thing scorned by the producing masses. It is a child of abstraction—perhaps partly also a child of distraction—surely a freak and a scourge, the destruction of which is ardently desired by all those millions of people who are close to the roots and beginnings of things and who see clearly because they are close to fundamentals, where clouds can not form.

Thus it is becoming more and more difficult for the propagandists of bolshevism to make a case for it, more and more simple for others to record the exact facts against it, and more and more certain that this cancerous growth is not going to be a menace anywhere outside of Russia, where it was planted in an hour of great misfortune under such circumstances as men had never witnessed.

Representative Heflin's 16 Years of Faithful Service to the People. "By Their Fruits Ye Shall Know Them."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. THOMAS HEFLIN.

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 19, 1920.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Alabama rise?

Mr. HEFLIN. To ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by making a kind of review of the measures that I have supported since I have been a Member of the House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by reviewing the measures he has supported during his career in the House. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The House granted by unanimous consent the request.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I submit the following summary of my 16 years of service as a Member of the House. The following are some of the measures that I have advocated and helped to pass:

1. To investigate and encourage the adoption of improved methods of farm management and farm practice.

2. For carrying out the provisions of the act establishing a Bureau of Animal Industry to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to collect and disseminate information concerning live stock, dairy, and other animal products.

3. For all necessary expenses for investigations and experiments in the dairy industry.

4. To prepare and disseminate reports on animal industry.

5. For inspection and quarantine work, including all necessary expenses for the eradication of scabies in sheep and cattle, the inspection of southern cattle, the inspection of work relative to the existence of contagious diseases of animals.

6. For investigating the disease of tuberculosis of animals, for its control and eradication, methods of treatment and prevention, independently or in cooperation with farmers' associations, state, or county authorities.

7. For investigations and experiments in animal husbandry.

8. For experiments in animal feeding and breeding, including cooperation with State agricultural experiment stations.

9. For scientific investigations in diseases of animals.

10. To enable the Secretary of Agriculture in cooperation with the authorities of the States concerned or with individuals to make such investigations and demonstrations as may be necessary in connection with the development of live-stock production in the cane-sugar and cotton districts of the United States.

11. For collecting and distributing by telegraph, mail, or otherwise, timely information on the supply, demand, commercial movement, disposition, quality, and market prices of dairy and poultry products.

12. For furnishing to producers, dealers, newspapers, and consumers accurate information regarding supplies of fruits, vegetables, dairy and poultry products.

13. For investigating the preparation for market, handling, grading, packing, freezing, drying, storing, transportation, and preservation of poultry and eggs.

14. Provided for publication and distribution of bulletins on hog and cattle raising in the South.

15. For investigating the disease of hog cholera and for its control and eradication.

16. For carrying out the provisions of the meat-inspection act.

17. To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to gather from stockmen, live-stock associations, State live stock and agricultural boards, common carriers, stockyards, commission firms, live-stock exchanges, slaughtering and meat-packing companies, and others information relative to the number of different classes and grades of marketable live stock.

18. For the study and improvement of methods of utilizing by-products of citrus fruits.

19. For investigation of plant diseases.

20. For conducting such investigations of the nature and means of communication of the diseases of citrus trees known as citrus canker, and for the eradication of same.

21. For soil bacteriology and plant nutrition investigations.

22. For investigations of insects affecting fruits, orchards, vineyards, and nuts.

23. For the investigation and improvement of fruits, and the methods of fruit growing, harvesting, and in cooperation with the Bureau of Markets, studies the behavior of fruits during the processes of marketing and while in commercial storage.

24. For collecting and distributing, by telegraph, mail, or otherwise, timely information on the supply, commercial movement, disposition, and market prices of fruits and vegetables.

25. Aided in securing a provision in the law for the placing of a Government expert at Chicago and other big marketing centers to inspect and report on shipments of fruits and other perishable products shipped to these places by the farmers and fruit men of the country, thus putting an end to the robbery that used to be practiced, where the buyer at the other end of the line would report to the seller that the goods were in bad condition when they arrived.

26. Voted for Federal aid for State schools and colleges and for vocational educational measures.

27. Voted for measure to require Government to educate and train soldiers disabled in the war with Germany.

28. Advocated and voted for the measure to increase the pay of school-teachers in the District of Columbia.

29. To cooperate with the States, through their respective highway departments, in the construction of rural post roads.

30. For construction and maintenance of roads.

31. For investigations of the best methods of road making, especially ordinary sand-clay and dirt roads, and the best kind of road-making material, and for furnishing expert advice on road building and maintenance.

32. I favor keeping faith with the people in the matter of good-roads construction in the United States and pledge myself to the policy of carrying on this work in each and every county in the State. I will see to it that every county shares in these appropriations and has a fair deal. I have the friendship and confidence of the various departments of the Federal Government that have to do in various ways with this question of road building, and it will be my desire and purpose to see that justice is done to all the counties in this matter.

33. Helped to pass the good roads act, which appropriated millions for building roads by cooperation between county, State, and Federal Government, these roads to lead from the farms to the towns and cities.

34. I favor the speedy completion of the Bankhead Highway. It will stand as a splendid tribute and testimonial to Alabama's beloved Senator's great service to the people of the whole country.

35. Since Senator BANKHEAD'S death I have determined, if elected to the Senate, to take up and carry on to completion the great good road work and river and harbor improvement that Senator BANKHEAD served so ably and well, and will help to complete the Muscle Shoal nitrate plant.

36. For investigation of the chemical and physical character of road materials.

37. For conducting field experiments and various methods of road construction and maintenance.

38. For studying and testing commercial seeds.

39. For the study, collection, purchase, testing, propagation, and distribution of rare and valuable seeds.

40. For applying methods of eradication or control of the sweet-potato weevil.

41. For investigating the history and the habits of insects injurious and beneficial to agriculture, the study of insects affecting the health of man and domestic animals, and ascertaining the best means of destroying those found to be injurious.

42. For investigations of insects affecting southern field crops, including insects affecting cotton, tobacco, rice, and sugar cane.

43. For investigations of insects affecting such crops, including insects affecting the potato, sugar beet, cabbage, onion, tomato, beans, and peas.

44. For the investigation and improvement of cereals and methods of cereal production and the study of cereal diseases.

45. For investigation of insects affecting cereal and forage crops.

46. To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry into effect the provisions of the United States grain standards act.

47. For the investigation and improvement of grasses, alfalfa, clover, and other forage crops.

48. For investigations of lands reclaimed under the reclamation act.

49. To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to experiment and to make and continue investigations and report on forestry, national forests, forest fires, and lumbering.

50. For eradication or control of the white-pine blister rust.

51. For the purpose of more effectually providing for the national security and defense and carrying on the war with Germany by gathering authoritative information concerning the food supply, by increasing production, by preventing waste of food supplies.

52. To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to investigate the relative utility and economy of agricultural products for food, clothing, and other uses in the home, with special suggestions, plans, and methods for the more effective utilization of such products for these purposes.

53. Helped to pass law taking tariff tax off of bagging and ties and agricultural implements.

54. Helped to pass law providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

55. Have defended at all times the South's plan and policy of race separation in schools and churches and railroad trains, contending that this was the wisest and best way to handle the race problem. The failure to have separate street cars for whites and negroes in Washington caused me to have to inflict severe punishment upon a drunken negro who had insulted a white woman on the car.

56. In replying to an article in the Washington Post written by ex-President Taft a few months ago, I said:

Mr. Taft says that "each one of us has a responsibility to the community in dealing with colored citizens," and that is true. There is no better way of serving the community and no better way of serving the negro everywhere than being entirely frank with him and telling him the truth and the whole truth regarding an evil and a crime that lies at the bottom of nearly every race riot that has occurred in our country, and that is the crime of rape. That crime committed by negro men on white women in Washington recently started the riot in this city. It is unfortunate that Mr. Taft did not call attention to and condemn the crime responsible for the race riot here. The negro who commits that offense against the white woman deserves to die, and whether it be in the North or in the South, the white man will see to it that the death penalty is imposed. When that crime is committed in the South the negro who commits it dies, but we never harm or permit anyone to harm an innocent negro. It is wrong and indefensible to attack an innocent negro because another negro, his neighbor, has committed a crime. It is the duty of the white man to distinguish between the law-abiding negro and the criminal negro, and it is the duty of the law-abiding negro to aid the authorities in apprehending the lawless negro who has committed the crime that stirs up race prejudice and produces race riot. It is clear, then, I submit to Mr. Taft, that the way to prevent an outbreak between the races is to remove the cause or crime that produces the outbreak.

57. Advocated separate cars for negroes and whites in the District of Columbia, city of Washington.

58. Advocated and helped to bring about the separating of the races in the Government departments at Washington, placing whites in one room and the negroes in another.

59. Helped to establish the Bureau of Markets, giving needed and valuable assistance and information to both producer and consumer.

60. For investigation and reporting upon the utilization of water in farm irrigation.

61. For investigating and reporting upon farm drainage and upon the drainage of swamp and other wet lands which may be made available for agricultural purposes.

62. For investigating farm domestic water supply and drainage.

63. Advocated and helped to secure appropriations for the development of Mobile Harbor.

64. Was instrumental in securing appropriations for the development of the Warrior River, the Alabama, Tombigbee, Tennessee, and Coosa Rivers.

65. Led the fight in securing the passage of a bill through the House to build a dam at Lock 18 on the Coosa River, which was vetoed by President Taft.

66. To make investigation relating to the production, transportation, storage, preparation, marketing, manufacture, and distribution of agricultural food products.

67. For the development of methods for the manufacture of table sirup and of methods for the manufacture of sweet sirups by the utilization of new agricultural sources.

68. For the investigation and improvement of methods of crop production.

69. For investigating the food habits of North American birds in relation to agriculture.

70. To carry into effect the provisions of an act to establish agricultural experiment stations in connection with the colleges established in the several States.

71. To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to enforce the provisions of the act to provide for cooperative agricultural extension work between the agricultural colleges in the several States.

72. To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to make studies of cooperation among farmers in the United States in the matters of rural credits and other forms of cooperation in rural communities; to diffuse among the people of the United States useful information growing out of these studies.

73. To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with the several States in the employment of agents to acquire and diffuse useful information connected with the distribution and marketing of farm products.

74. First to bring before a committee of Congress the wisdom and necessity of establishing a nitrate plant at Muscle Shoals, Ala., and advocated and helped to bring that great industry to the State.

75. For experiments in the manufacture of rare chemicals.

76. For exploration and investigation within the United States to determine possible sources of supply of potash, nitrates, and other natural fertilizers.

77. For the investigation and demonstration within the United States to determine the best method of obtaining potash on a commercial scale.

78. For investigations of cotton, corn, and other crops introduced from the tropical regions and for the improvement of cotton.

79. For investigating, demonstrating, and promoting the use of standards for the different grades, qualities, and conditions of cotton, and for investigating the ginning, grading, stapling, baling, marketing, compressing, and tare of cotton.

80. For farmers' cooperative demonstrations and for the study and demonstration of the best methods of meeting the ravages of the cotton boll weevil.

81. To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry into effect the United States cotton futures act.

82. To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to meet the emergency caused by the existence of the pink cotton bollworm in Mexico, and to prevent the establishment of such insect in the United States by the employment of all means necessary.

83. To prevent the movement of cotton and cottonseed from Mexico into the United States, to make surveys to determine the actual distribution of the pink bollworm in Mexico, and to exterminate local infestations in Mexico near the border of the United States in cooperation with the Mexican Government or local Mexican authorities.

84. To conduct surveys and inspections in Texas or in any other State to detect any infestation and to conduct such control measures, including the establishing of cotton free areas, in cooperation with the State of Texas or other States concerned, as may be necessary to stamp out such infestation.

85. On account of the menace to cotton culture in the United States arising from the existence of the pink bollworm in Mexico, the Secretary of Agriculture, in order to prevent the establishment and spread of such worm in Texas and other parts of the United States, is authorized to make surveys to determine its actual distribution in Mexico; to establish in cooperation with the States concerned a zone or zones free from cotton culture on or near the border of any State or States adjacent to Mexico; and to cooperate with the Mexican Government or local Mexican authorities in the extermination of the local infestations near the border of the United States.

86. Advocated and helped to take away from cotton exchanges final decision in the matter of settling disputes arising between buyer and seller regarding cotton grades named in contract, and aided in placing a provision in the law requiring the Secretary of Agriculture, through expert cotton men in the department, to determine the grade and classification of the cotton in dispute, thus requiring the seller to deliver spinable cotton and the grade named in the contract. This required the seller to call upon the producer for real cotton with which to fill his contract.

87. Was the pioneer in crying out against speculation in cotton futures where no delivery of cotton was contemplated.

88. Started the fight on the 28 grades of stuff called cotton tendered in settlement of future contracts on the exchanges and stated that the farmers of the South were robbed through this thieving system alone of millions of dollars every year.

89. Aided in passing a law which reduced the number of grades from 28 to 10, thus enabling the buyer to compel the seller to deliver real cotton—cotton that represented the real crop—and not the rat-nest stuff that used to be kept and tendered on exchanges in settlement of future contracts. Under this new plan when the delivery of cotton was demanded the seller had to go into the spot market and buy the cotton from the farmers and merchants with which to fill his contract, and the exchange was in this way, in a measure, made to help distribute the crop.

90. Led in the fight to secure cotton statistics which enabled the farmers, merchants, and bankers of the cotton-growing States to handle the cotton business intelligently and in a businesslike way. The Government was then publishing only the reports of cotton ginned, and the cotton spinner had all the information that he needed regarding cotton produced, but the farmer and merchant did not have any authentic information regarding the consumption and exportation of cotton.

91. Was first to advocate and insist upon the Government gathering and publishing statistics giving the amount of cotton consumed each month by the cotton mills of the United States, the amount of cotton on hand from time to time at the mills and warehouses of the country, the amount exported each month, and the amount of old cotton left over at the end of the year. I aided in securing the passage of this law. Before this much-needed information was obtained the speculators would give out false and misleading reports regarding the amount of cotton being consumed and exported. When certain speculators and spinning interests in the East and in New England demanded that a price be fixed on cotton, and two bills were introduced in the House—one to fix the price at 15 cents and other at 20 cents—I found that the purpose of certain Members of the House who did not live in the cotton-growing States was to fix the price at not more than 20 cents a pound, and I fought the proposition bitterly, and by helping to defeat it prevented distress and suffering in the South and saved millions of dollars to the farmers, merchants, and bankers of the cotton-growing States.

92. In the fall of 1918 and spring of 1919, when foreign interests and bear speculators in America united their forces in one mighty effort to break down the price of cotton in the United States and succeeded in breaking the exchange price from $40 to $75 a bale, I made 10 speeches in the House and 12 in the cotton belt declaring that there was no excuse for a decline in prices—that the supply was not sufficient to meet the demands—and urged cooperation between farmer, merchant, and banker, saying that they could and would win the fight, and they did. Cotton advanced more than $75 a bale. When the banks of the South had loaned large sums of money on cotton, and when these banks continued to carry the loans, even after the price of cotton had been beaten down below the amount on which the banks had made the loans, certain speculative and spinning interests tried to get the Government to arbitrarily withdraw from the local banks Federal reserve bank aid, so that the farmers and merchants would be forced to sell their cotton, although to do so meant financial loss and distress throughout the cotton-growing States. Then it was that I declared that the scarcity of cotton and the large world demand made cotton the finest collateral in the world and its speedy rise in price a certainty, and that the Government should not lend itself to the mean and unholy purpose of conscienceless speculators who were seeking to rob the cotton producers of the fruits of their toil.

93. Have advocated and helped to pass laws providing for the publication and distribution of bulletins and periodicals on diversified farming and scientific agriculture. They deal with every phase of modern life upon the farm, including the health of human beings and the health and care of farm animals.

94. Led the fight in the Democratic caucus to require Federal reserve banks to loan money on cotton warehouse receipts.

95. Helped to pass the farm-loan banking system. Under this system farmers have borrowed more than $300,000,000 with which to buy new farms and lift mortgages from old ones.

96. Helped to pass the Smith-Lever Agricultural Extension Act, which gathers, publishes, and distributes throughout America the best thought and methods touching the various phases of profitable, up-to-date farming and scientific agriculture, and it is the most valuable and comprehensive farm-demonstration plan ever devised.

97. Helped to pass a law establishing a Department of Labor, which helps to settle disputes between labor and capital and safeguards the rights of the laboring man.

98. Helped to pass the child labor act, which took thousands of children out of the sweatshops and factories of the country. This law freed these children from conditions that were depriving them of an education and sapping their vitality and dwarfing their young bodies.

99. Helped to pass the workmen's compensation act for accidents and death in industry.

100. Helped to pass the humane act declaring that human labor is not a commodity, thus taking the flesh and blood of human beings out of the class of cattle.

101. I am the first Member in either branch of Congress, so far as I know, to bring to the attention of Congress the advisability and the importance of turning over Army trucks and other machinery to the counties in the various States to be used in the construction and maintenance of public roads. I offered an amendment in the House to the Agricultural appropriation bill for this purpose, and while the Speaker ruled it out of order as new legislation on an appropriation bill, the very same principles were enacted into law in the Senate, where the rules of procedure are different. So I feel that I am entitled to some of the credit for placing in the hands of the States and counties this valuable road machinery.

102. When the fathers and mothers of our American boys who gave their lives in defense of our country and the civilization of the world asked that the bodies of their brave sons be brought back and buried in American soil, I was one of the first, if not the very first, to make a speech in Congress calling upon the Government to fulfill its obligation to these patriotic fathers and mothers of America and bring the precious bodies of their boys back home.

103. I voted for and helped to pass the Federal reserve banking act, which took away from Wall Street the power to produce a panic.

104. I have opposed in every way measures that seek to foist upon America any plan or system that smacks of military despotism.

105. Have opposed universal military training, saying that I would oppose it on account of the negro problem in the South, if there were no other reasons for doing so.

106. I was the first to advocate sending out of the country those who advocated the overthrow of our Government, and helped to secure legislation to carry out this desire and purpose. Under this law these deadly enemies of our country are being sent back to their own countries.

107. I helped to pass the law which provided for a fleet of merchant ships to carry the products of our farms and factories to the markets of the world.

108. I have always voted for restricted immigration laws which were intended to protect America from the unfit people and criminal refuse of foreign countries.

109. In the cotton-marketing season have secured ships for Mobile, New Orleans, and other southern ports.

110. In regard to the railroad question, I insist that the railroads must be put upon a paying basis, a money-making basis, and then required by law to serve the public efficiently, and that those who work for the roads must be paid such wages as will permit them to share in the prosperity enjoyed by the roads, to the end that they and their families may live decently and worthily. Am the friend of both labor and capital and favor as few restraints as possible upon the proper activities of both. Have favored laws that protect and safeguard both human and property rights.

111. In the matter of differences or disputes arising between railroad employers and employees, he favors absolute justice to both in the matter of protecting and safeguarding the rights of both, keeping in mind and safeguarding at all times the rights and interests of the public, which must be respected and safeguarded.

112. Advocated, and will continue to advocate, fair and just treatment of American soldiers who served our country in the great World War. Have voted for measures that promote and safeguard their interests in various ways, and can be counted on to do the very best that can be done for them in the final settlement for which they are now asking. Various plans have been suggested and various measures on this subject are now before the Ways and Means Committee. The soldiers themselves are divided in opinion as to just what they desire done, but I believe that Congress will pass a just and satisfactory measure, and I stand ready to vote for such a measure. I wish to obtain the opinion and desire of Alabama soldiers on the subject, as I would like to comply with their wishes as nearly as possible. I have requested Adjt. Gen. Moon, of Alabama, who was himself wounded in the war with Germany, to obtain an expression from the Alabama boys on the matter of desired legislation.

113. I have given special thought and study and rendered service to the great agricultural interests of my State and Nation.

114. Voted against Federal woman suffrage amendment, but wrote to the advocates of that measure in the State that while I was not willing to turn over to the Federal Government the matter of saying who shall or shall not vote in Alabama, that if a majority of the white women of the State wanted the ballot I was willing for them to have it, and that I would join in requesting Gov. Kilby to ask the legislature to submit to the people of the State an amendment to the State constitution granting suffrage to the white women of Alabama.

115. I fought centralization of government and never lost an opportunity to defend the doctrine of State rights.

116. Have supported every measure looking to the best interest and advancement of the cause of education.

117. Have supported measures necessary to carry out the purpose of the people in the constitutional amendments adopted.

118. Have opposed Government ownership of railroads and other enterprises and industries that properly belong to the people.

119. I favor readjustment of the income tax so that the single man shall have an exemption of $2,000 and the man with a family $5,000.

120. I favor speedy action on the peace treaty and urge the repeal of all special laws growing out of the war that restrain and harass the citizen in the free and honest management of his own private business.

121. Have advocated in the House and elsewhere the doctrine that America and the other civilized nations should set up an international tribunal for the settlement of disputes by arbitration, to the end that the peace of the world may be preserved and the cruel and useless slaughter of human beings prevented.

122. Was the author of the joint resolution which named and set aside a day which shall be known in all the hereafter as Mother's Day. The resolution requires that the flag shall be unfurled and displayed on the second Sunday in May on all public buildings in honor of the mothers of America.

I desire to print here a statement that I issued to the Democrats of Alabama on March 10:

To the Democrats of Alabama:

In asking you to nominate me as the successor of Senator BANKHEAD I feel that the experience and training that I have had for 16 years in the Lower House of Congress has in some measure prepared me for the duties and responsibilities of the office of United States Senator.

I am now the oldest member of the Alabama delegation in the House from the point of service.

Senator BANKHEAD, after years of experience and training in the House, was sent from that body to the Senate.

For 10 years Democrats from all sections of the State have been kind enough to express to me their desire to see me one of Alabama's United States Senators.

Since a vacancy has been created by the death of Senator BANKHEAD, I have been urged by Democrats from all over the State to become a candidate to succeed him.

I am greatly gratified at the promising prospects of my nomination in the May primary.

In order to make sure of that I want every Democrat in the State who believes me worthy and capable of filling the office of United States Senator to constitute himself a committee of one and go to work at once with the view of helping me to secure the nomination.

I have contributed as best I could to the preservation of democratic ideals and institutions.

I have done what I could to promote the interests of every legitimate enterprise and industry in our State.

For 16 years I have given special thought and attention to the great agricultural interests of Alabama.

As a Member of the House I have accomplished some things of value for our great farming interests, but as a Member of the Senate I would have a much broader field of action and far greater opportunities for service to the whole people of the State.

If I am elected to the Senate, as I confidently believe I will be, I promise to give to the duties of the office my entire time and attention and to give to the people of Alabama the very best service that I am capable of rendering.

Sincerely,

J. THOS. HEFLIN.

Here I wish to print the statement of a good friend who has a kind word to say about my service here:

[From the Huntsville Times.]

MONTGOMERY, ALA., *March 10.*

Roy Nolen, of Alexander City, Tallapoosa County, a prominent Democrat, farmer, and banker, was in Montgomery to-day. He returned to his home this afternoon. He is jubilant over what he regards as the certain nomination for the Senate of his friend, Congressman HEFLIN. In discussing the matter he said: "The agricultural interests of Alabama are going to be heard from in this campaign. Congressman HEFLIN, by reason of his earnest, loyal, and effective activities in behalf of agriculture and related industries, will receive a tremendous vote from the farmers, merchants, and bankers of the State in addition to the large vote which he so much merits and will receive from Democrats in every walk of life. This will, in my opinion, assure his nomination for United States Senator to succeed the late Senator BANKHEAD.

Mr. Speaker, I trust that I may be pardoned for including in this review of my service a few testimonials touching my career as a public servant:

CONGRESSMAN HEFLIN SPEAKS TO LEGISLATURE OF TEXAS—YEARY ASKS LEGISLATORS TO PREACH HEFLIN MESSAGE.

"Congressman HEFLIN has delivered a message to the Texas Legislature, which they should in turn deliver to the State of Texas," declared W. B. Yeary, cotton specialist in the State Department of Agriculture, this morning after listening to the Alabaman speak before the joint session of the house and senate. Mr. Yeary heartily indorsed the views of Congressman HEFLIN and believes that untold good can be done by spreading the gospel which the Alabama Congressman is preaching. (From the Statesman, Austin, Tex.)

In TOM HEFLIN we have the thinker, the diplomat, the peerless orator, and the matchless statesman combined. No district in Alabama, or perhaps in any State, has a Congressman that is more universally beloved and admired than is Mr. HEFLIN. (From Randolph Star.)

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TOM HEFLIN is a southerner from crown to heel. It is his pleasure as well as his duty to study national legislation in its relations to the man who plows, who plants, who reaps. He does this conscientiously, diligently, enthusiastically. ("Savoyard," in Nashville Tennesseean.)

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Mr. HEFLIN is one of the most faithful Members of the House and one of the most active and effective. He represents a purely agricultural constituency and has been faithful to their every interest. (Opelika News.)

Mr. HEFLIN'S special work is centered in the interest of the southern farmer. The giant force of his great intellect and the desire of his heart is to assist the southern farmer in getting a better price for the South's great staple. He has worked diligently for that great interest, both in and out of Congress. (Opelika News.)

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HEFLIN WINS FIGHT ON COTTON LINTERS.

The Census Bureau has announced a change in the method of publishing the statistics of cotton, the annual reports on which heretofore have included quantity of linters obtained by oil mills. This is a victory for Congressman HEFLIN, who first voiced opposition to this method, declaring that it was misleading to such an extent as to seriously affect the cotton market, to the detriment of the farmers. (The Age-Herald.)

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Mr. HEFLIN is a Democrat of Democrats, always loyal to his party and his people, gallant, able, and courageous, ready at all times to fight for and defend the farmers' interests as against the gamblers of Wall Street. The New York Sun, in a strong editorial, nicknamed Mr. HEFLIN "Cotton Tom," and we Democrats of the country lift our hat to the man who by the power of his eloquence has stirred Congress and the country on the subject of the evils of the gamblers of Wall Street and Chicago in gambling in the products of the American farmers, especially the cotton producers. His powerful presentation of the farmers' side of the cotton question fixes his place before Congress and the American Nation as the leading champion of the cotton producers. ("Savoyard," in the Tennesseean.)

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DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
STATE OF TEXAS,
Austin, June 30, 1919.

Hon. J. THOMAS HEFLIN, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: First, on behalf of the cotton producers of the South; second, on behalf of every institution, religious and educational, in the South and every legitimate business or commercial pursuit in the South, and finally to the benefit of this Nation, because cotton is a national product, I desire to thank you for your address before the Legislature of Texas to-day. Your message was one of encouragement to our legislature. I hope that as soon as the session adjourns every member will take the message to his people. * * * Our people need education and encouragement in marketing their cotton worse than anything else. Thanking you for your splendid address, I am,

Sincerely, yours,

W. B. YEARY,
Cotton Specialist.

The following is a copy of joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of Texas inviting Mr. HEFLIN to address that body:

Be it resolved by the senate (the house of representatives concurring), That—

Whereas the interest of the cotton growers of our State has always been of paramount interest to our people; and

Whereas Congressman HEFLIN has ever been the faithful and loyal champion of the interests of the cotton growers of the South: Therefore be it

Resolved by the senate (the house of representatives concurring), That the Hon. J. THOMAS HEFLIN be invited to address a joint session of the Senate and House at such time as may be convenient to him, and that the president of the senate and the speaker of the house be directed to telegraph this invitation to the said Hon. J. THOMAS HEFLIN.

(Signed) W. H. HOBBY,
President of the Senate.
F. O. FULLER,
Speaker of the House.

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DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
STATE OF TEXAS,
Austin, November 15, 1919.

Hon. J. THOMAS HEFLIN,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. HEFLIN: * * * You are known to all of our cotton farmers as being one of the best friends they have in Congress.

(Signed) J. D. NEILL,
Director of Farm Institutes.

—

Representative HEFLIN, of Alabama, to-day requested the Alien Property Custodian to permit the sale of 1,000,000 bales of cotton to German spinners, to be stored and held in this country until the allied embargo against Germany is lifted. (From New York Commercial.)

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No one has taken so pronounced an interest in the welfare of the cotton planters through efforts to boost the price of cotton as Congressman HEFLIN, of Alabama. He has sent telegrams to bankers and merchants in his home State saying that the reserve banks would continue to back local banks in aiding farmers to hold cotton for a profitable price. (From Newark (N. J.) Evening News.)

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Cotton rise due to German needs. Market feels effect of report that 1,000,000 bales will be taken when embargo is lifted. Gain runs to $7.50 a bale.

Congressman HEFLIN'S efforts to permit Germany to purchase 1,000,000 bales of cotton to be held in the United States until a permit to ship it to Germany is granted by the United States "has been the cause of no little concern to the southern spot markets, and probably contributed as much as any other one factor to advancing prices on an average of $7.50 a bale." (From New York (N. Y.) Times.)

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Hon. Fred W. Davis, Commissioner of Agriculture of Texas, had the following to say regarding Mr. HEFLIN: "Congressman HEFLIN, among the public men of the South, is one of the best posted on the cotton-market situation past and present. He is also one of the most able and eloquent defenders of the southern cotton grower in his struggle for a voice in pricing what he produces. Mr. HEFLIN is a wise counsellor and a powerful champion of the southern cotton trade as it relates to the interests of the cotton grower and his friends."

TOM HEFLIN made one of the best speeches ever delivered on the floor of the House of Representatives in defense of the cotton farmers of the South. No speech in Congress in recent years has made a better impression or attracted more attention throughout the country. (Savoyard, in Nashville Banner.)

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No truer Democrat or friend of the masses ever sat in Congress than TOM HEFLIN, of Alabama. (National Democrat.)

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Some men are destined for public life from their cradles. This boy is one of them. HEFLIN is a strong man mentally, morally, and physically. His apostrophe to the cotton plant is a classic. Every Alabama schoolboy ought to memorize it. The other day TOM HEFLIN, at Front Royal, Va., delivered the oration upon the one hundred and first anniversary of the birth of Jefferson Davis. It was a philosophical disquisition on the Constitution of the United States as the fathers made it, of which John T. Morgan would not have been ashamed, and there was a poetic vein in it worthy of Carmack or Vest. (Savoyard, in Nashville Banner.)

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HEFLIN may never have written poems, but he has painted beautiful and far-reaching pictures with his tongue whenever and wherever he has allowed that member to obey the promptings of his brilliant brain. He is an orator, poet, humanist, and statesman. He loves his South, and when he loosens up, you love it, too, and all its people into the bargain. (From Truth, Buffalo, N. Y.)

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Nobody in Alabama doubts Mr. HEFLIN'S loyalty to the administration. He has been an active supporter of the Government in its conduct of the war. (The Ledger, Birmingham, Ala.)

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Of Mr. HEFLIN the President said: "From the outset Mr. HEFLIN has earned the friendship and esteem of the President by reason of his intense Americanism and unfaltering support of every American measure."

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Through all that melee of strange tongues TOM HEFLIN, of Alabama, was at the forefront of the fighting in defense of clean, outspoken, thoroughgoing Americanism. If all our Congressmen were as thoroughgoing and true blue as HEFLIN, there would be no suspicions. There would not have been any delay in perfecting our Army and Navy machines. (From the Birmingham News.)

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HEFLIN is always regular in his Democracy, and the same can be said of his Americanism. (From the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Eagle.)

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Congressman HEFLIN has consistently been a loyal American. He has advocated and voted for all measures necessary to uphold our honor and to increase and to perfect our ability to carry the war to a successful conclusion. (From the York (Pa.) Gazette.)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. KLECZKA.
OF WISCONSIN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 15, 1920.

On the bill (H. R. 12954) providing for the relief of populations in Europe and in countries contiguous thereto suffering for want of food.

Mr. KLECZKA. Mr. Speaker, the pending measure, if passed, will authorize the sale of not to exceed 5,000,000 barrels of flour by the United States Grain Corporation for cash or credit for the relief of the starving populations in Europe.

The testimony adduced before the committee shows that the food situation in parts of Austria, Armenia, and Poland is most acute. Thousands of square miles in Poland have been completely devastated and the disastrous effects of war are distributed over a great part of that country. Four times have the armies of the enemy swept over the territory of Poland during the World War, and some portions of that country have been ravaged by seven invasions. Reliable and unprejudiced observers have declared that the destruction of property and civilian life in Poland was greater than all the destruction of property and life on the western front. Between three and four millions of Poles fell victims of starvation or disease during the war. To retard the advance of the German armies the Russians at one time ruthlessly laid waste thousands of square miles. The enemy forces also carried away whatever surpluses of food existed in the more prolific sections of the country and

thus left other regions to starve. This thorough destruction of the agricultural area and the looting of all agricultural machinery left millions of Poles at the time of the armistice at the point of starvation.

At that time, approximately one-fourth of Poland was in the control of the Austrian Army, approximately one-half in the hands of the German forces, and the remaining portion under the dominion of the bolshevik army. Later on hordes of bolsheviks invaded a large part of Poland and perpetrated indescribable crimes in every village and city. Deprived of the means of communication except through enemy hands, surrounded on the east, north, and south by enemy territory, Poland's position after the armistice was most appalling and disheartening. Here was a country of over 30,000,000 people facing famine and desolation, a country with thousands dying daily from typhus and contagious diseases; a large part of the country in the terrible grip of the bolshevik army without the means of repelling the invasion. From the very beginning of her new existence Poland was compelled to meet the menace of militant bolshevism.

Mr. Speaker, there is some misapprehension as to the purpose for which Poland has maintained an army on the eastern front, and why she is engaging in war with the Bolsheviki. The war carried on by Poland against the red terror of Russia is strictly a defensive war. It began as a defensive war and has been carried on ever since as a defensive conflict. Poland possessed no standing army and it was only after the armistice was signed that she could undertake the first steps in the process of forming a stable and constitutional government.

During the entire period of the war after the collapse of the government of the Czar the Russian radical propagandists have flooded the territory of Poland with millions of Russian rubles in their efforts to spread their pernicious doctrines. They thought that an impoverished Poland offered a very fertile field for their operations. They thought that a hungry people would readily yield to their enticing promises and seductive program. But their hopes of success were quickly blasted. They had not counted with the spirit of that people; they had failed to reckon with Poland's ideals and sentiments. The Polish people quickly saw that the schemes of these destroyers of orderly procedure would plunge them into an abyss of horror and desolation from which they could never recover. They saw what the destructive program of Lenin and Trotski had wrought in unfortunate Russia and they refused to allow the war-scarred acres of their own native land to become the field for exploitation of those whose aim is to rule and ruin. With true patriotic ardor they quickly formed a volunteer army and the overwhelming Bolsheviki forces were repulsed and driven back. During the past 12 months Poland's Army has been performing a world guard duty. Suffering untold misery, feeling keenly the pangs of starvation, and with insufficient equipment, this army is holding a line of almost 1,600 miles and is successfully repelling all attempts of invasion by the Bolsheviki forces. Poland and her army is indeed the barrier holding back "the red wave of bolshevism."

Because of the threatening presence of the bolshevik forces and of their attempted invasions of Polish territory, Poland can not demobilize her army. She can not to-day with any degree of safety or security to herself, with the well-known dangerous hotbed of bolshevistic anarchy close to her borders, withdraw the army from the eastern front. To do so would mean to allow her factories to be destroyed and her property devastated. She can not allow the peaceful population living on this frontier, which is piteously crying for protection, to be left at the mercy of the Bolsheviki invaders. She can not abandon them to massacres and certain death. She can not leave the various populations which live in the eastern territory and whose allegiance is still undetermined to become a prey to bolshevik coercion and terrorism. The Polish Army to-day is the only protection which this population has against all forms of outlawry and tyranny. This army at no time has passed beyond the frontier which marked the eastern boundary of Poland before her partition. As a matter of fact, the bolshevik army to-day is about 100 miles in the interior of what was once a part of the Polish State.

But although all these eastern Provinces formed a part of the Polish State for centuries before the partition, Poland lays no claim to them on the ground of historical rights. She does not claim them at all. Poland has solemnly proclaimed, through her chief of state, Gen. Pilsudski, with the approval of the constitutional assembly and the entire Polish nation, the right of self-determination for these populations.

The Polish Republic will not incorporate within its boundaries any district whose population does not wish to belong to it. This attitude is in complete conformity with Poland's tradition. The former Polish State was the only one in ancient Europe which during the thousand years of its history was composed of people who had of their own accord asked for union with Poland. During the period of her independent existence Poland formed a bulwark which protected Europe from the Tartars and the Turks. And to-day, resurrected, she is repeating her historical mission. It was not solely in the interest of self-preservation that exhausted Poland undertook this struggle against the Bolsheviki, a struggle which is costing her enormous effort and sacrifice. If Poland is compelled to cease resisting these invaders, if she is compelled to declare an armistice with them, it will mean that these forces that are bent on destroying law and order and all that civilization holds dear will be released and allowed to proceed unchecked in their course of ruthless destruction and devastation.

The attitude of Poland to-day and the efforts of her army against the bolshevik forces is of historical moment. If anyone entertains any doubt as to the purposes at world domination of the bolshevist movement in Russia he need only to refer to Senate Document No. 172, which contains the memorandum on certain aspects of this movement. In his letter transmitting the information contained in the aforesaid document to the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, declares that—

> The study which has been made of the bolshevist movement, some of the results of which are furnished herewith, shows conclusively that the purpose of the Bolsheviks is to subvert the existing principles of government and society the world over, including those countries in which democratic institutions are already established. They have built up a political machine which, by the concentration of power in the hands of a few and the ruthlessness of its methods, suggests the Asiatic despotism of the early Tsars. The result of their exercise of power, as shown by the documents presented in the accompanying memorandum, have been demoralization, civil war, and economic collapse.

If Poland is not enabled now to check the advance of the Bolsheviks, this menace will in a very short time travel westward, and the tremendous sacrifices undergone by America and the Allies to preserve democracy throughout the world may then be lost entirely.

The daily cables from Europe convey the news that the bolshevik armies are making extensive preparations to attack Poland this spring. Impoverished and destitute of the essentials of ordinary subsistence, Poland does not shrink from the heroic performance of her duty in the cause of civilization. She discounts her deplorable physical condition; she will not break faith with the Allies. She admits that it was due to the efforts of America and the Allies that her renewed national existence is to be attributed to. America and the Allies know the historical past of the Polish race; they knew that Poland was an uncompromising foe of disorder. They knew that she was steadfastly attached to the principles of law and order and the highest ideals of civilization. They recalled the services which Poland rendered to Europe in the thirteenth century when she broke the invasion of the Tartars; they knew that in the seventeenth century Poland prevented the Turkish hordes from overrunning western Europe and thereby saved European civilization. They had faith that a nation whose glorious past chronicled so many instances of humanitarian service could be depended upon to contribute her full measure in promoting the ideals of democracy and could be counted upon to resist any fiendish schemes of an unrelenting foe to destroy the priceless privileges of free men. Readmitted but recently into the sisterhood of free nations, Poland is already demonstrating that the confidence and faith which the world reposed in her has not been misplaced. Every unbiased observer and student of current events unites in the sentiment expressed before the committee in its hearings upon this measure by Mr. Herbert Hoover, Secretary of War Baker, Secretary of the Treasury Carter Glass, and Gen. Bliss that Poland to-day is the sole bulwark against bolshevism and its encroachments.

Eliminating entirely the perversion of the bolshevist philosophy, every man possessed of ordinary human instincts must shudder at the unspeakable violence to which these forces are resorting in order to impose their doctrines and beliefs upon the peoples of the world. They repudiate peaceful evolution and resort to physical force. The peril to democracy was not removed by the signing of the armistice. To-day in Europe it is not democracy alone which is threatened, but the entire fabric of civilization. We can not read the daily dispatches from the other side of the Atlantic with a proper understanding of their meaning without being impressed with the imminence of the new peril. We can not be so steeped in indifference, we can not be so overengrossed in our own affairs as not to take heed of the visible signs.

Bolshevism must be confined to Russia. If the "red army" breaks through Poland, Europe will blaze and bleed from revolution. Poland stands firmly embattled at the eastern gate

guarding the pass. She is not fighting for territory or war spoils. She is fighting in defense of civilization. She refuses to compromise her position in the council of free and democratic nations. Her people are determined to resist to the utmost the new tyranny and oppression of bolshevism.

An indomitable spirit has enabled them to withstand hardships and suffering that might have subdued a race less inflamed with the passion to make secure their newly achieved freedom.

Because of the lack of seed a year ago, because of the lack of farm machinery and the unprecedented frosts last year, the total food shortage in Poland exceeds 530,000 tons. To solve the food problem the Government has inaugurated plans to conserve to the utmost all food supplies, avoiding all waste and reducing the rations to a minimum. The sale of a portion of the flour by the United States Grain Corporation will greatly relieve the hunger and distress pervading that country. It will alleviate the horrible suffering in unfortunate Armenia and portions of Austria. It will in a measure enable these unfortunate people to regain their strength and enable them to meet the tremendous problems of reconstruction upon the satisfactory solution of which depend their future welfare, security, and life.

Army Reorganization.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JULIUS KAHN,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 11, 1920.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, in the discussion of the Army reorganization bill this day the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BEE] stated that he—

Would be glad to be advised during the progress of this discussion how the different officers are to be used in the General Staff and what functions they are to perform that makes that number necessary.

I am pleased to insert in the RECORD the following statement showing the divisions of the War Department General Staff Corps as now organized and the functions of each of these divisions:

STATEMENT SHOWING THE DIVISIONS OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF CORPS AS NOW ORGANIZED AND THE FUNCTIONS OF EACH OF THESE DIVISIONS.

1. Office of executive assistant to the Chief of Staff.

This office is charged with the coordination of the work of the various divisions of the General Staff, and with the collection of statistical information relative to troops and supplies for use of the General Staff. This office is divided into two branches:

The coordination branch.
The statistical branch.

2. The four divisions of the War Department General Staff are as follows.

(a) Military Intelligence Division.

This division is charged with the collection, collation, and dissemination of military intelligence, both positive and negative. It is divided into the following branches:

Administrative branch.
Positive branch.
Negative branch.
Geographic branch.

(b) War Plans Division:

This division is charged with the preparation of projects for national defense and of plans for the organization of the Army; the supervision of the training of the Army; the supervision of the education, vocational training, and recreational activities of the Army; the supervision of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps; the preparation of legislation and regulations; the preparation of military historical records; and the supervision of activities relating to the subject of military morale. It is divided into the following branches:

War plans branch.
Training and instruction branch.
Education and recreation branch.
Reserve Officers' Training Corps branch.
Morale branch.
Legislation, regulations, rules branch.
Historical branch.
Service and information branch.

(c) The Operations Division:

This division is charged with the mobilization of the Army; the movement and disposition of troops; the appointment, promotion, transfer, and assignment of commissioned personnel; the supervision of research and inventions relating to war material; the determination of types and quantities of equipment and supplies; and with matters relating to the erection and construction of camps, cantonments, and hospitals. This division is divided into the following branches:

Operations branch.
Equipment branch.
Personnel branch.

(d) The Purchase, Storage and Traffic Division:

This division is charged with the supervision and coordination of the several bureaus and other agencies of the War Department in matters relating to the computation of requirements, the procurement, transportation, storage, and issue of supplies; and finance and accounting. This division is divided into the following branches:

Administration branch.
Purchase and standardization branch.
Statistics and requirements branch.
Storage and issue branch.
Real estate and finance branch.
Transportation branch.
Sales branch.

At the present time there are 351 officers on duty with the War Department General Staff. The number is reduced in the pending bill—H. R. 12775—to a total of 93. The distribution is as follows:

Distribution of officers of the War Department General Staff.

	Now on duty.	Proposed allotments for General Staff of 93.
Chief of Staff	1	1
Assistants to Chief of Staff	5	4
By divisions:		
Office Chief of Staff and executive assistant to Chief of Staff	35	6
War Plans Division	122	24
Operations Division	73	25
Military Intelligence Division	88	20
Purchase, Storage, and Traffic Division	27	13
Grand total	351	93

The General Staff with troops as provided for in the pending bill, including military attachés abroad, who should be General Staff officers, is as follows:

THE GENERAL STAFF WITH TROOPS.

The General Staff with troops consists of the General Staff officers on duty at department headquarters and at the headquarters of armies, amy corps, divisions, and brigades, and the General Staff officers on duty, as military attachés abroad.

The bill authorizes the detail on the General Staff of such number of officers as may be necessary to perform these duties.

Under present War Department orders the following are now authorized for these duties:

At each department headquarters, one chief of staff and four assistants.

At each division headquarters, one chief of staff and three assistants.

At each department headquarters the General Staff is divided into four sections—one for operations; military intelligence; war plans and training; and supply, transportation, and finance.

At each division headquarters the General Staff is divided into three sections, one each for operations, supply, transportation, and finance; military intelligence; and war plans and training.

There are 28 stations for military attachés abroad that should be filled by General Staff officers.

The Proposed Columbia River Naval Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. C. N. McARTHUR,
OF OREGON,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 20, 1920.

Mr. McARTHUR. Mr. Speaker, the Commission on Navy Yards and Naval Stations, popularly known as the Helm Board, appointed under authority of the act approved August 29, 1916, was organized at Washington, D. C., September 20, 1916, and consisted of the following officers: J. M. Helm, rear admiral, United States Navy, senior member; W. L. Capps, chief constructor, United States Navy, member; H. H. Rousseau, civil engineer, United States Navy, member; G. W. McElroy, captain, United States Navy, member; C. L. Hussey, commander, United States Navy, member.

EXCERPTS FROM HELM BOARD REPORT.

Volume 4 of the report of this commission was submitted to the President on May 19, 1917, and included the following recommendations relative to a naval establishment at the mouth of the Columbia River:

At the time of its first visit to Portland and the Columbia River the commission was impressed with the importance of adequately defending this region from hostile attack, and establishing, if practicable, near the

mouth of the Columbia River, a submarine and aviation base from which operations could be satisfactorily conducted in time of war. The general character of the mouth of the Columbia River is fully illustrated by Coast and Geodetic Survey chart, hereto attached, Appendix K. The commercial and industrial importance of the whole Columbia River region, and the territory tributary thereto, are fully set forth in documents prepared by the Portland and Astoria Chambers of Commerce, and by the Board of Harbor Commissioners of Portland, hereto attached, Appendixes L, M, and N, respectively. (Page 16.)

After consideration of all available sites in the vicinity of the mouth of the Columbia River, the Tongue Point site appears to the commission to possess greater advantages as a submarine and aviation base than any other site in that locality. In time of war, the necessity for the protection of the Columbia River region is imperative, and a well-equipped submarine base in the Columbia River from which submarines could operate for a distance of at least 150 miles to the northward and southward would meet the major requirements of defense at Willapa Bay, Grays Harbor, and the coast to the northward and southward of the entrances to the Columbia River. (Page 17.)

For the acquisition of the necessary site and the immediately necessary development of same on the Columbia River, as hereinbefore recommended in this report for a submarine and aviation base, this development to include the necessary wharves, storehouses, shop facilities, electric charging plant, temporary barracks for men, etc., with provision for meeting the necessities of at least 12 submarines at one time, and possibly of expansion to double that number, and for the necessary hangars, launching ways, etc., needed for aviation purposes, there is recommended the sum of $1,200,000. It is also recommended that the following legislation be enacted to carry into effect the above recommendation:

"That the establishment of a submarine and aviation base near the mouth of the Columbia River is hereby authorized on such site as may be recommended as most suitable by the commission appointed by the President to report thereon in accordance with the provisions of the act of Congress making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917; approved August 29, 1916: *Provided*, That such site is approved by the President, and the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to acquire, by purchase or gift, if not already owned by the United States, the site approved by the President; and the sum of $1,200,000 is hereby appropriated toward the acquisition and development of such site as a submarine and aviation base." (Page 22.)

REPORT OF M'KEAN BOARD.

During the late summer of 1919 the Secretary of the Navy made a tour of the Pacific coast for the purpose of inspecting the establishments there and also for examining the sites recommended for new establishments by the Helm Commission. The Secretary was accompanied by a special board of inspection of naval bases, consisting of Rear Admiral C. W. Parks, Rear Admiral J. S. McKean, and Commander J. C. Hilton. This board submitted the following report on the proposed naval establishment at the mouth of the Columbia River:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 8, 1919.*

From: Special Board of Inspection of Naval Bases, etc., on the Pacific coast.

To: Secretary of the Navy.

Subject: Proposed submarine, destroyer, and aviation base—Columbia River.

1. The board is in full agreement with the report of the Helm Commission as to necessity for the location of a submarine, destroyer, and aviation base between Puget Sound and San Francisco, and is in further agreement with the commission in its selection of the Tongue Point site at Astoria, Oreg., as the best site both strategically and tactically. The board recommends the site in the locality chosen, but that a larger area, including all the shore front between the railroad and the pier-head line extending from the western point where Tongue Point peninsula joins the mainland around and including Tongue Point and along the shore line to the mouth of John Day River, is essential.

2. The board recommends that this area be secured at the earliest date practicable, either by gift or purchase; that its development to a capacity for the successful maintenance and operation of a minimum of 12 submarines, 6 destroyers, and the necessary aircraft for the patrol of the waters in the vicinity of the mouth of the Columbia River be proceeded with at once; that the project be planned to be completed within three years; and that the plans be so made as to permit of the operation of double the force recommended above in time of emergency.

3. It is further recommended that the Navy Department take up with the War Department the desirability of the dredging of the necessary channel and anchor ground in the vicinity of this proposed base to permit a safe entrance and anchorage of at least a division of dreadnoughts. This anchorage and channel development will not only be of great service to the fleet but will be of greater aid to commerce, and will permit and provide for the full use of the fine harbor facilities built and building at Astoria. It is the opinion of the board that the problem of the Columbia River bar has been satisfactorily solved, there now being a depth of 42 feet over the bar, and the board is also of the opinion that it will be only a short time until a minimum of 50 feet will be obtained, thus making this a practicable port in any weather.

4. It is recommended that an appropriation of a million and a half be obtained from the present Congress, with authorization of the completed project not to exceed seven and one-half millions, to be completed within three years.

5. Although not, strictly speaking, a part of this report, the board calls attention of the department to the desirability, primarily from a commercial point of view, but also from the Navy point of view, of the continued development of the Columbia River and the Willamette River as far as Portland, Oreg.

C. W. PARKS,
Rear Admiral (CEC), United States Navy.
J. S. McKEAN,
Rear, Admiral, United States Navy.
J. C. HILTON,
Commander (BC), United States Navy.

The report of the special board of inspection of naval bases, popularly known as the "McKean Board," was appended to the last annual report of the Secretary of the Navy.

COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS APPROPRIATION.

The Committee on Naval Affairs has included the Columbia River project in the pending bill and has authorized an initial appropriation of $250,000 to begin work on the project. The people of the city of Astoria have very generously agreed to donate 115 acres of hard land and 256 acres of partially submerged land free of cost to the Government of the United States for this project. This land is situate on what is known as Tongue Point and is bounded on the south by the tracks of the Spokane, Portland & Seattle Railway Co. It is only a short distance from the Columbia River Highway, a paved road extending from the Pacific Ocean to The Dalles, Oreg., a distance of about 200 miles.

THREE COMPELLING ARGUMENTS.

There are three compelling arguments in favor of establishing a submarine and destroyer base and aviation station at the mouth of the Columbia River:

1. There are at present no naval establishments of any character between the Puget Sound Navy Yard and the Mare Island Navy Yard, a distance of approximately 830 miles. This is the longest stretch of unprotected coast line in continental United States, and the proposed establishment at Tongue Point is regarded by naval authorities as highly important in the general scheme of defense. The Columbia River harbor is the largest between San Francisco Bay and Puget Sound and the depth of water on the bar at low tide is sufficient to admit the largest ships that float.

2. The mouth of the Columbia River is approximately 100 miles nearer the Orient than any other important harbor on the Pacific coast, and it is also nearer southwestern Alaska. In the event of war with an oriental power or any other power with a naval base in the Pacific, the mouth of the Columbia River would be a most strategic point, both offensively and defensively.

3. Tongue Point lies at the gateway of the great Columbia River Basin, one of the largest sections of the United States, and one in which the Government itself owns millions of acres of land, billions of feet of standing timber, innumerable water-power sites of great value, and untold mineral wealth. This great territory enjoys no naval protection whatever at present.

ADVANTAGES OF TONGUE POINT SITE.

Among the advantages which the Tongue Point site offers for naval establishments are the following:

1. It is adjacent to a large harbor, where the entire American Navy could be anchored safely.

2. The harbor is protected by three forts and the entrance of the lower channel could be quickly and safely mined.

3. Tongue Point has excellent railroad, wagon road, and water transportation facilities.

4. It is adjacent to a productive territory that can furnish foodstuffs and other materials needed by naval establishments.

5. It is adjacent to a thriving city that has all modern conveniences.

6. Its climatic and sanitary advantages are unsurpassed, and it is within easy access to a liberal supply of pure mountain water.

7. Last, but not least, Tongue Point itself is a high promontory, which gives ample protection from storms and winds, and forms a natural barrier between the proposed establishment and the guns of the enemy ships in the open sea.

SPEECH
OF
HON. TOM CONNALLY,
OF TEXAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3, 1920.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12616) making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a newspaper report regarding the posthumous award of a distinguished-service cross to a boy of Polish descent who was in our own Army, in the One hundred and seventh Infantry, Bernard Stegar, and who was a resident of my district.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD as indicated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The article is as follows:

LAUDS FALLS COUNTY HERO—BERNARD STEGAR PRAISED BY CAPTAIN AT BANQUET IN NEW YORK CITY.

"I don't think God ever made a greater hero than Barney Stegar. I know every man in the company will tell you that," said Capt. Nichols at a veteran dinner at the Seventh Regiment Armory of the National Guard in New York City recently. The speaker was referring to Bernard Stegar, son of Mr. and Mrs. Mike Stegar, who reside near Marlin, who was killed in action in France and received a posthumous award of the distinguished service cross. His gallantry is further described by the company commander, who tells of the incident as follows:

"On the 18th of October, at St. Souplet, a Seventh Regiment man by the name of Jarvie was in the advance line when they went over the top, and it just so happened that when they crawled along he got to a point where a sunken road came out on the crest of a hill, and was in an exposed position swept by machine-gun fire. He was in front of this road with a little bowlder, a little rock, in front of him, and took what cover he could until the line advanced again, and while lying there he received a burst from a machine gun in his left arm, which severed everything from his arm but a little piece of flesh that held it on. He was bleeding very badly. And next to him was a man, one of five that I told you about that joined us at Steenvoorde. He was a drafted man; his name was Bernard Stegar; he came from Marlin, Tex. When pay day came around he found great difficulty in signing the pay roll, as he wasn't used to a pen. But he had been in this crowd long enough to know what Big Six meant. He had been in this crowd just long enough to absorb what you gentlemen have given this regiment and which made it go.

"And when Stegar saw Jarvie lying down there in the middle of this road, although he himself was safe in the sunken road and had perfect cover about 30 yards away, he started to crawl to Jarvie. After Stegar had gone halfway, he himself was exposed and got a machine-gun bullet in the side. It knocked him over and he rolled over twice, but he picked himself up, and, instead of going back to his own position, he went on toward Jarvie. He reached Jarvie all right, and he had just taken him in his arms when another machine-gun bullet hit him in the temple, and they died there together.

"And four months before Stegar had no knowledge of what the One hundred and seventh Infantry and the Seventh Regiment before it meant, but he had absorbed it all at that time. And I think you gentlemen have done that. It could not have been done without tradition, the incentive to show the men that have upheld this regiment and carried it forward a hundred years, that there was in the world to-day the same stuff that there was a hundred years ago."

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, not only the Poles but great numbers of men of other foreign blood rendered very distinguished service, not only in our own Army but in the corps mentioned by the gentlemen who have already discussed this resolution. Men of Italian, Bohemian, German, and Polish ancestry served gallantly and faithfully in the American Army. It is appropriate that their service and patriotism to our one and united country be recognized.

Army Reorganization.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JULIUS KAHN,
OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 18, 1920.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, shortly after the separate vote had been taken on the construction corps amendments I received a letter from Gen. John J. Pershing, expressing his views upon the subject of a separate construction department. I believe the House should know the sentiment of Gen. Pershing upon the subject, and I therefore insert the letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a part of my remarks. It is as follows:

MARCH 18, 1920.

Hon. JULIUS KAHN,
Chairman Committee on Military Affairs,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. KAHN: As you will doubtless recall, when I appeared before your committee some months ago, I stated my belief that the work of constructing barracks, quarters, hospitals, camps, and all other construction for the Army in the United States should be assigned to the Quartermaster Corps, by which such work was done before the World War.

I was then and am now strongly of the opinion that the creation of a separate construction department is wrong in principle and decidedly uneconomical. This is based upon my experience in France, which showed conclusively that such a separate agency is unnecessary, therefore poor organization and wasteful of money.

If, for any reason, Congress is indisposed to return this construction work to the Quartermaster, in accordance with my original recommendation, then it might be well to confide it to the Corps of Engineers, which in France has proved itself competent to perform such a task promptly and economically. It may be said that the training which officers of the Corps of Engineers would secure while doing this construction work in time of peace would be valuable in time of war.

Very sincerely, yours,

JOHN J. PERSHING.

I have also received the following letter from Gen. Peyton C. March, inclosing a copy of a memorandum from the Inspector General, Maj. Gen. J. L. Chamberlain, to the Chief of Staff. As the said memorandum also refers to several services which under the bill for the reorganization of the Army (H. R. 12775) are included in the Quartermaster Corps, I desire to insert the said letter from Gen. March and his inclosure in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

MARCH 18, 1920.

Hon. JULIUS KAHN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. KAHN: In the absence of Secretary Baker from the city I am forwarding to you a memorandum just received from the Inspector General of the Army, for your information and the information of your committee.

The statement of Gen. Chamberlain shows clearly that Mr. ANTHONY was misinformed concerning the attitude of the Inspector General's Department, and I believe that he would be glad to be able to correct the statements which he made upon the floor of the House.

Very cordially, yours,

P. C. MARCH,
General, Chief of Staff.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL,
Washington, March 18, 1920.

(Memorandum for the Chief of Staff.)

1. In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 12 Mr. ANTHONY made of record certain extracts from a report of inspection of Camp Benning made by Col. Humber. These extracts contain certain recommendations regarding the organization of the supply system in the Army. The report referred to was extracted and handled in the manner usually followed in similar cases. Certain recommendations contained therein did not meet the approval of this office, nor were they concurred in. The extracts were simply furnished for the information of those services immediately concerned. It is not known to this office how the report reached Mr. ANTHONY. It was never called for, nor was it ever furnished.

2. In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 16 Mr. ANTHONY submitted and made of record a memorandum upon this same subject. The record does not show by whom this memorandum was prepared, and I am informed that Col. Hammond disclaims any knowledge whatsoever regarding this memorandum. On page 4427 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 16 I find in this memorandum, referring to the several services, such as finance, construction, transportation, etc., that the Inspector General's office deems these separations of activities from the Quartermaster Corps as inadvisable, and that such separations will entail inefficiency and greatly increase cost. I desire to state that these are not the views of the Inspector General of the Army nor of the Inspector General's office. On the contrary, the Inspector General believes that there should be a separate finance service and a separate transportation service, both of which should be entirely independent of the Quartermaster Corps.

J. L. CHAMBERLAIN,
The Inspector General.

The Menace of Militarism.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 17, 1920.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 13108) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, the pending bill providing for a Regular Army in time of peace of 280,000 soldiers and 18,000 officers is beyond question the greatest outrage ever perpetrated upon the taxpayers of the United States. There is no use for such an Army and no demand for it by the people. It is a deliberate move to establish a military autocracy. The gauzy pretense that this Army may be needed owing to the chaos in Europe and the aggressive character of the radical agitators in the United States is a contemptible subterfuge unworthy of the Congress. Coming at the end of the most destructive and exhausting war in all history, when the country is burdened with an enormous debt, and when business and industry are taxed to the limit, the proposition to add $550,000,000 taxation to provide for an Army of 300,000 idlers is a crime against humanity. What will the plain people—the industrious workers who produce the wealth of the world—think of the fiscal and economic policy of a party, in full control of our highest legislative bodies, that proposes to take 300,000 of our stalwart young men from useful pursuits and productive industry and make them simply idlers and the consumers of the necessaries of life and pile on some $550,000,000 additional burden on the taxpayers, with no compensating benefit? This Army bill and the extravagant Navy bill—now said to be ready—reverse the whole policy of the Government from 1787 down to 1917. Not a single public man with enough brain fiber and experience to be classed as a statesman has ever advocated a big standing Army in time of peace.

NOTE THE VIEWS OF OUR GREATEST CONSTRUCTIVE STATESMAN.

The greatest statesman of the humanities of all civilizations is that world-famous Virginian, Thomas Jefferson. We need his prescient spirit now to save the Republic of Washington and Jackson and Lincoln from militarism, as now exploited with every waning moon in skyrocket oratory and sentences loaded with dynamite and disaster. In 1799 Jefferson wrote to Eldridge Gerry these words of supreme wisdom that every patriotic American should pause and ponder well. I quote:

I am for relying for internal defense on our militia solely till actual invasion, and for such a naval force only as will protect our coast harbors from depredations, and not for a standing Army in time of peace which may overcome the public sentiment, nor a navy which, by its own expenses and the external wars in which it may implicate us, will grind us with public burdens and sink us under them.

Let us not fail to note that all the great students and scholars and humanitarians on both sides of the Atlantic are to-day for peace and arbitration. No man of heart or capable thought believes that a big army and navy are messengers of peace. Even an ordinary dog fancier knows better. He knows that peace among the canine tribe would never be promoted if every man should breed and train a fighting bulldog. And the dogs of war, whether canine or human, are just the same.

If one-quarter of the money we are now worse than wasting on this big Army were spent for a scientific investigation on the cause of poverty and crime in a land of plenty, and to protect the children of the poor from the degeneracy caused by overwork in factories, or for old-age pensions for the worn-out men and women who do the world's work, or to help the dependent soldiers who fought the World's War, we would then have a valid claim to be classed as a Christian nation.

VIEWS OF A LAYMAN WHO THINKS.

James Kate, of Johnstown, Pa., a thinker and writer on advanced lines, furnishes the following terse statement on the trend of events:

JOHNSTOWN, *March 14.*

We hear people asking what is the cause of all of the unrest to-day. The history of the human race from its first to its last page is a record of a bitter conflict between those invested with authority on one side and those subject to it on the other, for two mighty forces have ever been at work in human society, the greed of one for power, the other for liberty. This conflict is raging in America at the present time. This conflict is between democracy and despotism, between the freedom of the individual and the supremacy of the State. Let us take warning from Europe. The European people allowed the State to clothe itself with an omnipotence which crushed the individuality of the subjects, making men slaves. The writers of the Constitution declared that the State exists for the individual, that the Government is the servant of the people, based upon their consent and answerable to them for its conduct, leaving to every citizen the widest possible sphere for the free exercise of his personal, civil, and political liberty, giving to every man this right to his children, his home, the right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. The forces which have produced Caesarism, kaizerism, and despots in other lands have made their appearance in America. Year by year we witness attempts to exalt unduly the State and degrade the citizen. The officials to-day appear to think civil power or authority is a personal right and not a public trust; they wrap themselves in Old Glory, then trample the Constitution under their feet. When a citizen asks for justice, freedom, and liberty he is branded as a red, anarchist, or a bolshevik. The Supreme Court has given the Steel Corporation a clean bill of health as a good trust through a technicality. Now, what is a technicality? My definition of a technicality is heads I win, tails you lose. Did they not some years ago reverse themselves overnight? Is it not this kind of administration of the law that puts a weapon in the hands of the reds and Bolsheviki? Our Federal courts to-day are something like a store. If you have a pocket full of money you can get everything you want.

NOTE THESE STAGGERING FIGURES.

The naval bill, already reported out, will probably call for an expenditure of $450,000,000. Hence we are liable to have an expenditure for military purposes alone of nearly $950,000,000, or $700,000,000 more than our total outlay for the Army and Navy in 1916. Evidently we have a dominating element in this Congress made up of wild-eyed imperialists. As stated by the majority leader on the floor of the House, this Congress is squandering more money on militarism than any of the imperial monarchies of the Old World. Lest we forget, I quote from the speech of Majority Leader MONDELL made on the floor of this historic Chamber March 18 last, as it appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Mr. Chairman, I do not know what our Military Establishment is going to cost. I am afraid it is going to cost more than the American people want to pay. The naval appropriation bill has just been introduced, carrying, I believe, $425,000,000. That is approximately $225,000,000 below the estimates—$225,000,000 below what the department wants and insists upon—and yet it is nearly half of the total annual expenditure of the Government prior to the Great War. The Army bill will come in in a few days. I do not see how it is going to be possible to keep that bill much below $400,000,000, and I am afraid it will go above that before we get through. Eight hundred million dollars to $850,000,000 seems to be about the least sum we can bring our military expenditures within for the coming fiscal year. No nation ever expended such sums prior to the World War in time of peace for its military establishments. Imperial Germany in its palmiest days of preparation never spent that amount.

THE WORLD'S RECORD FOR EXTRAVAGANCE.

From the best information at hand Majority Leader MONDELL'S figures of $850,000,000 are too low by at least $75,000,000.

This Congress, elected under the promise to retrench and economize public expenditure, is now the most reckless in wasting the tax money of the people of any Congress that ever met in peace times since the birth of the Republic, and it is more deeply immersed in militarism. Militarism is the bastard child of fear. Faith and hope and love of humanity are not in her vocabulary. Her interests are all base. Militarism is a fundamental denial of the Christian religion. After militarism in Germany had driven one-third of the people into socialism and had taken the last mark out of the pockets of the common people, she went into the purses of the aristocracy and took out $300,000,000 in order to be prepared for war. In the meantime Great Britain in one year had expanded its budget for preparedness from $115,000,000 to $355,000,000. Russia had borrowed $100,000,000 from France, besides exhausting her own taxable resources. France had extended the period of military training from two years to three, and had expended hundreds of millions of dollars on forts and arsenals and military equipments. And in August, 1914, they all said: "We are ready." To-day the whole civilized world is appalled over the direst tragedy of brutality and blood ever known to either civilization or barbarism.

And have we no living statesmen to-day who are able to measure this most destructive of all human tragedies and learn the lesson for the salvation of our own war-racked, despoiled, and despondent people? Shall the pigmies of puerility and profligacy be allowed to fasten on the American people the same brutal system that brought swift ruin to the German Empire?

This is the most vital, the most momentous, the most all-absorbing question before the American people. All other questions pale into insignificance. A great new book by Dr. Charles E. Jefferson on "What War Teaches" is full of illuminating ideas. I quote:

Armed peace inevitably leads to war. This is the crowning lesson of the European tragedy. Men who are blear-eyed talk of the failure of Christianity. Why do they not talk of the failure of militarism. Militarism is the colossal booby and blunderbus of the world. What has this war shot to pieces? The delusion that "armaments are a guaranty of peace." Every moral teacher in America ought to do what he can to rub that lesson into the minds of men.

LEARN NO LESSON FROM HISTORICAL TRAGEDIES.

And yet we have plenty of bawling boobies in and out of Congress who have learned no lesson from this awful holocaust of blood and slaughter, who would scourge our people anew with a gigantic Military Establishment, which, according to Jefferson, will "grind us with public burdens and sink us under them."

Two years ago, with the great powers aligned against Germany, we were fighting over two and a half million men overseas to make the world safe for democracy. Now Congress is saying to the American people in deliberate official action—in preparing for another war—that the fight to make the world safe for democracy was a cruel and bloody farce, a useless sacrifice of over 300,000 killed and crippled soldiers and a colossal debt of over twenty-five thousand millions of dollars.

OUR GREATEST LIVING GENERAL SPEAKS.

On January 31, 1916, before Congress declared war, Gen. Nelson A. Miles, the ablest and foremost living soldier in the United States, appeared on call before the Military Committee of the Senate. Senator FLETCHER asked Gen. Miles whether it was possible for any nation across the ocean to successfully attack the United States. Here is Gen. Miles's reply:

Gen. MILES. I dislike to give my views on that, as I consider it an unreasonable and impossible proposition. The placing of an army on American soil is the last thing any European Government would attempt; it could never be reembarked. It would dissolve like snow beneath the midday sun. Whenever it has been attempted it has resulted in disaster.

Senator FLETCHER. It would be impossible for the enemy's ships to carry coal enough to bring them over here and take them back, would it not?

Gen. MILES. If the enemy could not be destroyed by the patriotism and valor of the American people before they could send their ships back and get another load, then I would want to live in some other country.

This happened when every European power was strong and fully armed. Now all of the great powers of Europe are literally exhausted in men and money and credit and deathly sick of war. Why prepare for another war now? Every American citizen of sanity and sense knows that another war at this time is a physical impossibility.

CALLING BACK AN ERA OF COURAGEOUS PATRIOTISM.

Let me refer to a period of more courageous patriotism, when we had statesmen of stalwart common sense and moral courage in high official life.

In December, 1823, President Monroe issued his memorable message embodying what is now known as the Monroe doctrine. This message was a bold defi and challenge to the three great powers of Europe known as the Holy Alliance. This Holy Alliance was a league formed in September, 1815, after the Battle of Waterloo had sent Napoleon into exile. It was formed by Alexandria the First of Russia, Emperor Francis of Austria, William the Third of Prussia, and indorsed by nearly all the second-class powers of Europe. This Holy Alliance was formed to preserve monarchical absolutism in Europe, and, secondarily, to see to it that no member of the Bonaparte family should ever occupy any throne in Europe. That President Monroe issued his famous message embodying the Monroe doctrine against any interference by this alliance is a well-established fact. Prof. Peck, in his new International Encyclopedia, says:

The most noteworthy attempt of this Holy Alliance was to extend its operation to the New World by the coercion of Spain's revolting colonies.

President Monroe's message was a challenge to the whole formidable array of Old World monarchies, far more defiant and sweeping than Jefferson's defi to Great Britain July 4, 1776. How about our preparedness then? We had only 10,000 soldiers in the Regular Army, including Infantry, Artillery, and riflemen. And how about our Navy? We had 7 wooden battleships, 9 small frigates, 2 corvettes—low sloops with one tier of guns—5 sloops, 2 brigs, and 5 small schooners—30 war craft all told. And how many sea dogs of war did we have then? Let us see. We had 30 captains, 30 master commandants, 9 chaplains, 356 midshipmen, 1 sailing master, 16 boatswains, and 18 gunners—all told only 512, besides the lieutenants, quartermasters, and Army surgeons. What was the entire population of the United States at that critical period—1823? By the census of 1820 we had, including Indians, 9,633,822 people, all told. How much did our Navy cost us in 1823? Nine hundred and twenty-nine thousand five hundred and three dollars, all told. Did the Monroe doctrine precipitate war? No. We had 3,000 miles of deep ocean between us and any possible enemy in the Old World. That same ocean still rolls between, and we have now 110,000,000 instead of less than 10,000,000 in 1820. Who is afraid? No one with self poise or ordinary horse sense or courage sufficient to be a citizen of America.

NO HYSTERICAL IMPERIALISTS AFTER THE CIVIL WAR.

Let me refer to a later period in our history, when hysterical imperialists did not appear anywhere in public life.

THE RAPID GROWTH OF ORNAMENTAL IDLERS.

We had over 2,000,000 volunteer soldiers in the Civil War, yet at the close of the war President Grant, the foremost soldier of his time, reduced the Regular Army to 25,000 men and 900 officers. We needed a big Army in 1870 as much as we need one now. In 1914, six years ago, the entire appropriation for our Army was $95,266,000. Now, in a time of peace, with no enemy nation in all the world, we are proposing to waste ten times as much.

Take the Coast Guard, for instance; we have wasted over $100,000,000 on the Coast Guard and have had two foreign wars since its establishment—the Spanish-American War and the World War—and not one gunner of this useless and expensive Coast Guard has ever been called upon to fire a shot. And yet we provide in the pending bill 30,000 soldiers for the Coast Guard alone. The bill provides for 291 officers for the Signal Corps, or over one officer for every two privates. This Army bill provides for 97 general officers, 36 major generals, and 60 brigadier generals; 21 major generals of the line and 11 of the ornamental staff; 46 brigadier generals of the line and 14 of the staff. The rank of major general during the tenure of the present officers is continued in the Signal Corps, Bureau of Insular Affairs, Inspector General's Department, and the Judge Advocate General's Department. The bill, therefore, carries a total of 36 major generals. A major general draws a straight salary of $8,000 a year, and with allowances it amounts to $10,000. Let us see: Thirty-six major generals at an aggregate cost of $360,000 per year, with no active service, does not look good to the average taxpayer. Adding the pay and allowances of the 60 brigadier generals, we have an aggregate cost for ornamental idlers in uniform alone approximating $840,000, not to mention the big army of colonels and lieutenant colonels and majors and captains, and so forth, making the exasperating total of 18,000 officers, not including Gen. Pershing, made General supreme by Congress.

WHY PREPARE FOR ANOTHER WAR?

Let us remember that no country around the world has ever initiated or first declared war against the United States since the adoption of our Federal Constitution of 1787, and never will. Hence it is a mild statement that this proposed enormous Military Establishment in time of peace is nothing short of criminal idiocy.

The Emperor Augustus, who dispatched ships to Egypt to bring back sand for his gladiators when the plebeian populace of Rome were gaunt and desperate with famine, was of the same type and kidney as this military aggregation responsible for this extortionate and excruciating bill.

This wicked waste of our hard-earned tax money, this terrible debauchery of the electors, this dangerous and degenerating military propaganda, coupled with the stolid indifference of the masses over their despoilment, fill all patriotic hearts with fearful forebodings. But we should not despair. Let us hope on and never cease our efforts to arouse the public conscience and rally the people from their comatose condition to embrace as of old that puissant spirit of democracy from whose womb this Republic was born.

APPENDIX.

ADMONITION FROM THE FOREMOST STATESMAN, PROPHET, AND GENERAL OF THE REVOLUTION.

Cultivate peace and harmony with all nations * * * Overgrown military establishments are, under any form of government, unauspicious to liberty and are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. (George Washington.)

A VALUED PATRIOTIC SENTIMENT FROM AN EX-PRESIDENT AND STATESMAN AND GENERAL.

We need no large standing army in this country. We are a Republic, where every citizen is a beneficiary of the Government. In Europe government rests upon force, and every laboring man is carrying a soldier on his back. In the German Empire the spiked helmet is supreme, but the United States Government rests upon the love of home and country of all our people. (James A. Garfield, 1868.)

HUMANE VIEWS OF A GREAT AMERICAN PRELATE.

God grant that the day is not far off when the Prince of Peace will reign over the Cabinet of the Nation, over the kings and presidents, and settle disputes not with standing armies but by an international board of arbitration. (Cardinal Gibbons.)

VIEWS OF THE GREATEST OF ENGLAND'S ESSAYISTS AND PHILOSOPHERS OF HUMAN DESTINY.

A standing army means waste and moral decay. No nation can improve its morals or grow in strength when its bravest and best sons are year by year devoured in the army. (Thomas Carlyle.)

PROCLAMATION BY THE ABLEST AND MOST CONSERVATIVE LABOR LEADER AROUND THE WORLD.

More than a year has passed since silence settled over the battle fields, yet in all that time not one measure of really constructive character has been placed on the Nation's statute books. The national machinery of government seems to have been paralyzed into either inaction or reaction by the cessation of hostilities. And never was the world so starved for great fundamental progress. Money greed, political greed, greed for place and power—these have been among us undoing our will and striking at our liberties. (Samuel Gompers.)

VIEWS OF A GREAT EDITOR.

There were powerful men in the United States who have wanted a great standing army. They found that men hired from Pinkerton in great labor strikes were not satisfactory. The Czar had a great standing army. Trotski and Lenin have that army now. Be careful how you build up a dangerous weapon that somebody else may take from you. A man named William Hohenzollern also built with much military genius a gigantic standing army. Where is William now? (Arthur Brisbane.)

REV. JOHN MADDOCK HAS VIRILE VIEWS.

Among other rapid thoughts, I note that many preachers during the last three years have been galloping war horses, sworded and spurred, with blood in their eyes, instead of preaching the benign doctrine of the lowly Nazarene. (John Maddock.)

HOW THE BEAR FEELS THAT WALKS LIKE A MAN.

Bolshevism will never be overthrown in Russia if America and the rest of the world continue to maintain the present international frame of mind toward "the bear that walks like a man." Allied intervention is wrong. (Gregory Zilboorg.)

VIEWS OF THE UNITED LEATHER WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

Militarism is the doctrine of the savage. We are living in a day of industrial and scientific development, and it is high time that, in the closing of the first quarter of the twentieth century, we realize it necessary to think in terms of industrial development and more equal service in the line of production and not in terms of war and destruction. (Simon Knebel, chairman.)

STRONG BACKING FOR A MILITARY PRESIDENT.

Among others currently understood to be backing Gen. Wood financially are Percy Rockefeller and George W. Perkins, of Morgan & Co. The Du Ponts are also known to be friendly to Wood's candidacy and are supposed to be assisting in paying the bills. (Harry B. Hunt in Toledo News-Bee.)

REDEEMED RUSSIA SHOULD WARN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

Freed from centuries of oppression and through unparalleled sacrifice, Russia is now standing erect, seeking to cleanse and purify every chamber of past horror, looking only for the full expansion of national life and the happiness of every individual. This is an object lesson for the American people that should not pass unheeded. We spilled treasure and blood to establish democracy in the world. But now we are planning a great standing Army, a mighty Navy. What does this all mean but a preparation for future wars and the inculcation of militarism in

the minds of coming generations? Are we sure we are sane to permit this growth to enlarge? If persisted in by every agency of entrenched privilege, we will become as Russia under the Czar. (James A. Warren.)

VIEWS OF OHIO'S MOST COURAGEOUS PROGRESSIVE.

For king, kaiser, and czar millions have given up their lives. Many millions more are suffering as no people ever suffered before. All have avoided the real reason, and that is militarism. The doctrine, that to be prepared for war insures peace has been shot to hell. We must not follow in the footsteps of Europe, though jingoes yell, munition makers clamor, and fake patriots proclaim otherwise. (Peter Witt, Cleveland.)

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VITAL TRUTH BY THE GREAT VICTOR HUGO.

The chief cause of war is found in the armaments of nations. (Victor Hugo.)

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THE REASON WHY MILITARY MEN WANT BIG ARMIES AND NAVIES.

When the lawyer asks for the abolition of litigation and the doctor prays for the disappearance of patients, then maybe the professional fighter yearns for peace. But the soldier ought to wish for war. It is his only business. (Ernest Crosby.)

Here is a couplet from The Illusion of War, by our greatest living poet, Richard Le Gallienne:

War I abhor,
And yet how sweet
The sound along the marching street
Of drum and fife, and I forget
Wet eyes of widows, and forget
Broken old mothers, and the whole
Dark butchery without a soul.

—

Here is a "Song of hate" by Joanna Bornsen:

I hate the makers of the tools of death,
Those loathsome harpies crouching in their den
Of greed, who scent the battle's gory breath
To fatten on the bones of slaughtered men.

I hate the war promoters, high and low,
Who lit the torch that set the world aflame,
For they are mankind's most pernicious foe.
I hate them all; accursed be their name!

—

THE OPEN DOOR OPENLY ARRIVED AT.

Mr. Lansing is winning friends by his dignified silence. He has had nothing to say since President Wilson showed him the open door openly arrived at. (Toledo Blade.)

Soldiers' Bonus Legislation.

I expect that I shall have the confidence of the great majority of the soldiers in my determination to support only a plan which can be borne by the general public and to support such a plan to the very limit of my ability.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM N. VAILE.

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 18, 1920.

Mr. VAILE. Mr. Speaker, the Denver Express recently telegraphed asking me to state my position on the soldiers' bonus plan, whereupon I wired as follows:

Replying to your telegram of this date, I favor any plan of increasing the soldier's compensation which will not increase the cost of living, but inasmuch as all pending bills on this subject, some 20 in number, have been referred to the Ways and Means Committee, which is holding daily sessions, I prefer to reserve judgment on any particular plan until the evidence of its benefits to the soldier and its effect on the general public has been submitted. Abundant opportunity is now being given to American Legion and all other soldier organizations to submit their views, and I believe that as a result of these hearings a plan will be worked out which can be borne by the general public and at the same time provide for soldiers a just compensation substantially equivalent to that received by those who did their work at home.

The Express in its issue of March 4 quotes the foregoing telegram under the following headline and with the following comment:

VAILE WON'T DECLARE FOR YANK RIGHTS—STRADDLES ON QUESTION OF COMPENSATING MEN WHO SERVED.

Replying to a telegram sent him to-day by the Denver Express asking for his stand on the question of justice to the soldiers of democracy and compensation for their losses caused by war service, WILLIAM N. VAILE comes back with a straddle telegram. VAILE says that he is for any plan to help the soldiers that will not increase the cost of living. Everybody else, the trusts, the European loafers, and the profiteers have been allowed or actively assisted by the Government to raise the cost of living by taking from the American people. The 5,000,000 soldiers and their wives and children, it seems, are to be made the goats.

In an editorial in the same issue the Express says, presumably referring to all Congressmen who do not fully meet with its approval:

Keep up your telegrams, boys. Shoot in your letters and you will have these white-livered machine politicians on the run.

Nominate a soldier for Congress in every district represented by a cheap politician who was willing to allow this Government to lend nearly four and a half billion dollars to bankrupt European Governments since the armistice and to ship food out of this country until 20 per cent of our people are not getting enough to eat.

Four and a half billions to help put over the schemes of international finance, to boost that fake league, but nothing for the men who risked their lives for a dollar a day, while corporations back here grafted as high as 18,000 per cent on their capital stock.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I admire the Denver Express for many things which it has done and is doing. It is a fearless and outspoken advocate of the people's rights. Sometimes I think it is a mistaken advocate, but it has as much right to its opinion as I have to mine, and it was speaking in behalf of a cause which makes a strong pull at any heart that is in the right place. The heart of the Express is in the right place. I sincerely believe that mine is in the right place, and to prove it I am going to take my case direct to the soldiers of the World War. I shall have to be judged by them, anyway, and I do not shrink from that judgment, though I am advised that 90 per cent of them are in favor of an immediate bonus in cash or bonds from the Government of the United States. Incidentally I may call attention to the fact that there are some 10,000 ex-soldiers in my district, and counting the adult members of their families, those who are identified with the soldiers in financial interest, constitute a much larger number of people than those who voted for any single candidate for Congress in either of the last two elections in my district. In view of this very obvious fact, I may perhaps be pardoned for saying that if my position is really adverse to the just demands of at least 30,000 voters of my district, it is not fitly described by the term "white livered," which imputes cowardice. Some folks may use another term to describe it, but I am willing to leave that question to the soldiers of the World War when they have fully considered the whole situation.

Let me say that by every tie of sympathy and association I am with the boys who fought and won the war. I was a soldier once, nearly 22 years ago. It was in a very insignificant war as we think of wars now, but there were more deaths in it in proportion to the number of men in the service than there were in our recent armies. I did not get to the front. In that respect my own experience reflects the disappointment of the majority of soldiers in this war. I did lie at the point of death from typhoid.

Many thousands of our brave ex-service men of the World War received wounds in battle or suffered more from disease than I did, but the majority of soldiers in this last war escaped injury or sickness. I was a private. In that respect my experience was identical with that of the vast majority of soldiers of this war. My military record is entirely unadorned with any distinction greater than that which comes to any soldier from the performance of his duty. But my experience was sufficient to make me believe that I know the heart of the man in the ranks, that it is my own heart. It would be a pleasure for me to say to the man in the ranks that I will vote for anything he wants. It would be far easier for me to say that to 30,000 voters who have been my friends and who could reelect me by a thumping majority than it is to say to them that I owe some duty to the Treasury of the United States and that I must and shall judge their wants according to the light of that duty. My only brother, who was considerably over the age at which any man was called by the draft, threw up an important and fairly well-paid job in Alaska and came to the United States at his own expense to volunteer as a private in the Regulars after war was declared. He served through the Argonne drive with a most hard-fighting artillery unit, which suffered heavy casualties. He was recommended for officers' training camp in France, but stayed in the ranks by his own choice. He was overseas altogether for about 18 months. He came out as a corporal and he is now starting in again to practice his profession as a civil engineer. He has not asked me to vote for the bonus, but he is dependent on his own earnings for his support, and I know he could use some money. I would like to help him get five hundred or a thousand dollars.

When I was last in Denver a kid came into my office who had been in my own company on the Mexican border. He was only 16 then. He was so young that I once had to send him back to his quarters to wash behind his ears, as I am now teaching my baby boy to do. He had been continuously in the military service of the United States from the 19th of June, 1916, until long after the armistice. He had been reported killed in action in France, but he stood before me that day with only a small scar in his cheek and a large scar on the other side of his neck to show where he had been neatly drilled through the face by a Boche bullet at the second Battle of the Marne. This seasoned veteran of 19, as fine an example of a soldier in every one of his

64 upstanding inches as has ever been produced in any time or any country, was much more than young enough to be my son, and I wish he were. He was going to start farming. A thousand dollars would be a godsend to him, and if the editor of the Express thinks I would not like to see him get it he is misjudging me most unfairly.

Why does he think so, anyway? Did I say so? My language was, "I favor any plan of increased soldier compensation which will not increase cost of living." I meant both parts of that sentence. I am not talking about compensation to the men who were injured or who lost their health. I am not talking about vocational training or about compensation to the families of soldiers who have died. We have already made a pretty fair start on liberalizing the laws of the last Congress for the benefit of those folks, but we have a long way left to go, and I shall never mention cost of living or any other cost in connection with those forms of relief. But my telegram was asked for and was written concerning bonuses of cash or bonds for men who are young and strong; whose health, on the average, is better than when they went into the Army; who are proud to say that, notwithstanding the priceless value of their service, it was only the performance of their duty; and who, with rare exceptions, do not now find any lack of remunerative employment. To these men I say that I have a right and it is my duty to consider the effect on the whole people of the United States of an immediate enormous payment of money to them. Yes, brother corporal, that includes you; and it includes you, the boys of my old Company A, who were more fortunate than I in having the larger service. And furthermore, boys, I am not enough of a "white-livered machine politician" to be put "on the run" even by my best friends. But this is one of the biggest and most far-reaching questions that will have to be decided for many years, and I do not believe you will think I am wrong when all I ask is to "reserve judgment on any particular plan until the evidence of its benefits to the soldier and its effect on the general public has been submitted."

I said in my telegram to the Express that there were some 20 different plans pending in Congress. There are about that number which have been the subject of some public discussion. Altogether, however, there are some 70 of these bills. Does somebody insist that I declare unequivocally in favor of some one of these plans when the soldiers' organizations themselves do not agree and when the committee in charge of this legislation is still considering the evidence? Well, the man who insists on that has a very different conception of a Congressman's duties than I have.

This is the problem in a nutshell: Before the war it cost us approximately one and one-quarter billion dollars to pay all the annual running expenses of the Government. We now pay nearly that amount in interest alone. Instead of a billion and a quarter it is necessary for us now to appropriate nine billions for the coming fiscal year, and, at that, every department, except the Post Office, is complaining bitterly that its estimates are greatly cut. The postal employees and many other Federal employees are justly complaining that their wages are much lower than formerly, in view of the greatly increased cost of living.

Our total revenues from all sources for the next fiscal year will be less than six billions. In other words, we are facing a sure deficit for the coming year in floating indebtedness of more than $3,000,000,000—that is, of more than twice the entire cost of running the Government prior to the war. A bonus of $500—about the minimum proposed—to each soldier would add two billions to that indebtedness. The different plans suggested range all the way from that amount up to twenty billions. Now, how does a nation pay its debts? There is only one possible way to pay either debts or running expenses, and that is by taxation, whether they are paid in cash or bonds. Bonds have to be paid by taxes, and no thoughtful man can doubt that a large bond issue would very greatly depress the bonds which were floated during the war, and which are now selling at around 90 cents on the dollar. If they should drop to 75 cents, it would mean loss to their holders, including many hundreds of thousands of poor people, in the aggregate of $2,500,000,000.

Taxation, whatever its form, is borne ultimately by the consumer, and while the rich man may actually pay more, both absolutely and in proportion to his wealth, the burden of increased taxation is always felt more heavily by the poor. If there is anyone who contends that taxation is not a very important factor in the cost of living, I have yet to meet that person. Of course, it is not the only factor. The profiteer needs attention, and I hope I am not so narrow a critic of the administration as to deny that he is getting it from the officers of the department charged with that duty. He ought to have more attention, and he will get that, too. Another factor in the cost of living is the great inflation of the currency, caused by our necessary bond issues and expansion of credits, in connection with greatly diminished production, during the war. The profiteer takes advantage of that condition, but, even if he were eliminated, it would still exist. The high cost of living will gradually diminish as production approaches prewar standards and the currency is gradually contracted. It will stay high and grow higher if we further expand the Nation's obligations.

Nevertheless, I do not propose or suggest that the soldiers be not granted relief, and liberal relief at that. I hope and believe that a plan can be worked out which, as I stated in my telegram, "can be borne by the general public and at the same time provide for soldiers a just compensation substantially equivalent to that received by those who did their work at home." But any such plan has got to take into consideration the manner of its payment. In order to get my vote, it has got to be so timed and adjusted that it will not increase the deficit to be raised by taxation.

I believe the plan which will be adopted will be along the lines of the Mondell "soldier settlement" bill, greatly liberalized and extended by some of the features of the Morgan bill, so that every soldier can obtain from the Government for the purpose of establishing a home, either in the city or in the country, a loan sufficient for that purpose at a low rate of interest and with amortizing payments spread over a long period of years. Such a plan may be reasonably expected to finance itself with a relatively small initial advance by the Government. It appeals to our Americanism and our patriotism by recognizing that the soldier and the home are our combined protection for all the future. And it provides an adjustment period during which our finances may be reestablished and in which it may be possible to further liberalize the plan itself. I hope and believe that if such a plan is adopted it may be possible in the not distant future to stimulate the acquisition of homes under it by waiving part of the amortizing payments which, clearly, will have to be required at the start. It will depend on how we succeed in working ourselves out of the situation we are in now.

In the near future the substantial economies already enforced by the present Congress in the administration of the departments can be very greatly increased. A great part of the expensive personnel now maintained at Washington will become unnecessary and that which experience is showing to be unnecessary now can be eliminated. The budget system which has passed the House and which will be passed by the Senate before the expiration of the present Congress will put the Nation in the way of an orderly and businesslike conduct of its finances. Greatest of all, the improvement in industry and in business conditions generally will make taxes somewhat more easily borne both by rich and poor.

If any man objects to a plan of compensation which "can be borne by the general public," the conclusion must be that he would favor a plan of compensation which could not be so borne.

I hope and I expect that I shall have the confidence and support of the great majority of the soldiers in my determination to support only a plan which can be borne by the general public, and to support such a plan to the very limit of my ability.

Fess Bill to Amend the Zone Postage Rates on Second-Class Mail Matter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE BLACK,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 23, 1920.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, recently the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads held hearings on H. R. 10876, a bill introduced by the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. FESS, to amend the present zone postage law applying to second-class matter so as to provide that the rates which were fixed for the first year of the operation of the present law should be made permanent. It will be remembered that when Congress passed the zone postage law it so arranged the rates that they would be increased each year until the fourth year of the operation of the law, when

they would reach their maximum and remain stationary thereafter. The reason for thus graduating the increase in rates, and not making the fourth-year rates immediately effective, was not because Congress thought they were in any respect too high, but was to enable the publishers of newspapers and magazines to adjust their business to the increased charges.

Now comes along the Fess bill and seeks to restore the first-year rates of the bill, which if adopted would leave the Government in a very little better shape for revenues on this class of mail matter than it was prior to the enactment of the zone law. I am against the bill because (1) the postal revenues will be pushed to the limit to pay the expenditures of the Post Office Department for this fiscal year, and in all probability there will be a deficit; (2) the zone system of payment of rates is fair and equitable and should not be changed in principle, and should only be adjusted when inequalities and injustices can be shown to exist as to any particular zone; (3) the rates in the present law, when they reach their maximum in 1922, will then be considerably lower than the actual cost of service to the Government.

Some time ago I received a letter from Mr. Frank S. Banford, president of the American Trade Publishing Co., New York City, in which he propounded to me a long list of questions concerning various phases of the zone law, and to all of which, after investigation, I made careful reply. In my reply I stated the questions asked in his letter and then gave my answers, and as these questions and answers discuss practically all sides and angles of the zone postage law, I herewith insert the letter under leave to extend my remarks for whatever it may be worth to those who are interested in the subject:

FEBRUARY 28, 1920.

Mr. FRANK S. BANFORD,
President American Trade Publishing Co.,
New York City, N. Y.

MY DEAR SIR: I have received your esteemed favor of February 19, and would have answered it sooner but for the fact that Congress has had before it the final enactment of the railroad bill, and I have been giving my time and attention to the study of that legislation. I will now endeavor to reply fully and frankly to the questions which you propounded in your letter, and in doing so I will quote facts as nearly as I have been able to ascertain them by careful investigation. I will state your questions and my answers in their regular order.

Question 1. Do you believe that a pound of second-class matter should be charged with the same percentage of post-office expense as a pound of first-class matter?

Answer. No; and it will not be under the present zone law. If it were, the rates provided in such law would be very much higher than they are.

Question 2. If not, why do you insinuate that because the second-class tonnage is 20 per cent of the whole it should be assessed with 20 per cent of the cost?

Answer. I have not so insinuated nor stated. If I favored a zone law which would yield 20 per cent of the expenditures of the Post Office Department because of the fact that second-class matter furnished 20 per cent of the volume of the mail, then I would favor rates which would yield $90,000,000 per annum. I do not favor such rates and have never so stated. What I have stated is this:

I favor the present law, which, when the rates reach the peak of maximum return in 1902, will yield only $32,000,000 annually, and which, assuming that there will be no increase in the present aggregate of postal expenditures, will be only 7½ per cent of the total. Of course, it is very probable that by 1922 the aggregate expenditures of the Post Office Department will be $500,000,000, in which event the $32,000,000 to be collected from second-class matter will be only 6⅜ per cent of the aggregate expenses.

Question 3. Do you not know that the post-office officials themselves claim that it costs six times as much for a pound of first-class mail as for a pound of second-class mail?

Answer. It is true that the department claims it costs six times as much to transport and handle a pound of first-class as it does for a pound of second-class mail. The transportation would be the same; the difference is due to the handling cost, as a pound of first-class mail averages about 45 pieces while a pound of second class only 4; but while it costs six times as much to handle the first-class mail, the average postage on a pound of such matter is 84 cents, so at the old flat rate of postage we received 84 times as much revenue from a pound of first-class mail as we did from a pound of second-class mail. Do you think that was just and equitable? Are you one of those publishers who are suggesting that we advance letters to 3 cents when first-class matter is already paying 84 cents a pound?

Question 4. Do you not know, too, that the Post Office Department's cost figures are based on the Hughes Commission report, now nearly 12 years old?

Answer. It is true that some figures of the Post Office Department are based on the Hughes Commission report, which commission conducted investigations during the year 1911; but these figures have been revised from time to time and brought down to date, until it is believed that they are as accurate as it is possible to secure them. The Hughes Commission, which was headed by Hon. Charles E. Hughes, found that the cost of handling and transporting second-class matter in the case of mailing at the cent a pound rate was approximately 5½ cents a pound, exclusive of certain expenses, principally for service in post offices which, because of the limited information regarding them, the commission did not assign.

Question 5. Do you not know that the audited revenues of the Post Office Department in 1907 were $183,000,000, and that for the year ending last June they were $364,000,000, or just about double what they were at the time of the Hughes Commission investigation?

Answer. Yes; and the amount collected for handling second-class matter in 1907 was $7,129,451.76, or only about 4 per cent of the cost of operating the Postal Service. The Fess bill, which you advocate, would raise about $16,000,000. This would be 3½ per cent of postal expenditures, as against 4 per cent for 1907, and would thus maintain the same low ratio, which is entirely unjustified.

Question 6. What reliance can be placed on cost estimates which state that parcel-post mail costs a fraction under 3 cents a pound and that second class costs nearly 9 cents a pound?

Answer. It is true that the average cost of handling and transporting a pound of parcel post is approximately 3 cents, but it is not true that second class costs 9 cents, because the department in all its statements before the Ways and Means Committee estimated the cost of handling and transportation of second-class matter at 7 cents a pound—a reduction since the Hughes Commission report—due to economies which had been effected. I am very much disposed to believe that these figures are correct, because the average transportation of a pound of parcel post is less than 400 miles, while on a pound of second-class matter the average distance is approximately 800 miles. The transportation cost would therefore be twice as much for second class as for parcel post. The average weight of a parcel at this time is 3 pounds 8 ounces, while the average weight for second-class matter is 4 ounces, so it would be necessary to handle and distribute 12 pieces of second-class mail to obtain the same weight as one piece of parcel post. It can readily be seen why the cost of transportation and handling second-class matter is more than twice as much as that for parcel post.

Question 7. You know, do you not, that the tonnage of parcel-post mail is over half the total? According to your letter, would it not be fair to expect the parcel-post mail to return in revenue over half the estimated operating cost of four hundred and fifty millions?

Answer. It is true that the tonnage of parcel post is more than half of the total of all mail transported, and it should bear this proportionate cost of transportation; but, while this fact is true, the number of pieces of parcel post handled annually does not represent more than about 8 per cent of the entire number of pieces of mail handled. Parcel post should bear only its relative proportion of the handling cost. The revenue from parcel post will represent about 30 per cent of the entire revenue of the Postal Service. Therefore you will see the proportion of volume of parcel-post matter to volume of whole and proportion of revenue derived therefrom to whole of revenue of department would be represented by the following figures: 50 : 100 : : 30 : 100, whereas as to second-class matter under the Fess bill it would be 20 : 100 : : 3½ : 100. Do you think that would be giving parcel-post matter a square deal? Remember, all books and educational matter of that kind go at parcel-post rates if they weigh more than 8 ounces.

Question 8. The trade and technical papers do not use the rural free delivery routes at all. In view of this fact, what percentage of the $65,000,000 rural free delivery cost is chargeable against our papers?

Answer. In estimating the cost of transportation and handling, the various papers have never been separated into the different classes. It would be impossible to tell what portion of the trade or technical journals are delivered on rural free delivery routes. In the statistics of the department the second-class matter bears only its proportion of cost. While the trade and technical journals may not be delivered on rural routes, yet, because they are nationally circulated, the average haul is no doubt greater than the average publication, and they should bear more than the average cost of transportation.

Question 9. The cost of free, franked, and penalty mail for the last post office fiscal year is estimated at $30,000,000. Do you know how much of this enormous item is charged against second-class mail?

Answer. As stated in my answer to question 4, the Hughes Commission found that 5½ cents per pound was a fair appraisement of the cost of transportation and handling second-class mail matter, excluding certain expense cost of the Post Office Department which it did not include. In this appraisement second-class matter was not charged with any of the cost of transporting and handling free, franked, and penalty mail.

Question 10. Is there any reason why the free mail handled for the various departments of the Government should not be charged against the departments using the post office instead of being charged against the various classes of paid mail?

Answer. No. No class of mail matter should be compelled to pay more than its proportion of costs, all elements of cost to be considered in the computation. The cost of handling free, franked, and penalty mail is one of the costs which should not be allocated to the respective classes of mail matter.

Question 11. Do you approve of carrying country weeklies and dailies "free in county"?

Answer. No; I do not. I think they should be charged with the zone rate of postage contained in existing law.

Question 12. Do you believe that low carrying charges on freight, mail, or anything else benefit only the producers and shippers? If the rates on coal, wheat, and lumber should be cut in two, who would benefit most, the shippers or the consumers?

Answer. My answer to this question can be stated in very few words. I believe that the rates on mail matter, as well as commodities transported by freight, such as coal, wheat, and lumber, mentioned by you, should be as low as is consistent with fair payment for the services performed. I do not believe, however, in subsidizing one class of mail matter or freight traffic at the expense of another, even though it might be conceded that to do so would benefit a very considerable number of people. That is why I object to the Fess bill, as I have very fully stated in my answer to other questions.

Question 13. Why do you say, then, that low postage rates are a "subsidy" to the publishers?

Answer. In my judgment, my answer to question 12 covers above question, and therefore I will not repeat it, but respectfully refer you thereto.

Question 14. Is the money the Government spends on highways and navigable streams a "subsidy" to vehicle and boat owners? Why not compel the actual users of these facilities to pay the entire cost of their maintenance?

Answer. You certainly are too intelligent a man to compare improvement of public highways and navigable streams with that of a distinct and particular service rendered for hire by the Post Office Department to the American Trade Publishing Co., of which you are president. The difference is so patent that I do not deem further discussion of it necessary.

Question 15. Why not assess the entire cost of high schools and universities against the students attending them?

Answer. You surely do not place the advertising matter carried in the American Trade Publishing Co. at so much per (however meritorious it may be), and the zone law only applies to your advertising matter and not to your reading matter, on the same plane as the education endeavored to be taught our students at high schools and universities. If you do, then I fancy that none of the argument I have endeavored to make will meet with your approval.

Question 16. Why should the Government not run its entire machinery on a sordid profit-making basis rather than as a service to the whole people?

Answer. I have never contended that the Post Office Department should be run on a profit-making basis. All that I have ever contended is that it should be approximately self-sustaining. It renders a service very similar in its nature to that rendered by telegraph and telephone companies, express and transportation companies. The difference is that these latter concerns are entitled to collect a rate which will not only be self-sustaining, but will, in addition, yield a fair margin of profit, whereas the Government is not put to the necessity of making a profit, and should therefore only fix a rate high enough to make the Post Office Department, taken as a whole, self-sustaining.

Question 17. Why do you want the people of Texas to be specially taxed on all of their reading matter in proportion to their remoteness from the point of mailing?

Answer. My answer to this question is very flat denial that they are thus taxed. The reading matter in a newspaper or magazine is charged the same flat rate to any zone, and it is only the advertising matter which is charged at the zone rate, and if you attempt to pass this increased cost of carriage of advertising matter on to the reader instead of the advertiser, as you should, then the Texas readers will find it out, and I have no doubt will know how to take care of themselves.

Question 18. Have you any conception of the financial penalty which will be imposed upon the people of Texas when the present postage-zone law is in full force and effect? We have made a calculation based on the circulation of only 18 general magazines in Texas, such papers as the Literary Digest, Good Housekeeping, Popular Science Monthly, Collier's, Metropolitan, etc., and find that the excess postage which will be charged the citizens of Texas will be $328,928.04 for these 18 papers only. Add to this, if you will, the extra cost of farm papers, Texas newspapers, outside newspapers, and all the rest of the periodicals, religious papers, trade journals, etc.

Answer. The zone postage law does not impose any financial penalty on anyone, unless it can be established that it imposes a rate which will be higher than the cost of the service rendered by the Government. That fact you can not establish, because it does not exist. If, using the law as a pretext, any of the publishers should advance their subscription price to a greater amount than the increased rates would justify, then the fault would be chargeable to the publishers and not to the law. The people will be wise enough to ascertain this fact and take care of themselves.

Question 19. Why do you want to make periodicals and newspapers entering or leaving Texas hurdle higher and higher zone fences in both directions? What will you gain for Texas by making it difficult and expensive for information to get in or out of the State?

Answer. The periodicals and newspapers entering or leaving Texas do not hurdle higher and higher zone fences in both directions any more than the parcels-post matter, books, and a hundred other articles of mail matter that I might enumerate, and, in fact, which includes practically all mail matter except letters and very light packages, which, because of their very light weight, it would be impracticable to charge on the zone basis.

Question 20. Is there any reason why the citizens of Texas should not have access to current information of all kinds on the same basis as the citizens of New Jersey?

Answer. No. They do have. The zone postage law has the very same application to citizens of Texas as it does to citizens of New Jersey. If a point in Texas and a point in New Jersey are, for instance, the same zone distance from the city of Chicago, then the transportation of a pound of second-class matter from Chicago to either point would be identically the same, and it should be. If you mean, however, to ask me if I think that a pound of magazine or newspaper matter containing a large part of advertising should be transported from New York City to a point in New Jersey 100 miles distant for the same flat rate as is charged to a point in Texas 2,000 miles away, I say no. I have already stated my reasons on this point very fully in reply to other questions and will not repeat them here.

Question 21. Can you not subscribe to the idea that it is the function of the post office to draw the people of this country together and hold them together through the operation of low flat rates of postage rather than widen the vast distances which separate us physically by erecting high zone fences every few hundred miles to impede or stop the flow of life-giving information?

Answer. Oh, yes; I subscribe to the idea that one of the functions of the Post Office Department is to draw the people of the country together by means of communication and exchange of ideas, but I do not believe that in order to do this it is necessary to continue the almost noncompensatory rate of 1 cent per pound on second-class matter which existed prior to the adoption of the present zone law. You also probably forget the fact that publications maintained by and in the interest of religious, educational, scientific, philanthropic, agricultural, labor, or fraternal organizations, not conducted for private profit, enjoy the special rate of 1½ cents per pound at the peak of cost, this rate applying to both the reading and advertising portions of such publications. Your own paper, however useful and worthy it may be, is a private enterprise, and if there are any profits they will go to the owners of the paper. Therefore there can be no just complaint of the zone rates as applied to it, unless they are in excess of the cost of the service, which, in my opinion, you can not establish.

I have tried to answer your questions fairly as the answers occur to me. You may not agree to any part of the answers, which are argumentative, but if I have made any inaccurate statement of fact I would like to have it pointed out and will be glad to stand corrected.

Yours, very truly,

EUGENE BLACK.

Army Reorganization Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. ANDREWS,
OF NEBRASKA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 18, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 12775) providing for the reorganization of the Army.

Mr. ANDREWS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, the pending bill proposes the reorganization of our Regular Army. It fixes the maximum of enlisted men at 299,000 and the number of officers at 17,832. Under this bill the War Department could enlist 150,000, 200,000, or 299,000 men, as necessities may require.

Prior to the recent war our Regular Army consisted of about 125,000 enlisted men. The maximum enlistment within the period of the war exceeded 4,000,000.

The committee states that the Secretary of War, on behalf of the administration, urged that our Regular Army should have 576,000 enlisted men and 28,000 officers. From these figures it will be observed that this bill has reduced the administration estimate nearly one-half. It is reported that the increased number demanded by the Secretary of War was to be used as a foreign army.

In addition to the Army of 576,000 enlisted men the administration urged in its recommendation that universal compulsory military training should be adopted immediately.

I congratulate the committee and the country upon the elimination of that provision from the bill.

COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING.

The various bills that have been proposed for the establishment of compulsory military training would require a very large increase of Federal expenditures each year.

Our military and naval resources are fully adequate to existing needs. The armies and navies of the Central Powers were overthrown and destroyed in the recent war. The nations of Europe have been pressed to the verge of bankruptcy.

Nation building must be the occupation of the European countries for a long time to come. In view of such conditions there is no necessity for compulsory military training in this country at present. Instead of increasing our annual expenditures we should reduce them as rapidly as possible. A retrenchment in our expenditures is absolutely necessary to the reduction of taxation, which ought to be brought about without undue delay.

It will be necessary to expend vast amounts of money in caring for the disabled soldiers, sailors, and marines of the recent war. That duty is first and imperative. Some wise provision should be made soon to restore in part the losses sustained by those who were called to the colors during the recent World War. Before beginning to spend billions more to prepare for an imaginary war we should do something for the boys who won the last war. If a bill should be brought before the House to establish compulsory military training I will vote against it. I will do all I can to reduce expenditures and thus prepare for the reduction of taxation.

CONSTRUCTION CORPS OF THE ARMY.

This bill proposes to distribute the officers and men of the construction corps among the various bureaus or divisions of the Quartermaster's Bureau. Under such an arrangement the construction work would have to be done by people who are distributed promiscuously, with a consequent loss in efficiency and economy of time and labor. If an exigency should arise requiring the concentration of all the officers and men assigned to that work, it would be necessary to mobilize them and concentrate their thoughts, energies, and activities before any considerable efficiency could be developed. The number of officers and men assigned to construction work should be restricted to the actual necessity of the service. This could not be done unless they were grouped together. Such work requires knowledge and skill in lines of engineering which is not required in the performance of the general duties of the Quartermaster's Division or Bureau. The chief purpose of the Quartermaster's Bureau is to purchase and distribute supplies for the Army, and it should be restricted to that business.

If the construction corps should be made a part of the Quartermaster's Office, the construction officers would be under the command of the Quartermaster General, who may not possess any training or skill as an engineer. Thus you would have an untrained officer in command with duties relating chiefly to the purchase and distribution of Army supplies. Why should the construction officers be required to serve under an officer who may know nothing about engineering and at the same time have the legal authority to rescind any plan that the construction engineer might deem essential? As a choice between an independent construction corps and the distribution of the construction officers and men among the Quartermaster's Bureau, I am decidedly in favor of an independent construction corps.

We are told that the creation of an independent construction corps will be $30,000,000 additional expense to the Army. Surely those who used those figures do not expect us to accept them as true. Note the fact that the amendment providing for an independent construction corps proposes to take the officers and men already included in the Quartermaster's Bureau and assign them to duty by themselves without any increase in number or grades of pay. Up to this point the expenses will be the same whether they remain in the Quartermaster's Bureau or whether they become an independent corps. Where, then, do the gentlemen find the additional cost of $30,000,000? Oh, some one says, the overhead charges of the independent bureau. If they should become a part of the Quartermaster's Bureau, stenographers and civilian clerks will be needed to perform the work belonging strictly to the work of construction. That same work can be done with a smaller number of stenographers, typists, and civilian clerks in an independent corps than would be required if the officers and men were distributed among the divisions of the Quartermaster's Bureau.

The argument has not yet disclosed any valid reason for including the construction officers and men in the Quartermaster's Bureau. If they had been included originally in the Engineer Corps, there would have been less reason for their segregation into an independent corps for construction purposes.

Those who have furnished the figures of the additional charge of thirty to forty millions by creating an independent construction corps should do some more figuring to correct their own mistakes.

FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT.

Section 9a provides for what is termed a financial department.

The creation of such a bureau will make it possible to develop rules of uniformity in the payment of Army bills and the adjustment of accounts. A personal knowledge of those two lines of business will emphasize at once the wisdom of this provision. With an efficient, industrious, honest official at the head, public business can be expedited in a very gratifying manner. The multiplicity of methods and agencies employed in the conduct of such business will also produce confusion, error, and delay. I know the special value of this plan of segregating the authority to pay bills from the authority to create them.

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT] has asserted that these two agencies should be united in one and the same person. I regard a policy of that kind as very dangerous to the public service.

Some years ago the Treasury Department recommended to Congress that the chief executive officer in the Public Health Service—then Marine Hospital Service—should be made a disbursing officer also. The law was passed and the designation was made. In a comparatively short period of time frauds were disclosed to the extent of about $65,000. When the details were all revealed it was clearly shown that those who opposed that policy in the beginning were right and those who favored it were wrong. That plan made it possible for the chief executive officer of that bureau to pass upon all of the purchases, prepare all vouchers for approval by the head of the bureau, and draw all checks for the payment of those bills.

I need not consume time to rehearse details by means of which these frauds were carried into effect. As soon as they were disclosed and the Secretary of the Treasury was informed as to the results of this plan he immediately recommended the repeal of that law, and it was repealed as speedily as Congress could reach it. If Congress should act with like wisdom in the future it will refuse to sanction any methods that will unite in one and the same person the authority to purchase supplies and also the authority to pay the bills.

RECONSTRUCTION.

All the energies of our people should be directed as urgently as possible to the tremendous task of reconstruction. We have done our part during the period of the war and now our domestic affairs should be restored as speedily as possible to healthy, normal conditions. The millions of young men who served our country so valiantly during the period of the war are passing back into the avenues of business life and should receive every possible encouragement and assistance.

If we should direct our thoughts toward the condition of our people and country prior to the war, we will find a fascinating field of observation. Behold the Nation at peace, happy, prosperous, and contented. The men and the women, the boys and the girls were passing to and fro in their daily vocations in pursuit of knowledge, wealth, pleasure, and happiness. Suddenly the call to arms transformed that picture into the busy, turbulent scenes of war. When the young men heard that call they thought about their plans for a lifetime; they thought about the homes they were preparing to build. How marvelous the transformation! What tremendous risks were involved! What loss of life and property! Speedily the Nation was transformed from that peaceful scene into the turbulent scene of war. Hearts were throbbing and tears were flowing as final good-byes were uttered and the boys turned their faces toward the camps and fields of battle. When once in the lines and they realized that their training was even moderately adequate they longed for the front lines, where the battle was raging. They left the shores of their native land, wended their way amidst the Leviathans of the sea, landed on foreign soil, and carried our flag, the Stars and Stripes, to victory, and emancipated the allied nations that were struggling for life. No sooner had that task been completed than they called for the privilege of returning to their homes and their daily vocations. We are still in the midst of that period of transformation, and the Congress of the United States should extend to those boys every possible assistance and encouragement for their reestablishment in profitable lines of employment and the restoration of the losses they sustained during the period of the war. Of course, we will draw from our National Treasury the contributions of the American people to compensate in part those who suffered the loss of limb and health. We will also draw from the National Treasury the funds needed to care for the widows and orphans.

These reflections are forced upon our minds as we contemplate the abandonment of the war organization of our Army and its reestablishment on a peace basis to hold aloft the principles of American liberty and show to the world that we are ready now and will ever be in the future to do our full duty to the nations of the world in times of peace as we were in times of war.

The National Prohibition Act and the Eighteenth Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW J. VOLSTEAD,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 23, 1920.

THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION ACT.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, as the national prohibition act, familiarly known as the Volstead Act, is being constantly attacked as an extremely drastic and unreasonable measure, I may be permitted to offer a few observations. During the consideration of this measure, I made no special effort to defend its general character, but as the various provisions were reached for consideration I sought to explain and justify their retention in the bill. Having introduced the bill and having had charge of its passage in the House, I have naturally enough been subject to all sorts of threats and taunts. The act has had very bitter opponents as well as strong and earnest supporters, both inside and outside of Congress. In justice to the Members of the House, I am glad to say that they have all treated me with the utmost kindness and courtesy, for which I am sincerely grateful. The bill has met opposition from two classes: First, from those who are opposed to all legislation on the subject and, second, from those who believe that a prohibition law should be passed but who are opposed to any effective measure. Until recently few have openly advocated repudiation of our duty to pass a law to make effective the prohibition amendment. Nearly all opponents have posed as in favor of what they are pleased to call a reasonable enforcement act. To discredit this legislation these forces have joined in the cry that this law is so drastic and cruelly severe that none but the most extreme crank could support it. To this campaign, carried on in and out of Congress, many newspapers have given energetic and persistent support, and no doubt many good people who have had no opportunity to examine the measure have felt apprehensive of the sanity of those who stood sponsors for it. Everyone knows how difficult it is to refute a general charge of this kind; a charge accompanied with no bill of particulars. Perhaps the most effective answer is the overwhelming vote cast in both branches of Congress; the House passed it by almost three to every one that the opposition could muster, and the Senate gave it approval without even a roll call.

Had the measure contained any such unreasonable features as its opponents charge we should have known all about them. The House has some very able and energetic Representatives of districts bitterly hostile to all prohibition legislation, Representatives eager to delight their constituents by pointing out and holding up to public ridicule and condemnation any specially drastic or unnecessary provision. After weeks and months of campaigning against this bill, in which the dictionaries must have been diligently searched for abusive epithets, can anyone recall any particular provision that these gentlemen have pointed out as specially objectionable or as unnecessary in an effective law? I grant they can point to a number that they would like to eliminate. From their standpoint any law that prohibits the manufacture and traffic in intoxicants is not only unreasonable and drastic but utterly destructive of personal liberty. The attacks that have been made upon this act within the last few months clearly reveal the real purpose of those who have raised this hue and cry. The claim that the act is drastic is but camouflage. Their plea is not for the repeal of any so-called drastic feature; their plea is for open repudiation of the amendment and restoration of the saloon. What is it they ask for? Why, for beer and wine; to sugar coat their demand they call it light beer and wine, but they are careful to specify the percentage of alcohol that this liquor must contain. Under the law as it now reads the manufacture and sale of light wines and beer are permitted; what they ask for is the ordinary beer and wine. The smallest demand made is for beer that contains as much alcohol in seven beer glassfuls as is contained in half a beer glassful of whisky. Many of them demand a much stronger liquor, stronger than anything that was usually sold under the license system. It is not necessary to argue whether that beer is intoxicating. It was always intoxicating before this law went into effect. Each State that has had to enforce a prohibition law has found it absolutely necessary to prohibit not only liquor that is recognized as intoxicating but all the milder forms of such beverages that can be used as a subterfuge for stronger drinks, unless the alcoholic content is so low that it can be readily distinguished from the ordinary intoxicating liquor.

With practical unanimity the prohibition States prohibit all beer and wine that contain more than one-half of 1 per cent of alcohol. There is no exception to this among the 33 prohibition States, unless it is Wyoming. That State has a statute that may possibly be construed to permit 1 per cent of alcohol. When the prohibition amendment was adopted it became the duty of Congress to pass a prohibition statute. No one had a right to expect that it would shirk its duty by passing a statute that would be ineffective; nor can anyone reasonably contend that, because this law prohibits what its enemies call light beer and wine, that makes the law extreme or radical. In that respect it simply follows along the beaten track of experience, the ordinary prohibition laws. I repeat, this attack is only an attempt to restore the saloon. It is an appeal to have Congress nullify the Constitution.

IS THE LAW DRASTIC OR EXTREME?

This act is just an ordinary prohibition law. It contains no features that can not be found in any number of prohibition statutes. The language of those statutes have been rewritten and modified to make them applicable to Federal conditions. The reason why this act is perhaps more effective than it was possible to make State statutes is the reason why national prohibition was sought. Under it the Government is able to reach the supply of liquor at its source and control its distribution and use, a thing impossible under State laws. The aim of this law is not to punish, but to make it impossible for a person to obtain liquor for illegal uses. If he can not obtain it, he can not sell it. It is this feature that worries the enemies of prohibition, and it is this thing that has made it possible to eliminate many of the drastic features found in such laws. In many States it is illegal to sell beer or wine, no matter how small a quantity of alcohol they contain; but under this law both may legally be sold if they contain less than one-half of 1 per cent of alcohol, and large quantities are being sold and consumed.

Under this law nonintoxicating cider and fruit juices may be made and consumed in the home. This permits the production for that purpose of cider and such juices, though containing more than one-half of 1 per cent of alcohol. If the manufacture

and use are confined to the home it is necessary to show that they are actually intoxicating before such manufacture and use become illegal. Under several statutes no liquor can be obtained for any nonbeverage purpose, not even for medical use, and some States forbid the sale of flavoring extracts and sirups used in foods and soft drinks if they contain any alcohol. This law expressly authorizes the manufacture and sale of all kinds of liquor for nonbeverage purposes.

LIQUOR FOR MEDICAL AND OTHER NONBEVERAGE USES.

Instead of a doctor being forbidden to prescribe such liquor, every physician in active practice may for the asking obtain an annual permit to prescribe. He is only asked to confine his prescriptions to persons actually in need of liquor for medical purposes, and to keep a record and make a report thereof. The difficulty in securing liquor on prescriptions is not due to any provision in the law; long before the law was adopted various associations of druggists passed resolutions pledging their members not to handle any liquor for any purpose. Many of those who were especially active in securing these pledges are, as I am informed, strongly opposed to all prohibition legislation. There is nothing in this law governing the sale of liquor by druggists that differs materially from like laws in operation in prohibition States. It does not impose any tax or other burden. The druggist must get a permit to sell, and the commissioner may ask him to furnish a bond; I understand a bond of $1,000 is asked. No charge is made for the permit. To purchase liquor he makes an application showing the liquor on hand and the kind and quantity he desires to purchase. This application, when approved by the prohibition director of the State, gives him a right to purchase at any time within three months. In addition to this, he must keep a record of what becomes of the liquor. There is no limit on the quantity of wine that may be prescribed. The high price of whisky is not due to the law, but to the action of the druggists. Liberal provisions are made for the manufacture and sale of sacramental wines. The views of the churches and synagogues were accepted on that subject and written into the law. All sorts of medical preparations, flavoring extracts, and sirups are permitted to be manufactured and sold in the same way, containing practically the same amount of alcohol as they did in years past. This law gives permission to all persons who had in their homes when it went into effect any liquor to retain and use it for beverage purposes, regardless of the quantity so held. Many States prohibit the possession of any intoxicating liquor or limit the amount to a very small quantity. This law removes a great many restrictions that hamper the manufacture and uses of alcohol and makes it possible to greatly increase its production. It is hoped that this may make alcohol a competitor of gasoline. Alcogas, the chief ingredient of which is alcohol, is sold in large quantities at this time and is in a measure such a competitor. The development of the alcohol industry is of great importance in many industries, and this bill aims to foster it in every way possible.

The remedial provisions in this bill are none of them more stringent those those contained in like laws. In some jurisdictions liquor may be searched for and seized without a search warrant, no matter where found. This law does not authorize any search, either of the person, his baggage, his home, or any other place, without a search warrant, and the act specifically forbids the search, even with a search warrant, of a person's home unless that home is used as a place for selling liquor. Few State statutes, if any, place as many restrictions upon the power to search for liquor as does this law. The only power in it to search without a warrant is in cases of persons caught in the act of violating the law. The law to enjoin the persistent violator has been found necessary everywhere, and is written on the statute books of the States, both East and West. That provision is no new invention. The penalties in this law are not any more severe than experience has proven to be necessary. They do not range above the ordinary penalties in such statutes.

FAKE STORIES AS BASIS FOR ATTACK ON PROHIBITION.

In concluding this branch of my subject I desire to call attention to a matter somewhat personal to myself. A fake story has been going the rounds in some of the newspapers to the effect that I do not believe in prohibition of the liquor traffic, and that under some sort of compulsion I wrote the prohibition act because I happened to be chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary. This story misrepresents my attitude and everything I have said on the subject. I should treat this as I have other stories had it not been made use of as a text for editorials abusing the prohibition cause generally.

These editorials, among other things, charge that I am hedging, getting scared, and am lacking in convictions. Let me assure my friends among the enemies of prohibition that they are off the scent and are barking up the wrong tree. I am not only convinced that prohibition is a good thing, but also that the law passed to enforce it is a good law. I am gratified to know that the distillers, the brewers, and the friends of the saloon are against this law. Prohibition is not intended to provide a bar over which a person can order hard and soft drinks at will. If the gentlemen who have published this story imagine that their campaign of misrepresentation and abuse has had any effect on my attitude, they are very much mistaken. Every report that has come to me indicates that the law has worked wonders for the public good. Their frantic appeals for personal liberty has not disturbed me any more than their complaint that the prohibition law is sufficiently drastic to actually prohibit. I have no sympathy for the kind of liberty they want, liberty to restore the saloon and nurse the brothel; liberty to fill the jails and crowd the almshouses; liberty to wreck manhood and blast hope; liberty to profit on suffering and insanity; liberty to gratify their alcoholic drink habit at the expense of ruined homes and wasted lives—none of these are inalienable rights.

THE EFFECT OF PROHIBITION.

The frantic effort made by the saloon interest to discredit prohibition and the confident claim that a reaction has set in against the law does not square with the facts. We have been assured and reassured that labor was bitterly hostile to the law. The Literary Digest, to ascertain the actual facts, sent to labor leaders in every section of the country an inquiry on the subject, which was printed on March 13 in that magazine. Five hundred and twenty-six replies were received, and approximately 30 per cent of those replies are, as this magazine states, based on actions taken at regular meetings of various labor organizations. Out of these 526 replies only 143 opposed prohibition, 345 answered that prohibition was a benefit to the workingman, 38 expressed either doubt of its value or that it had not been given a fair trial. When it is remembered that prominent labor leaders made a strenuous campaign against this law the result is remarkable.

The Sun and New York Herald, heretofore hostile to prohibition, published a two-page article in its March 14 issue headed:

Bowery is rolling in wealth. Day of the down and outer gone. Bread lines abandoned. Missions get fewer appeals for help and saloons pass into other business. Prohibitionists report decreases in disease and crime, quoting official figures.

The facts quoted eloquently demonstrate the value of this policy.

The New York World of March 20, giving an account of a speech delivered by Bird Coler, commissioner of public charities of New York City, prints the following:

Commissioner Coler said that, since the dry era, the municipal lodging house has been practically vacant, only about 40 of its 900 beds being occupied. The alcoholic ward at Bellevue Hospital has practically ceased to exist as such, he said, only 15 or 20 patients having been received within the last month. Besides, he said, commitments of children, because of poverty, have shown a marked decrease.

"I can only say this to my friends in the Democratic organization in the city, State, and Nation," said Commissioner Coler, "that if any of them were sitting in my place, with a chance to observe the betterment of civilization prohibition has brought, he would take no other stand than to present these facts to the American people.

"The results of the disuse of alcohol have been more astounding than even the claims of the most ardent prohibition advocates."

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle adds its testimony, under date of March 26, by publishing from a speech by Frank Vanderlip, one of the great financiers of this country, the following:

With a true combination of moral insight and plain common sense we have amended our Constitution and have provided the greatest single economic factor looking toward material prosperity ever created by legislative enactment. I believe that the economic value of prohibition will eventually be an influence for the prosperity of society the like of which will amaze ourselves and the world.

CONCURRENT POWER.

As the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD contains very little, if any, of the story or purpose of the provision contained in the prohibition amendment giving Congress and the several States concurrent power to enforce it, I may be permitted to submit a few observations, as it is a subject on which I have been frequently asked for information. The resolution proposing this amendment originated in the Senate; when it reached the House it was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, of which I was then a member. It was there discussed among the members, especially among those who favored its adoption. It was, among other things, pointed out that if the amendment should be adopted in the form in which it had passed the Senate its effect might be to repeal or enable Congress to suspend every prohibition statute in the country, and that it ought to be made the duty of the State as well as the National Government to enforce it, as the States have courts and police forces equipped to do that work. Attention was also called to the fact that States and the Federal Government exercised the power to

punish the same act, each in its own courts and under its own laws. As this power has usually been spoken of by courts and law writers as concurrent jurisdiction, and as it was sought to confer the like power on Congress and the several States, the phrase "concurrent power" was adopted as expressing that idea. I do not know who wrote the provision, but I know that was the idea sought to be written into the amendment. Because of this provision many difficulties are predicted, conflicts of all kinds are anticipated. If construed as intended by those who proposed it, there is no occasion for concern. There is very little chance for any conflict.

The amendment can not be enforced by granting the right to do certain things; it must be enforced by forbidding the things forbidden by the amendment. Any act left unpunished by a State may, nevertheless, be punished by the National Government if such punishment tends to enforce the amendment, and likewise, to accomplish the same purpose, an act left unpunished by the National Government may be punished by the States. If a State should illegally authorize a person to sell beer containing, say, 2¾ per cent of alcohol, it would not occasion any conflict with the national law prohibiting the sale of beer containing more than one-half of 1 per cent of alcohol. The person so authorized would simply be in the position of one who has to get authority from two masters. It is possible that a conflict might arise if you can imagine that a State could make it the duty of a citizen to sell liquor in violation of the national law, but in that event the law of Congress would be supreme, unless that law was itself in violation of this amendment. There is no reason why the provision of the Constitution making the law of Congress supreme does not apply to legislation under this amendment. The fact that the power of Congress and the States is concurrent does not mean that the power of Congress is not supreme in cases of conflict. The very purpose of the provision making the laws of Congress supreme is to deal with cases of concurrent power, power existing at the same time over the same subject. If the eighteenth amendment had been a part of the Constitution when that instrument was adopted, I venture the opinion that no one would ever have suggested that the rule making the law of Congress supreme would not apply to laws passed under it. The exercise of concurrent power by Congress and the several States is neither new nor unusual; it has been constantly exercised ever since the Government was founded. It is expressly authorized by section 5328 of the Revised Statutes of the United States. This section in some form has been in force since 1825, and has been repeatedly recognized by our courts as valid.

As to many offenses subject to Federal punishment, the States would have no power to punish if this statute was repealed. This makes the power dependent upon the will of Congress. To avoid such dependence, the provision giving the States power to enforce the amendment was written into it. The object of making the power concurrent was to obviate the rule that where Congress acts under a granted power it has the effect of suspending or annulling State laws on the same subject. It was the intention that the power to enforce should concur in the sense that at the same time and to accomplish the same purpose Congress and the several States might make and enforce laws. The strange contention is sometimes urged that those that proposed and ratified the amendment intended that the law of Congress should not be valid unless the State affected by it concurred in it by agreeing to it. If that is true, it follows as a necessary corollary that the law of a State is not valid unless Congress so concurs in it, and that, as there are no such laws, liquor is no longer subject to any control. Such a construction would defeat the very purpose of this provision and make the adoption of the amendment not a prohibition, but a free-whisky law. The States would not only be helpless as against a hostile Congress, but Congress would likewise be without power. Why not contend that Congress, in creating the municipal court for this District, intended by the grant of concurrent jurisdiction to the municipal and Supreme Court of all actions in which the amount in controversy does not exceed $500 that the municipal court must concur in all judgments rendered by the Supreme Court in suits involving less than that sum to make such judgments valid?

Not only was the amendment with this provision for concurrent power written by the friends of prohibition, but they proposed it by a vote of more than two-thirds of both branches of Congress; and it was also the friends of prohibition who ratified it in the legislatures of the various States. No one can seriously argue that these men meant to perpetrate such a stupendous fraud upon the people of the country as they have done if that is what they meant. I am sure the people nowhere so understood it. These men have clearly demonstrated by their action that they did not so understand it and had no such intention. Those who proposed the amendment in Congress stood staunchly behind the national prohibition act, though that act makes no provision for any such agreement, and the States that ratified the amendment are proceeding upon the theory that no such agreement is required. Utterly unconscious of any such requirement, many of the legislatures that ratified the amendment passed laws for its enforcement that contained no suggestion of the necessity for such an agreement. As these are the men who were authorized to and did act for the people in adopting this amendment, they must be presumed to have known what was intended, and we have a right to assume that their intention and the language they used to express it square with their actions.

Pensions for Soldiers of the War with Spain, Philippine Insurrection, and Chinese Relief Expedition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OSCAR E. BLAND,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 25, 1920.

Mr. BLAND of Indiana. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House of Representatives, ever since I have been in Congress I have been continually advocating the necessity for liberalizing the pension laws as applicable to the soldiers who served after the Civil War closed. The class of soldiers ordinarily referred to as Spanish-American veterans, in my judgment, have received shabby treatment from this Government up to this hour, and when I say this I, of course, mean in comparison with what the Government has done for other soldiers. It is true that the Government has tried to help every soldier if he received disability in the service, but the amount of help has in comparison to that given the Civil War soldier and the soldier of the late war been small and stingy.

I know of men who served honorably in the Spanish-American War who have been for many years confined to their beds and who draw the pitiful sum of $24. I have in mind a man in my district who had his leg cut off at the knee on account of diseases which if not contracted in was greatly augmented in the service, and who now hobbles around at a boy's job and receives $24 per month from the Government. We are not paying the Civil War soldiers in this beggarly manner, and there are plenty of boys in my district who have come out of the late war drawing $80 and $100.

Many of the Spanish-American veterans have arrived at that age in life where their capacity to earn a livelihood for themselves and family has ceased. The opponent of pensions, the man who does not believe in Government aid to soldiers, has always wanted to apply the hard-and-fast rule with all its technicalities and difficulty of proof that all of the disabilities from which the soldier suffers must be traceable directly to the service. I have been criticized here and elsewhere for my liberal view on pensions to soldiers, but I have had no occasion to repent my attitude toward liberalizing pension laws in behalf of men who offered their lives for their country. It is true that there is a limit beyond which we can not go. We must not bankrupt the Nation that they offered their lives to save, but I have always adhered to the doctrine that this Nation is unworthy of its defenders if it lets one of them, who bared his breast to the enemies' bullets, suffer in the hour of his adversity.

This bill before the House to-day, which will be known as the Sells bill, in its main features meets the requirement of a similar bill I introduced when I first came to Congress. It recognizes the obligation of the Government to help a needy and deserving soldier who served in the War with Spain, the Philippine insurrection, and the Chinese relief expedition, regardless of whether his disabilities were incurred in the service or not. It provides that, regardless of how his disabilities originated, he may receive as high as $30, depending upon the degree of inability to earn his support. If he shall have reached the age of 62 years he is entitled to $12 per month, regardless of his disabilities. This is on the theory, gentlemen, that a soldier who has reached that age is probably in no physical condition to earn his support. If he has reached the age of 68 he gets $18 per month. If he has reached the age of 72 he gets $24 per month, and if he has reached the age of 75 he receives $30 per month. No pension less than $12 is granted

to any soldier. It may be said that there will be men taking money from the Federal Treasury in this way who are both financially and physically able to support themselves. This has always been one of the problems in writing pension laws. It is difficult to help the needy and at the same time avoid the necessity of paying those who do not require assistance, but for my part, Mr. Speaker, I would rather a dozen undeserving men be paid pensions than that one deserving, needy, helpless soldier be permitted to suffer by reason of the failure of a grateful Government to come to his rescue in his hour of need.

I know it is argued that the financial condition of the country at present is in bad shape, but the few million dollars that are to be spent by virtue of this bill are a bagatelle compared to the tremendous sums lavishly poured out by this generous Nation in less worthy investments. I hope that we will never have another war, and yet I am not idealist enough to believe that we will not have, and when the dark clouds of war are hovering over us it is a fine thing for our happy, prosperous citizens to be able to say, "Every man who goes to war knows that Uncle Sam takes care of his defenders, and the boys are not going to be afraid of making themselves and their loved ones charges upon charity if they go to the front to fight for Old Glory." Taking care of the defenders of this Nation is a good investment, Mr. Speaker, if we look at it from no other angle, but I know that the House of Representatives to-day in passing this bill is looking upon the question with a much broader vision and viewpoint. We are to-day, after undue delay, discharging one of the most solemn duties that a Government owes to the protectors of its flag.

In a speech a few weeks ago on the floor of this House I called attention to the need of this character of legislation. This bill does not entirely meet my hopes in regard to the needed legislation for soldiers, but it is such a splendid and generous step in advance that I shall most heartily support it.

Automatic Insurance for All Service Men from April 6, 1917, to November 11, 1918.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. C. WILLIAM RAMSEYER,
OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 26, 1920.

Mr. RAMSEYER. Mr. Speaker, this morning, by unanimous consent, I was given leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD on H. R. 11551, a bill which I introduced on January 7, 1920. This is a bill to amend the war-risk insurance act to extend the benefits of automatic insurance to all service men from April 6, 1917, to November 11, 1918. March 1, 1920, I made a statement before a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in support of my bill. The statement is as follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. C. WILLIAM RAMSEYER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF IOWA.

Mr. RAMSEYER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, this bill that I introduced on the 7th of January, this year, involves the same proposition as the amendment which I offered in the Committee of the Whole on September 12 last, when the war-risk insurance bill was up before the House of Representatives for amendment. The bill, H. R. 11551, is section 401 of the war-risk insurance act as amended and as it is now the law, with the elimination of the following language: "* * * and before the expiration of 120 days after October 15, 1917, or 120 days after the entrance into or employment in active service." What I have sought to bring about in the law is this—to state it very briefly—is to give automatic insurance to every enlisted man who did not have contract insurance. Now, when this bill was before the House it contained another provision; down a little farther is this language, "unless he refuses or has refused to apply for insurance." As I explained to the Committee of the Whole at the time I did not seek to eliminate that language, but what I undertook to accomplish at that time was to give every man automatic insurance unless the record showed, or it could be shown, that he had refused to apply for insurance. After I offered my amendment to strike out this 120-day limitation, and it was defeated in the Committee of the Whole by a very close vote, as you gentlemen will remember, an amendment was offered to strike from the bill, "unless he refuses or has refused to apply for insurance," and that amendment carried.

There was no attempt made to reinstate this last language of the bill in the Senate and I do not know what the conferees undertook to do with that. At any rate that language is not now a part of the law, so that the effect of the present law is that we give to every man by retroactive action, every enlisted man, 120 days' insurance, even though it can be shown that he absolutely refused to take out insurance; or even though it can be shown that insurance was offered to him and he said, "No; I do not want to take out any insurance."

After my amendment was offered in the Committee of the Whole, not only was this amendment I refer to giving insurance to men who had absolutely refused to take out insurance, but other amendments were adopted, such as the Williams amendment and the amendment by Mr. IGOE, of St. Louis, which gave automatic insurance to every man who was on the *Cyclops* that went down. I am not criticizing any of the amendments offered and adopted in the Committee of the Whole, except that I mention them for the purpose of showing that in my opinion, at least, the amendment that I offered was as worthy, if not more worthy, than some of the amendments that were offered and adopted, passed the Senate, passed the House, passed the conferees, and were afterwards adopted by the Senate and the House, and are now the law. At the time I offered this amendment I knew or had heard of a number of cases of men who had died of disease or were killed over in France and no insurance was found, and consequently their dependents or near relatives did not get and are not entitled under the existing law to insurance.

One case that I wish to call to your attention right now—and there are undoubtedly other cases along the same line—of a young man who enlisted early in the war. This war-risk insurance act did not go into effect until October 6, 1917. There was automatic insurance provided for in this act for 120 days after October 15, 1917, and I believe it was afterwards extended for 30 days more; but after that no automatic insurance was in force until after this bill came into effect, and it was made retroactive. As a result of the bill, which became law on the 24th of December, 1919, quite a number of cases that had been rejected by the bureau because the persons had not taken out insurance—their enlistment dated after the time that automatic insurance was no longer in force—but under this act of December 24 last, by this retroactive provision of 120 days, have come in and will now get the automatic insurance. I know in my district of three cases like this—one a young man who went into the S. A. T. C., who was not in there over three or four weeks, but, fortunately for him, he took out $10,000 insurance, payable to his mother; he took the "flu" and died; his mother, of course, gets $57.50 per month. That was toward the close of the war. Another case is where a young man was taken to camp, and for some reason or another he did not apply for insurance. He took the "flu" and died. Under the retroactive provisions of the law passed December 24, 1919—the bill we are discussing—his mother gets the automatic insurance, or $25 per month. Then this case that I have referred to before of the young fellow who went into the Army at the beginning of the war and was taken to France the latter part of the year 1917. He was in the principal engagements with our forces during the summer of 1918, and in September or October, 1918, was killed in action.

We have been unable to find any policy of his. His mother does not get a cent, yet her son was in the fight and fell on the field of honor in France, but under the provisions of the law there can be no payment made to her. Now, this young fellow—the only evidence that we can find that he had insurance or intended to take out insurance is a letter that he wrote home November 16, 1917. He starts out "Dear Mamma, Papa, and Sister"—most of it is characteristically a soldier letter to the folks at home. He ends up the letter like this: "Mamma, I am going to be insured for $10,000, which you will receive if I am killed. Your son and brother." Signed by the soldier boy.

Now, this letter was written November 16, 1917, a little over a month after this war-risk insurance act went into effect. Whether he thought he was insured by the act I do not know, but the folks never wrote him about it, and he never mentioned the subject again. Of course, naturally the parents were not concerned about what insurance they would get if he would die; what they were concerned about was that he would be spared and safely return to them when the war was over and successfully won. In investigating this case in the bureau I accidentally ran across a case like this, of a young man who enlisted March 26, 1918, and died April 9, 1918. He never got out of New York City. Before this act of December 24 last became effective all applications and pleas for insurance to his

dependents were turned down, but after this law came into effect the dependents of this young man, by the retroactive provisions of this act, are getting his automatic insurance. I do not complain that the mother of the young man, who was only in the service 11 days and died, gets automatic insurance; but surely this subcommittee must concede that the case I now present is much more meritorious.

I know the policy of the War Risk Insurance Bureau in recommending amendments to the war-risk insurance act has been to anticipate as far as possible all worthy claims of soldiers and their dependents and bind the Government to take care of them by general legislation so that in the future special bills might be avoided. The bureau wants to avoid this system of special pension legislation, which is taken care of by two committees of the House, the Pension Committee and the Committee on Invalid Pensions. I do not know how many cases there are like the one I now present. I thought I had three cases like it and did think so at the time I presented this amendment on the floor of the House, but upon further investigation and in view of this law that was last passed, we found in one case we could get him in under the then existing law, and in the other case the retroactive provision for 120 days took in the second case, but the law as it now stands excludes the case of a man like the one I have just presented to you, who wrote to his parents that he was going to be insured for $10,000, and who soon thereafter went to France and was in the thick of the fight, was killed over there, and was without insurance.

Mr. RAYBURN. How long after?

Mr. RAMSEYER. He went over in December, 1917, or January, 1918.

Mr. RAYBURN. When was he killed?

Mr. RAMSEYER. September or October, 1918.

Mr. RAYBURN. He had six months, the full extension?

Mr. RAMSEYER. I know, if he had died within the time; he had 120 days following the middle of October, I think it is. Then there is one extension. He had all that, certainly, but the fellows who entered the Army and died after automatic insurance was done away with by Congress, some time in March, 1918, and who were without insurance—you took care of them by this retroactive provision of 120 days, even if it can be shown absolutely and positively that he refused to take the insurance. Now, when I argued this amendment to the House in my speech I especially stated that it was only to take care of such fellows or such of the enlisted men who for some reason or other, no fault of their own, did not take out insurance; and I also argued before the Committee of the Whole that if the records showed that they refused insurance they would not be covered by it, but after I made my argument this other amendment was offered, striking out "unless he refuses or has refused to apply for insurance."

So that the men who went in in April or May, 1918—of course, everybody knew about the insurance then—but the man who was in the Army and the man on the outside when the law first passed were not so sure about their rights; but the fellows who went in in April and May, 1918, and died within the 120 days, even though you can show positively that they refused over their signatures, you go back and say here, "We will force insurance on you"; but the man who was in longer and rendered longer service—I will not say more distinguished or greater service, because the man who dies for his country, whether in camp or on the battle field, I know of no way of distinguishing between their services—so far as the record shows did not refuse insurance, but after his death it is shown that he died after the 120 days and had no insurance; that fellow—or, rather, his mother, or wife, if he had one—when it comes to automatic insurance, has received no recognition at all, while the enlisted man, if he dies within the 120 days, he comes in on the insurance, but if it is after the 120 days he gets no recognition. It is a wholly arbitrary time fixed in the act. You know how things go through or fail to go through in the Committee of the Whole; then the Senate did not give it very thorough consideration. You know how they were forced to get this bill through. I hoped to get my amendment thoroughly considered in the Senate also, but had no opportunity. I think that this is a feature of the law that ought to be amended. I do not know how many persons would come in under my proposed amendment. I have no way of ascertaining just how many there are, but the chairman of your committee has promised me that he would ask the director of the bureau to give him the figures, such as he had, as to the number of persons that this amendment would affect.

Mr. SWEET. The record now shows, under the provisions of your bill, that it would cost the Government about $40,000,000. That is the statement made by the director in his evidence before us upon the Wason bill.

Mr. RAMSEYER. Yes. Do I understand that it is the director's opinion that there are that many persons who died in the service of their country after the 120 days and without insurance?

Mr. SWEET. Yes. As I understand it, the scope of your amendment simply covers all cases of men who died in the service or were totally disabled between the dates of April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918; that is to say, all such persons would be entitled to automatic insurance?

Mr. RAYBURN. In other words, the amendment is this: That every man who entered the Army service from the beginning to the end of the war who did not take insurance and who was killed, his dependents are given $25 per month for 20 years?

Mr. SWEET. Yes; or if he is totally disabled he gets it.

Mr. RAMSEYER. The automatic insurance ended in March, some time in 1918, so that every man from April 6, 1917, to March, 1918, was insured; that is, he had automatic insurance.

Mr. RAYBURN. For 120 days.

Mr. RAMSEYER. Yes; he had 120 days after October 15, 1917, during which he could take out contract insurance; but in fact he was covered by automatic insurance under the law from April 6, 1917, to March, 1918.

Mr. RAYBURN. He had no opportunity to take it out and we gave him four months?

Mr. RAMSEYER. By this retroactive provision every man that entered the service after March, 1918, had 120 days.

Mr. RAYBURN. In which to take out insurance?

Mr. RAMSEYER. Well, he had 120 days whether he had opportunity or not. Whether he refused or not, if something happened to him within the 120 days he had automatic insurance under the law.

Mr. RAYBURN. Yes.

Mr. RAMSEYER. Now, then, this law or this amendment would simply extend the time for automatic insurance as to those who entered the service prior to March, 1918, from the time when automatic insurance stopped, which I think was in March, about the middle of March, 1918, up to the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918. Now, that is all it does. Let me ask the chairman this question: Did he state how many men would be affected by this?

Mr. SWEET. The director did not state how many men; he simply made an estimate as to what this amendment would cost the Government, stating that according to their estimates it would cost the Government about $40,000,000.

Mr. RAMSEYER. We would have to have the number of men, and I hope the chairman will get, if possible, the number of men who will be thus affected; but if this is a just amendment, I do not care if it costs $100,000,000.

Mr. RAYBURN. That is no consideration.

Mr. RAMSEYER. That is no consideration, if it is proper.

Mr. RAYBURN. If it is fair to the fellows who had insurance for 120 days, then the only reason why automatic insurance was ever spoken of was to give it time to be advertised and show that it was worth something to them besides the added compensation, which was bigger than it had ever been in this or any other country, and to put all men that were killed or totally disabled on a footing with those who had taken out insurance. That is the question.

Mr. RAMSEYER. That is exactly the idea I had when I presented this amendment. As I stated on the floor of the House when I presented my amendment, this language had not been stricken out, "unless he refuses or has refused to apply for insurance"; that it would only cover the men who for various reasons may not have had this matter called to their attention. I know the people had to be educated, but there is not much good reason to extend the 120 days' automatic insurance to the fellows who entered the service in April or May, 1918, because at that time the country was thoroughly educated; but here is a fellow—and there are others, evidently, from what the director says that it will cost the Government—who were in the service at the time this law became effective and who soon thereafter went over to France and who had nothing on their minds except to go over there and to make a good record. As to the efforts to present the insurance to these particular fellows we do not have any information. We do not know and can not find out, except by the general statements of Army officers, as to their general practice in presenting this matter to their men. It seems to me that I am presenting an amendment here that is just. It appeals to me as being much stronger than many of the provisions which were permitted to go in the bill when the matter was under discussion in the House and which were permitted to go through the Senate in the manner in which they did and which the conferees afterwards, in haste, permitted to remain in the bill.

Mr. RAYBURN. If they were in the House bill and the Senate did not change them, the conferees had no authority to change them.

Mr. RAMSEYER. I understand that. The Senate, however, it is my understanding, gave the bill very little consideration, at least on the floor of the Senate, and it was passed in almost no time. We all know it dragged along over there in the Senate and was finally pushed through just before Christmas, because the boys came down here and demanded action on this matter.

I have taken up considerable time of the committee. You understand my attitude in the matter and what I am seeking to accomplish and I am sure you will give this amendment careful consideration. I thank you for giving me this opportunity to present this matter to the subcommittee. It is the first time I have presented it to this subcommittee.

Revenue, Taxation, and the High Cost of Living.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. FULLER,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 30, 1920.

Mr. FULLER of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am not a financier. Possibly there will be no dispute as to that proposition after I give expression to what is now on my mind. I have given some thought to conditions as they exist in this country at this time, and have wondered if there was not some remedy whereby relief might be granted by Congress. The old saying so often reiterated by Theodore Roosevelt that "We all go up together or we all go down together" may once have been true. I do not think it is true to-day. I have noticed the reports of some of the great corporations, of many of the manufacturing companies, and of the banks, and it would seem to me from such reports that never in the history of the world has there been such a period of prosperity. Substantially all of them report greatly increased profits and a greatly increased volume of business. I also note from the income-tax returns that in this country many thousands of men have become millionaires within the period since the commencement of the World War. Other thousands upon thousands have very largely increased their wealth within the period of the past few years. All this in face of the fact that the Government's expenditures have been greater than ever before dreamed of, and taxation, especially of great corporations and of men of great wealth, has been on a scale never before thought of. They have been required to pay an income tax, a surtax, an excess-profits tax, and various other presumably burdensome taxes. Many people, and perhaps Congress, seem to have been imbued with the idea that taxes should be, and under the present system are, paid by the wealthy and by those who can best afford to pay.

It occurs to me, and it is my opinion, that this idea is not borne out by the facts. It is my candid opinion that under our present system of taxation the burden is not borne by those who could best afford to pay, but by those who have no possible way of recouping; that is, the ultimate consumer. While all these millionaires, made so by the war and the opportunities created by the war, were accumulating their fortunes the people all over the land were contributing of their means to aid in the successful prosecution of the war. They loaned of their means to the Government, they gave to the Red Cross and to all war-time activities without a thought of profit, while the soulless profiteer was accumulating his great wealth; and now it is the people, the common people, those least able to pay, who, in my opinion, are compelled to pay the taxes of the plutocrats. Let me illustrate: For instance, up in New England there is a great corporation engaged in the manufacture of shoes. I do not name any particular corporation; the illustration will apply to any of them. That corporation knows it will be required to pay an income tax, an excess-profits tax, and so forth. It does not know precisely how much it will be required to pay. What does it do? Just this: It puts a price on its product that will certainly cover that expense, and to make sure it puts on a considerable percentage more than enough to cover it, and thus insure larger profits than ever before. Its product then goes to the jobber or the wholesaler. He, too, is fully advised that he will be required to pay a very large Federal tax. What does he do? Precisely the same as the manufacturer. He puts a price on the shoes that will surely net him enough to pay the tax and liberal dividends besides. He takes no chances; the price is made high enough to cover contingencies. This jobber or wholesaler sells the shoes to the retailer. He, too, knows he is going to be taxed. What does he do? Just the same as the others. He must get a profit large enough to pay the tax, and while he is about it he makes sure of a good profit besides. Now, what is the result? Just this: The ultimate consumer, the man at the foot, he who can not recoup on anyone, pays $10 for a $5 pair of shoes. He pays his own tax, the tax of the retailer, the tax of the wholesaler, and the tax of the manufacturer, and, more than this, he pays the excess profits all along the line. The retailer makes the least of any; but let us see just how it pans out with him. Suppose he formerly did business on a basis of 25 per cent gross profit. On the $5 pair of shoes he made $1.25. When he sells the same pair of shoes for $10 his profits are just doubled and he gets a profit of $2.50 on the same percentage basis. This without profiteering. But the ultimate consumer pays. And, worst of all, the Government gets only the actual tax levied, which would be a very small portion of the extra $5 which the consumer pays for the pair of shoes. What wonder that under such a system of taxation there are those who think there is something wrong with the Government. I wish it were possible to hope that we might again some day get back to the good old times when we used to tell the people in our campaign speeches that "no tax-gatherer of the United States ever comes around to you or to me and asks for money to help run the Government." Until very recent years there was no direct Federal tax. All the expenses of the Government were paid by a tariff duty on imports and an internal-revenue tax.

During that time this country witnessed a period of universal prosperity such as was never before witnessed in all the history of the world. Our system of Federal taxation was, to my mind, ideal. But times have changed. The expenses of the Government have so enormously increased that it would now be impossible to raise all the necessary revenues by the old system. I still think, however, that much more than at present should be raised by a higher tariff. Revenues so raised not only materially reduce the amount necessary to be raised by direct taxation, but they also benefit all of our own people by encouraging production of everything possible at home, and by thus giving employment to our own people. The income tax for the raising of Federal revenues is an innovation of recent years, and it has grown and expanded beyond anything dreamed of when it was first inaugurated. I never did like it. I do not much believe in penalizing thrift and I do not fancy a system that encourages deceit and tax dodging, which I think this system does. As a result of the war and the orgy of reckless and extravagant expenses which accompanied it Federal taxes must be in fabulous figures for at least several years to come. The country is the richest on earth, and can pay all that, with reasonable economy, can be required by the Government in the way of taxes, if they are properly and fairly distributed, so that every person may be required to pay only his or her just share and no more and that no person or corporation shall be permitted to avoid payment of his, her, or its just proportion or to pass the buck to some one else and thus recoup from those who are powerless to prevent. It is my candid opinion that the greatest contributing cause of the present high cost of living is our present system of taxation. And this is so for the reason that the man at the foot, the ultimate consumer, has to pay it all, so that while thousands are made millionaires millions are impoverished and find it very difficult to procure even the ordinary comforts and necessities of life. Notwithstanding the enormous expenses of the Government, yet if such expenses were fairly and evenly distributed it would not be difficult to raise the necessary amount, nor any very great hardship on anyone to pay his proper share. I will tell you what I would do if I had the power and the precise remedy I would suggest. Financial experts may not agree with me, but I feel that the remedy is very simple and easy, and that if applied we might soon get back to something like normal conditions and that the prevalent unrest among the people would soon disappear. If this contention is true, the remedy is worth at least very careful consideration and a fair trial. I would wipe the slate clean. Except as to tariff and internal revenue, I would repeal all the existing revenue laws, all the present unequal, unjust, and burdensome income tax, surtax, and excess-profits taxes, and I would substitute a flat tax on all sales of every name and kind. I have no way of estimating what such a tax at any given percentage would produce, but I have seen an estimate of $500,000,000,000 as the amount of one year's sales. If that is correct, a tax of only 1 per cent would produce

$5,000,000,000 annually, which would be ample to pay all the Government's expenses and very soon reduce and wipe out the national debt. Let us see how such a tax would operate. Every man would pay his just share and no more. On the $5 pair of shoes he would pay a tax of only 5 cents, instead of $5 as at present. Under such a system of taxation there would be no excuse for the profiteer to materially add to the cost of the product. Every person would pay only the tax on the amount of what he or she purchased and every other person would be required to do the same, and the Government would get the full amount so paid. It would be absolutely fair and I believe the fairest and best system for direct taxation that could possibly be devised.

There is no gainsaying the fact that under our present system the tax which wealth is supposed to pay is passed along to those who can least afford to pay; that much more than the actual amount of the tax is thus passed along in order to swell the profits of those whose excess profits are intended to be taxed; that this is a very great contributing cause of the present abnormally high cost of living; and that this very real injustice is the direct cause of the regrettable unrest prevailing throughout the country. We, as the people's representatives, can not act too soon to remedy the evils mentioned.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. SUMMERS,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 31, 1920.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert a letter to a constituent on the work of this Congress and my observations, as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., March 30, 1920.

Sergt. JOHN H. NEWMAN,
Colfax, Wash.

MY DEAR CONSTITUENT: While professional speech makers and "grand standers" have afflicted, hindered, and delayed both Houses of Congress, we have remained on the job, early and late, and old Members of Congress, who have served continuously for 20, 30, or even 40 years, say no American Congress has ever before accomplished so much in the same length of time as has this present Congress. I think a brief review of this work may be of interest to you.

The lavish expenditure of public funds by the present administration and the joy riding with the people's money is a humiliating and astounding revelation, which I am sorry to have to record, but I shall quote only from the printed records. The half will never be told. It surpasses all understanding and staggers the imagination.

The records show that, with the exception of two years at the close of the Civil War, this country never spent a billion dollars in any one year. But immediately upon the incoming of the present administration appropriations rapidly mounted to more than a billion a year in 1914, 1915, and 1916, before we were in the war, and during which time no preparation for the war was being made. In 1918 they went up to the staggering total of $22,000,000,000, and to eighteen billions for the year ending July 1, 1919. (This includes the printing of more than 30,000,000 speeches by the President's official family, at a cost of $442,000. The cost of the million copies of one speech printed for W. G. McAdoo is also included.) These figures are almost beyond comprehension.

In so far as this vast expenditure was necessary in winning the war, no true American for one moment regrets the spending of one cent of it. But to the reckless waste, extravagance, favoritism, and profiteering we do object.

"The worst orgy of profiteering from which the country has thus far suffered" (Literary Digest, Jan. 10) came about in this way: The United States Sugar Equalization Board repeatedly asked consent of the President to purchase for the United States the last Cuban sugar crop at 6½ cents a pound. His consent was not given, but 60 days later Attorney General Palmer agreed on a price with the Louisiana sugar growers of 17 cents and 18 cents per pound. (If your family eats sugar, this may interest them.)

The records show $1,191,182,850 was expended during the war for heavy artillery, but Gen. Pershing testifies that only "133 heavy American guns were in use at the front when the armistice was signed."

Meanwhile $1,031,000,000 was spent on aircraft, but again Gen. Pershing says: "In aviation we were entirely dependent upon our allies."

We had in the Army 391,000 horses and mules, but a lavish spender purchased 945,000 saddles, a million sets of double harness, and 2,850,853 halters. In other words, he would put two saddles, five sets of harness, and seven halters on every animal. In fact, the leather goods ordered by the War Department for all purposes would have required 300,000 more hides than were produced in the United States. This is interesting when we consider the present price of shoes.

But what has this Republican Congress been able to do so far along the lines of economy?

We found awaiting us last May when we met in special session numerous estimates and appropriation bills for the operation of the various departments of the Government. These were not war estimates. They were submitted five months after the war ended. We cut those estimates more than a billion six hundred million dollars. We lopped off $40,000,000 daily during the first 40 days we were in session. In other words, we saved on an average almost $15 for every man, woman, and child in the United States.

The present session is cutting to the bone and hopes to make an additional saving of more than a billion dollars before it adjourns. This session undoubtedly will save on an average $10 for every man, woman, and child in the country. Let me illustrate how this is done:

One department insisted on an appropriation of $45,000,000 for a certain work. Under pressure that same department cut its own estimate to thirty-seven millions and later to thirty-three millions, and later to twenty-five millions. When the congressional committee had fully considered the necessity of the case, they brought before Congress a bill for seventeen millions and this bill was passed.

The rivers and harbors bill was cut from forty-two millions to twelve millions. The Army bill was cut four hundred and sixty-eight millions. The sundry civil bill was cut two hundred and forty-six millions, and so on down the line.

To sum up our economy program during the past 10 months we have cut the estimates submitted during that time by President Wilson's Cabinet officers enough to make 30 chains of silver dollars extending from New York to Seattle. (This may also interest your neighbor.)

To put this sort of an economy program into effect over the protest of the present administration and the opposition party is no easy task, but in standing steadfastly for this economy program against any and all pressure in Congress and out of Congress, I believe that a Congressman rightly represents his constituents, and I am sure he acts in the interest of his country. Without a sane, sound, business administration of the affairs of Government, national disaster threatens.

Now let me refer briefly to a few—and space permits me to mention only a few—of the reconstruction measures passed by this Congress.

The coal, oil, and gas leasing law is of prime importance to the West. It opens our great natural resources under conditions entirely safeguarding State and Federal rights and at the same time adding to our State road and school funds and placing $5,000,000 or more annually into the reclamation fund.

The water-power bill, which has passed both Houses and is now in conference, will ultimately mean for the State of Washington "water power for factories and cheap electricity in every home and on every farm for light, power, and fuel."

Among the scores of other bills I might mention the following:

Legislation to facilitate the marketing of agricultural products, including live stock, by increasing the amount which banks may loan on paper secured by such commodities.

Amendment to the Federal reserve act to enable national banks to assist in the facilitation of export trade.

Legislation making more stringent the restrictions and prohibitions surrounding the entry of undesirable aliens.

Extension of law providing for stock-raising homesteads.

Repeal of the daylight-saving law.

A prohibition enforcement act.

Railroad bill: A complete and comprehensive measure for the return of the railroads to their owners and for effective and extended public control over the same, with no money guaranty from the Government after August 31, 1920.

The enactment of liberal provisions for vocational training and rehabilitation of wounded soldiers and sailors and generous appropriations for the same.

A war-risk insurance act vastly increasing the allowance to seriously injured soldiers and sailors.

The woman's suffrage amendment.

Forty thousand Government employees in Washington, D. C., are being removed from the pay rolls.

Personally, my ambition has been to stand at all times for the best type of legislation, and it is gratifying to observe that of the eight planks of my reconstruction platform, which was published in every paper in east Washington during the summer of 1918, seven of these planks have been covered by laws enacted by this Congress.

While it has required from 10 to 14 hours' time daily, it has been a pleasure to impartially serve all the people of the district which I have the honor to represent, without any consideration of party, class, or station in life. The door to this office is always open, and getting results by cutting red tape is my speciality.

I want you to accept this as a very personal letter, and shall be pleased to hear from you.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes always, I am,

Very cordially,

McFadden Bill Will Aid Agriculture and Prevent Panics.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER P. SNYDER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 31, 1920.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, the McFadden rural credit bill, H. R. 12678, will aid agriculture by reducing farm-production costs and tend greatly to prevent panics by creating liquid paper for our insurance companies and thereby relieve them from throwing their permanent investments on the market during a crisis to meet their banking obligations.

A quarter of a century ago obligations of our life insurance companies were deferred for years in the future and payable upon a contingency—the death of their members—which operated with a uniformity approaching the fixed law of gravity. Massachusetts was the first State to enact a so-called "cash-surrender value policy law," a law requiring the companies created by that State and others operating therein to issue

policies giving an option to the insured to surrender their policies for cash. That law was enacted in 1880, and Maine soon thereafter enacted the same law, but such important insurance States as New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and New Jersey declined to follow those two States in that matter, and the big companies, while forced to obey that law in those two jurisdictions, refused to apply it in other States in which they did business.

It was not until the year 1896 that the "yearly guaranteed cash surrender value policy" became universal throughout the United States. In the summer of 1895 the Equitable of New York announced its intention to adopt such policy throughout the world in which it operated at that time, and it put its actuaries to work compiling data and making calculations for the issuance of such policy. The insurance press, from time to time, made mention of the Equitable's progress on the proposed new policy, until in the spring of 1896, when the New York Life announced it had actually placed in the hands of its agents sample policies and rate books containing all information as to the new policy. The Equitable then publicly charged the New York Life with having surreptitiously gotten possession of the data and calculations its actuaries had been laboring on for more than six months. It was but a few days until the Equitable placed sample policies and rate books in the hands of its agents, and when we consider that those rate books contained some 50,000 different calculations and were identical, one must conclude the two companies had access to the same data.

The New York Life ignored the charge of bad faith made against it by the Equitable and directed its energies to the sale of the new policy, which took like wildfire. Some of the more conservative men in control of the other companies condemned the new policy in unmeasured terms and made dire predictions as to the injurious effect it would have on the business, and refused to issue the policy. It may be of interest to observe that at that time there was in control of those two companies two most forceful characters, men possessed of great driving power and organizing ability, whose activities had been directed solely to the production of new business, and they produced it in such volume as to astound the insurance world of that day. One of those men was Henry B. Hyde, the founder of the Equitable, and the other was George W. Perkins, a young westerner who had so demonstrated his ability as a producer of new business for the New York Life that he was called to the home office and placed at the head of its agency department, a position he occupied but a short while until he became the dominant factor in control of the company. Neither was an economist; in fact, both were too busy at the production end to give any thought to the economic principles underlying that business, yet they are the men who are responsible for placing our life insurance companies in the banking business. The more conservative men had to swallow their pride and fall into line or else lose out in the mad race for new business. During the commercial and industrial inactivities of 1913 the demands for cash under the "cash surrender value policies" became so great that the Association of Life Insurance Presidents, an association composed of the presidents of all the large companies, issued an appeal to their policyholders through the press of January 18, 1914, urging them to desist in their applications for cash values.

So much for the history of the so-called "cash-surrender value policy" which put life insurance in the banking business. As Members of Congress we have no authority to legislate as to what this or that corporation created by the States shall do or refrain from doing. But we know that any corporation which assumes a banking obligation must cover its borrowed capital with liquid assets, assets representing production, and unless it does so it will be forced to throw its permanent investments on the market during a crisis and thus precipitate a panic. While we have no power to prohibit those companies from writing such policy, we do possess the power to create fiscal agents for the Federal Government which in turn can create a form of liquid assets which will meet the banking obligations of those State institutions, and public sentiment, the best of all laws, will force those companies to carry such paper as will maintain their solvency. I therefore heartily approve the McFadden rural credit bill, which will not only aid in the production of agriculture but will become an important factor in improving our whole credit system.

I am in receipt of a letter from Mr. R. M. Gow, secretary of the American Jersey Cattle Club, inclosing a copy of his letter to the Hon. Edwin T. Meredith, Secretary of Agriculture, indorsing the McFadden bill. Mr. Gow came to this country from Scotland when a lad, and soon after his arrival became associated with that cattle club, and by patient industry and devotion to its interests he was rewarded with its secretaryship, a position he has filled for 31 years. He possesses the trait of mastering the details of an intricate financial problem so characteristic of his countrymen that I ask to have his letter read. It follows:

THE AMERICAN JERSEY CATTLE CLUB,
R. M. GOW, SECRETARY,
324 West Twenty-third Street, New York City, March 10, 1920.

Hon. EDWIN T. MEREDITH,
Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Congressman LOUIS T. MCFADDEN has requested my attention to his bill to establish a system of rural credits, known as H. R. 12678. I have read the bill and also Mr. MCFADDEN'S speech in the House of Representatives.

It seems to me that this bill is designed to meet a real want of the rural industries in the United States, and as I believe that the welfare, contentment, and general prosperity of our rural population is of vital importance to the country I think the bill should receive very careful and favorable consideration, with a view to its ultimate passage. As a similar system of personal credits has been found very useful and very successful in various European countries, I see no reason why it should not be put in operation in this country with equally beneficial results.

I hope that upon examination of this bill, if, indeed, you have not already considered it, you will share these views, and that you will use the influence of your high office in bringing the bill up for early consideration by Congress and enlisting cooperation in this by all the means at your disposal through the Department of Agriculture.

Very truly, yours,

R. M. GOW.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN Q. TILSON,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 1, 1920.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, when the Nolan bill for the relief of the present intolerable condition at the Patent Office was heard before the Committee on Patents, I appeared in favor of it. Again, when a special rule was requested in order to secure early consideration in the House, I appeared and urged it. On account of a previous engagement, I was necessarily absent when the bill was finally considered in the House, and therefore was deprived of the privilege of expressing myself on the subject matter of this bill. For this reason I have asked permission on this occasion to make a brief statement on the subject.

The State of Connecticut, which I have the honor to represent in part, has always had a very deep interest in the United States Patent Office. Connecticut has many and varied interests, but none more important or more diversified than her manufacturing industries. Patented processes and inventions are used very extensively in all of these industries. Probably no other State of the Union, in proportion to its population, has to its credit so many useful inventions. It is therefore quite natural that the people of Connecticut should feel a special interest in the Patent Office and a deep concern over anything calculated to reduce or destroy its efficiency.

For a long time I have been receiving numerous appeals for assistance in the efforts of my people to get action by the Patent Office upon urgent matters. During the last two or three years these appeals have been increasing in number and in earnestness. I have always found the officials of the Patent Office willing to cooperate, but increasingly less able apparently to do so effectively. Looking about for the cause of this somewhat rapidly diminishing efficiency, even a casual investigation was sufficient to reveal the principal difficulty. During normal times prior to the outbreak of the war in Europe a sufficient number of efficient employees remained in the Patent Office force, either on account of love of the work or to gain a thorough knowledge of it, to enable the organization to function properly. With our entry into the war the outside demand for such men became too great and the inducements offered too attractive to be easily resisted. Consequently many of the best men have been enticed away, while the inducements, if such they may be called, to enter the service are not such as to strongly attract the best type of young men to take their places. In the effort to fill the gap, the bars are inevitably let down to some extent, and the efficiency of the force is necessarily impaired. As a result the work of the Patent Office has suffered in a twofold way, by a falling off in the quality as well as in number of the personnel.

Conditions have long since reached the stage where not only the inventor and the manufacturer who develop and use the invention are being denied the service to which they are properly entitled, but legitimate industry generally is being delayed and seriously hampered at a time when of all times every needless restriction should be removed and every proper encouragement given.

The Nolan bill seeks in a very moderate and conservative way to relieve an unfortunate situation which has been developing gradually for more than 50 years, but which the last 5 years have rapidly brought to a head. The basic cause of this somewhat abnormal development has been the failure to recognize the character of the work done by the Patent Office. It requires in large measure the services of experts and not mere clerks, whereas the important employees of this service have been regarded and paid as ordinary clerks. They were not so regarded or so paid in the earlier history of the Patent Office. Exclusive of the $240 bonus, the salaries of examiners are now about 10 per cent above what they were in 1848.

To show the importance formerly attached to the work these men do, it can be said that at the time their salaries were fixed the principal examiner's salary was equal to the salary of a Member of Congress, and the salary of an examiner in chief was equal to that of a Federal district judge. It is not difficult to understand why these important positions, requiring training of a highly expert character, are not much sought after when the highest salary that can be reasonably hoped for by a competent man at the zenith of his efficiency is $2,700 per year.

This bill will help the situation somewhat and therefore should become law just as soon as possible. I doubt if it fully meets the situation and there may be necessity for further increases in grades and salaries. If so, we should not hesitate to authorize the increases. Inventors and users of patented inventions have always paid the entire expense of running the Patent Office and are willing to continue doing so, provided that they can have quick and efficient service. They are entitled to such service, but during the last few years they have not had it.

The importance of the United States patent system and its place in the industrial development of the country are not generally understood or appreciated. It is not accidental that the people of the United States lead the world in making and developing useful inventions and discoveries. It may be gratifying to our national pride to account for this by crediting ourselves as a people with a certain degree of mental superiority along practical business lines. It would probably be nearer the correct explanation to give credit for most of it to the excellence of our patent system.

As direct descendants of the peoples of Europe, it would probably be difficult to establish the thesis that we have natural inventiveness superior to theirs. We have natural resources, and so have they, but we have excelled in inventions by which to develop and utilize these resources. We did not excel until after we had established our patent system. It supplied the incentive that has called forth the ability to invent. In my judgment no other single factor has been so potent in the phenomenal industrial development of this country. If we allow this system to become inefficient in its application, to that extent we take away or weaken the incentive to invention, which would in its turn affect injuriously our entire industrial life.

I have received many letters and statements from inventors, from manufacturers using patented inventions, and from patent attorneys which make plain the present situation at the Patent Office and the sentiments concerning it of those who come most frequently in direct contact with that office. I should be glad to insert a number of these here, but shall refrain owing to their considerable numbers, except as to one letter received from a personal friend and neighbor of mine who for a great number of years has stood in the very front rank of patent attorneys. His summing up of the case is so strong and comprehensive that I am glad to have it serve as a conclusion for my remarks.

The letter is as follows:

NEW HAVEN, CONN., *February 18, 1920.*

Hon. JOHN Q. TILSON, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TILSON: For something over 40 years I have constantly done business with the United States Patent Office. During this long period, as a practitioner, I have known the officials of the Patent Office, from the commissioner down, and have been familiar with the work of the office in all of its departments; and, having represented before the Patent Office inventors in a great variety of fields, I have been able to see the stimulating and stabilizing effects of patents upon all manufacturing business dependent in any way upon patent protection.

I therefore feel that I am in a position to speak with some authority on the importance to the country at large of the patent legislation now pending before Congress, and in particular the importance of the passage of the bill presented in the House by Mr. Nolan, the chairman of the Committee on Patents, and providing for substantial increases in the Patent Office budget.

Congress is already tired of this subject, no doubt; but tired or not, the despotism of the fact can not be escaped. The efficiency of the Patent Office as an instrument for the encouragement and the protection of American inventors and manufacturers has already been seriously impaired, and the quality of the work which the Patent Office has been doing has begun to deteriorate.

It has long been a matter of gratification among friends of the Patent Office that its standards of work have, under adverse conditions, been maintained at such a high pitch, especially considering the salaries paid the examiners, for it is to be remembered, and particularly emphasized, that the work of the Patent Office is not clerical in its character, but scientific, and requires a personnel of carefully educated men in the fields of the applied sciences and the useful arts. It has always been a mystery to me that the commissioner has been able with the meager salaries at his disposal to attract and to hold as examiners men of the education, ability, and character that have characterized the examining corps in years past.

But the time has passed when the commissioner can maintain an effective examining corps at the present salaries fixed by Congress. The examiners have been resigning within the last four years at a disastrous rate and the commissioner has been unable to fill their places by new men of anything like their educational qualifications. To meet the exigency the Civil Service Board has somewhat let down the bars in the matter of examinations and in one way or another male and female clerks wanting the educational qualifications have been allowed to take the places of those that have retired.

I do not wish to deny to women a participation in business and professional life, but it seems to be the consensus of opinion that women are not qualified to pass upon the particular set of questions which arise in connection with the work of a Patent Office examiner. As examiners their duties are comparative and judicial, and as mechanicians, physicists, and chemists they have so far failed to meet the requirements.

Though overburdened, the Patent Office managed to carry on its business so as to serve the public fairly well until 1918, when the overburdened machine began to slow down and fail to function. Since that time the Patent Office has been increasingly falling behind. Some 28,000 cases are now awaiting action. It has also fallen behind in the matter of furnishing printed copies of patents, in the matter of manuscript copies and digests, and in furnishing abstracts of titles from the assignment records.

To a layman these may seem mere matters of business inconvenience, but to the business man they are matters of the gravest importance. The inventor, the manufacturer, the investor, can not safely proceed without a knowledge of his rights, which can not be determined without his ability to examine patents in force; and, practically, these can be examined only as the Patent Office furnishes copies. In the same way the business man is constantly called upon to ascertain where the titles to patent property lie, and this information the Patent Office often can not promptly furnish, since the recording of assignments is months in arrears.

The situation above briefly outlined constitutes a serious menace to business wherever predicated upon patent rights. It is nothing less than a tragedy that with a balance in the United States Treasury of several millions to the credit of American inventors Congress has heretofore failed to come to the relief of the Patent Office.

Now that the Government has adopted the policy of imposing heavier taxes upon the profits of manufacturing concerns it becomes more than ever important to the Government to encourage manufacturing and to stabilize it. The Patent Office has been the greatest single instrument for the encouragement and stabilization of American industry in the past, and every dictate of common sense urges Congress at the present time to come to the relief of the Patent Office by passing Mr. NOLAN'S bill. Certainly it would seem to be a matter of simplest justice to authorize the expenditure for carrying on the work of the Patent Office of the money of American inventors, which is held in trust to-day by the Treasury Department.

I am sure that I have written nothing to which any of my professional colleagues would not subscribe. I hope that you will champion the cause of the American inventor and the Patent Office before Congress. If the average Congressman could really be made to see how vitally American industries depend upon the Patent Office for their protection I am sure that he would give the matter such attention as would lead him to vote in favor of pending patent legislation.

Respectfully,

GEO. DUDLEY SEYMOUR.

The Bonus Question—In Lieu of Bonus, Why Not Return the War-Risk Premiums and Allotments?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANTHONY J. GRIFFIN,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 31, 1920.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, the bill H. R. 13333, which I introduced on the 29th instant, provides for the return to the members of the United States forces, of every arm, serving during the World War, of the premiums deducted from their pay for war-risk insurance and the refunding of all allotments deducted from the pay of the enlisted personnel for their dependents.

It is offered to your consideration as a compromise measure, as a way out of a most perplexing problem. It returns to those who served their country honorably that to which they are justly entitled and restores to them and their families what, in my opinion, was unjustly taken away from them.

GOVERNMENT SHOULD BEAR THE COST OF INSURANCE.

I submit to your careful consideration the thought that in insuring the soldiers and sailors the Government was insuring its own human assets. Of course, the men were of insurable value to their dependents; but they were of greater insurable value to the Government. Otherwise they would not have been taken from their families to fight the battles of the entire people. It was therefore the duty of the Government to assume the burden of carrying that insurance, as much so as it was its duty to bear the cost of insuring its ships. If the soldier was killed in

action, it is true, his family would have lost a wage earner; but the Government would have lost an asset even more valuable. To require the soldiers and sailors and their families to bear the burden of the premiums was wholly unjust and inequitable. The men should have received their $30 a month without deduction or abatement. And the same is true of their allotments.

GOVERNMENT SHOULD RETURN ALLOTMENTS.

No allotments should have been charged against the pay of the men, and the allowances based on the men's allotments should have been the voluntary contribution of a grateful country for their sacrifices.

The attitude of the Government toward the enlisted personnel of our Army and Navy was picayunish. It required the soldier to assume the risk of his calling, a risk which should have been assumed by the Government. It can not be corrected by making the men a present of a bonus. It can only be corrected by returning to them the money unjustly taken out of their meager salaries. If Congress will only take this stand, it need not run the risk of humiliating them by the inevitable suggestion that they are the recipients of a bounty, a bonus, or gratuity—terms which are inherently offensive to all true Americans. Our maxim should be, "Be just before you are generous."

WAR-RISK INSURANCE A FAILURE.

The war-risk insurance idea was not only founded upon an error in principle, but all the complications, confusion, and red tape that followed were only the natural result of putting the soldier, serving his country for a mere pittance, in the same category as a well-paid civil employee. To introduce a complicated system of bookkeeping requiring records to be made on company pay rolls of deductions for war-risk insurance, as well as allotments, invited confusion and necessitated accounting and clerical work that was almost impossible to perform while the regiments were in the field or in action. There is not a Member of Congress whose time has not been taken up in adjusting and straightening out the innumerable errors which have inevitably crept into so awkward and impossible a system.

And the labor is not done when the pay rolls are made out. All of the work has to be reviewed and gone over again when a soldier dies. Photostat copies of all the pay rolls are made, if extant, and the name of the deceased soldier followed down from month to month and all payments verified. The War Risk Insurance Bureau, notwithstanding the large force at its disposal, has not force enough and never could have force enough to keep up-to-date records of every soldier, sailor, and marine, as it ought to have. It should be required to halt where it is, make complete records of the standing of each soldier, sailor, and marine, and the Government should return to the men and their families all of the premiums so exacted.

WHAT IT WILL COST.

The following policies or certificates of war-risk insurance were in force March 29, 1920:

Army	3,846,008
Navy	489,179
Marines	71,664
Coast Guard	6,618
Nurses (female)	17,112
Public health	49
Total	4,430,630

The average service was eight months, and the average premium was about $5, or $40 for each beneficiary for the average service. The return of the premiums would therefore entail an expense of $177,225,200.

It is approximated that 4,200,000 of the enlisted personnel made allotments. Figuring the average allotment at $15 and the average service as eight months, the amount due each beneficiary of this act will be $120. The total amount of allotments to be returned will therefore be $480,000,000.

Summarizing, the cost of returning insurance premiums will be	$177,225,200
The cost of returning allotments	480,000,000
Total cost entailed by this act	657,225,200

HOW THE MONEY WILL BE RAISED.

The bill provides that the money requisite to carry out the act may be paid out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated and by the issuance of certificates of indebtedness bearing interest at 4½ per cent per annum, which can be met by small appropriations running over a term of years. The obstacle thrown in the way of those suggesting this relief is thereby removed and your committee is relieved of the unwelcome burden of providing for bond issues with their inevitable increase of taxation.

FUTURE LAND LEGISLATION FOR SOLDIERS.

If Congress sees fit in the future to provide land or homes or borrowing facilities for soldiers it is thus relieved of the task of deducting from the grant or gratuity or loan the amounts which the payment of a bonus would necessarily entail, for it would obviously be unjust to grant a bonus to all and land grants and gratuities to others without deducting the amount of the bonus received. The great bulk of the soldiers will prefer money in hand to land in the West, but all equally should have the right to avail themselves of land opportunities without deductions or, on the other hand, without gaining a greater advantage than their brothers who elect only to receive cash. This bill puts them all on the same basis.

FURTHER EQUITABLE FEATURES.

In returning the war-risk insurance premiums and allotments you are rewarding the thoughtful, considerate soldier who was solicitous for the welfare of his family. The selfish, indifferent soldier, who took no thought of his dependents, but spent all his pay for his own gratification, would not be helped by this bill, and it is not the intention that he should be. He has reveled in frivolity while his comrades made personal sacrifices. He has had his cake and has eaten it.

National Highways.

As befits the nature of this indissoluble Union of sovereign States our road system will be in the highest sense a better State system as it becomes a better connected and coordinated national system, and it will be a better national system as it becomes a more equitable and economical State system.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM N. VAILE,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 18, 1920.

Mr. VAILE. Mr. Speaker, it is my purpose to show that our present scheme of highway construction and maintenance, known as the Federal aid plan, while possessing many good features, is defective in its underlying theory, and is wasteful, and that the time is ripe for the adoption of the better, more logical, and more effective plan proposed by the Townsend bill (S. 3572), to establish a Federal highway commission, to encourage efficient and economical highway transportation, and for other purposes, subject, however, to some alterations of the latter plan in justice to the "public-land States."

STATEMENT OF THE "FEDERAL AID" PLAN.

The "Federal aid plan" was embodied in what was known as the Shackleford Act, passed by the Sixty-fourth Congress, approved July 11, 1916. It was heralded as a great constructive measure. It was believed that it would cause the development of a system of national highways which would not only contribute greatly to the Nation's postal facilities and to its general highway traffic, rapidly increasing with the phenomenal development of the commercial motor truck, but that it would soon cause the construction of a network of roads, most useful for the national defense. This act appropriated the sum of $5,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and an amount greater by $5,000,000, for each succeeding year until for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, the sum of $25,000,000 was appropriated, the total amount for the three-year period to be expended outside of forest reserves being $75,000,000.

This act appropriated $10,000,000 for forest reserve roads to be expended at the rate of $1,000,000 per year for 10 years. The Sixty-fifth Congress amended the Shackleford Act so as to make its administration somewhat more liberal to the States and greatly increased the amounts appropriated. Concerning the acts of 1916 and 1919, I desire first to call attention to the following features:

(1) The money appropriated is to be used for new construction, which, however, is defined by the act of 1916 to include reconstruction and improvement.

(2) The Federal Government pays half of the expense of such construction, the other half being paid by the States.

(3) The work is done under the supervision of the highway departments of the several States where the roads are constructed.

(4) The State obligates itself to keep "properly maintained" the roads so constructed, "properly maintained" being defined to mean "the making of needed repairs and the preservation of a reasonably smooth surface, considering the type of road," but not "extraordinary repairs or reconstruction."

THE "LOUISVILLE RESOLUTIONS."

With the approaching termination of the period covered by these appropriations the Western States have been considering the continuance of this Federal aid, and recently a large delegation came to Washington on that matter. This visit was the result of a convention of State highway officials held at Louisville, Ky., in December, 1919. That convention passed a set of resolutions urging the continuance of these appropriations on an enlarged scale and some changes in the apportionment of the funds so that the public-land States should have a more equitable share, based on the nontaxable status of public lands and the permanent withdrawal of forest reserves from taxation and settlement.

These resolutions, however, contemplated the continuance of the basic ideas of the Federal aid plan.

After the Louisville convention, Gov. Olcott, of Oregon, took it upon himself to ask the 12 western public-land States to send a delegation to Washington to urge the adoption of legislation along the line of the resolutions, and these States did send delegates, some 30 in number, who were in session here in Washington, February 10, 11, and 12, 1920, and appeared before the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads on the 14th. They urged an appropriation of $300,000,000 for the continuance of Federal aid for three years on the original plan, but with the changes last suggested and not tying the plan, necessarily, to the Department of Agriculture, together with an additional $100,000,000 especially for roads and trails in the national forests, to be expended at the rate of $10,000,000 per year.

The amounts appropriated under the original and amended law—approved February 28, 1919—may be tabulated as follows, adding to the table some supplementary figures as now proposed by the advocates of a continuation of the Federal aid plan at the meeting at Washington by resolutions to which I shall hereafter, for convenience, refer to as the "Louisville resolutions."

In the following table, which is condensed in order to present it within the space of a column of the RECORD, the column "Year" indicates the fiscal year ending June 30 of the year indicated; the columns under the dates "July 11, 1916," and "February 28, 1919," indicate the appropriations expendable under the acts approved on those dates; the columns "General" represent the general appropriations for post roads, and the columns "Forest reserve" indicate the appropriations for roads and trails in the forest reserves. The appropriations urged by the Louisville resolutions are similarly indicated, the figures in each column representing millions.

TABLE I.—*Present and proposed Federal aid appropriations.*

Year.	July 11, 1916.		Feb. 28, 1919.		Louisville resolutions.		Total.
	General.	Forest reserve.	General.	Forest reserve.	General.	Forest reserve.	
1917	5	1					6
1918	10	1					11
1919	15	1	50	3			69
1920	20	1	75	3			99
1921	25	1	75	3			104
1922		1			100	10	111
1923		1			100	10	111
1924		1			100	10	111
1925		1				10	11
1926		1				10	11
1927						10	10
1928						10	10
1929						10	10
1930						10	10
1931						10	10

It will be seen by examination of the foregoing table that the total amount of the appropriations expended and expendable for the three years closing June 30, 1920, is one hundred and eighty-five millions, and that the total amount appropriated by existing laws is two hundred and eighty-nine millions. It will also be observed that the history of legislation under this plan is that when one appropriation nears its end another, very much larger, is immediately proposed.

INCREASING COST OF "FEDERAL AID."

Inasmuch as these appropriations are all for the purpose of construction or reconstruction, and not for repair or maintenance, the States assuming the obligation for the latter, it would seem that if the principle of the law is sound the amounts necessary to appropriate for these purposes would diminish rather than increase as roads become constructed during the passage of the years.

Judging, however, from our experience so far, we may anticipate that if we continue the Federal aid plan and incorporate the suggestions of the Louisville resolutions into law, we shall, in 1924, or probably in 1923, be asked to make appropriations of at least one hundred and fifty millions per annum for general post-road construction and at least fifteen millions annually for roads in the forest reserves.

As to the latter, I do not expect any great and early decrease, no matter what our policy of road construction and maintenance may be in the future. Without being understood as in any way criticizing the very necessary policy of conserving our forests, it may be not inappropriate to suggest that the retention of a vast Federal domain in the midst of rapidly growing communities is bound in the very nature of things to be a continuing expense, and though we ought some time to end the period of original road construction, the expense of administration will doubtless be reflected here as elsewhere in the preservation and development of the forests as a national asset. Where vast tracts of land are permanently reserved from occupation they form a territory through which new roads will constantly have to be built as towns and cities approach nearer to and become more numerous upon their borders. And, as the terrain of the forest reserves is rugged and mountainous, road building there is of the most expensive kind. But outside of the forest reserves, while we can not expect the need for new construction to cease, there ought to be some stage of development when it would tend to diminish so that expenditure for this purpose, as distinguished from repair and maintenance, would be less instead of greater than theretofore.

Without denying that the Shackleford bill was productive of some benefits, and heartily approving the more liberal provisions of apportionment contemplated by the Louisville plan and the spirit which animated the originators of that plan, I am convinced that the present system is not productive of the benefits expected, either to the Federal Government or to the States, and that better results to both can be accomplished with small appropriations on the different and, in my judgment, far superior plan presented by the Townsend bill.

In support of this view it is my purpose to give here a brief résumé of the working of the Federal aid plan in some of the Western States, with particular reference to my own State of Colorado, which will perhaps serve as a fair example of all of the public-land States, since it contains neither the greatest nor the smallest amount of public land still available for entry, neither the greatest nor the smallest amount of permanently withdrawn lands in the forest reserves, but a very large amount of both kinds of public lands, and since its surface consists partly of level plain and partly of high and rugged mountains.

"FEDERAL AID" A HINDRANCE TO DEVELOPMENT.

In at least two principal respects the present plan of Federal aid road construction has proved not conducive to the best interests of the State or the Nation.

(1) The requirement of equal appropriations by the States for the construction of post roads prevents the proper maintenance of other State roads and the development of tributary roads.

As already noted, the Federal aid acts require that each State which accepts any part of the Government appropriations which may be allotted to it under the scheme of allotments prescribed shall appropriate an equal amount to be expended in construction as above defined.

The State of Colorado will receive during the calendar year 1920 the sum of $2,075,000 from all sources for its road fund for that calendar year. There are in Colorado approximately 7,000 miles of primary State roads and 32,000 miles of secondary highways, which do not and can not participate in these Federal appropriations, with the exception of 882 miles. The Federal appropriations may be expended only on post roads; that is to say, on roads over which the mails are now or may be hereafter transported.

The mileage and kinds of roads already approved in Colorado and which are now being considered for approval are as follows:

TABLE II.—*Mileage and classification of Federal aid projects in Colorado.*

	Earth.	Concrete.	Sand.	Miscellaneous and undetermined.	Total.
1918	9	4	64	3	80
1919	19			21	40
1920	2	3		2	7
					127

Of the 882 miles which might come within the scope of the Federal aid plan there are, therefore, 656 miles yet to be ap-

proved. But not only the 127 miles but the remaining 656 miles are scattered widely through the State and the different projects have little or no relation to each other. They are valuable as post roads at places lacking railroad transportation, but they are not nearly so valuable for general traffic purposes or for the national defense as they would be if they formed connected parts of a connected whole and served for transportation through and from more important centers.

Incidentally it may be observed that the Federal aid plan has, in actual practice, apparently stimulated road building of an inferior rather than a superior type of construction. The report of the Bureau of Public Roads for the year ending June 30, 1919, showed that 60 per cent of all the mileage approved to date is of dirt, sand, gravel, or clay construction. If we assume this type to be adequate, then, per se, the road is not of primary importance, since any highway carrying any considerable volume of traffic must be of a durable type, according to all engineering authorities. If this type of construction is employed in roads of primary importance, then the money is wasted.

From the point of view, however, of developing through traffic and the feeder roads for such traffic, there is a still more important objection, and that is that the State funds are tied up to the less valuable projects, and the general improvement of the State's road system and its correlation to the system of other States is necessarily neglected. This conclusion unavoidably appears from the following table showing the receipts from all sources for the Colorado road fund in 1920 and the manner in which it must be expended if the State should accept in full its share of the Federal appropriation. This table is based on the calendar year, which is the State's fiscal year, but the necessary adjustment has been made to fit the Government appropriations to this method of computation.

In the following table the projects upon which the Federal aid could be employed are called roughly 10 per cent of the primary system. There are actually somewhat more than 10 per cent of the primary State roads. They are, however, only a fraction over 2 per cent of the primary and secondary roads combined. The secondary roads are cared for by the counties, but they are as much a part of the whole road system of the State and county as the primary roads.

TABLE III.—*Receipts to the Colorado State road fund, 1920.*

One-mill State tax	$1,400,000	
Fifty per cent of automobile State license fees	350,000	
Fifty per cent of 1 per cent Federal gasoline tax	200,000	
Internal improvement fund	125,000	
		2,075,000
State's share of Federal aid to be met on one-to-one basis for improvement of approximately 10 per cent of the State road system	1,700,000	
		375,000
State road funds to be applied for cooperation on forest-reserve projects	130,000	
Balance available for department expenses, maintenance of Federal aid roads, and maintenance, improvement, and county aid on approximately 7,000 miles of State primary highways	245,000	

In other words, if the State should accept its share of the Federal aid, it would only have available for the maintenance of the roads thereby constructed and also for the maintenance, reconstruction, and improvement of all its other roads less than 12 per cent of its total road fund. Of that total road fund, $1,750,000 is raised by State taxation of the people of the State, who have 7,000 miles of State roads to keep in repair, but 97 per cent of that amount must be used to cover the Federal appropriation for the construction of only 656 miles of those roads. One of two things is bound to result. Either the State will conclude that it can not avail itself of very much of this $1,700,000 or it will be bound to neglect the major portion of the roads.

As a matter of fact, both results occur. The neglect by the States of their own roads is a fact so familiar as to need no citation of instances. It is very largely attributable to the effort to match the Federal appropriations. On the other hand, the States' inability to do this has resulted in a large part of these appropriations not being expended for the purpose for which they were intended.

The report of the chief of the Bureau of Public Roads, October 15, 1919, states:

Of the post-road appropriations made by the Congress there was available during the fiscal year a total of $80,000,000, the same being the sum of the appropriations for the fiscal years 1917, 1918, and 1919. From this there was deducted the 3 per cent allowed by law for the administrative purposes, and the remainder, or $77,600,000, was apportioned among the several States. Of this sum there was paid to the States during the fiscal year for road-construction work a total of $2,702,247. At the close of the fiscal year 1918 there had been paid to the States $425,445. So that the grand total of all payments to the States on June 30, 1919, was $3,127,693, which left to the credit of the States an unexpended balance of $74,472,306. In addition, the $95,000,000 appropriated for the fiscal year 1920 was apportioned to the States, after deducting the 3 per cent for administrative purposes, and that sum became available with the close of the fiscal year. On July 1, 1919, therefore there was available to the credit of the States for expenditure a total of $166,622,306.

The total mileage of projects executed and approved under the Federal aid plan is pitifully small, the report of the chief of the Bureau of Public Roads showing a total of only 5,790 miles up to the date of the report, October 5, 1919. We have a total of some two and a half million miles of highways in the United States.

In Colorado it would be obviously impossible for the State with the trifling fund of $245,000 to do all of the following things:

First. Maintain in proper condition the Federal aid roads on which $3,400,000 would have been expended;

Second. Construct and maintain all other State roads; and

Third. Maintain the overhead expenses of the organization which is to do all of these things.

In fact, it could not, with so small a fund, do any one of these things. The result would be that vast sums expended by both the Government and the State would be wasted through insufficient maintenance, and no encouragement would be offered to the traffic which should furnish the principal use of the "Federal aid" roads by coming to them from tributary or feeder channels.

NECESSITY OF LATERAL ROADS.

I recall an experience, often repeated, which illustrates this point. I was for several years county attorney for a large county comprising one of the most fertile and populous agricultural valleys in the State, and extending into the mountains, where it included also some mining and timber interests. The principal attraction of the county is, however, to tourists and pleasure seekers, inasmuch as within its boundaries are comprised the famous mountain parks of the city of Denver. The county took a just pride in helping the State and the city of Denver—which is another municipal corporation—in the construction of a magnificent system of scenic highways to and through these mountain parks. The work was admirably done. Many miles of new roads on easy gradients were constructed. Old one-way mountain roads were widened. Great fills of stone were thrown over valleys, and bridges of steel and concrete and many miles of retaining walls added beauty, strength, and expense to the system. It is one of the show places of the country. You can rest the throbbing engine of your motor on the spot where Buffalo Bill used to rest his horse. If your eye is as good as his you can see in the clear air perhaps 70 miles over the plains; and from out of that dim distance whence the old pioneer's prophetic vision was accustomed to watch immigrant trains winding slowly up the Platte, you can now see the trains of four transcontinental railways approaching the city of more than a quarter of a million people, whose streets and buildings are spread before you like a pictured map. Resting against the mountain on which you stand is the beautiful little city of Golden, the home of the famous Colorado State School of Mines, whose graduates are found in every country of the world, tapping the sides of the Andes and the Himalayas, as well as of the Rockies. Some 40 lakes, natural and artificial, lend their silver to the green and gold of the farms that checker the whole prairie landscape. And when you look to the other side, to the west, you see the perpetual snow of Evans and the other monarchs of the Continental Divide. Your breast just simply fills up with the inspiration of the scene. You are reluctant to leave it even to explore the wonders which lie beyond.

But you do so at last, your motor humming smoothly up easy grades and down long, smooth descents. You never fear the meeting with another car, the curves are so gradual and the roads so wide. You look down over sheer depths with the fascination of pleasure, not the fascination of fear, because you are protected from them by a wonderful thick wall of great stones set in everlasting cement. You stop on the rounded backs of three mountain watersheds to fill your lunch basket with our golden-hearted Mariposa lilies and with the purple columbines, which I and the other school children of Colorado adopted as our State flower. You return to your hotel through two mountain villages by way of a deep canyon whose red and gray cliffs shelter the merriest little trout stream in the world.

There is nothing to mar your pleasure, and I was proud, indeed, that it fell to my lot to be an official of that county when those roads were built and to have some part in the job. But, notwithstanding my pride in the achievement, there was one thing that marred my pleasure. That was the complaint of the man from Jones Crossing, who appeared before our board of county commissioners and protested that while the State high-

way a mile from his place was a fine road to haul his crops to market, he could not get to that road because the intervening mile was one continuous mudhole. The county was very hard pressed, indeed, to give any assistance to the hundreds of farmers and lumbermen and miners who did not live on the main road, but paid the taxes which largely supported it.

The county finally did get around to the point of improving the feeder roads. But we can not yet do it on a national scale, because we have not developed, and we are not likely to develop, under the Federal aid plan, a primary system of highways. Consequently, diversion of funds to secondary roads is neither permissible nor practicable. We have not in the United States to-day one transcontinental highway improved for its full distance. The Lincoln Highway is the closest approach, and it has been made possible by contributions from public-spirited men. Nothing within the present Federal aid act would ever require the construction of any interstate highways.

The mere fact that maintenance from Government funds is specifically forbidden makes Government expenditure a current expense instead of an investment.

In Western States, such as Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, and so forth, maintenance is impossible because every penny of State funds is absorbed under the dollar-for-dollar plan.

In my judgment it would be a great mistake, for my own State at least, to accede to the further continuance of any plan of road financing which follows the present lines, though some adaptations may and should be made from the present law in view of the peculiar situation of the public-land States.

JUSTICE TO PUBLIC-LAND STATES.

I shall, directly, set up in detail a comparison of the provisions of the Federal aid act with those of the Townsend bill, showing, conclusively and overwhelmingly, as it seems to me, the great superiority of the latter. But in one very important respect it should be improved by the incorporation of an idea from the Louisville resolutions or some similar idea. The Townsend bill as presented takes no account of the distinctive situation of those States having large areas of land the title to which is still in the Federal Government, much of it there to remain forever.

The Federal aid acts attempted to adjust apportionments between the several States on a plan which would recognize differences in their proportionate area, population, and existing road mileage, and provided for the distribution of funds as follows: One-third in the ratio which the area of each State bears to the total area of all the States; one-third in the ratio which the population of each State bears to the total population of all the States, as shown by the latest available Federal census; and one-third in the ratio which the mileage of rural delivery routes and star routes in each State bears to the total mileage in all the States. These acts also, as has already been noted, provided separate appropriations for forest reserve roads.

The Louisville resolutions, contemplating and urging the continuance and extension of the Federal aid plan, propose that "the percentage which the patented land area bears to the total area of a State shall be determined by the Secretary of Agriculture; the 50 per cent now required as such State's portion of cooperation shall be multiplied by the resultant percentage as above determined, and the figure obtained will be the minimum percentage which each State shall be required to furnish of the total of any Federal aid project." The Louisville resolutions also contemplate a separate appropriation for forest-reserve roads.

I believe it will be useful at this point to insert a table showing the area of public land and forest reserves in the 12 public-land States.

TABLE IV.—*Public-land areas.*

States.	Area.	Public land.	Forest reserves.	National parks.
	Sq. miles.	*Acres.*	*Acres.*	*Acres.*
Arizona	113,956	22,309,100	11,154,923	
California	158,297	19,505,217	18,814,659	963,316
Colorado	103,948	10,416,317	13,280,832	271,376
Idaho	83,888	14,316,108	17,606,792	
Montana	146,997	11,818,414	15,957,196	2,142,720
Wyoming	97,914	26,759,500	8,384,174	915,060
Nevada	110,690	55,246,831	4,971,335	
New Mexico	112,634	21,063,165	8,294,222	
Oregon	96,699	13,850,755	13,118,680	159,360
Utah	84,990	31,540,671	7,415,551	
Washington	69,127	1,283,319	9,940,372	107,360
South Dakota	77,615	1,010,773	1,090,075	10,552
	1,276,755	229,120,170	128,028,770	4,669,654

It may be deduced from the foregoing table that the entire public-land acreage in those States is a grand total of 351,818,594 acres, or 43 per cent of the entire area of those States, and that of this amount 122,698,424 acres, or 11.9 per cent, of the entire area is forest-reserve and national-park land which will never go into private ownership or become taxable.

The Federal Government is a landlord over a domain within the boundaries of these 12 States which exceeds by 30,000 square miles the total combined area of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Ohio, New Hampshire, Vermont, Maryland, Delaware, Connecticut, Maine, Virginia, and West Virginia. There is a very definite obligation on the part of the Government to pay its share of the cost of the development, which I submit should include maintenance of the roads of those States. As the State has pushed forward its own road systems, the Government has benefited by the increased value of its holdings, just as have the residents of the State who have been individually taxed for this development. A generation of the life of the settler's family, a generation of time filled with hardship and labor, is required in order to create a home on the public lands which are still open to entry. The settler's improvements are taxed as soon as they are put on the Government land, and his title is taxed as soon as he acquires it from the Government. In some counties in Colorado the tax is as high as 8 mills on full cash value for road purposes alone, while the Federal holdings, worth billions of dollars, are tax free, and the citizens of the West pay tribute at an ever-increasing rate for the use of the reserved lands.

I have no complaint to make that the Government has been niggardly in the performance of the obligation created by this situation, and I would be the last man in this House to propose any cessation of such performance, but I do believe that the vast sums already appropriated and now asked could be far better expended under the plan proposed by the Townsend bill, subject to one important change designed to increase the proportionate amount of money expended in those States part of whose area produces no State revenue.

THE EHRHART PLAN.

It will have been noted that the plan of the Louisville resotions contemplated an increase of Federal aid expenditures in the public-land States based on the proportionate area therein of the Government-owned lands. Area, however, is not the sole test. The question depends primarily upon revenue, and consequently the value of the respective areas of Government-owned lands and privately owned lands is a most important factor.

Hon. Thomas J. Ehrhart, the very efficient State highway commissioner of Colorado, to whom—as to Mr. Pyke Johnson, formerly of the Colorado State Highway Department—I am indebted for much of the material used in this paper—although I am not at present advised whether Mr. Ehrhart entirely agrees with my conclusions—presented to the Louisville convention an elaborate and ingenious plan of apportionment of Federal aid based on a consideration of both the area and the value of the public lands in proportion to both the area and the value of the total area of the State.

His proposal is, in substance, as follows: Take the average between the percentage which the area of public lands in a State bears to the total area of such State and the percentage which the valuation of the public lands in each State bears to the total valuation of real property in the State, multiply the percentage so obtained by 50 per cent, the State's base share, deduct the per centage so obtained from 50 per cent. The resulting difference will give the proportion which the State should furnish, and the Government should furnish the difference between that and 100 per cent of the combined amount of State and Federal funds which should be expended in the State under the Federal aid plan.

What should be that combined amount to which the suggested process is to be applicable would, of course, have to be first determined. As the Ehrhart plan was suggested as an amendment to the Federal aid act, I assume that a preliminary application of the threefold plan of apportionment provided by that act was contemplated. In my opinion an adjustment of the amounts to be expended in the several States by the Federal Government, with reference to their respective areas of untaxable lands, is not less important under the Townsend bill, notwithstanding it proposes that the entire cost of construction and maintenance of national highways should be borne by the National Government. That bill as offered simply apportions the total appropriations among the several States in the same ratio that the mileage in such States bears to the total mileage selected in all the States.

The Ehrhart plan may not be simple enough for incorporation in a statute, and the feature of valuation of Government lands may possibly involve an element difficult of accurate appraisement, but it is worthy of careful consideratаion in formulating a

permanent policy of national highway finance. Without at the present attempting to adjust it to the Townsend bill, I desire here to present the tabulated schedule of adjustments which it proposes.

TABLE V.—*Area and valuation proportions.*

State.	Total area.	Government land.	Per cent Government land.	Total value.	Value Government land.	Per cent Government value.	Average per cent.	Federal per cent.	State per cent.
	Acres.	*Acres.*							
Arizona	72,931,840	33,464,023	46	$280,338,000	$117,295,000	42	44	78	22
California	101,310,080	39,283,192	39	5,800,000,000	191,500,000	3	21	60	40
Colorado	66,348,720	23,968,525	36	1,420,000,000	120,750,000	9	23.5	61	39
Idaho	53,688,320	31,922,900	59	1,050,000,000	159,500,000	15	37	68	32
Montana	94,078,080	27,775,610	29	1,000,500,000	139,000,000	14	21.5	61	39
Wyoming	62,664,960	35,143,674	56	300,000,000	175,700,000	58	57	78	22
Nevada	70,841,600	60,218,166	85	160,000,000	120,400,000	75	80	90	10
N. Mexico	72,085,760	29,357,387	41	280,000,000	117,440,000	42	41.5	71	29
Oregon	61,887,360	27,123,795	44	1,440,000,000	134,850,000	9	26.5	63	37
Utah	54,393,600	38,956,222	72	700,000,000	194,800,000	28	50	75	25
Washington	44,241,280	11,331,051	25	2,500,000,000	56,000,000	2	13.5	57	43
S. Dakota	49,573,600	2,111,290	4	1,000,000,000	10,500,000	1	2.5	51	49

NOTE.—The figures for Government-owned lands in Montana, Wyoming, and Nevada are less than the actual amounts, because national forests, which lie in more than one of these States, are not included in the foregoing table. See Table IV.

Mr. Ehrhart says in support of his plan:

I maintain that if the Government owned all the lands in the West it ought in justice to build 100 per cent of the roads. The Government owns from 4 to 85 per cent of the lands in each of the States named. I can not understand how any fair-minded man, after a moment's consideration, can help but admit that the United States Government should pay on some reasonable basis for the roads necessary to develop its own property in lieu of local road taxes which are applied to all other land, and especially so when no other State or county tax is or can be levied. Some of my forestry friends may say, "We are spending money building roads." Very true; but the inhabitants of these Western States are paying into the National Treasury for permits, leases, stumpage, etc., more than is expended on roads in the reserve lands, and I submit that the foregoing proposition based on land area and valuation would be a fair basis of apportionment of Federal aid.

As a suggestion for the consideration of the committees having charge of national highway bills, I respectfully propose that after determining the amount which can be appropriated for, say, the next four years for all Federal road undertakings, we set aside not less than one-tenth of that amount for the construction and maintenance of roads and trails in and to the forest reserves; that this sum be apportioned to the several public land States in the ratio which the forest reserve acreage in each of such States bears to the total acreage of all the forest reserves; that this money be devoted to both construction and maintenance; that the State be required to pay for construction and maintenance 50 per cent of the expense multiplied by the percentage which the area of forest reserves in such State bears to the total area of such State. I have not tabulated this percentage anywhere in this paper, as I have already considerably burdened these remarks with tabulated matter, but it is deducible from the other tables herein submitted.

The remainder, not to exceed 90 per cent of the money to be appropriated, should, I think, be apportioned between projects selected by the Federal highway commission contemplated by the Townsend bill in the several States in such manner that those located in the public-land States should receive for construction and maintenance an amount arrived at by first making a calculation on the same basis as provided by existing law—that is, based on the three elements of comparative area, comparative population, and comparative mileage of existing rural routes and star routes—and dividing the figure so obtained for each of the public-land States by some percentage—possibly on the Ehrhart or a similar plan—which will take into account the area or value, or both, of the Government-owned land as compared with the area or value, or both, of all the lands in the State. The remaining amount might then be apportioned between the several States on the basis now provided by existing law and above referred to. It is possible that this might be deemed too complicated a method for the purpose of a general statute which, I concede, ought to be as simple and clear as possible consistent with the object aimed at, but at all events the special needs and the special equities of the public-land States should be recognized no less under a system of national highways constructed and maintained by the Federal Government than under a system which vainly endeavors to work out a national system from the separate, disconnected, and necessarily self-centered activities of the States. It should not be objected that the larger use of Government money in the public-land States will give an especial stimulus to the use of State funds for State roads in those States in order to make and maintain feeders for the national highways. They are entitled to that stimulus.

As befits the nature of this indissoluble union of sovereign States, our road system will be in the highest sense a better State system as it becomes a better connected and coordinated national system, and it will be a better national system as it becomes a more equitable and economical State system.

ABSENCE OF COORDINATION UNDER "FEDERAL AID."

I have stated that in at least two principal respects the "Federal aid" plan has not proved conducive to the best interests either of the State or the Nation and have endeavored to show, as the first of these, that the requirement of equal appropriations by the States prevents the proper maintenance of other State roads and the development of tributary roads.

I now submit that—

(2) State supervision of construction means a lack of that coordination which is essential to the development of a truly national system.

The projects in which the State is interested are inevitably those which will best serve its own needs, though, for the reasons already suggested, the State needs are at best poorly served under the present system. Where State highway departments retain the final authority to select the roads which shall be improved, even though such selection must have Government approval, it does not involve any charge of narrow-mindedness or sectionalism against the State highway commissioner to point out that he is sure to consider intrastate ahead of interstate needs. The latter concern him only when they are identical with or subservient to the needs of his own State. That is his business—to look after the road needs of his own State first.

The following example will serve to illustrate this point: One of our principal roads in Colorado follows the valley of the South Platte from Denver to Julesburg in the extreme northeast corner of the State. From this point the distance is 9 miles to Big Springs, Nebr., where connection is made with the Lincoln Highway, which approaches the corner of Colorado on its way from Cheyenne east through Nebraska. There is quite a long stretch of this road in Nebraska between Big Springs and the Wyoming east line. The 9-mile stretch from the Colorado State line to Big Springs has never been improved. I can not blame the Nebraska State or local authorities for not wanting to spend either their own or the Federal aid funds for this purpose. It is not to their financial interest to have either eastbound or westbound traffic diverted out of Nebraska and into Colorado. Consequently this 9-mile stretch, which would form the connecting link between two excellent roads, each of which is many hundreds of miles in length, remains impassable most of the time. Its improvement would be a benefit to the Nation, both for general traffic and for the national defense, but the Federal aid funds will never be expended there, because the Nebraska authorities for perfectly sound reasons of local policy would never select that short stretch as a Federal aid project. Its improvement would be a benefit to Colorado, but the Colorado authorities can expend neither their State funds nor their share of the Federal aid funds on a project outside the State, and even if they could do so, it would probably be resented by Nebraska officials.

Every State has had experience amply sufficient to demonstrate the necessity for the authority of the State commission in determining the locations of intercounty State highways. As was well said by Mr. Pyke Johnson, of the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, in his argument before his associate delegates at the Washington meetings above referred to:

We can not consistently hold to the position that the State should retain control and expenditure of State aid to the counties without admitting at the same time that the National Government should retain direction and control over the expenditure of national funds.

I am firmly of the opinion that instead of tying the hands of the Federal Government by permitting construction of roads necessary to the national business and the national defense to remain subject to the selection and supervision of State authorities, and instead of tying up State funds to the construction of dislocated projects and to their entire maintenance when constructed, we should concentrate our national funds on both the construction and the maintenance of great through arteries of travel; that we should indeed spend the national funds with a sense of just proportion between the several States and particularly with a sense of the Federal obligation to those States which have great areas of public and withdrawn lands, but that the application of the State funds should not be coerced either to the construction or the maintenance of such great through arteries.

The State funds should be released for the primary and secondary State roads, the local roads, which are to feed these through arteries. I hope I shall not be misunderstood as advocating a diminution of Federal appropriations for road building

either in Colorado or in any other State. My intention is to advocate a wiser, more effective, and more economical expenditure of such money and the removal of the hobbles now put on the States' money by the Federal aid plan. If it is feared that a State will not expend sufficient of its own money on its own roads, there can doubtless be devised adequate legislative safeguards against such default. One such would be a provision reserving to the Federal authorities the right to postpone expenditure of Government funds on Government roads in such State until assurance was given of the expenditure by the State of a similar sum on its own roads. While such postponement could not continue forever without leaving the national system incomplete, it is believed that it would not have to be very long continued in order to induce the State to do its share of the whole work. The benefits derived by adjoining States would probably be a sufficiently persuasive argument, if any were needed, but the real answer is that it would be easier for the States to construct and develop their own roads under the provisions of the Townsend bill than it is for them to keep those roads from complete decay under the "Federal aid plan." One scheme, by its very nature and conception, encourages the expenditure of the State money on local roads, the other uses up money which could be so expended—and uses it up, moreover, on disconnected and unrelated pieces of national highway.

LESSON OF THE ROMAN ROADS.

The merit of the Roman roads, which connected all parts of the Empire, was not only that they were well constructed. It lay principally in the fact that they were through roads, all of them "leading to Rome" and from Rome. The Roman road did not stop in a morass on the frontiers of the Belgae, to be resumed 9 miles away in Gaul. And in these days, when we are already forgetting the lessons of the war which is not even concluded as these words are written, when we shudder so much at the bogy of "militarism" that we are on the point of denying the duty of self-defense, it may be well enough to remember that over those ancient stone roads Rome brought something other than the sword to the outlying corners of the world. Those roads carried culture and wealth and enlightenment and law.

But the roads we are now discussing lead not to vassal States, but between free and equal States. We know well enough that a properly coordinated system of all kinds of transportation is as necessary in a republic as in an empire. We have, both under Federal control of railroads and in the recently adopted law for their return to private management, fully recognized their national usefulness and responsibility. Let us not limit to these steel highways the application of the lesson learned from ancient Rome. General highway traffic is capable of indefinite expansion. That expansion means the increased prosperity of every community which it touches and, indirectly, of the whole Commonwealth.

Furthermore, if our through highways are in such condition at all times that traffic of all kinds can flow upon them easily, plentifully, and without obstruction or delay, that condition will be a most potent factor to remove from politics one principal source of misunderstandings, recriminations, inequalities, and sectional and political abuses, namely, the subject of railroad rates. With the potential competition of highway transportation ever present and ever enlarging its scope railroad rates will tend naturally and inevitably to adjust themselves to the level of the actual value of the service performed. On the other hand, it need not be feared that this competition will diminish the volume of business done on the railroads, for it is a curious but easily understood fact that transportation of one kind tends to increase transportation of other kinds, though it may change in some degree the character of such other transportation. An example from our own history of the converse side of the situation now under discussion will serve to illustrate this point. It will be recalled that during the period of railroad expansion in the West immediately following the Civil War, there was much opposition by cross-country freighters to the extension of the railroads across the plains through the Rockies and the Sierras to the Pacific coast. These men were sure that the railroads would ruin their business. The very opposite proved to be the case. The character of the teaming freight business did indeed change, but greatly to its profit. Instead of long hauls through a sparsely settled and difficult country the freighter made short hauls to the railroad through a country continually increasing in prosperity. Each business helped the other. The late James J. Hill and his successors recognized this principle, to the great advantage of their great railroad system, by stimulating State and county road construction and maintenance in the country tributary to that system. The result now to be expected from the development of national through highways—namely, the division between railways and highways of the classes of transportation more conveniently handled by each—is not a result to be feared, but rather one to be desired in the interest of economy and efficiency.

To the proposition that transportation of one kind increases transportation of other kinds the automobile furnishes an apparent exception in its supposed effect upon the business of the street railways. It is believed, however, that this is an apparent and not a real exception and that the present financial embarrassment of street railways all over the United States should really be attributed to other causes. However, if the above thesis is erroneous or of incomplete application this simply means that any kind of transportation must be able to function economically as compared with other kinds if it is to survive. The day is doubtless far distant when, for some kinds of transportation, the railroad will not be able to function economically as compared with the highway.

The newer the country the greater is the proportional benefit which it derives from the construction of roads. Colorado will be greatly benefited by the Government's construction and maintenance of main through roads connecting it more closely to Wyoming and Nebraska on the north, Nebraska and Kansas on the east, Oklahoma and New Mexico on the south, and Utah on the west, but no roads can be built through this block of States without being roads of national importance, and just as I believe that the State is within its rights in providing both funds and supervision for the construction of inter-county roads, so I believe that the United States should both construct and maintain those roads which are national in importance and which will, to an increasing extent as the years go by, be devoted to a traffic generated without the boundaries of the respective States.

DETAILED COMPARISON OF FEDERAL AID AND TOWNSEND BILL.

I now desire to proceed to an analysis of the Townsend bill, Senate bill 3572.

It partially justifies the assertion of its critics that it does propose a substantial increase in appropriations, inasmuch as it authorizes appropriations of $425,000,000 for the four fiscal years beginning July 1, 1920, and ending June 30, 1924. Fifty millions of this is to be immediately available, $75,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and the balance at the rate of $100,000,000 per year for the ensuing three years. By reference to the comparative table of appropriations heretofore set forth, it will be observed that since the Townsend bill does not propose to repeal the appropriations already made under the Federal aid plan, the total appropriations for the current and following years would be as follows, leaving out the figures of the Louisville resolutions, but including the figures actually involved in existing law as deducible from Table I. The same abbreviations are used as in that table.

TABLE VI.—*Combined appropriations under existing law and Townsend bill.*

Year.	July 11, 1916.		Feb. 28, 1919.		Townsend—General.	Total.
	General.	Forest reserve.	General.	Forest reserve.		
1920	20	1	75	3	50	154
1921	25	1	75	3	75	179
1922	.....	1	.....	.....	100	101
1923	.....	1	.....	.....	100	101
1924	.....	1	.....	.....	100	101
1925	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1
1926	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1

It was strongly urged before the Senate committee, in support of the Louisville resolutions, that each of the public-land State legislatures convenes in biennial session in January, 1921; that at these sessions the financing of the roads for the next two years would have to be done; and that it was most important that it should then be definitely known that the Federal appropriations would continue after the 1st of July, 1921. Of course, the use of the Government money would not cease at that time whether the States were then entitled to it or not, since the acts of 1916 and 1919 provide for reapportionments of the amount not expended out of the appropriations of previous years. However, the desirability of making at least a year in advance whatever Federal appropriations are to be made must be apparent where these appropriations constitute the basis of State-road financing for a two-year period. This is particularly true if, as the Townsend bill proposes, we are to change our policy so as to release State funds which are now tied to the Federal road appropriations.

Now, I do not pretend to have made a calculation as to the amount which will be needed for construction and maintenance of national highways for the period ending June 30, 1924. The Louisville resolutions call for $400,000,000 as against the $425,-

000,000 of the Townsend bill. The resolutions contemplate that three hundred of the four hundred million shall be expended for general road construction during the latter three of these four years—not overlapping the current and next following fiscal years, as the Townsend bill does—and that the other $100,000,000 shall be used on forest reserve roads during a period of 10 years ending in 1931. This would make it appear at first blush that the Louisville resolutions contemplate the expenditure of less money than does the Townsend bill, and it is true that they do call for $25,000,000—6¼ per cent—less from the Federal Treasury. On further consideration, however, it will be apparent that whether the Townsend bill figures are too high or too low this bill contemplates a much more moderate, perhaps I should say more careful, plan of expenditures, albeit a much more far-reaching plan. The Louisville resolutions call for the expenditure by the State and Federal Governments together of $600,000,000 in the next four years, $800,000,000 in the next 10 years, for construction alone, the withdrawal of the States' share, $400,000,000, from other use, and the withdrawal from other State use of a further enormous but undeterminable amount for maintenance of the roads so constructed. As against this the Townsend bill proposes the expenditure of only a little more than half this amount for both construction and maintenance, together with the release of State funds for the construction and maintenance of other roads.

The Townsend bill contemplates an overhead expense to the Government of not to exceed 5 per cent, as against 3 per cent under the Federal aid plan; but here, again, the real difference is entirely the other way, because under the Federal aid plan practically the entire actual overhead expense is shifted to the States whose highway departments do the supervising, while under the Townsend bill a new Federal commission is established for the purpose of creating, constructing, maintaining, and developing a complete national system of highways, something that we did not have and are likely never to get under the present plan with its diversified and sectionalized authority and responsibility.

However, in any consideration of expense the question of the proportional return in public benefit is most material. The following statement is taken from the report of the Joint Committee on Federal Aid in the Construction of Good Roads of the Sixty-third Congress:

> The cost of hauling on highways is on an average about 21 cents per ton-mile. If all the roads of the country were rock surfaced, this cost would be reduced about two-thirds. By a reasonable and practicable improvement with material less expensive on the average than macadam, a saving can be made of at least 8 cents per ton-mile. If, then, there be road improvement which will effect an average saving of 8 cents per ton-mile on rural road hauling and the average haul be 9 cents, there will be a saving of 72 cents per ton on all produce transported over the roads. This saving applied to the 700,000,000 tons hauled annually over the highways means a total annual saving of $504,000,000 in the total cost of hauling. * * * The annual saving of $504,000,000 may be regarded as a dividend to be received by the American people from the investment necessary to place their highways in such condition as to save them that amount of money. Railroad stock that paid a 6 per cent dividend would be considered a good investment. On the same basis, the indicated dividends from good roads would justify an investment of $8,400,000,000.

The foregoing report was made in November, 1914. In that year there were registered in the United States 1,711,339 motor vehicles of all descriptions. We now have a total of approximately 8,000,000, of which about 500,000 are motor trucks. This number of motor vehicles is increasing by thousands every month. Whatever would have been the possible saving in 1914 by the surfacing of all of our roads would doubtless be multiplied at least fourfold to-day.

Of course, our 2,500,000 miles of highway can not all be improved at once, but for that very reason it is important that we improve those which will carry and develop the greatest amount of traffic. It is just such concentration of Federal funds that is proposed by, and just such increased use of State funds that is expected to follow, the operation of the Townsend bill.

That bill can best be analyzed by comparing it with the Federal aid plan in the several points in which it proposes a remedy for the inadequacies of the present law.

(1) The Federal aid plan deals with each State as a separate unit and provides only that the Government shall cooperate with the States, leaving actual construction to the State highway departments. Consequently highways are not uniformly constructed as between States, and are built under no connected system.

The Townsend bill would give the Nation a connected system of main trunk lines designed to meet the needs of interstate transportation. It leaves the construction in the hands of the National Government or requires Federal supervisory power where State highway departments are made use of.

(2) The Federal aid plan forces the States to match dollar for dollar with the National Government in highway construction, and since construction of trunk lines alone involves expenditure beyond the means of the State, the whole scheme of highway development is retarded.

The Townsend bill would relieve the States of the heavy financial burden involved in the construction of trunk lines and facilitate feeder development by releasing State funds for that purpose.

(3) The Federal aid plan specifically forbids the States to use national funds for maintenance, thus placing the burden of road upkeep upon the States and civil subdivisions, with the result that roads so constructed have frequently been allowed to deteriorate.

The Townsend bill specifically provides that the National Government must forever maintain all national highways, thus insuring the least possible waste and the greatest possible efficiency while setting sound precedent for State, county, and district construction.

(4) The Federal aid plan has the national administration in charge of a bureau of a Government department, with the result that legal procedure has greatly delayed actual construction. The work is too important to be left in charge of subordinates.

The Townsend bill would place national construction in the hands of a commission of five men appointed by the President, with the approval and consent of the Senate, and with final power to accelerate the use of funds along sound and economical lines.

(5) The Federal aid plan makes no provision for scientific location of highways with respect to future traffic development, and permits funds to be scattered over disconnected parts of the total road mileage of two and one-half million miles without regard to their importance as parts of a connected system.

The Townsend bill directs the commission to investigate the principles of transportation and to locate and construct highways to meet the requirements of future traffic and concentrates national funds on a selected system of mileage.

(6) The Federal aid plan leaves the location and selection of Federal aid routes to State highway departments, which are obligated to expend State funds primarily to meet the needs of intrastate rather than interstate traffic, with the result that Federal funds are not concentrated on any main system even within the State, but are scattered over the State according to the pressure exercised by constituents of the department.

The Townsend bill directs the commission to secure the advice of the State highway department with respect to the location of links of the national system, but leaves the final power of selection in the hands of the commission, with the proviso that connecting roads must be constructed with the needs of interstate transportation as a first consideration.

(7) The Federal aid plan takes no account of possible military needs of the Nation, amply demonstrated during the recent war, when Army convoys had to be routed over long distances when passing from inland points to seaboard.

The Townsend bill as one of its primary purposes plans to provide the Nation with a connected network of highways which would serve as effective agencies of through transportation in time of war.

(8) The Federal aid plan makes no provision for uniform regulations of traffic.

The Townsend bill provides for uniform regulations of traffic on national highways with the proviso that the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the State shall not be affected thereby.

(9) The Federal aid plan defines an acceptable project as one which is "substantial in character." Under this provision 60 per cent of the total mileage approved to date by the Department of Agriculture has been of a type lower than macadam.

The Townsend bill provides that only such "durable" types of surface shall be adopted as will adequately meet any existing or probable future traffic needs.

(10) There is no provision in the Federal aid acts for the acquisition by the Government of roads already constructed and which are of a standard and location suitable for incorporation in a national system.

The Townsend bill provides that where States have constructed sections of highway which are selected as a part of the national system and which are of a standard of construction deemed adequate by the commission, the commission shall value the reproduction cost at current prices and wages, and shall construct, or may at its discretion contract with the State highway department for the construction of, other highways connecting or correlating with the national system and of a mileage equal in

value to the highway or part thereof so selected as part of the national system. No cost of the maintenance of such roads shall be borne by the Government.

This provision is equitable to the States which have already expended large sums for the construction of through highways; it gives the State the value of this asset acquired through its thrift and foresight, and it applies the principle of Federal aid where it can logically and properly be applied.

(11) Under the Federal aid acts all condemnation proceedings must be instituted by the States. This is an anomaly in view of the intended national character of the roadways to be acquired; but it is in accord with the anomalous nature of the Federal aid acts which leave selection, construction, and maintenance of national highways in the hands of the State authorities.

The Townsend bill corrects this illogical and sectional plan by requiring the States to turn over rights of way to the Government so far as may be legally possible. It is submitted that this acquisition of title by the Government is no more an invasion of the sovereignty of the States than is the similar acquisition of title to sites for Federal buildings, Army camps, naval bases, and so forth. It may be observed, however, that the compulsion resting upon the State or its civil subdivisions to make such transfer is only that as a condition precedent to the expenditure of Federal money on national roads within such State the rights of way shall be so transferred "as fully as may be permitted under the constitution of the State." It may be conceded that the permanent application of such compulsion would block the full completion of a perfect national system of highways, but for the reasons previously suggested it is not believed that such disciplinary withholding of funds would have to be very long continued. There are, it is submitted, no States which could afford permanently to be left out of such national system of highways. There are, perhaps, none which could not be left out without greater detriment to themselves than to the rest of the Union.

(12) The Federal aid acts do not provide any standard widths of roads or roadways.

Under the national system provided for in the Townsend bill all highways are to have a right of way of not less than 66 feet and a wearing surface of not less than 20 feet, except where this is rendered impracticable by physical conditions, excessive cost, or legal obstacles.

(13) The Federal aid acts are primarily for the construction of postal routes.

The Townsend bill unifies all road-building activities of the Department of Agriculture under the heading of the Federal highway commission, which is to take over also such highway duties as are now vested in the Council of National Defense.

CONCLUSION.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that the time is as ripe for the formation of a definite national highway policy as for a definite Army or Navy policy or a definite foreign relations policy, that the policy under which we are now operating is not definite and can never be truly national, and that a review of the whole subject conclusively demonstrates that the present plan gives us the least possible benefit from both State and National funds, and that the Townsend bill properly adjusted to the needs of both the public-land States and the private-land States presents the basis of a sound constructive and permanent national policy, insuring the maximum of advantage to the Nation and to the several States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES J. THOMPSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 5, 1920.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a speech of Hon. CHARLES C. KEARNS, delivered at McKinley day banquet, at Canton, Ohio, January 29, 1920.

Omitting the preliminary remarks made by Mr. KEARNS bearing on the life and character of McKinley, the speech is as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES C. KEARNS, DELIVERED AT M'KINLEY DAY BANQUET, AT CANTON, OHIO, JANUARY 29, 1920.

In the beginning I desire to say I have no quarrel with the great masses of loyal and patriotic men who make up the Democratic Party. These men have been misled by the pretense of a false leadership. The present Democratic administration was conceived in falsehood and deceit and ever since has reveled in graft and wild extravagance. By a false pretense it secured the confidence of the electorate of the Nation and it has never since overlooked an opportunity to violate its trust. It has chosen to pile needless burden after burden upon the weary shoulders of the taxpaying public, rather than stay the profiteer in his mad rush to riches. It has compelled the 110,000,000 men, women, and children of this country to pay constant tribute to this lawless band of profiteers. While the war was on and the young manhood of the country was baring the breast to the dangers of battle and loyal men and women at home were exerting their energy to get needed supplies to our soldiers at the front and in camp, the profiteer preyed unhindered upon the vitality of the country. The administration sometimes rebuked, but never punished, this the greatest domestic foe. Since peace has come this enemy at home still plies his nefarious trade in every household of our land. This is done in defiance of a pitifully weak and vacillating administratioin. This band of highway robbers boldly and successfully defy the law and go unjailed.

So well do they recognize the helpless impotency of the Department of Justice that they go unmasked into every household in every State of the Union and loot and plunder. The profiteer has brought want and misery and suffering into a countless number of homes, yet it seems he has not yet reached the zenith of his wild career. The red danger pales into nothingness compared to this great evil of the hour. With laws so thick and drastic that no honest man dare turn to right or left for fear of violation, the lawless continue in their mad rush unafraid. Attorney General Palmer did take decided stand against the coal miner and stopped what might have been a national disaster. Some say for this he must be called to higher duties. I believe before the people call him into a wider field they will first ask him to put handcuffs on the wrists of those who have their hands in the pockets of every home throughout our land. It is true the miners' strike was partly stopped in the earlier stages of its development, but the operator was never hindered, and is still allowed to make, in many instances, a thousand per cent upon his investment.

Such dishonest pretense as this and kindred acts are what give impetus to the great unrest to-day.

There is no place in the American politics for the blatherskite or hypocrite. There is a demand, however, for the brave and courageous leader of men and public thought who will meet all questions with a courage that only fears the wrong. The man who shapes his thoughts in soft and pleasing speech to attract the masses to his leadership, regardless of the justness of his cause, is a traitor to right and a menace to our institutions of government. The country is calling aloud to-day for a leader who can turn a face of flint against the masses, regardless of their numbers, when their demands are selfish and unjust.

The controversies between labor and capital have been coaxed and encouraged by the present-day demagogue until their estrangement presents another grave danger of the present hour. Labor and capital should be bosom friends. The prosperity of the Nation depends upon their companionship. The happiness of the one depends entirely upon the contentment of the other. Neither can prosper when the other fails. If I have counted accurately the pulse beats of the Nation or read aright the public mind, I have learned that the whole people are looking with field glasses for the man who can espouse that side of our domestic disputes that is right and just and with an equal firmness spurn the side of wrong regardless of the numbers for or against. There is wanted a Goliath in our modern-day politics who hews straight to the line, letting the chips fall where they may.

Whoever this leader is to be he must be a man imbued with love for his own country. His chief mission must be here and not abroad meddling in the affairs of strangers and permitting strangers to have a voice in ours—a man who believes in a league of Americans. When such leadership is found, our domestic questions will be readily solved.

I can not help but think that the best patriotic thought of America is opposed to the proposed Wilsonian entangling alliance that would forever take away from nations the right to mind their own business. I am forced to the belief that America, through a reckless and ambitious leadership, has drifted far afield in the year just past. Persuaded by the false allurements of a union of governments, national rights and independence of action would be bartered and frittered away forever. The price is more, vastly more, than the patriotism of America would ever be willing to pay. My belief is that when the people of this country realize and understand the hypocrisy and deceit contained in the unreserved covenant of this proposed alliance

they will speak in unmistakable fashion. Briefly let me say it is an attempt to pull down the Stars and Stripes and unfurl instead the flag of internationalism.

England wants this particular League of Nations because she now controls by virtue of this treaty more than one-fourth of all the globe. Much of this territory has been taken by force from unwilling peoples; has been taken from peoples who will loosen the British yoke when some day they have found opportunity and strength. This will mean war, and England wants to now forswear the great nations of the world to help her in her fight to retain her domination when that time comes. Other countries of the Old World join with her in an attempt to bind the United States in this unholy alliance, because they, too, have by the terms of this same treaty become the beneficiaries of territories and peoples to which they have no color of right. They, too, fear the time when the day of reckoning will come, for that time must come because the sins of nations, like the evil that men do, will some day find them out.

At the close of the World War a new map of Europe was drawn by hands that often cared but little for human rights. Peoples and territories were moved about from government to other sovereignty much as pawns are moved from place to place on the chessboard. The high ideals of those who, when war raged, asserted the principles of self-determination became mockeries at the peace table. Those who gave expression to these lofty thoughts when the blood of the universe flowed from a million wounds and more were the same men who made mockery of their own speech at the first opportunity. For many months behind closed doors, where the world could not look on, they filched and filched again from friend and foe alike.

Not until the curtains were drawn and the public was allowed to look in upon their work was the rape of China known. China, big honest, yet unaroused China, that had looked upon us as a friend in any hour of need. The pity is that America stood by and refused to interfere while this big, friendly country struggled for release from those who committed this cowardly, dastardly assault. Even to this day the President and those who blindly follow him say the Senate of the United States must not write words into this treaty that would at least disclaim consent on our part to the outrage. This treaty takes Shantung, a rich and populous Province, from the greatest Republic in the East—a trusting, loyal, and confiding friend of ours—and gives it to Japan, the most overbearing and autocratic monarchy on the face of the globe to-day. Think you the day of retribution will never come? Great and glaring sins never go unpunished, and when the hour comes for this great nation of the Orient to strike, conscience will impel every country that loves right and justice and truth to blend their arms with hers.

As hateful and unthinkable as the Shantung affair may appear to all men of honor and integrity, it can not overshadow England's treachery to Egypt and her people. When that country was coaxed and influenced to enter into the whirlpool of blood she was promised not only her release from Turkish interference but absolute independence, provided the allied arms should win. The treaty of peace was written and signed and Egypt's representatives were never allowed admittance to the peace conference; they knocked, but were denied their seats. In their enforced absence the following sentence relating to Egypt was incorporated into the treaty and is found on page 68 of the Senate print of that document and is numbered article 147:

> Germany declares that she recognizes the protectorate proclaimed over Egypt by Great Britain on December 18, 1914, and that she renounces the régime of the capitulations in Egypt.

Thus did our peace delegates become a party to another outrage, and the Senate of the United States is told that it must not write into the treaty a reservation which would say to England and to the Old World, "Do as you please with Egypt, but we do not lend to you our approval or consent."

Another provision vitally affects our own country. I refer to that clause that gives the British Empire six times the voting strength that is given to the United States. I can not understand how it is possible that any true American could ever agree that any nation should become six times greater than our own. Yet there are men who would sacrifice this principle in order that we might enter into these entangling alliances against which we have been warned by a whole line of distinguished men in the past.

I want to say here and now that this covenant of the League of Nations and the treaty embodied as it is into one document as it stands to-day is the most treacherous and un-American instrument of writing that was ever attempted to be fastened for all time upon the American people. Out of it all, however, comes a ray of hope, and that is the great majority of the rank and file of the Democratic Party denounce it in unmistakable terms.

This document without reservations would mean an end to our national independence. It would mean a supergovernment composed of certain nations of the world, of which we would be at best only a member State. It would surrender our right to independent self-government by transferring these powers and rights, in part at least, to alien councils. The very thought is so abhorrent and unthinkable to the real and true American mind that the wonder is that Woodrow Wilson, in his selfish ambition to create this new world power, could find one sympathetic mind in all the United States. He says the very heart and life of this covenant is found in article 10. Destroy or weaken it by reservations or otherwise, he says to the Senate, and you will break the great, big, throbbing heart of the world. Perhaps he mistakes his own heart for that of the universe.

God forbid that any man, or set of men, may ever grow so great and powerful that he or they can betray into strange and unsympathetic hands national rights that were wrenched from a despotic country by those who fought and bled a century and a half ago—rights, I submit, that were baptized in the blood that flowed from patriotic veins all along that seven years' pathway that led from Lexington to victory at Yorktown. Article 10 takes from Congress the right to make war or not and lodges this function in a council of nations. And neither would we have the poor privilege of selecting the side on which we could cast our lot. Under this deceitful document millions of American lads, at the command of alien authority, would be carried thousands of miles from home to fight in a stranger's war and perish in a foreign land in a cause not his or ours. This League of Nations is given by its authors a life perpetual, and this means that American boys throughout all the countless ages to come and go would fight and die in all the quarrels of Europe—quarrels in which they could have not even the remotest interest.

The proponents of this league claim it will put an end to war. They know that the nerves of the world are now unstrung, and that the big and brave heart of our Nation is torn and mangled and bleeding and is hungry for a perpetual and everlasting peace. They take advantage of this state of mind and promise freedom for all time from the ravages of war. This promise is as false and deceitful as was the slogan, "He kept us out of war," about which you and I have heard so much. If not, why is it that every paragraph of the covenant points not the way to peace but the path that leads direct to war? If not, why is it that while our President absented himself from Washington, assisting in its making, his Secretary of War was at that very time at home writing a proposed Army reorganization bill that provided for the most astounding and gigantic military system that the world had ever known? While the war raged and our brave and courageous men laid down their lives on a foreign battle field, we consoled the grief-stricken mother that her son had made the sacrifice that Germany's military system and its kind might perish from the earth. Notwithstanding this promise so solemnly made and at a time when men should speak the truth, the President and his Secretary of War have brought this Prussian military system to us many times multiplied. They have brought it to us all and more, only leaving behind the Kaiser himself.

The great masses of the people, be they Democrats or Republicans, are neither fools nor knaves and can not always be led astray by promises that are false. To keep the United States out of war is only a piker's job, so the President now extends his field of activities to the entire universe. This statement, I fear, follows too closely upon the heels of his former pledge to carry with it the weight of credulity. That wing of the Democratic Party that asks as to join our fortunes and our lives with strange and alien nations seeks to allay our fears by promises of universal and perpetual peace. At the same time they seek to place within our midst an armed camp of nearly 600,000 regular soldiers, augmented annually by a force of nearly a million of compulsory trained 19-year-old boys. Away with such hypocrisy. It is so rotten that its stench penetrates every home throughout our beloved country. If this military machine is necessary, if danger is lurking in the near future, or if, indeed, we must become the policemen of the world, let us say so. Be honest and candid with the masses, who are entitled to the truth. I do not know what the future, be it far or near, may hold, but I can not believe at this present moment, when the world is taking stock, that we should write into any law mandatory authority for compulsory military training. This may be necessary in the very near future, but surely this burden should not be placed upon the taxpayers and the boys until with a better vision we can penetrate the needs of the future.

Yes; many of the countries of Europe want this particular League of Nations, because in its covenant or constitution our country agrees to go to their aid when summoned with its millions of men and its billions of wealth. Standing as we do to-

day at the dawn of a new era, let me appeal to you, let me appeal to your hearts and your reason, regardless of partisan politics, to close your ears to the call of the rotten monarchs of the Old World who fear the crumbling of their thrones. Let us listen only to the voice of America as she calls aloud for a league of her own nationals whose dominant thought will be the preservation of America and her soul-inspiring traditions. Let us listen to the voices of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Lincoln, and McKinley. These men are dead, but their advice and judgment and warning still live. Their lives stand out in our history to-day monuments to the immortality of constitutional America. Their lives stand out to-day like guideposts pointing out the road to safety and perpetuity and warning against the pitfalls and intrigues of Europe and her quarrels.

Let me read here what McKinley has said on this very subject. It comes to-night like a voice from the tomb.

> We have cherished the policy of noninterference with the affairs of foreign governments, wisely inaugurated by Washington, keeping ourselves free from entanglement either as allies or foes, content to leave undisturbed with them the settlement of their own concerns.

We stand to-night awaiting the approach of two great national conventions where presidential candidates will be selected and party platforms written. The people, having grown weary of false promises and this new internationalism, have turned their eyes and rest their hopes upon the Chicago convention. At that convention war lords may occupy seats as delegates and try to force a nomination and party platform that would wed the Republican Party to a militaristic program. There will be men in both the Republican and Democratic conventions who will attempt to fasten upon the Republic this monstrous and costly military machine to which I have just referred—a system that would conscript each year nearly a million of our young men for military training; would after training place them in reserve for further service; and would for this purpose keep intact throughout our land our draft boards. Under this plan these young men would be taken out of the industries where they are so much in demand. They would be taken from farm and factory and mine and shop and mill and every other place of human endeavor. This would be done notwithstanding they are all calling for more help now. These men base their judgment upon the demands of 4,000,000 boys who have so recently laid down their arms.

They claim these young men are demanding that this military machine be kept alive and are clamoring for high-up military officials for public office. If I have listened and understand aright their story, these boys are asking for nothing of the sort. When I say this I mean the real soldier—the private and the junior officer who fought in trench and out in no man's land, where bullets flew, where shells went screeching and screaming and bursting by, carrying with them their cruel messages of death, out there where their comrades fought with them and fell. I mean, too, these boys who were called into camp and were made to do military duty at home. These men who passed through this hell and lived, I am told, will never vote for their superior officers who never smelled the smoke of battle, but in places of comfort and safety wore the insignia of a high-up officer, an insignia that only meant a class distinction between him and them.

But why waste time on this question? I predict that the Republicans at Chicago will select a big, broad-minded, patriotic man who is a real statesman to lead them to victory this fall, an American who pays homage to no king or potentate, whose love for this country is so great and constant that he can not share with any other a divided allegiance; a man who will be safe and sane and universally loved for his loyalty to country and admired for his courage and transcendent ability. I think I know the man, and you too, who will be nominated. He is brilliant in speech and faultless in logic. A man who knows the needs of our country and is so courageous that he can weather pressure and false advice that would direct him into strange and dangerous places. In search of such a man the convention we all believe will come to Ohio, and without dissenting voice it is your hope and mine will nominate that matchless leader, that paragon of men, charming in personality, Ohio's only candidate, for the Presidency of the United States—WARREN G. HARDING. With HARDING as the standard bearer I predict again that party lines will vanish, and practically a unanimous nation would rally around his cause and proclaim him Chief Executive for the next four years. Then America would, as if by magic, free herself from the greed and graft of the profiteer; business would again assume a safe and sane position in the affairs of the world; men would go about their daily activities assured that legitimate and honest avocations in every line of human endeavor would receive their merited protection and governmental encouragement. Capital and labor would forget their estrangement and as comrades would again unite to bind the ugly wounds of war. Holding as you do views so exactly in harmony with this great and good man's plans, I take it, it is quite unnecessary for me to dwell longer on the subject.

This brings me to another thought I desire to emphasize with all the power that I can command, and that is the Republican primary that will make selection of a candidate for governor of Ohio. I will not say that a Republican electorate demands, but will say the voters, regardless of party, will require of a candidate for this high and important place a man of real constructive business ability and one accustomed to dealing faultlessly with big questions that vitally affect the homes throughout the State. The man who will be the next governor of the State must first and last be an American of the highest degree of character; a man whose love for this country and its institutions is so sacred to him that the very thought of divided affection is repulsive to his soul; a man who can not be enamored by the blandishments and cajolery of strange influence or foreign power; a man who will listen to the argument of reason, but can not be influenced by the smooth tongue of flattery; a man broad and courageous enough when elected governor who can, with a firm and fearless hand, brush aside the political parasite that will follow in his wake, and serve the people as good judgment will dictate; a man whose ear is as ready to listen to the plea of the toiling masses as it is to give heed to the voice of power and wealth. He must be able to stand on such a high and lofty plane, built so securely on a foundation of right and justice, that all classes and all creeds can be assured of a square deal. There may be other men who might develop these qualifications that I believe the people demand of the candidate to be chosen by them as their governor, but unless I am badly deceived, your own Representative in Congress to-day from this district, ROSCOE C. MCCULLOCH, measures up to this high standard and more. I like him because he believes from the bottom of his heart that the most distressed and unfortunate family in your State and mine has not lost one right that the State has to bestow upon the most favored and most fortunate family in our midst. He knows the necessity of capital and the importance of labor; he knows that should all the people be happy and prosperous these two great factors of industry must walk arm in arm through life as boon companions.

For the last five years I have known him well and watched him closely. I have seen him grow and develop until he has become a real and important factor in the councils of the Nation. He has a mind of his own and his judgment is faultless, his honesty of purpose is beyond question, and he possesses a courage that can withstand the attacks of all the combined forces of evil.

If the Republican Party in its wisdom nominates this young and distinguished man for governor, I firmly believe that party lines will be forgotten and ROSCOE C. MCCULLOCH will receive the greatest vote ever given to any former governor of this, the greatest State in all the Union. He has youth and strength and brain, and before November next his persuasive voice will have penetrated into every home in Ohio, and his name will be the hope of all therein. This man, endowed as he is with these choice blessings, will be a fit successor to the beloved and immortal McKinley. If we who know him best do our full duty to Ohio, we will not let the hours and days go by from now until primary day without telling the people of his eminent fitness for this exalted place. It is the people's right to know and our plain duty to carry to them this message of hope. Tell them that he never yet has violated a trust; that he never will. Any criticism that political enemies will urge against him will only strengthen him in the love and esteem of the electors of the State. As a public official his record is clear. Scan his record in Congress as you may and you will learn that it stands out prominently without scar or blemish of any kind. Never has he cast a vote that would bring dishonor to him or the great district that he represents. Being a public servant with high and lofty ideals, his devotion to his country and its cause throughout the trying times just past will be in the days to come a lesson for ambitious youth to learn and profit by. The world wants men, true men; men who can not be swayed by the seductive passion of greed or influenced by the poisoned arrow of hate. MCCULLOCH stands as a giant among men, and when the people of this State know him as you and I know him victory for him and them will be assured. His nomination will be distinctly a victory for the State.

I do not know what MCCULLOCH's personal platform will be when he makes this race for governor, but I do know it will be a constructive one and one that will presage good for the State.

I do not know what the platforms of political parties will contain, but I do know that Americanism unalloyed is going to be forced into the campaign of every candidate by the people, whether that candidate would have it so or not. My opinion is that the people of Ohio and the Nation demand more nationalism and less internationalism. My opinion is that the people of this country desire to attend unhelped to their own business and allow other countries to do the same. And for this reason my belief is that the League of Nations without strong and clear-cut reservations will be distasteful to them. They are not now and never will be misled by promises of universal and everlasting peace. They pray for this, it is true, because they hate war.

It leaves in its wake broken homes and heartaches and deep sorrow, and if they had their way they would banish it from the world forever. They can not forget either that the same men who are now making these promises are the same men who a few years ago, before the Great World War commenced, were saying that the world had grown too enlightened to ever again be deluged in war. These are the same men who were so sure at that time that the dogs of war had been so securely chained that they could never break their fetters, that they had even coaxed the dove of peace to build her nest and hatch her brood in the very mouths of cannon that only yesterday were belching forth a destruction to all the world's civilization.

We pray for peace and pray again that our prayers may be answered, but we can not help but remember that ever since time began down to the present hour there has never been an age but what some country has been grappling at the throat of some other country in a death struggle for national existence. I fear this will be true as long as the greed of nations and nationals are allowed to be controlling factors. But surely we can not escape war by agreeing in this covenant to defend with our resources the boundary lines of Europe as they were made by this treaty. But our great danger is that too many in our midst are mindful of other interests, forgetting our own. In this connection let me say that as horrible and distasteful as war is to the well-thinking mind, we can not be led astray by promises that are not sincere. Neither can we escape war by bartering away our country into alien hands. The President has said himself that this particular League of Nations sets up a supergovernment that far overshadows our own. I quote his language exact in a speech at Kansas City, September 6, 1919. I am quoting now:

> I have, let me say without the slightest affectation, the greatest respect for the United States Senate; but, my fellow citizens, I have come to fight for a cause. That cause—the League of Nations—is greater than the Senate. It is greater than the Government. It is as great as the cause of mankind.

I am quite sure that the President has spoken the truth and without reservations our country as a free and independent Nation would cease to exist. This being true is it not time for all real lovers of their country to place here and now upon this monster's head an iron heel and crush out its life before it can sink its poisonous fangs deep into our Nation's flesh?

"It is greater than the Government." God forbid. The tears and the heartaches of every American mother whoever gave a son in battle from Bunker Hill all along that long and winding path that leads from there into the battle fields of France cry out against it. If this is true and we should enter into this arrangement, then we have falsified the tongue of old Liberty Bell and have made a lie out of Bunker Hill. Perry's victory becomes a farce. In doing this we write deceit all over the face of the entire story of Appomattox.

If this be true, San Juan Hill was a mockery and Chateau-Thierry was a meaningless and unprovoked tragedy—Chateau-Thierry, where the American boys threw themselves into the vortex of blood and battle, snatching victory from the greedy grasp of the German hordes; Chateau-Thierry, where these same unconquerable khaki-clad lads turned the face of the German Army toward home and they never stopped until they had planted the flag of freedom upon the ramparts, I hope, of an everlasting liberty.

Two paths open up before us, so let us choose now that our choice may live among traditions immortal. Let us have nothing of this new internationalism, but dedicate anew our old nationalism and we will challenge the admiration of those in our midst who love liberty and its cause. Do this and America will, with a renewed hope and abiding faith, welcome the unborn generations.

Let us put men in office who are Americans, men who can withstand the smiles and blandishments of king and queen, of prince and princess, and stand as immovable as the towering peaks of the everlasting hills for the perpetuity of our own Government and its institutions.

Terminating the State of War with the Imperial German Government.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. IGOE,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 5, 1920.

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Speaker, House joint resolution 325, terminating the state of war with the Imperial German Government, is a very unusual document, wholly without precedent in our history, and raises many interesting and perplexing questions as to its constitutionality and its effect if valid.

The first section declares that the state of war is at an end. This declaration is unconditional and complete, and not qualified, as in section 3, by a provision requiring the German Government, in its own behalf and for its nationals, to waive certain claims, demands, rights, and benefits. This being so, the question at once arises as to what effect this unconditional declaration will have on the actions of the United States in seizing property of the German Government and her nationals during the war. The Alien Property Custodian, under an act of Congress, has taken possession of property having a value of over a half billion dollars.

The unratified treaty of peace with Germany contains elaborate provisions in its financial and economic clauses for the adjustment of debts and claims of every kind. In the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, during the examination of Mr. Palmer, page 21, appears the following statement of Senator KNOX:

> In response to Mr. Palmer's statement that the alien enemy had no rights, I replied that under international law private property of the alien was always protected until after the hostilities ceased, and then an accounting was made for it. That is a rule of international law, and has been for a hundred years. * * *

On page 22 appears the following:

> Senator SWANSON. I understand your negotiations have obtained the acquiescence of the German Government in Congress disposing of the alien enemy property as it sees proper?
> Mr. PALMER. Yes.
> Senator SWANSON. Is that the result of your negotiations?
> Mr. PALMER. The treaty.
> Senator SWANSON. I mean, is that the result of the treaty, that they will acquiesce in the disposition of alien property as Congress may see proper?
> Mr. PALMER. Yes.
> Senator POMERENE. Is not this the situation as to alien claims? I understand the rule to be with regard to alien property, in international law, as stated by Senator KNOX; but those who were framing this treaty saw fit to insert in the treaty a provision ratifying the acts of the Custodian of Alien Property. Whatever his rights may have been under the general principle of international law, they are more clearly defined by the treaty itself, so that it rests with Congress under this treaty and under the alien property act.
> Mr. PALMER. That is correct.

Articles 23 and 24 of the treaty with Prussia, 1799, are continued in effect by article 12 of the treaty with Prussia, 1828. Article 23 is as follows:

> If war should arise between the two contracting parties, the merchants of either country then residing in the other shall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts and settle their affairs and may depart freely, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance; and all women and children, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, artisans, manufacturers, and fishermen, unarmed and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, or places, and, in general, all others whose occupations are for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, shall be allowed to continue their respective employments, and shall not be molested in their persons, nor shall their houses or goods be burnt or otherwise destroyed, nor their fields wasted by the armed force of the enemy, into whose power by the events of war they may happen to fall; but if anything is necessary to be taken from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at a reasonable price.

In article 24 of the same treaty is the following:

> and it is declared that neither the pretense that war dissolves all treaties, nor any other whatever, shall be considered as annulling or suspending this and the next preceding article; but, on the contrary, that the state of war is precisely that for which they are provided, and during which they are to be as sacredly observed as the most acknowledged articles in the law of nature and nations.

In the Treatise on International Law by Senator Cushman K. Davis, published in 1901, with an introduction by Senator LODGE, the annotator, Mr. P. J. Healy, added a note on the subject of the effect of war on treaties, which is quite exhaustive and is of special interest at this time. He says (p. 141):

> It must be noted that certain treaties are entered into which provide for the contingency of war and are not abrogated by it. There are also treaties which fix territorial boundaries and property rights upon which war has no effect. * * *
> Treaties of boundary belong to a class of treaties which are regarded by jurists as perpetual in their nature, so that, being once carried into effect, they subsist independently of any change which may supervene

in the political circumstances of either contracting party, unless they are mutually revoked. Vattel, Droit des Gens, lib. II, section 292, speaks of compacts which have no relation to the performance of reiterated acts, but merely relate to transient and single acts, which are concluded at once, and suggests that they may be more properly called by another name than that of treaties. Martens (Precis sec. 58) has accordingly proposed to call them transitory conventions, which Wheaton approves. (1 Twiss, sec. 225.)

Mr. Justice Washington, in the case of Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts *v.* Town of New Haven (8 Wheat., 494) says: "But we are not inclined to admit the doctrine urged at the bar, that treaties become extinguished, ipso facto, by war between two governments, unless they should be revived by an express or implied renewal on the return of peace. * * * There may be treaties of such a nature, as to their object and import, as that war will put an end to them; but where treaties contemplate a permanent arrangement of territorial and other national rights, or which in their terms are meant to provide for the event of an intervening war, it would be against every principle of just interpretation to hold them extinguished by the event of war."

It is said that treaties are perishable things, and their obligations are dissipated by the first hostility. But this is to be understood of treaties that have reference to the pacific relations of the contracting parties, and, even in respect of such treaties, the expression is inaccurate. It is true that their covenants exist only with a state of amity with the confederate states, and that they are necessarily suspended during war, because a state of war is inconsistent with pacific relations and leaves nothing for such treaties to operate upon during its continuance; but since a treaty of peace acts as an act of oblivion in respect of the differences wherein war originated, and of all grievances committed or suffered in prosecution thereof, it necessarily follows that all engagements subsisting between belligerents at the commencement of hostilities are revived by the treaty of peace, so far as they are consistent with its provisions. (Puff. VIII, 9; Wheaton, 494; Vattel IV, sec., 42.) But treaties that have reference to the belligerent relations of the contracting parties are suspended during peace and are brought into operation during war, otherwise they would be wholly unreasonable and inoperative. (Bynk. Q. J. P. II, X; Vattel II, sec. 175; 1 Kent, Comm. p. 165; 1 Wildman, pp. 175, 176.)

The Senate of the United States having under consideration the treaty of Paris, terminating the Spanish War, the question was raised in that body as to the effect of the war on the treaty of 1834, which existed between the United States and Spain. Mr. Davis, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, and author of this work, reported the treaty of 1834 settled a particular fact that, in accordance with that settlement, Spain engaged to pay the United States a certain sum of money, and in a particular manner, thereby acknowledging the obligation to be a part of her national debt, which, according to all the authorities, is never discharged by the event of war. This position indicates that the treaty of 1834 comes under the head of treaties which Vattel and Wheaton denominate "transitory conventions," and may furnish a key to other cases.

The following argument and authorities were, in part, relied on by Senator DAVIS in reaching the above conclusion, though prepared by the annotator of this work:

Do hostilities between two nations abrogate all existing treaties? If not, what treaties revive at the conclusion of peace? These are great questions, on which "doctors disagree"; in fact, most of the international law writers are too general in their treatment of the effect of war on previously existing treaties to remove from the realm of doubt many questions that may arise on the conclusion of peace not specifically provided for in the treaty of peace.

From an examination of the best recognized authorities on the subject I deduce the following conclusion: Treaties of the following character survive a war: Those that relate to and fix a permanent condition of national existence, fix boundaries, etc. Those which determine property rights, either real or personal. Those which contain a final adjustment of a particular question. Those which contain special reference to a subsequent war and provide for their continuation. Those which determine some great international principle. The following are abrogated by war: Treaties of alliance and friendship. Treaties of commerce and navigation. Postal treaties, etc. There is a division of authorities on this question. Those treaties the provisions of which are inconsistent with the new conditions.

Wheaton (p. 381; Boyd's ed.) treats the subject as follows:

"Treaties, properly so called, are those of friendship and alliance, commerce and navigation, which, even if perpetual in terms, expire of course. Treaties fixing boundaries and territorial jurisdiction."

On page 382, Wheaton says:

"Most international compacts, and especially treaties of peace, are of a mixed character and contain articles of both kinds, which renders it frequently difficult to distinguish between those stipulations which are perpetual in their nature and such as are extinguished by war between the contracting parties or by such changes of circumstances as affect the being of either party and thus render the compact inapplicable to the new condition of things. It is for this reason and from abundance of caution that stipulations are frequently inserted in treaties of peace expressly reviving and confirming the treaties formerly subsisting between the contracting parties and contain stipulations of a permanent character or in some other mode excluding the conclusion that the obligation of such antecedent treaties is meant to be waived by either party."

On page 707 of the same work he says:

"The treaty of peace does not extinguish claims founded upon debts contracted or injuries inflicted previously to the war and unconnected with its causes unless there be an express stipulation to that effect."

Lawrence (sec. 167) divides treaties into four classes, the first of which only concerns our case, if it can even fall under that head—"those to which the name 'pacta transitoria' has been given. They are agreements fulfilled by one act or series of acts, which produce by being once performed a permanent effect. Boundary conventions and treaties of cession or recognition are examples. War has no effect upon them."

In the third class he places "conventions for regulating ordinary social, political, and commercial intercourse, such as treaties of commerce and extradition treaties. The effect of war upon instruments of this kind is very doubtful. They are, of course, suspended while war lasts, but it is a much-disputed question whether they revive again at the conclusion of peace or are destroyed by the war and require to be reenacted if they are to come into force when it is over. * * * With these facts before us, we may venture to say that, though no rule can be laid down as undoubted law, it is best to hold on general principles that treaties of the kind we are now considering are merely suspended by war and revive at the conclusion of peace."

Gallaudet (p. 210) says: "The effect of a state of war on treaties depends, naturally, on the character of these contracts. Thus all engagements intended to operate in a state of peace, such as treaties of amity, alliance, and others of a political nature, are definitely terminated. Customs, postal arrangements, conventions for commerce and navigation, agreements regarding private interests, are generally regarded as suspended until termination of hostilities." On page 254 the same author says: "The conclusion of peace does not invalidate engagements made prior to the war, nor does it interfere in any way with the private rights of subjects or sovereigns unless by special stipulation. * * * International conventions, the operation of which has been suspended by the existence of war, resume their force at conclusion of peace, unless they have been modified or abrogated by the terms of the treaty of peace."

Halleck (Int. Law, p. 352) says: "A treaty of peace does not extinguish claims unconnected with the cause of the war. Debts existing prior to the war and injuries committed prior to the war, but which made no part of the reasons for undertaking it, remain entire and the remedies are revived."

"War does not affect the compacts of a nation, except when so provided in such compacts; and except also that executory stipulations in a special compact between belligerents which by their nature are applicable only in time of peace are suspended during the war." (Field Int. Code, sec. 905.)

"All engagements subsisting between belligerents at the commencement of hostilities are revived by a treaty of peace, so far as they are consistent with its provisions." (1 Wildman, Int. Law, p. 175.)

De Martens holds that war abrogates only those treaties the existence of which is incompatible with belligerent relations.

Calvo (vol. 5, sec. 3152) holds that all treaties remain binding, and revive at the conclusion of peace, unless changed by the terms of the treaty of peace or are inconsistent with the new relations.

Wooley (sec. 160, subd. 4) says: "Private rights, the prosecution of which is interrupted by war, are revived by peace, although nothing may be said upon the subject, for a peace is a return to a normal state of things, and private rights depend not so much on concessions, like public ones, as on common views of justice. And here we include not only claims of private persons in the two countries upon one another, but also claims of individuals on the Government of the foreign country and claims—private and not political—of each Government upon the other existing before the war."

Vattel (p. 438) says: "The effect of the compromise or amnesty can not be extended to things which have no relation to the war that is terminated by the treaty. Thus claims founded on a debt or an injury which had been done prior to the war, but which made no part of the reasons for undertaking it, still stand on their former footing, and are not abolished by the treaty, unless it be expressly extended to the extinction of every claim whatever." He further says that the compromise and amnesty relate to their own particular object—that is to say, to the war, its causes, and its effect.

Phillimore (vol. 3) lays down as a general rule that treaties are abrogated by a subsequent war, but recognizes a modification of the rule in this: That a treaty which recognizes a principle and object of permanent policy survives the war. He cites the English rule in support of his position, and in that contention the proposed treaty with France in 1801 and the discussion concerning it in the House of Lords. Lord Grenville, Thurlow, and others supported that view, while the Lord Chancellor Eldon opposed it. The points of admission they had under discussion at the time were, first, the point of honor of the British flag not being asserted, as was settled by the treaty of 1783; second, the stipulation with respect to the gum and logwood trade. It might be observed in this connection that Lord Grenville was foreign minister shortly before this period, and better terms of settlement with France were offered, which the noble lord saw fit to refuse. Pitt was now foreign minister, and it was proposed to discredit his administration of affairs, and a resolution was offered for his expulsion.

The broad principle that all treaties are abrogated by subsequent war has no foundation in fact, and is not supported by authority. The treaty of Utrecht was not renewed in later treaties, and in certain important particulars its binding force was universally accepted. (Phillimore, vol. 3, p. 807.)

Mr. J. Q. Adams says: "The treaty of 1783, so far as concerns boundaries and fisheries and other national privileges and rights, was not abrogated by the War of 1812."

"It can not be necessary to prove that the treaty of 1783 is not, in its general provisions, one of those which, by the common understanding and usage of civilized nations, is or can be considered as annulled by a subsequent war between the same parties. To suppose that it is would imply the inconsistency and absurdity of a sovereign and independent State, liable to forfeit its rights of sovereignty by the act of exercising it on a declaration of war." (Mr. Gallatin to Mr. Rush, quoted in 2 Lyman's Diplomacy, 91.)

War does not by itself abrogate treaties or portions of treaties which vest rights of property. (Society, etc., *v.* New Haven, 8 Wheat., 464.)

It appears to me a correct conclusion from the foregoing authorities that there can be little dispute about this position, viz, that transitory conventions determining a particular right are continuing in their nature, and are not abrogated by a subsequent war. Such was the nature of our treaties with Spain in 1834 and 1871. By both those treaties Spain acknowledged herself indebted to certain of our subjects in a specific amount and agreed to pay it. That act vested in our people a substantial property right, which was beyond the promisor's power to repudiate. This fact is well recognized by the joint commission in formulating the present treaty of peace. Out of abundance of caution, our commissioners suggested that the revival of certain treaties be specifically provided for, but the Spanish commissioners did not feel justified in entering upon those questions under power of their commissions. The treaty, however, leaves no room for doubt as to the intention of the negotiators regarding the binding force of preexisting debts. See article 7 of the treaty, which reads as follows: "The United States and Spain mutually relinquish all claims for indemnity, national and individual, of every kind, of either Government or of its citizens or subjects against the Government, that may have arisen since the beginning of the late insurrection in Cuba, and prior to the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty, including all claims for indemnity for the cost of the war." The above article certainly indicates the intention of the parties as to preexisting claims and fixes definitely when Spain's responsibilty ceases."

In view of the wording of the treaty with Prussia and the foregoing authorities, especially the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

in Foreign Parts against the town of New Haven, eighth Wheaton, page 494, it is certain that much confusion and litigation would follow an ending of the war with Germany, without proper provision by treaty for a ratification of all the acts of the United States affecting property of German nationals and for an adjustment of claims of Americans for property seized by Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,
OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 6, 1920.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, we have gone far afield to-day in discussing many questions of interest to the country. I want to invite attention to the principles of government as outlined in the political creed of Senator ROBERT L. OWEN, of Oklahoma, whom the State tenders to the Nation as its candidate for the Presidency, as follows:

THE POLITICAL CREED OF ROBERT L. OWEN.

"I believe in the Constitution of the United States; in the constitutional rights of the States; in the sovereignty and in the common sense, common honesty, and benevolence of the American people; in the duty of passing laws to make effective the sovereignty of the people and to establish the concrete mechanism through which the conscience and intelligence of the majority shall govern this country; in the rule of the majority honestly arrived at; in a thoroughgoing corrupt-practices act to prevent the corruption or misleading of the electorate, and the abuses of so-called 'machine politics'; in the 'publicity pamphlet,' through which every citizen shall have information edited by the contending parties, directly furnished by the Government, presenting the facts and arguments for and against every candidate and for and against every great public measure upon which the people are invited to pass; in the 'short ballot,' so that the electorate may not be confused by long machine-made 'slates'; in the 'preferential ballot,' which automatically coheres the majority of voters at one election and prevents the successful intrigue of organized minorities under machine-rule methods; in the 'initiative and referendum,' by which the people can initiate any law they do want and veto any law they do not want.

"The right to acquire and hold private property is the great reward which society wisely provides as the best incentive to stimulate human energy, initiative, and thrift. The denial of this right would be ruinous to the productive energy of mankind, lead to disorder, negligence, indifference, poverty, and general want. It would mean Bolshevism and chaos. But the right of property is subordinate to the right to life and liberty; the latter must not be sacrificed to the former.

"I believe in law and order and in the faithful enforcement of the statutes without fear or favor; but I do not believe in sedition laws or other laws under which the liberties of the people or the freedom of the press might be jeopardized or unduly interfered with.

"So long as prohibition represents the will of the majority of the people of the United States, it should be enforced in good faith. I am opposed to the saloon and the liquor traffic.

"I am strongly opposed to a 'wet' plank in the Democratic platform. Members of the Democratic Party widely differ with regard to this subject, and their political cooperation should not be destroyed by the interjection of this question.

"The full powers of the Government should be exercised to promote our domestic and foreign commerce and to liberate and stimulate the processes of production and distribution, a principle well exemplified through the Federal reserve act, the farm-loan act, the agricultural extension act, the good-roads act, and so forth. The foreign and consular services should be put on a thorough business basis.

"I believe in a department of education, in the education of the heart as well as the head, and in adequate salaries for the most important of public servants, the very poorly paid teachers. Ignorance is the mother of poverty, indolence, crime; education creates wealth, industry, civic worth. No State can rise higher than the level of its average individual citizenship. The very life of democracy depends on the physical, mental, moral, and political education of the people.

"The public-health services should be cohered and expanded for the better conservation of human life. Physical training, hygiene, sanitation are vitally necessary to the development of American life. The best evidence in the world has demonstrated that human life could be extended by known preventive processes an average of 14 years per capita in the United States.

"I believe in the political, economic, and moral equality of men and women.

"The legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the United States should each confine itself strictly within its own constitutional limits.

"The United States should be prepared to absorb unemployed labor on the building of good roads, and so forth, that all our people should be kept profitably employed, so there should never be any involuntary unemployment in the United States.

"The conservation and development of all our natural resources and their full use for the benefit of all the people is essential to progress and increased production.

"I believe in the vigorous protection of the rights of American citizens wherever they go on the earth.

"The immediate passage of the treaty of peace and the covenant of the league with such reservations as shall prevent possible misconstruction to our disadvantage is of urgent importance.

"The war measures should be repealed and every meddlesome or unnecessary interference with the liberties of the citizens should be terminated. I am opposed to universal military training or to any processes leading to militarism in the United States.

"The excess-profits tax should be repealed, because the consumers pay all the excess-profits tax plus. The excess-profits tax interferes with the free exchange of property, and interferes therefore with increased production and distribution and acts as a brake on commerce.

"The cost of the war should be distributed over the next half century, and the people of to-day should not be subjected to the extremely heavy taxes necessary to the immediate or very early liquidation of the war debt.

"The Government should control our merchant marine and establish American trade routes and fair freight rates at sea.

"I am in favor of the Tariff Commission, of reciprocity, and in a moderately low tariff adjusted to raise revenue and to afford incidental protection, but in no case to shelter private monopoly.

"The budget system, rigid economy in governmental expenditures, the avoidance of all waste and extravagance, and the employment of the highest standards of modern business are urgently needed.

"The Government should use its good offices in stimulating home building and home ownership.

"The right of labor to fair wages, respectful treatment, reasonable hours, safety, sanitary conditions, collective bargaining, and the right to be represented by counsel of its own choice should not be denied. The pressure of public opinion should be organized and exerted to educate and induce labor and capital to cooperate in the service of the public with mutual good will. Willful tyranny of one group over another group should be restrained.

"Labor, capital, and management are entitled, severally, to a just reward for services rendered, and an adequate mechanism for the settlement of their disputes should be very carefully worked out by conciliation, arbitration, mutual sympathy, and understanding, without coercion, but under which the rights of the public at the same time should be thoroughly safeguarded. Neither labor, capital, nor management will ever reach their highest efficiency if denied just compensation and reasonable conditions.

"The Federal Reserve Board should encourage a uniform 3 per cent rate of interest by the reserve banks to member banks who borrow only a portion of their own reserves, with progressive rates and a check on unduly aggressive borrowers. The control of stock speculation and commodity speculation should not be attempted by raising interest rates, but by raising margins, reducing and refusing loans, if absolutely necessary to restrain the abuse. The rate against short-time Treasury certificates and war bonds should not exceed the interest rate the security bears. Usurious interest rates on collateral call loans should be forbidden as against the public's interest. Stable and low interest rates are of vital importance to increased production and distribution.

"The war bonds can be brought back to par by a judicious policy in regard to interest rates. The high usurious rates of 10, 15, and 20 per cent on call collateral loans in the financial centers causing violent fluctuations in the stock market, the 6 and 7 per cent rate authorized by the reserve board, and the consequent 7 to 9 per cent commercial rates are all unjustified and result in business hesitation and doubt, in depreciating the war bonds, in retarding production, and add greatly to the high cost of living.

"It is the duty of Government to bring these patriotic war bonds back to par and use its good offices in favor of a lower and more stable interest rate.

"The powers of the Government should be exercised firmly and persistently against profiteering and unrestrained private monopoly and against unreasonable profits on turnover, which are among the chief causes of the high cost of living.

"The public must be protected in its own rights against the processes of organized greed to prevent dangerous social unrest. The reduction of the high cost of living is the greatest of all the present public problems. To accomplish it, the people must first in sober truth control the election machinery of the Government; otherwise their representatives, too often nominated and elected by the crafty processes employed by the special interests, will disappoint the people in the substantial remedies required to give relief.

"I believe that progressive and liberal men and women of the Nation must find some method of intelligent cooperation for the protection of the people against the very highly organized special interests engaged in exploiting the people, the producers and consumers, who are politically and commercially unorganized.

"I believe in the spirit of democracy and that they who worship it 'must worship it in spirit and in truth.'"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. McKINLEY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 8, 1920.

Mr. McKINLEY. Mr. Speaker, when our worthy President first conceived his league it was founded upon the 14 commandments as he practiced them at Princeton. He wrapped it carefully in a mantle of secrecy, and when the Ark of the Covenant sailed for France, of the 1,500 disciples no one was taken along who would interfere with his cherubim. When the mantle was unfolded in the presence of Lloyd-George, he took the precious infant to his bosom. By him it was handed over to the doughty South African chieftain to be cared for.

And it was.

When it was again presented to its fond father he did not recognize his child. Freedom of the seas had been turned into a British navy dominating the world. Self-determination meant the friendly Kingdom of Montenegro swallowed up by Serbia. Japan had been given the Pacific Islands that dominate the Philippines, Hawaii, and our western coast. Germany had been left intact, a compact fighting unit. Austria completely scrambled. England had acquired practically all of German South Africa. Armenia and Constantinople had been wished onto the United States. Shantung Province, with its 40,000,000 of population—as great as the population of France—was torn away from friendly China and given to Japan. This stealing of Shantung Province, with its mines and its railroads, from China and giving it to Japan will have the same effect upon China and be of the same benefit to Japan as would the taking of either the State of Pennsylvania or the State of Illinois out of the heart of the United States and handing it over to Japan. The so-called league has as good a moral and legal right to deliver Pennsylvania as they have to deliver Shantung.

A year ago at this time, for 10 days, in an automobile, I rode over the destroyed regions of France and through the thriving German manufacturing towns of the Rhine Valley. Factories in operation in Germany. Silence and desolation in all that part of France that before the war produced one-fourth of the French national income. The feeling in my mind all the time was what a wrong was being done these people. Why was not a peace treaty with Germany signed within 60 days after the armistice? Had this been done, credit could have been extended to these French manufacturers to enable them to restore their factories and give work to their people. After war was legally ended there would have been time enough to work out the scheme of the future peace of the world.

You know the United States never declared war against Germany. The President came before Congress in April, 1917, and told Congress that German submarines were sinking peaceful American merchant ships. He asked Congress to give him the power to use the armed forces of the United States to suppress this outrage. Power was given him, and this condition was brought to an end with the signing of the armistice.

Let us promptly pass this resolution declaring war at an end and then let us offer to cooperate with other nations in the working out of a plan to maintain, so far as possible, the peace of the world.

When the millennium comes we will have no more wars. The millennium is not yet here. Until it arrives, human machinery must do the best it can to prevent war.

It has always seemed to me the organization called the League to Enforce Peace was on the right track. Now that Mr. Wilson appears to have killed his child, I am in hopes that this League to Enforce Peace will get down to earth again and go to work upon their own plan, work it out and present it to Congress and to the people of the United States for their consideration.

In a city the rougher element respect an efficient police force and behave. So do rougher nations. My suggestion is for the United States to maintain an efficient and well-equipped Navy and a well-organized, moderate-sized Army, with a surplus of officers, the country to have conveniently located armories fully stocked with war supplies of every kind. If an emergency arises, the millions of young men will then be in position "to spring to arms," with the arms and the officers ready to receive them. Let us then stand for a system of enforced arbitration between nations, where fighting can come, if ever, after a delay and only as a last resort.

Perhaps we did not all of us always agree with him, but we did respect our late distinguished citizen who advocated a soft step and a big stick.

Taxation of the Federal Land Banks.

SPEECH

OF

HON. DICK T. MORGAN,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 20, 1920.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill H. R. 12610, the legislative, judicial, and executive appropriation bill, making appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Chairman, the bill under consideration is H. R. 12610, known as the "Legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill." The general appropriation bills are not supposed to contain any legislative provisions. In this bill, however, beginning on page 43, there is a provision which is purely legislative.

The legislative provision to which I call attention and to which I most strenuously object is as follows:

Provided, That, beginning with the fiscal year 1921, the Federal Farm Loan Board shall, as soon as possible after the close of each half of each fiscal year, levy upon the Federal land banks and joint-stock land banks, in proportion to their gross assets, an assessment equal to the amounts expended from all appropriations on account of salaries, including any additional compensation, and expenses of the board and its appointees and employees for the half of the fiscal year then closed. The board, in making such assessment, shall assess exclusively against either class of banks such expenses as may be incurred exclusively on behalf of such class. Such assessments shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts.

This provision has no proper place in this appropriation bill and is clearly subject to a point of order. When it is reached in the reading of the bill I propose to make a point of order against it. While I have no doubt that my point of order will be sustained, I desire to discuss the merits of this provision. My reason for so doing is this: The proviso quoted above is, in substance, identical with the provisions of Senate bill 2377 and H. R. 6861. Both of these bills are on the calendar of the House, and in their regular order they will come before the House for consideration.

Generally speaking, the proviso above quoted and the Senate and House bills above referred to authorize the Federal Farm Loan Board to levy an assessment upon the Federal land banks and the joint stock land banks sufficient in amount to meet the annual expenses of the Federal Farm Loan Board, including the salaries of the four commissioners, the miscellaneous expenses of the board, and the salaries of all its employees.

The Federal Farm Loan Board consists of the Secretary of the Treasury and four commissioners. The commissioners are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. They receive an annual salary of $10,000 each. The total expenses of this board this year were $241,000. The appropriation made in this bill for the next fiscal year for the expenses of this board is $294,000. Under the Federal farm loan act this ex-

pense is paid out of the Treasury of the United States. The proviso which I am discussing and the Senate and House bills referred to authorize the levying of a tax upon the 12 Federal land banks and the joint stock land banks sufficient to reimburse the Government for the amount expended in support of the Federal Farm Loan Bureau.

The Federal Farm Loan Bureau is under the Treasury Department. All the appointees, clerks, and employees under this bureau are Government officials or employees. No satisfactory or sufficient reason can be given why the expense of maintaining this bureau should not be borne by the United States in the same manner that the Government bears the expense of all the great departments of the Federal Government.

I do not think that the Appropriations Committee of the House gave this matter the consideration which its importance deserves. I read the hearings on the subject before the Committee on Appropriations. There was no argument made in behalf of this proposition. There is no reason given why such a provision should be made the law. I have examined the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and the reports of the Senate committee which reported Senate bill 2377. The report of the Senate committee on this bill consists of less than 10 lines and less than 100 words. There was no argument presented showing the necessity of the legislation. There was no reason given in its behalf. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shows that there was no discussion of the bill when it passed the Senate. The bill was called up and passed without any explanation, without any discussion, without any question being raised as to the propriety of the legislation. The Banking and Currency Committee of the House, in reporting the Senate bill and reporting the House bill, in its reports does in a very brief way attempt to justify the action of the committee, but it seems to me that those who had these propositions under consideration have not realized their importance and do not fully comprehend the effect of this proposed legislation.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Is the gentleman aware of the fact that the Federal Farm Loan Board itself, and every member of it, is in favor of this provision being made for the purpose of strengthening rather than weakening their institution, and that they ask us to do it and prepared the provision themselves?

Mr. MORGAN. I was not aware that the Federal Farm Loan Board had prepared this provision. I am glad the gentleman has given the House that information. Furthermore, I have read the statements made on this matter before the Appropriations Committee. I submit that while these commissioners did approve the legislation they did not give any reason to support it. I remember their testimony. They did not ask for this legislation. They simply expressed approval of it.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Does not the gentleman think that those charged with the official activities of this concern are in sympathy with it?

Mr. MORGAN. I will say that I have heretofore been a strong supporter of the Federal Farm Loan Board but I can not defend, I can not approve, I can not even excuse their action in regard to these propositions. I can not think that the position the members of this board took is consistent with their duty.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Does the gentleman believe that they should be objects of charity and that they should be treated any different from any other institution that is placed on its feet, and that it is perfectly able to take care of itself?

Mr. MORGAN. Does the gentleman mean the land banks or the farmers?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. I am speaking about the banks.

Mr. MORGAN. Who are the banks? The Federal land banks are the farmers who borrow through these banks. These banks are simply incorporated borrowers. The borrowers are the only stockholders in the banks.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Absolutely, and does the gentleman think the Federal farm loan banks should be excused from the expense of paying their proper charges, when the building and loan associations that help to provide homes for the poor people of the cities have to pay the expense of their banks?

Mr. MORGAN. I shall not be diverted from my line of discussion. I am not talking about building and loan associations organized under State authority. They are not under discussion. The borrowers from the Federal land banks do pay all the expenses of these banks. The Government does not pay any portion of the expenses of the Federal land banks or joint-stock land banks. The only expense the Government pays is the salaries of the Federal officials at Washington who in behalf of the public supervise these banks. The Federal Farm Loan Bureau is no part of the Federal land banks or the joint-stock land banks. This bureau is composed of Federal officials who represent the public, who act for the public, who safeguard and protect the interests of the public and the Nation at large. And the general public should pay the expense of this bureau and the salaries of all the public officials comprising it. It is true, I admit, that a part of the work of the Federal Farm Loan Bureau is to encourage the extension of the business of these banks, but this is done with a view to the extension and expansion of the great fundamental industry, agriculture. Primarily it is not done in the interests of the farmers. It is done for the benefit of the nonfarming population; it is done for the benefit of the multiplied millions of our citizens who reside in our towns and cities; it is done to strengthen the very fabric of our national edifice.

Any argument which would justify the levying of a special tax upon the borrowers from the Federal land banks and joint-stock land banks to meet the expense of the Federal Farm Loan Bureau would justify the levying of a special tax upon the farmers to pay the entire expense of the Department of Agriculture. It would justify the levying of a special tax upon trade and commerce to meet the expense of the Department of Commerce. It would justify levying a special tax upon labor organizations to meet the cost of the Department of Labor. Therefore if we are to levy a special tax upon the borrowers from the Federal land banks and joint-stock land banks to meet the expense of the Federal Farm Loan Bureau, then the entire expenses of all the great departments and bureaus of this Government should be met by special taxes levied upon the particular interests these various departments serve.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; for another question.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Does the gentleman not think that inasmuch as they have received the sanction of the Federal Government and in a measure the guaranty of the Federal Government, the Federal Government ought to exercise some control over them?

Mr. MORGAN. I do believe that the Federal Government should exercise a supervisory power over these institutions.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. And does the gentleman not think that the Federal control, whatever it is, should be counted as part of the overhead expense?

Mr. MORGAN. I certainly do not think so.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Does the gentleman not think it should become a part of their overhead as the national banks which have to contribute to that overhead expense?

Mr. MORGAN. I am glad the gentleman has mentioned the national banks. They are supervised by the Comptroller of the Currency. Under the Comptroller of the Currency there is a bureau which costs the Government annually something like $200,000. The very bill now under consideration makes appropriations for the Comptroller of the Currency and the bureau under him. This bureau supervises the national banks of this country in exactly the same manner that the Federal Farm Loan Bureau supervises the Federal land banks and joint-stock land banks. For more than half a century the Federal Government has been paying the salaries of the Comptroller of the Currency and the Federal clerks and employees in his bureau. Tens of millions of dollars have been paid out of the National Treasury for the supervision, regulation, and control of the national banks. These institutions have multiplied in number. They have paid large dividends to their stockholders. They have annually added to their surplus until it equals their aggregate capital. We now have in round numbers 8,000 national banks. Their capital, surplus, and undivided profits amount to $2,494,050,000. They paid dividends last year above 12 per cent. The owners of these banks have grown rich. They represent the money power of this country. But no one has proposed that the expenses of the Comptroller of the Currency and the bureau under him shall be met by a special tax levied upon the national banks. Behold the change! Slightly over three years ago 12 Federal land banks came into existence. They are still in an undeveloped condition; they have hardly started business. They are not organized for profit; they are cooperative institutions. Outside of the temporary capital furnished by the Government, which is being rapidly returned to the Government, they have no capital except that which is furnished by the borrowers.

These banks have no income except what is paid by the borrowers; no one except the borrowers pays a single cent in the treasury of these banks. They are altruistic in their nature and purpose. They serve a great national purpose. The borrowers from these banks, who are owners of all their capital, are not our rich farmers. They are, comparatively speaking, the poor farmers of our country. Every one of them has his farm mort-

gaged. The mortgage generally equals 60 per cent of the value of the farm and improvements. These men are struggling under a debt which will require them and their families a lifetime of labor, toil, and sacrifice to liquidate. These are the men and women and children upon whom you propose to levy this special and unjust tax. The national banks with all their capital, with all their accumulated wealth, with all their power to take profits and levy tribute upon the great commercial and industrial interests, are to be supervised, regulated, and controlled at the expense of the National Government. But you propose that the Federal land banks, whose stock is owned exclusively by farmers, whose farms are mortgaged, should be taxed to pay the expenses of Federal supervision. Is this House ready to make this unjust discrimination in favor of the national banks and against the banks which serve the farmers? Will the Congress of the United States be guilty of this unjust discrimination? I sincerely hope not.

I know that when national banks are examined they are required to pay a fee for that examination, but this charge covers only the cost of that examination. There is no levy or assessment upon the national banks to pay the salary of the Comptroller of the Currency or the expense of the bureau operating under him. The expense of this bureau which is devoted to the supervision of the national banks is now, and always has been, paid from the Treasury of the United States without any contribution from the national banks.

PROPOSED ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THIS SPECIAL TAXATION.

Mr. McFADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORGAN. I yield.

Mr. McFADDEN. Is not the Federal Farm Loan Board similar to the Federal Reserve Board?

Mr. MORGAN. In some respects.

Mr. McFADDEN. Is it not a fact that the 12 Federal reserve banks pay the expenses of the Federal Reserve Board, and is not this a similar situation?

Mr. MORGAN. I am glad the gentleman asked this question, and I will answer it. I will point out the difference between the Federal Reserve Board and the Federal Farm Loan Board. I will show that the law which provides for the payment of the Federal Reserve Board is not in any way a precedent for levying a tax upon the Federal land banks and joint-stock land banks to pay the expense of the Federal Farm Loan Board. The Federal reserve act created the Federal Reserve Board located at the National Capital. It created 12 Federal reserve banks. The Federal Reserve Board was given a large degree of control over the 12 Federal reserve banks. The national banks, in effect, were required to provide capital for the 12 Federal reserve banks. The Federal reserve act did authorize the Federal Reserve Board to levy an assessment upon the 12 Federal reserve banks sufficient to pay the expense of the Federal Reserve Board.

It was, no doubt, this provision that gave rise to the proposition which we now have before us to make the Federal land banks and joint-stock land banks pay the expense of the Federal Farm Loan Board, but the two cases are not at all similar. Here is the reason: The Federal reserve act limited the dividends which the Federal reserve banks could pay to their stockholders to 6 per cent per annum. These banks, after setting aside the proper amount for reserve accounts and paying 6 per cent dividends, were required to pay the balance of their earnings into the Treasury of the United States. The United States appropriated to its own use all the earnings of these banks in excess of the legal surplus and the 6 per cent dividend. The United States, therefore, neither gained anything nor lost anything by requiring the Federal reserve banks to pay the expenses of the Federal Reserve Board. If this assessment was not levied upon the Federal reserve banks, they would have that much additional money to turn into the Treasury of the United States. As a matter of fact, this provision in the Federal reserve act is to-day a dead letter. It does not take anything away from the Federal reserve banks or lessen the profits or earnings of the stockholders of the said banks. It does not save the United States anything; it does not lessen in any degree the expenditures of the United States. The situation with the Federal land banks and joint-stock land banks is entirely different. The joint-stock land banks are profit-sharing institutions, and the capital is furnished by private parties, but all the net earnings of these institutions go to the shareholders. There is no limit to the dividend that they may pay. The borrowers furnish the capital for the Federal land banks.

These Federal land banks are nonprofit-sharing institutions. The officers and employees of these banks are not owners of any of the stock in the banks. They are not in any way interested in the amount of dividends declared by these banks. Technically speaking, the Federal land banks do declare dividends and pay these dividends to their stockholders, but as a matter of fact it is not a dividend in the real sense of the term, for when these institutions pay dividends it means that they are returning to the stockholders the overcharge which they have been making in interest rates. These banks have no money except that which is paid to them by borrowers. When these banks have a surplus above their administrative expenses it means that the borrowers have paid too high a rate of interest, and under the law this amount is returned to them in the form of dividends. But these dividends represent an overcharge. If therefore Congress shall enact a law authorizing the levying of an assessment upon the Federal lands banks to pay the expenses of the Federal Farm Loan Board, Congress is thereby authorizing the Federal Farm Loan Board to levy an additional tax upon the borrowers from these institutions, because borrowers alone are shareholders in these banks; borrowers alone pay the expenses of the banks; borrowers alone are entitled to have returned to them in the form of dividends any surplus contribution they have made to provide for the running expenses of these banks.

Therefore, the provision in the Federal reserve act which authorizes the Federal Reserve Board to levy an assessment upon the Federal reserve banks to meet the expenses of the Federal Reserve Board is not a precedent for authorizing the Federal Farm Loan Board to levy an assessment upon the Federal land banks and joint-stock land banks to pay the expenses of the Federal Farm Loan Board.

The supporters of this proposition assert that the Federal land banks and joint-stock land banks would be in a stronger position before the public if they are required to pay the expenses of the Federal Farm Loan Board. The idea is this: Certain interests are carrying on a campaign trying to induce Congress to repeal the provision of law which exempts the farm-loan bonds issued by these banks from taxation. It is asserted that if the Federal land banks and joint-stock land banks will submit to a special taxation sufficient to pay the expenses of the Federal Farm Loan Board, that this will place these banks in a stronger position to resist the campaign to repeal the law, which exempts the bonds of these banks from taxation. This seems to be the idea of the Federal Farm Loan Board. It is one of the arguments presented to me by the advocates of these bills. Now, there is nothing at all in this argument. The provision of law which exempts the bonds of the Federal land banks and joint-stock land banks from taxation should stand or fall on its merits. It is either right or it is wrong. If it is wrong, it should be repealed; if it is right, it should remain the law. As a friend of the Federal land banks, I am ready to meet this question squarely and fairly whenever it is presented, but I am not willing to consent that the borrowers from the Federal land banks, who are the owners of all the stock in these banks and who contribute every cent of money that these banks have or can possibly possess, shall submit to a special tax which I regard as wholly unwarranted and unjustified.

FEDERAL LAND BANKS CAN NOT MAKE MONEY.

Another argument presented is that the Federal land banks are now making money and are able to pay this tax. Whoever makes this assertion does not comprehend the nature and character of the Federal land banks. The Federal land banks can not make money. They have no way of making money. They are not money-making institutions. They are not organized, nor are they operated for profit. They are cooperative institutions. The borrowers of these banks are the owners of the banks. No one can secure a loan from these banks except he becomes a stockholder therein. If at the end of the year there is a surplus in the treasury of these banks, it means that the borrowers have paid in more than was necessary for the operation of their own bank, and under the law the surplus accumulated is to go back to the borrowers from whom it came. The surplus in these banks does not come from the public; it does not come from contribution by the Government; it does not come from profits made through any business transaction; it is simply an extra assessment that the borrowers themselves have paid into the treasury of these banks. No one is therefore justified in asking that these Federal land banks shall submit to a special tax on the ground that they are making money. They are not making money; they can not make money; they are not money-making institutions.

UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

Mr. Chairman, I submit that this legislative proposal, if enacted into law, would be unconstitutional. The Federal land-bank act, approved July 17, 1916, created 12 Federal land banks. The law fixed the terms and conditions upon which borrowers could secure loans from these banks. About 100,000 borrowers have accepted those terms and conditions and secured loans through these Federal land banks. Congress, of course,

could amend the law so as to change the terms and conditions upon which loans in the future may be secured by borrowers, but Congress can not change the terms and conditions upon loans heretofore secured. Under the terms of the Federal land-bank act, every borrower was required, through the farm-loan associations, to subscribe to the capital stock of the Federal land banks in an amount equal to 5 per cent of the loan he secured. No one would contend that Congress would have the constitutional power to pass a law now which would require these borrowers to subscribe an additional 5 per cent of their loans to increase the capital stock of these banks. Under the Federal land bank act the surplus earnings of the Federal land banks is required to be paid in dividends to the stockholders of these banks. That law is a part of the contract which the stockholders of these banks entered into. Congress can not now change the law applicable to those who have heretofore secured loans and taken stock in these Federal land banks. The United States can not appropriate to its use the surplus earnings of those banks without the consent of the borrowers who are stockholders in these banks. If Congress could take any part of this surplus without the consent of these borrowers, obviously it could take all of it.

This surplus under the law under which these contracts and loans have been made is the property of the shareholders in these banks. Congress can not take this property away from these shareholders without their consent. Article V of the Constitution of the United States declares that no one shall "be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." Section 10 of Article I of the Constitution forbids any State from passing any "ex post facto law or law impairing the obligation of contracts." This proposed legislation is in the nature of an ex post facto law, which is forbidden under the Constitution of the United States. It clearly impairs the contracts which these borrowers under the law have made with these banks. It clearly changes the terms and conditions of contracts these men have entered into. This proposed law not only clearly violates the constitutional and legal rights of the stockholders in these Federal land banks but it clearly violates the moral obligations of the United States. To my mind the proposition is clearly obnoxious to the principles of sound morality. Even if the United States has the legal right to impose it, it has no moral right to do so.

THE AMOUNT OF THE TAX.

Strange to say, one of the arguments used by the proponents of this proposed legislation is that the amount is small and would not be felt by borrowers from the Federal land banks and the joint-stock land banks. But if a tax of $300,000 a year upon the borrowers from these banks would not be felt by 100,000 borrowers, certainly then the amount is too small to be felt by 110,000,000 people of the United States. As the law stands now this $300,000 a year for the support of the Federal Farm Loan Board is paid by all the people of the United States. If the amount is too small to be considered by the borrowers, certainly the placing of this burden upon these borrowers will not afford any appreciable relief to the taxpayers of the entire country. But the amount of the tax is not, after all, the main thing in issue. The principle involved is the question. If the proposed tax is wrong in principle, then it ought not to be levied, however small and infinitesimal it may be.

APPROVAL OF THE FEDERAL FARM LOAN BOARD.

Mr. Chairman, I am aware that the Federal Farm Loan Board in its late annual report approves the proposal to authorize the levying of a special tax upon the Federal land banks and the joint-stock land banks sufficient to pay the expenses of the Federal Farm Loan Bureau. The farm-loan commissioners in their report do not, however, present any arguments in favor of this proposition. They do not give any reasons why this radical change should be made. I have talked with a number of the Federal farm-loan commissioners about this proposition. They have not given me any reason which to my mind justifies the position they take. I have had great confidence in the members of the Federal Farm Loan Board. I have given them cordial and enthusiastic support. I regret exceedingly the position they have taken in this matter. But, Mr. Chairman, the members of the Federal Farm Loan Board do not speak for the farmers of the United States. They are not authorized to speak for the men who have their farms mortgaged to the Federal land banks and to the joint-stock land banks. Their commissions do not come from the farmers of the United States. The farmers who have secured loans from the Federal land banks and the joint-stock land banks have not authorized these farm-loan commissioners to speak for them. The Federal farm-loan commissioners, in my judgment, have underestimated the importance of this proposition. Apparently they look upon it as an insignificant proposition. They seem to think that the levying of $300,000 annually upon the borrowers from the Federal land banks and the joint-stock land banks is an item hardly worth mentioning. They do not seem to think there is anything wrong in the principle underlying the proposition. They do not seem to recognize that this proposition, if enacted into law, is a discrimination against the farmers of the United States. For one, I deny that the Federal farm-loan commissioners are authorized to speak for the farmers of the United States on this matter. I submit that the farm-loan commissioners, before approving this matter, should have submitted it to the borrowers from the Federal land banks and the joint-stock land banks. These commissioners had no right to consent to the levying of $300,000 a year taxes upon these borrowers without consulting the borrowers about it. The borrowers had a right to be consulted about it. It matters not how large or how small this tax is to be, it should not be levied upon these borrowers without their consent.

Mr. Chairman, I am deeply in earnest in this matter. I have been a Member of this House for more than 11 years. I have sought every opportunity to aid the farmers of the United States. I do this, first, as a matter of justice to our farmers, and, second, to promote agricultural development in the interest of those engaged in other industries and for the general welfare. I contributed in every way in my power to secure the passage of legislation which would give our farmers better credit facilities and lower rates of interest. I believed this was a practical way to help both our farmers and the Nation. It required several years of effort to secure the passage of the Federal land-bank act. It became a law July 17, 1916. It is only in its infancy. It is still more or less an experiment. Certain interests opposed this legislation. The same interests are still opposed to it. They would like to see it fail. The friends of the system should be on their guard. Every proposal to amend this law should be carefully considered. One of the essentials to make this new farm-credit system a success is economical administration. These banks will have no money except what they receive from farmers who borrow from them. All costs of administration will be paid by borrowers. I am therefore opposed to assessing these banks to pay the salaries of Government officers and employees. It will add just that much to the expenses of administering these banks and take that much more from the pockets of the borrowers. Bear in mind the borrowers pay all the expenses of the Federal land banks and the joint stock banks. It costs now $1,500,000 to operate the 12 Federal land banks. All of this expense is now paid by the borrowers. We can not ask them to do more than this. To do so would be, as I view it, a gross injustice, which I do not believe the Congress of the United States will perpetrate.

Peace Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY J. STEELE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 8, 1920.

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, the ultimate object and end of war is peace, and all will agree that it is the duty of belligerents to make war fulfill this object as quickly as a just and honorable peace can be obtained. No dissent will be made to this as a general proposition, but, nevertheless, the fact is that few public acts have provoked more bitterness and rancor among the people than the exercise of the treaty-making power. Even the saintly Washington was made to suffer in this regard in negotiating the British treaty of 1794, commonly known as the Jay treaty. In view of our present experience, it may be interesting to recall that occasion. The refusal of Great Britain to observe several of the obligations imposed by the definitive treaty of peace signed in Paris in 1783 produced a hostile feeling, increased by Great Britain's continued insistence of the right of search and impressment, which, in the winter of 1793, actually threatened war. On April 7, 1794, a proposal was made in Congress, in accordance with a recommendation made by Secretary of State Jefferson, for retaliatory legislation to prohibit all commercial intercourse with England after November 1, 1794, unless before that date she should give pledge to observe the treaty. Before the resolution passed, however, Washington, who feared the result of such an

enactment, intervened and on April 16 sent to the Senate the nomination of Chief Justice John Jay as a special ambassador to negotiate a treaty adjusting the difficulties.

The House nonintercourse resolution was then defeated in the Senate by the casting vote of Vice President Adams. Jay reached London June 15 and on November 19 signed a treaty, but owing to the slowness of communication it did not reach Washington until March 7, 1795. A special session of the Senate was called for June 8 following, and on that date the treaty was laid before the Senate in executive session. It was ratified June 24 by a vote of 20 to 10, a strict party vote. Washington withheld the contents of the treaty from the public until some time after it was ratified. Before its terms were officially made public on July 2 its text was published from a copy furnished by a Senator to an anti-Federalist organ in Philadelphia. An outbreak of public wrath and denunciation followed such as has seldom occurred in the history of our country. Jay was burned in effigy from Massachusetts to Georgia and both he and Washington were declared to have been bought with British gold. Impeachment of Washington was even suggested and the attacks were of such a character as to draw from him the protest that they were "so exaggerated and indecent as could scarcely be applied to a Nero or even a common pickpocket."

In the Memoirs of John Quincy Adams (vol. 7, p. 427), he states that Senator Crawford told him that Washington went to the Senate with a draft of a treaty; that—

> They debated it and proposed alterations, so that when Washington left the Senate Chamber he said he would be damned if he ever went there again. And ever since that time treaties have been negotiated by the Executive before submitting them to the consideration of the Senate.

At the termination of the war between Spain and the United States in 1898, a peace protocol was signed on August 12, wherein it was provided that the final treaty should be made by a commission to meet at Paris not later than October 1. The representatives of the United States were William R. Day, Senator Cushman K. Davis, Senator William P. Frye, Whitelaw Reid, and Senator George Gray. It will be observed that a majority of this commission was composed of Senators, two from the majority and one from the minority. After prolonged discussion and threatened failure, the treaty was signed December 10. Notwithstanding the composition of the commission the treaty encountered intense opposition and ratification was barely accomplished on February 6, 1899. Even treaties made in times of profound peace have led to the same results. Thus, the Canadian reciprocity treaty, negotiated during the administration of President Taft, led to bitter opposition in both countries and to the popular defeat of the Canadian Government which approved it.

From these and many other instances that might be cited, it is plain that the people have always been jealous of new features of government or policy incorporated in treaties with foreign powers.

It may be contended that the same power which has a right to declare war has the inherent power to terminate war, and thereby virtually conclude a treaty of peace.

This would seem to be a logical conclusion were it not for the fact that the declaration of war is usually the act of a single nation, while the framing of treaties of peace is usually preceded by a series of negotiations and requires the concurrence of one or more nations. Because of this it sometimes happens that the power of making peace is committed to a body of men who have not the power to declare war. Each nation can provide its own procedure upon the subject. (1 Kent, 166.)

Where, however, a nation is governed by a written Constitution, the answer to such a contention depends upon where that Constitution has committed the power. Our Constitution declares that the Government shall consist of legislative, executive, and judicial powers. Article 1, dealing with the legislative power, declares that Congress shall have power "to declare war, to raise and support armies" and "to provide and maintain a navy," and "to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces." Article 2, dealing with the executive power, declares that "the President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States," and that he shall have power "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur." In considering the proper interpretation of these various provisions, it must not be forgotten that the Government of the United States is a limited government with certain enumerated powers; that it is not a Government of universal authority but that its authority is specific, confined to certain described subjects and relations which the Constitution itself denominates its "powers" and to one or more of which powers all its acts must be referred. These express powers are described in general terms, for the details of legislation can not be foreseen and therefore are impossible of enumeration. At the end of the enumeration of legislative powers, Congress is given authority to make all laws "which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States or in any department or officer thereof."

The laws are not to be all such laws as the Congress may in its discretion deem necessary and proper; nor are they to be only such laws as are indispensably necessary to the exercise of a specific power, and without which the power must remain dormant. They are to be laws which are necessary and proper for carrying into execution the various specific powers of the Government or some one of its branches, which powers are vested in the Government by the Constitution. That is to say, the law by which a specific power is to be exercised must bear the relation of means to an end; must be appropriate as a means to the attainment of the object of the specific power, or, in other words, it must execute the power, and not be something which bears a remote, fanciful, indirect, or incomplete relation to that power. A century ago Chief Justice Marshall, in a construction of this clause of the Constitution, laid down the elements which go to make up an implied power, which is now generally accepted by men of all parties. These elements are of a threefold character: First, the law must not be prohibited; second, the means chosen for the execution of an express power must be plainly adapted to that end; and, third, it must be consistent with both the letter and spirit of the Constitution. Let us now apply this great rule of interpretation. There is a legislative power to declare war and to raise and support an army and navy. Would an act to end war execute either of these powers? War is a contest between nations carried on by force and with arms. To declare war is to officially or formally announce the date of the outbreak of hostilities. To end war is to terminate hostilities.

Is the power to terminate hostilities necessary and appropriate to the execution of the power to declare the outbreak of hostilities? In the 130 years of the existence of this Government this is the first attempt to end war by legislative act. Neither the convention which framed the Constitution nor other authorities upon the subject sanction such a view:

> The declaration of a state of war is an enactment by the legislative branch of the Government; the creation of laws is a function that belongs exclusively to the same department; but when a law exists or the state of war exists it is for the President, by virtue of his Executive office and of his position as Commander in Chief to employ the Army and Navy, and the militia actually called into the service of the United States, in the execution of the law, or the prosecution of hostilities, as he may think proper. * * *
>
> The power to make treaties, which had been given to the Senate by the committee of detail and which was afterwards transmitted to the President to be exercised with the advice and consent of two-thirds of the Senators present, was thus modified on account of the changes which the plan of government had undergone and which have been previously explained. The power to declare war having been vested in the whole Legislature, it was necessary to provide the mode in which war was to be terminated. As the President was to be the organ of communication with other Governments, and as he would be the general guardian of the national interests, the negotiation of a treaty of peace and of all other treaties was necessarily confided to him. (Curtis, Const. History, 578–9.)

In the report of the committee of detail of the Federal convention which framed the Constitution, the clause was "to make war." In Elliott's Debates, volume 5, page 439, appears the following:

> Mr. Madison and Mr. Gerry moved to insert "declare," striking out "make," war, leaving to the Executive the power to repel sudden attacks. Mr. Sherman thought it stood very well. The Executive should be able to repel and not to commence war. "Make" is better than "declare," the latter narrowing the power too much.
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> Mr. Gerry never expected to hear in a republic a motion to empower the Executive alone to declare war.
>
> Mr. ELLSWORTH. There is a material difference between the cases of making war and making peace. It should be more easy to get out of war than into it. War, also, is a simple overt declaration; peace attended with intricate and secret negotiations.
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> Mr. Mason was against giving the power of war to the Executive, because not safely to be trusted with it, or to the Senate, because not so constructed as to be entitled to it. He was for clogging rather than facilitating war; but for facilitating peace. He preferred "declare" to "make."
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> On the motion to insert "declare" instead of "make," it was agreed to. Connecticut voted in the negative; but on the remark by Mr. King that "make" war might be understood to conduct it, which was an Executive function, Mr. Ellsworth gave up his objection, and the vote was changed to aye. * * *
>
> On the motion for adding "and peace" after "war," it was unanimously negatived.
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> From this it is clear that the convention narrowed the war power of Congress. It changed its power "to make war" to "to declare war," and refused to add after the word "war" the words "and peace." Peace is, of course, the end of war, and having expressly withheld the power to declare peace it necessarily withheld the power to declare the end of war.

Not only was the legislative power to end war expressly withheld by the convention and not necessary to the execution of

any express power, but it is inconsistent with another power specifically conferred. I refer to the treaty-making power above cited. In the convention it was attempted to insert in this clause a provision that peace treaties should require only the concurrence of a majority of the Senate, but this amendment was defeated and peace treaties were placed upon an equality in this regard with all other treaties.

It may therefore be said that whether war be ended by conquest, mere cessation of hostilities, armistice, protocol, or surrender, all of these means may be called simply an inchoate treaty of peace, which becomes perfect upon the exchange of the ratifications of the final treaty of peace. If Congress by legislative act can end war, it could ignore the constitutional provision that treaties should be made by the President and Senate. If peace is already obtained, how can the President negotiate a treaty of peace? Peace treaties have the element of duress on the part of the conqueror in war, but this element is surrendered by the ending of the war. Thereafter the former belligerents are compelled to negotiate treaties upon the basis of amity. In its legal aspects a treaty is a compact made between two or more independent nations with a view to the public welfare. In its essence it is a contract. It differs from an ordinary contract only in being an agreement between independent States instead of private parties.

Again, in the pending resolution the war is specifically and unconditionally declared at an end. Prior to the war the United States had negotiated certain treaties with Germany. What effect, therefore, does the declaration of war and peace produce on these treaties, which bound the contracting parties at the moment of the rupture of their pacific relations? Are these treaties wholly annulled in strict law, or do some of their provisions fall while others remain in force? The solution of these questions depends naturally upon the character of the engagements contracted. Thus all are agreed in admitting the rupture of conventional ties concluded expressly with a view to a state of peace; of those whose special object is to promote relations of harmony between nation and nation, such as treaties of amity, of alliance, and other acts of the same nature having a political character. As to customs and postal arrangements, conventions of navigation and commerce, and agreements relative to private interests, they are generally considered as suspended till the cessation of hostilities. By necessary consequence, it is a principle that every stipulation written with reference to war, as well as all clauses described as perpetual, preserve, in spite of the outbreak of hostilities, their obligatory force so long as the belligerents have not by common accord annulled them or replaced them with others. (Moore's Digest Int. Law, vol. 5, p. 385; 8 Wheat., 464.)

Without any new or repugnant provisions in the shape of a new treaty, the old treaties with Germany will revive at the passage of this resolution. If, then, Germany refuses to yield these rights and submit to the embargo provided in the resolution, we will be in the position of being compelled to meet these claims, and in addition losing all prospects of future trade with that country. She will then simply stand upon her rights under the old treaties and many complications will result.

In the preamble to the resolution it is stated that the President has advised the Congress that the war "with the Imperial German Government has ended." In the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, filed December 15 last, sustaining the war-time prohibition act, the statement of the President to Congress on the occasion of the signing of the armistice "the war thus comes to an end" was held not to be a legal termination of the war. The court then said:

> In the absence of specific provisions to the contrary, the period of war has been held to extend to the ratification of the treaty of peace or the proclamation of peace. (Hijo *v.* United States, 194 U. S., 315, 323; The Protector, 12 Wall., 700, 702; United States *v.* Anderson, 9 Wall., 56, 70.) In the first-named case, growing out of the War with Spain, where actual hostilities were suspended by the protocol of August 12, 1898, the court said: "A state of war did not in law cease until the ratification in April, 1899, of the treaty of peace."

In discussing this resolution the Philadelphia Inquirer, the leading Republican newspaper in Pennsylvania, after referring to the necessity for repealing war-time legislation, well says:

> Leaving these matters aside, however, it must be confessed that the situation which induces Congress to take action is a wretched one. In the first place, the constitutionality of the resolution is dubious, and it may be taken for granted that the President will veto it and send it back to Congress, where the probability of its receiving the necessary two-thirds majority to pass it over the veto is decidedly shaky. Again, we are accepting, or are insisting that Germany shall grant us, all the benefits contained in the treaty of Versailles, the very treaty which we refuse to ratify.
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> That is a mighty humiliating position for a great Nation such as the United States to occupy. The adoption of the resolution with the approval of the President would necessitate the making of a separate peace with Germany, an intricate process, which could not fail to involve us in many difficulties and bring about many complications with our late associates in the war.

Time forbids further discussion of the condition of uncertainty that would follow the adoption of this resolution. It would leave the rights of property of American citizens in Germany unsettled, as well as our status in taking over the property of alien enemies in this country. We have also taken over millions of dollars worth of German ships, and our acts in this regard would also remain unsettled. In concluding a treaty of peace the powers pledge themselves to regard as settled not only all their differences existing before the war and leading to it, but also all such mutual claims as may have arisen during the war in connection with the conduct of hostilities. These advantages we will lose in the adoption of this resolution. I yield to no one in my sincere desire for peace at the earliest possible moment, but I can not assent to it at the sacrifice of American rights and by an unconstitutional method leading to more chaos than exists at present.

Army Reorganization Bill—A Separate Organization for Aviation.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HUBERT F. FISHER,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 8, 1920.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12775) to amend an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Chairman, the very elaborate discussion and investigation made by the subcommittee on aviation of the Select Committee on Expenditures in the War Department is quite fresh in the minds of the Members of the House. I take it for granted that the reorganization bill of the Army, in so far as it relates to the Air Service, will now be of special interest, for it is vital at this time to take a forward step in matters dealing with aviation that we may profit by the experiences of the war.

The Committee on Military Affairs has provided for a separate corps for the Air Service. Under the national defense act the Air Service was placed under the Signal Corps, but during the recent war it was made a separate organization. No one considered at all the proposition of returning to the former arrangement, for the development of aviation during the war was so great and the part it played in winning the war is so clear to everyone that it naturally placed itself because of that development and war service into a corps of its own.

It has been attempted to be shown that since the armistice the War Department and the present administration have permitted the Air Service to stagnate. Such a charge is unjust and is not warranted by the facts. It has been, of course, necessary to reduce the number of officers and men to a more nearly peace basis and to cut expenses everywhere, because the burden of taxation is now so heavy that the activities in aviation had to be curtailed, just as all Government activities are being curtailed. However, in so far as the directing personnel of the present Air Service organization is concerned, the War Department, through the Secretary of War, has shown most excellent judgment.

Where is the person who can justly criticize the selection of Maj. Gen. C. T. Menoher as Director of the Air Service? It must be recognized that we are dealing with a unit of the War Department coordinate with the Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery, and it is not an organization of the air activities of all the different departments of the Government. He is an Army officer who had a most efficient record before we entered the war. He commanded the Forty-second or Rainbow Division from December, 1917, to November 10, 1918, during which time that division participated in many engagements with the enemy, and the record made by that division is known to every Member of the House. Gen. Menoher has been given many war decorations for his distinguished service. A list of these decorations is interesting and is as follows: Distinguished service medal, Victory medal with five clasps, Croix de Guerre with palm, Legion of Honor (commander grade), and Order of King Leopold of Belgium (commander). There is not an officer in our Army to-day who knows more vividly than does he what a tragedy it was for our Army not to have had a full quota of all kinds of aeroplanes to aid in winning the war, for his division was constantly participating in engagements with the enemy when our troops had little protection from the air.

As Director of Military Aeronautics the Secretary of War designated Brig. Gen. William Mitchell, who is one of the best qualified flyers of the entire Army. At the time he was trained to fly the War Department was of the opinion that only those close around 20 years of age would make successful flyers, but notwithstanding he had passed that age he quickly qualified as a flyer. He qualified as junior military aviator under the rigid regulations fixed by the War Department under the terms of the national-defense act. Later he was made a military aviator for distinguished services against the enemy. His record demonstrates that the administration selected for this important post an officer who was essentially a fighting aviator. He was on the front a few days after war was declared by our Nation. He was the first American officer to fly over the German lines; he commanded the air service of the First Army at the Battle of St. Mihiel and commanded the air service of the Third Army that advanced into Germany after the armistice. His distinguished service during the war has been recognized by this country and our Allies. A list of his war decorations is given as follows: Distinguished service cross, distinguished service medal, French war cross, commander of the French Legion of Honor, and the British Order of St. Michael and St. George. Those who would like to criticize and find fault with the judgment of the Secretary of War are very hard to please if they find fault with the selection of these two very distinguished officers as directing heads of the Air Service as organized since the armistice.

The decline in the Air Service since the armistice, whatever it may be, is chargeable largely to a lack of money to carry out the program recommended by the experienced officers in charge and also to the fact that there has been and still is considerable uncertainty as to what action Congress would take in the matter of legislation providing for the future policy of Congress toward the general subject of aviation. The separate corps for the Air Service provided in the Army reorganization bill is undoubtedly a move for a more satisfactory handling of aviation in the Army, but there still rests a responsibility on Congress to take a further step forward toward creating an organization separate from the War and Navy Departments, which will have as its object the promotion and development of aviation from every standpoint. Many of those who have most carefully studied the question believe firmly that there should be created a separate and distinct department of the Government and that anything short of this will be a limitation on the development. It is interesting to read the testimony of those who so strongly urge a separate department. Mr. Benedict Crowell, the Assistant Secretary of War, has given the matter most careful study, and was designated by the Secretary of War to select a number of associates to visit Europe to get all the information possible on the development of aircraft and the plans of other Governments, and to lay before any committee of Congress dealing with aviation a full report of the investigation. The Crowell commission recommends "the concentration of the air activities of the United States—military, naval, and civilian—within the direction of a single Government agency created for the purpose, coequal in importance with the Departments of War, Navy, and of Commerce."

The commission visited England, France, and Italy and held conferences with such leaders as Marshal Foch, Gen. Duval, Hon. Winston Churchill, Field Marshal Haig, and many others who had had experience in the development and direction of aviation in those countries.

After Mr. Crowell fully presented to the subcommittee on aviation the needs for a separate department there was a considerable amount of testimony presented which made it apparent that many Army and Naval officers thought it unwise to create a separate department of the Government, thus taking the Air Service units out of the War and Navy Departments. In an effort to reach a middle ground where the general field of aviation could and would be encouraged and benefited Mr. Crowell very clearly analyzed the views which had been presented. He said:

Going a little further into the matter it is perfectly evident that although a good many of the opinions may not be easily reconciled, on many points at least 90 per cent of all the opinion agrees. In grouping the instances under this heading, at least 90 per cent of all the testimony would agree that a department for civilian aviation should be established. That is work which at the present time is not covered by any existing department and can not well be covered except by a separate, independent department. The functions of that department have been described and I will not attempt to go into them.

The next thing on which there is practical agreement is that the division of production and procurement is necessary and should be centralized in a separate organization. Here is a large amount of duplication as things have existed, and that can be avoided by the consolidation of those activities in one department.

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My next item would cover the subject of engineering and design common to all aviation. That should be in that separate department by common consent. Ninety per cent of the opinion favors that. It avoids much duplication going on to-day. Engineering and design that is specialized could well be handled by the special departments as it is to-day.

Another of the functions of that department of aviation, on which there is, I think, a universality of opinion to-day, is that the Army and the Navy and the Post Office Department should operate with their own men those planes that are closely connected with their own service in which they are specialists. That would cover, of course, observation planes for the Army and Navy, and there is, of course, no duplication there by allowing them to retain that function. They should also train their own men for this special work. The special training should be given by each of these special departments, and the specialized engineering should, of course, also be done by the special departments.

We have, then, a practical agreement on all those points to-day, leaving only two points on which there is a great difference of opinion. One of those two points is the matter of teaching men to fly. We have separate departments to-day teaching men the same thing, because flying is the same, whether they fly in the Navy or in the Army. By teaching them to fly, I mean teaching them to maintain themselves in the air. I see no reason why that should not be in one department, because by putting it in one department we would get better service and would avoid the duplication that exists to-day.

I would add that there is no doubt as to the success of that, because the Army has recently actually trained men for the Navy, and the Navy has written and expressed its satisfaction with this work. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, dated only a few days ago, is in the files of the War Department. That leaves only one item on which there is a great divergence of opinion, and that is in connection with the fighting air force; and by that, I mean the pursuit squadrons.

Gen. Mitchell, together with a very large majority of the fliers, strongly urges a separate department. He said:

The whole question about this thing, to my mind, amounts to this: Is an air service of sufficient importance to be developed as a separate arm, or is it still an auxiliary? All the large nations in the world to-day have come to the conclusion that it is a principal arm and requires development in that way, and that it should not be held up and kept back as a subsidiary part of the older services. Even China now has a department of aeronautics. If you want to get at it from the standpoint of what is the greatest economy of effort in so far as financial outlay is concerned and in so far as efficient operation is concerned, I believe you should adopt a system something of this kind: You will have a department of the Government made responsible for aeronautics with an air force under it (and by force I mean a force in a sense that the Army is under the War Department); you will have a section that is concerned especially with suply of all aircraft and accessories, and you will have a department that is charged essentially with the development of civil and commercial aviation. That unquestionably is the simplest method of handling it. The air force, the supply, and the civil sections should be coordinated under a director.

This talk one hears about air service having to be a part of the Army, Navy, or anything else to be able to operate we know there is nothing to. If an air force is assigned in the same manner that the Marines were to the Second Division in Europe, they are going to operate in just as efficient a way from every standpoint; and, furthermore, you will get greater efficiency because air officers will see that their units are made efficient, as distinguished from officers who are only in the air service for a little while and then go back to something else.

The Secretary of War is opposed to an independent department for aviation, and in his annual report for 1919 said:

A sound policy, however, would seem to involve a generous attitude on the part of the Congress in the matter of appropriations, recognizing the commercial possibilities of the airplane by encouraging its use in the Postal Service, and, of course, recognizing its tremendous importance both to the Army and the Navy. Having determined how far these various possibilities justify support, an aggregate appropriation might be made to be expended under the direction of the President upon the advice of a board of which the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Postmaster General, and the Secretary of Commerce would be members. Such a board would inevitably consider the special needs of the military and commercial interests and would watch from day to day the developments of the art as it promised greater usefulness in one or the other direction.

By such cooperation of the special services, an interchange, if not a direct pooling, of engineering could be effected, and ultimately training could be arranged to be given to civilian aviators in the same schools and with the same facilities as are used in the early stages of the training of military and naval aviators. Such a board could appropriately advise the President upon the matter of flying regulations, and the President could in turn bring legislation to the attention of Congress.

By the use of the aggregate fund thus placed under the President's general direction, encouragement to the extent of the funds available could be given to the industry, and the orders for Government account so placed as to maintain as extensive facilities as possible for the rapid production of specialized types of aircraft in the event of emergency. Such a board could also bring into the field of its general study and operation the manufacture and use of lighter-than-air craft, and it may be worth while here to observe that with the quantity production of noninflammable gas the possibilities of the rigid and dirigible balloon are in many ways as promising as those of the airplane. As the Chief Executive, having under his constant care the commercial and industrial development of the country as well as the national defense, the President would undoubtedly cause himself to be advised from time to time as to the best distribution of jurisdiction in this field, and by assigning to the Army and Navy the functions which can best be performed by them, respectively, and by bringing to a common view the needs of the military establishments and of commerce the best results could be obtained.

On the whole case, it seems quite clear that the time has not come to set up an independent department of the air, there being as yet no commercial use nor likelihood of the commercial use of the airplane which will prove profitable enough to maintain the industry, and certainly no such prospect of independent effectiveness of aircraft as an agency of war to justify reliance upon it to the detriment of the traditional military arms. As a matter of fact, in war, as yet, the infantry is the backbone of military effort, and all other arms on land, on the sea, and in the air are mere aids to its advance and protections to it while it is performing its functions of advance and occupation.

In the hearings he stated that he thought that—

We ought to unite in production of aviation materials sufficiently to use the appropriation which the Congress makes, with a view to preserving as far as possible all necessary facilities for the production of aircraft. * * * I can see no objection to that coordination of the inspection, engineering, and purchase ends of aircraft as will secure concentration of purchase, encouragement of facilities for manufacturing purposes, and the joint benefits of improvement in design to prevent duplication and waste of effort.

Gen. Menoher opposes the independent department and clearly stated his views, as follows:

I would like to state, if I may, in a general way just what I stand for in this general proposition of organization of the Air Service, and then we can take up the question of wherein I differ from Mr. HULL in his bill. There are three fundamentals for which I have been contending.

One is that the Army, and the Navy also, should retain its personnel and its organization as an integral part of the Army, or the Navy, as the case may be; that the flying officer shall be an officer of the Army. The Navy is contending for the same thing very strongly. I have explained this previously in this room to the full committee as to just how I stand on that.

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I have not gone into it as to the needs of the Post Office Department, because their need is different from ours. I leave that for the determination of superior authority to mine. I will deal with that with which I am immediately concerned. It is unthinkable to me that the air force that operates with the Army should not be a part of the Army.

The second contention that I make is, and I consider this vital also, that each of the departments of the Army and of the Navy, and if the Post Office Department is included in the same category, it also, but I speak particularly for the Army—that the Army should determine the types to be provided to suit their needs. In other words, each service should carry on its own experimental development to the point of production and that then, and only then, should the production department take over the matter of production. Now, a plane is a plane, but a plane as delivered from a manufacturer, ordinarily, and especially in this case delivered from a civilian manufacturer who did not understand the specific needs of the Army, a plane turned over by them would not be a fighting plane any more than a soldier who had not been given a uniform or arms would be a fighting man. There are a thousand and one things in a complete plane ready for service that can only be determined by the activity that uses it, the Army or the Navy. The armament, the radio, the armor that it should carry, the signals, the photographic apparatus, and all those things have to be determined by the army, and the two have to be built mutually around each other; that is, the equipment and the plane itself have to be built around each other. Space is exceedingly limited. Then again the function will have to be determined by the service that is going to use the plane. So I maintain that the Army, speaking for the Army now, should determine the type of plane, should carry on its own experimental development up to the point of production.

The third contention is that we should have an agency for production which would take over the matter of production when the design that was desirable for a particular service was ready, to take that over and produce it; that this agency should also be charged with handling civil aeronautics. Now, by that I mean the aeronautics that are necessary in carrying on the functions of the various departments of the Government. I have in mind particularly the forest patrol, of which we did a great deal last summer. I believe that this civilian agency should carry on that work; that it should also be charged with the preparation of rules and regulations for the navigation of the air, the licensing of pilots, the inspection of aircraft for commercial and other purposes, and I am inclined to think that it should operate planes for this civil work, and, too, that it should take over the forest patrol, although we stand ready now to continue the work that we have been doing last summer and carry it on in the future as we have in the past, just in case of an emergency. That is the only legitimate and proper use of aviation by the Army for that purpose that I can see. So that those are the three things that I contend for: The personnel of the Air Service of the Army to remain integrally a part of the Army; that the Army should carry on its own experimental development up to the point of production; that there should be a production agency which should be charged with the production, and that it should handle the civil work of the Government.

Gen. Pershing is also opposed to an independent air service, but believes something should be done to bring about coordination and cooperation. The following is an excerpt from his statement:

Before the joint meeting of the Military Affairs Committees I indicated my belief that some cooperation and coordination between the different departments of the Government using airships might well be obtained, and, in fact, that such coordination was essential to the development of aviation. The question of coordinating the industrial end of aviation is, of course, an entirely different matter from the proposition of taking away from the Army this Air Service and establishing a department of aeronautics independent of the control of the War Department.

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I think it is necessary that military aviation retain under control of the War Department a technical section especially charged with research and other work, connected with the development of military aircraft. Military necessities are quite different from commercial necessities, and I think satisfactory progress in military development can best be assured by retaining under the War Department a technical aviation personnel. This personnel should, of course, closely cooperate with the technical personnel of the central agency.

In reference to the Air Service, the future development in air transportation, of course, can not be foreseen, but we expect a very rapid development. During the war this service developed very rapidly, and there is every reason to believe we may look forward to a great future for it. This service is recognized by England, France, and Italy as possessing great possibilities, and it seems to me that America should not lag in encouraging aviation, but should keep pace with the progress of other nations, or, better still, keep ahead of them.

Of course, at present it is especially valuable for military purposes, yet its limitation to this service is not indicated. If Congress is of the opinion that general aviation should be encouraged, as I am, then the appropriations for commercial, naval, and military aviation might very well be included under one head, to be used first for the development of observation, reconnaissance, and combat service in the Army and Navy, and, second, for the development of commercial aviation, which would include the procurement of planes for all purposes and the encouragement of invention, and all that sort of thing.

While there is now no department of the Government looking after the particular field of civilian aviation, the Post Office Department has done a splendid work with a comparatively small fund with which to operate. Mr. Otto Praeger, the Second Assistant Postmaster General, has made the following recommendation:

I think Congress ought to pass a bill for a department of aeronautics which will coordinate the appropriations asked for by the different departments; which will coordinate the buying, to the end that manufacturers can have a steady line of supplies that they need for building planes; that will make investigations for the betterment of aeroplane construction; that will help to acquaint manufacturers with information as to markets and as to new ideas, as to what their competitors are developing abroad, and that will make the rules and regulations in the air and the licensing of pilots, and beyond that I do not think the department should go. A department of that character would do more, by reason of coordinating the buying, than anything else that can be done. I do not believe a department of that character should be given a fixed program of $100,000,000 or $200,000,000, either to subsidize manufacturers or to buy unnecessarily, but its buying should be such that factories would have a steady run of small orders during the year. You can not set up an aeroplane factory today as you can set up an assembled automobile plant, because the material entering into an aeroplane, from the wood to the glue, is specialized. Within one year, unless the aeroplane industry in this country picks up, we will not be able, nor will the Army or the Navy be able, to go into the field to buy parts for our De Haviland and our Curtiss planes. One specialty manufacturer after another is going out of business. And it does not take scores or hundreds of millions of dollars to spend upon aeroplanes in a year to keep factories alive, but it does take an intelligent spreading of those advances over a year to help keep the factories going while they are building up commercial aviation.

From the officers of the Navy have come more objections to any sort of separation of the air activities than from any other source. It is to be noted that at the present time the Army is training satisfactorily for the Navy the aviators needed in the naval service. We find also that very recently Capt. T. T. Craven, a member of the executive committee of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, and one of the most prominent officers in the Navy familiar with all the details of naval aviation, stated that he would recommend that the aircraft board of the Army and Navy be legalized by Congress, to be held responsible for the avoidance of all duplication in aviation. A brief excerpt from his testimony is as follows:

My thought is and has been for a long time that cooperation between the Army and Navy, while fair to-day, could be improved. Gen. Menoher, the head of the Aeronautical Board, also the senior representative of the Army on the board, and I, the senior representative of the Navy on that same board, fully realize that we could get together more closely and should be absolutely together on the matter of development, invention, and production. It is up to us to take the steps necessary to avoid duplication in every way, and that is our purpose.

Both the majority and the minority reports of the Select Committee on Expenditures in the War Department recommended legislation to bring about cooperation in development. The majority members recommend as follows:

A SEPARATE AIR SERVICE INDISPENSABLE.

Any investigation to be of permanent value should offer a solution for the problem of intelligent aircraft advancement.

Fortunately, or unfortunately, the striking failure of the War Department to rise to the aircraft emergency, either in peace or in war, has made necessary the creation of a separate bureau or department of aeronautics. Therein all governmental activities should be centered with a capable, progressive official at the head.

Practically every witness examined on the subject of future American air service united in a plea for separate independent control. From generals to lieutenants, from private citizens, familiar with the subject, and from every experienced aviator appearing before our committee, including Gens. Mitchell, Kenly, and Foulois, military aircraft authorities, and LaGuardia, Meissner, Kindley, and, last but not least, Rickenbacker—men who upheld American air laurels at the front—all unanimously urge a separate air service that will work and cooperate with the Army, Navy, Post Office, and Interior Departments in the development of aviation. We feel that real progress in aviation must depend in a material degree upon encouragement given to civil and commercial aviation.

Adequate appropriations, wisely expended, are necessary to put America to the front, where she belongs. The imperative necessity for this policy must be apparent to all who have studied the constantly increasing scope of aeronautics. Cooperation with and encouragement to inventors and manufacturers and a broad, intelligent policy is demanded. Practically all other countries have adopted that course, and ours must not fail at this crucial period to do so.

The future of aviation is beyond our present dreams or understanding, and our Government must do her full part in leading in its development.

The minority members recommend as follows:

Efficiency and economy in experimentation and production require the coordination of the Government's airplane activities. This is essential to avoid duplication and financial waste. No plan of coordination, however, should be permitted to stifle the efforts of any one department in advancing types of machines and equipment.

A separate Air Service, with authority to coordinate experimentation, purchase, and production, to chart out air routes, encourage the selection of air fields and stations thereat, and to make and enforce rules and regulations for aerial traffic, could perform a very essential function in the development of aircraft. In our judgment, such a separate service should be a civilian organization cooperating with the Army and Navy but free from military domination.

However, if the field of a new organization which is so strongly recommended can not be outlined entirely by common consent of those now looking after aviation activities in the different fields, the Congress of the United States has clearly a duty to perform in seeing to it that proper legislation is enacted in order to prevent our Nation from falling behind. We should recognize that at the beginning of the war there was a sad lack of technical foundation, and which could not be built up and bought by large appropriations during the emergency. There is a broad field of legislation yet untouched, but which is now needed because of the rapid development of civilian and commercial aviation. Appeals to civilian aviators to follow the Army and Navy air regulations is not effective, but there should be legislation controlling this new field. Congress should have the advice of the head of a central organization for all the air activities when it approaches this new field of legislation.

I sincerely hope that before this Congress adjourns or takes any sort of recess a bill which will encourage the development and bring about a consolidation, pooling, engineering, invention, training, and production in all aircraft activities will be enacted into a law.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ERNEST R. ACKERMAN,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is a fitting time to consider resolutions declaratory of the state of peace. Anniversaries of Good Friday have come and gone since the state of war was declared to exist with Germany. Now a third Easter season has arrived, and although a treaty has not as yet been consummated with Germany, yet a state of peace, which no one can gainsay, has existed for more than 17 months. What the people are hungry and crying for is a cessation of the numerous war-time laws to which they willingly and patriotically subscribed during the continuation of hostilities, but which they are not patiently inclined toward inasmuch as the guns have long since ceased to reverberate across the battle fields of France.

This resolution does not in any way contemplate the nonnegotiation of a treaty with Germany. What is primarily accomplished if the resolution becomes operative is a repeal at the date of its becoming effective of all the laws which were enacted as war-time measures.

I offered, as a new Member of Congress, in the opening days of the last session, an act to repeal the censorship of the mails. By a strange coincidence the censorship was lifted a few days after my resolution was introduced.

No one can be so poorly versed in the affairs of his country as to believe for a moment that anything contained in this resolution removing war-time emergency restrictions can be or should be construed as limiting or impairing the right of the President, under his constitutional authority, to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Government of Germany or to resubmit the treaty of Versailles to the Senate.

It perhaps may not be inappropriate for me at this time to state that I believe a very large majority of the American people would be glad if the President would accept reservations and resubmit the treaty to the coordinate body for further consideration.

Mr. Speaker, at a time like this technicalities, as far as possible, should not be a barrier to the attainment of a condition of peace, which is devoutly desired by the millions of our citizens throughout our broad land. Of course no one desires that in any way a precedent should be established that can not be referred to with approval. I am sure that feature of the situation has been kept constantly in mind while the measure was being framed. Neither does this resolution intend that the Government of the United States, in restoring its internal affairs from the war to a peace basis, limits its abiding interest in its relations with and the welfare of its associates in the late war.

The emergencies of the war which the adoption and enactment of this resolution would repeal have all been satisfied. Sound public policy, therefore, makes clear the reason and necessity now for their repeal, and this is the time paramount to all others for a pacific declaration which will go far toward extinguishing any smoldering elements of dissatisfaction that hitherto may have been observed among the diversified elements in the melting pot of our western civilization.

Those charged by the Constitution with the administration of foreign affairs are not hampered or restricted by this resolution in any effort that they might make to form a league of autonomous States having as its object the erecting of a bulwark to prevent a repetition of the horrors upon which we have been compelled to gaze for these long years.

May we speed the day when such a properly safeguarded arrangement may be brought to pass. A profound sentiment for the establishment thereof pervades the mind of militant and victorious America at this hour. Rather, this resolution, like a pilot engine, precedes a possible vehicle of human enfranchisement for millions and by its adoption should be an indication that the way is clear for the mightier project to proceed toward its ultimate goal.

Those of us who have been eyewitnesses of the devastation occasioned by this titanic struggle can not be callous to efforts in this direction but are additionally impressed with the necessity of seeing that in the construction of that barrier nothing is there that might impair the integrity of our country should circumstances make necessary the resolving into original units of States which might form what many consider a Eutopian creation.

While we devoutly hope wars may become as extinct as the mastodon or the dodo, yet a further continuance of the war-time laws and regulations would long remain and rankle in the remembrance of our citizens. If the unwelcome necessity for a revival of the same should arise the present situation might be unhappily referred to and might not be contributory toward acceleration of legislation designed to meet the then emergency.

No one feature will contribute more, in my opinion, to a reduction of the high cost of living than the removal of war-time restrictions. The minds of our citizens must be unfettered from the necessarily onerous regulations so cheerfully and patriotically borne during active hostilities.

It seems to me that an effort in this manner to accelerate the arrival of normal conditions could not be otherwise than welcomed by the Executive.

Every Member of the House will remember that when the United States went into the war there was no partisanship; Democrats and Republicans were forgotten names, and we were all Americans. Therefore it is likewise possible for this Congress to be equally as nonpartisan and patriotic in declaring that the "war has ended," and thus be Americans at its conclusion as we were in the beginning. It is for our country's sake, not for political reasons, that it should be accepted.

To me it seems that everyone can subscribe to the terms of this resolution, which has had most careful and mature consideration. It should receive the affirmative vote of every Member on both sides of the House.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY E. BARBOUR,

OF CALIFORNIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920,

On the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 327) terminating the state of war between the Imperial German Government and the United States.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Speaker, I shall support the resolution before the House for the reason that it declares as a matter of law what is conceded by everyone to be a fact, namely, that the state of war which has existed between the Imperial German Government and the United States is at an end.

Actual warfare with Germany came to a close 17 months ago. The treaty of peace has failed of ratification. It is not for us to determine the fault or to place the blame for such failure. It is our duty to recognize the existing condition and to the fullest possible extent rectify it, in order that there may be a return to normal as soon as possible.

War measures, which conferred upon the Executive during the emergency almost unlimited powers, are still operative. In many instances these laws are being administered by subordinates. This produces an unhealthy and unnatural condition. The tre-

mendous expense of war-time establishments still maintained, necessitating the retention in Government service of thousands of employees, perpetuates a burden from which the country is crying for relief. The high cost of living continues without abatement. Profiteering is rampant. Taxes are burdensome, and a change is demanded. The food-control act and other obnoxious measures, never intended for times of peace in a free country, are still on our statute books and hang like a dark cloud over the Nation. Labor disputes are met with injunctions issued under war-time powers, instead of bravely facing the issues, searching out and remedying the cause, if any exists. Is it to be wondered that unrest prevails?

Personally I would prefer that the war be ended by treaty. But how long must we wait if we insist on following that course? This resolution will not prevent subsequent ratification of the treaty of peace, but no one knows how long peace will be postponed if we wait to accomplish it by treaty. We owe it to ourselves and to the world at large—even to our late enemy, now struggling to maintain a government of law and order—to declare without delay, here and now, that this anomalous condition shall no longer exist; that the United States is in law as well as in fact once more in a state of peace.

The Peace Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT D. STEPHENS,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

Mr. STEPHENS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, it is my purpose to vote against this resolution. Its proponents know full well that nothing can be accomplished by it. The only reason for presenting it is that it is hoped that some partisan advantage may be obtained.

The people of the Nation want peace. Conditions demand that the war be terminated and a peace status restored as early as possible. No one is more anxious than I to have this done.

But that is not the question involved in the consideration of this resolution. The resolution does not simply declare the war at an end and repeal certain war-time legislation; it proceeds to negotiate a treaty with Germany.

If the object is simply to effect a peace status, sincerity and good sense would dictate that the resolution should end with the second section. Instead, it follows this with provisions for a treaty with the enemy. This is a usurpation of power; it is a clear violation of the Constitution; and the whole thing is a nullity.

Other gentlemen have discussed at great length the question of the treaty-making power and have cited numerous authorities on the subject. Therefore I shall not go into that matter very fully.

I shall only say that the Constitution of the United States expressly gives the President and the Senate authority to make treaties. The House has nothing whatever to do with them; it can neither negotiate them, nor approve nor disapprove them.

Congress has no power to fetter or limit in any way the President or the Senate in the exercise of this constitutional function. It can not limit or attach conditions to the exercise of the treaty-making power.

Those who lived in the day of the writing of the Constitution—Washington, Hamilton, Madison, Jefferson, and others—recognized this fact. Their every utterance upon the subject shows it. All the authors of commentaries on constitutional law agree to the proposition. During the entire life of the Nation the right has never been challenged by the Congress itself.

I do not go as far as some gentlemen and contend that Congress has no right to declare that war has ended. In my judgment Congress does have that power.

Simply to do this is not an invasion of the treaty-making power. Treaties are contracts and they deal with settlements and with future trade relations, and so forth.

It is not absolutely necessary to have a treaty in order to end a war. It is wise to have one; it is usual to negotiate one; but war can be terminated without one.

The writers on the subject state that a war may be terminated in three ways: (1) By a mere cessation of hostilities without any definite understanding; (2) by the conquest or subjugation of one belligerent by the other; (3) by a treaty of peace.

If war can be terminated by mere cessation of hostilities, it necessarily follows that a nation that has been engaged in a war can declare that the war has ended. This would be simply the statement of a fact. In doing this there is no invasion of the treaty-making power. Simply because a treaty may be in contemplation does not change the situation or limit the power to make such a declaration.

The power of the Congress to act in that regard still exists, and there remains only the proposition as to whether in the circumstances it is the part of wisdom to exercise it.

It is wholly unnecessary to argue the wisdom of taking that action now, because that question is presented in such a manner that it can not be considered alone. It is so involved with the matter of the treaty that the two can not be separated.

Arguments that the good of the Nation demands an immediate return to peace conditions have no bearing on the subject. Criticisms of the terms of the treaty that was laid before the Senate, however just and proper those criticisms in themselves may be, do not help to decide the question presented. Attempts to place the blame for the delay in effecting a termination of the war by treaty are all beside the question. Opinions upon the wisdom or unwisdom of the League of Nations, whether we shall accept it with or without reservations or not at all, are foreign to the matter now engaging our attention.

What does confront us is this: Shall we pass a resolution that is a clear violation of the Constitution? Shall we proceed in the face of the law that declares that a treaty is in its nature a contract between two nations, not a legislative act?

Mr. Speaker, although I shall rejoice as much as anyone when the war is declared officially and legally to have come to an end, yet I am unwilling to vote for a resolution that as clearly violates all precedents, as well as the Constitution, as this does.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. WILSON,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920,

On the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 327) terminating the state of war between the Imperial German Government and the United States.

Mr. WILSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, as the majority party in Congress herald this resolution as the means of establishing the peace of the world and putting the United States on a peace basis, and the people of the United States, the State of Pennsylvania, and the district I have the honor to represent desire, above everything else, that peace with honor be made a reality at the earliest possible date, it appears proper and fitting that as one who most ardently desires peace and sincerely hoped that the treaty of peace and covenant of the League of Nations would be ratified with or without reservations, I should state the reasons that impel me to vote against this resolution.

On the 6th day of April, 1917, four days after the President of the United States, in a memorable address, had indicted the Imperial German Government of having committed acts of war against the United States, Congress, by resolutions, declared that a state of war existed between the Imperial German Government and the Government and people of the United States.

This action by Congress fixed the legal status of the citizens of the United States and the German Empire, and was a formal announcement that the United States would enter the war on the side of the allied nations of Europe against the Central Powers.

At that time the great majority of the people of the United States knew and fully believed that for over two and one-half years the liberty-loving sons of France, England, Belgium, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Canada, Australia, and Italy had stood embattled in a welter of blood, iron hail, poison gas, and a veritable hell of suffering and horror on what appeared to be the very frontier of civilization and held at bay armed forces of the Central Empires under the direction and control of the Imperial German Government, representing the ideals of barbarism and the Dark Ages.

A great majority of the citizens of the United States then believed that unless the forces stigmatized as Prussian militarism

were not checked in this onward march and totally destroyed by the armed forces of the United States in combination with the armed forces of the Allied Governments that civilization was doomed; that the right of self-government, civil and religious liberty, and everything that freemen hold dear would become but facts of history.

A great majority of our people believed that with the defeat of Prussian militarism, with its doctrine that "might and might alone make right," and "that among nations morality has no place, force being the only arbiter," and its forces destroyed by the armed forces of the self-governing nations of the world, that these nations, after victory was achieved, would be able to evolve some plan of conciliation, arbitration, or mutual counsel that would make wars among the nations of the world a remote possibility; that would permit the reduction of the armaments of the nations of the world, and relieve wealth-producing labor from the heavy burden of maintaining great armies and navies.

President Wilson, in his message to the joint sessions of Congress April 2, 1917, said:

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war. It is a fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

That great American and patriot, Theodore Roosevelt, in his book "America and the World War," said:

My proposal is that the efficient civilized nations, those that are efficient in war as well as in peace, shall join in a world league for the peace of righteousness. This means that they shall by solemn covenant agree as to their respective rights, which shall not be questioned; that they shall agree that all other questions arising between them shall be submitted to a court of arbitration, and that they shall also agree—and here comes the vital and essential part of the whole system—to act with the combined military strength of all of them against any recalcitrant nation, against any nation which transgresses at the expense of any other nations.

* * * * * * *

Our business is to create the beginning of international order out of the world of nations, as these nations actually exist.

* * * * * * *

I earnestly hope that we shall ourselves become one of the joint guarantors of this world peace under such a plan, and that we shall hold ourselves ready and willing to act as a member of the international comitatus to enforce the peace of righteousness as against any offender, great or small.

* * * * * * *

This would mean a great practical stride toward relief from the burden of excessive military preparation. It would mean that all liberty-loving and enlightened people, great and small, would be free from the haunting nightmare of terror which now besets them when they think of the possible conquest of their land.

Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE, who is more than any one other man responsible for the present unenviable and anomalous position of the United States among the nations of the world, while fired with patriotism and with his heart overflowing with the milk of human kindness, and before he permitted his vision to be clouded by partisanship, if not by mere personal chagrin, in a speech delivered at Mount Union College, June, 1918, said:

The President, who delivered the war message, and the Congress who voted for the war, would be guilty of the blackest crimes if they were willing to make peace on the status quo ante bellum and recreate the situation which existed before the war.

If we send our armies and our young men abroad to be killed and wounded in northern France and Flanders with no result but this, our entrance into the war with such an intention was a crime which nothing can justify.

* * * * * * *

The intention of Congress and the intention of the President was that there could be no peace until we could create a situation where no such war as this could recur. We can not make peace in the ordinary way. We can not make peace except in company with our allies. It would brand us with everlasting dishonor and bring ruin to us if we undertook to make a separate peace.

Inspired by the words of these and hundreds of other great leaders, the people of the United States, filled with a zeal to crush militarism, save civilization, and end war for all time, rose to the great occasion as no people ever rose before, and almost over night mobilized the man power, industry, and wealth of the Nation; selected, mobilized, equipped, and trained 4,000,000 of the flower of its young manhood; sent 2,000,000 of them safely across 3,000 miles of an assassin-infested sea; and sent with them stores, supplies, munitions, and money in volume that staggers the imagination.

This democratic army, gathered from the farm, the shop, the store, the counting house, and all the walks of peace and industry in July, 1918, met the flower of Prussian militarism in its apparently irresistible onward push, and, true to the traditions of America, checked it, hurled it back, and thus the American Army became the balance of power, along with the armies of the Allies, that crushed Prussian militarism and made it sue for peace and its commander sign the terms of the armistice dictated by the commander of the allied armies November 11, 1918.

The end of the war being anticipated, the country at the election on November 4, 1918, elected a Republican Congress on a platform advocating a hard dictated peace, fearing the idealism of the President and a Democratic Congress might negotiate a soft peace with Germany.

The President, together with the representatives of the allied nations, after months of labor dictated a peace with Germany, a peace of justice which met with the approval of the civilized world. Coupled with this peace they assisted in setting up self-governing nations in the dismembered parts of Austria-Hungary, Poland, and so forth, and fixed the boundaries of each, and, further coupled with this peace, a covenant that all of the allied nations and such other self-governing nations as might desire to join with them solemnly agree that at least for the period of two years they would lend their moral and physical forces to the carrying out of the terms of the treaty and establish a lasting peace; would endeavor to prevent war and agree upon a plan to reduce armaments.

This treaty and covenant was signed by all of the representatives of the allied nations except China and has been ratified by all except the United States. It was laid before the Senate by the President July 10, 1919, and after more than eight months of talk the Senate on March 19, 1920, returned it to the President unratified, and thus was destroyed the only instrument by which the terms of the world peace won in the World War can be enforced and established.

The Republican majority in Congress, elected on a platform demanding a dictated peace and promising that no peace would be made with Germany by negotiation, now ask us to vote for this resolution, which, in substance, provides, first, that the war with Germany declared by Congress April 6, 1917, is at an end; second, writes the date of approval of this resolution into all war legislation as the date of the end of the war; third, says to Germany, "We will be friends with you and trade with you providing you will within 45 days agree that the terms of the treaty of Versailles bind you and your citizens in relation to the United States"; fourth, directs the President to find out whether Germany is willing to so agree or not and after he finds out to notify the general public; fifth, if Germany does not so agree, then imposes a fine of $10,000 on any person who transacts any business with a citizen of Germany unless he first gets a permit so to do from the President; sixth, serves notice that in any event the United States hangs on to anything it got under the terms of the armistice.

I can not support this resolution for the reason, first, that grave doubts exist as to the constitutional authority of Congress to enact the resolution and grave doubts as to its legal effect, if enacted. Instead of tending to clarify the situation it will make confusion worse confounded, for business will not know, until the legal effect of the enactment of this resolution is judicially determined, whether or not the several war measures sought to be repealed are repealed. Congress has the clear right to repeal or modify them directly and not depend upon an inferential repeal by such a resolution as this. Congress, under control of the Republican steering committee, has been in session since the 19th of May, 1919, and has not repealed or modified any of these war measures, or made an effort to do so.

If this resolution be a nullity, then this action is simply playing petty politics with the hopes and aspirations of the world for peace, stability, and tranquillity. Second, if it be within the constitutional power of Congress to enact then the first section of the resolution, which declares unconditionally that the war with the Imperial German Government is at an end, establishes peace with this Government and the people of Germany without terms.

The terms of the armistice entered into by the commanders in the field at the cessation of hostilities were merged in the treaty of Versailles on its execution by the representatives of the allied Governments, including the United States, and also by Germany.

The Senate of the United States refused to ratify this treaty, and thereafter Congress, by this resolution, declares the war with Germany at an end.

Under international law we are either in a state of war with Germany or at peace. By this resolution we declare the war at an end, and it must follow we are then at peace, and at peace

without terms, for the terms of the armistice were merged in the treaty, and the treaty which Germany signed, rejected by the United States.

A peace with Germany without terms is a betrayal of the soldiers of the United States who sleep on Flanders field and of all her soldiers who made the supreme sacrifice in the great conflict. Such a peace belittles the wonderful service of the gallant soldiers and sailors of our Army and Navy.

It blasts the hopes and aspirations of the men and women who gave so freely of their all and made such great sacrifices that the war might be won and civilization saved.

Such a peace is an abandonment of the Allies who for two years and one-half held the first lines of defense and who were succored in their great time of need, and by whose cooperation with us, and we with them, the war was won.

Such a peace leaves France, Belgium, and the small nations of Europe open to attack, for while Germany surrendered she has not been rendered impotent. There are at least 350,000 men in the German regular army, and the British war office estimates the number at 400,000. In addition, there are 12,000 men in the land forces of the regular navy; 40,000 to 50,000 in the armed constabulary; 150,000 to 200,000 in the army reserves; and 300,000 to 400,000 in the civic guards. Thus there are about 1,000,000 men in Germany available for quick military duty, and probably all of them are veterans.

Such a peace will preclude the United States from representation on the reparation commission, and will prevent the United States from using her good offices in seeing that equity and justice is done to the people of Germany in the enforcement of some of the terms of the peace treaty, which may perhaps be too harsh for the people of Germany to comply with.

This resolution is a left-handed attempt to ratify the treaty of Versailles, and puts this mighty Nation that holds the destiny of the world in the hollow of its hands in the position of sneaking away from its associates in the war after the conflict, and endeavoring to obtain by applying at Germany's back door all of the material fruits of victory without responsibility as to whether or not the terms of the joint treaty are carried out.

The primary purpose of the resolution is to establish commercial relations with the German people, and much as I desire to see the United States at peace with all of the world, and with an ardent desire to see the German people, along with all peoples of the world, work out their destiny in peace and prosperity, I can not vote for the resolution.

I can not, however, bring myself to believe that the people of the United States expended $30,000,000,000 solely that we might trade with Germany.

That the fathers and mothers of the United States gave their sons to their country solely that we might trade with Germany.

That the thousands of maimed and crippled soldiers of the United States endured this misery and gave their bodies to be mutilated solely that we might trade with Germany.

That the soldiers of the United States who so valiantly went to war and rendered so great a service to mankind did all this solely that their Commander in Chief, the President of the United States, might be permitted to go to Berlin, with hat in hand, to find out whether or not Germany would trade with us.

I can not bring myself to think that the 85,000 soldiers of the United States in the World War, for whom taps have sounded and who now sleep in the silent bivouac of the dead, awaiting the reveille of the soldier's resurrection, died solely that commercial relations with Germany might be renewed, and because I am not so convinced I can not support and vote for this resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADOLPHUS P. NELSON,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. Speaker, with all Europe largely dependent upon the United States for its food supply, Congress is charged with a tremendous responsibility in considering the legislation intended to make possible the increased production demanded of the American farmer.

Congress can not act intelligently unless correctly informed as to the operations of the various agencies which have been created to aid and encourage agricultural development. The farm-loan system created by the Federal farm-loan act is one of the agencies of which much has been expected. I think the record of the Federal and the joint-stock land banks in the short time they have been in operation shows that these institutions are rendering a great service to agriculture and to the Nation as a whole.

These banks, according to the title of the act creating them, were expected "to equalize rates of interest on farm loans." And there is abundant evidence that interest rates have been reduced in every high-interest section of the United States. That is a very important service for these banks to have performed. They have done more than merely to save a handsome sum in interest for all who borrowed of these banks. Their mere presence in the farm-loan field supplied the competition necessary to reduce the rates of interest for all farmers who borrow, no matter of whom they borrow. It has been estimated that the farmers of America already have been saved a total of not less than $30,000,000 in interest and $20,000,000 in commissions by the operations and as a result of the competition of the banks created by the farm-loan act.

And that fact has aroused the bitter opposition of the old-style, commission-charging, farm-mortgage broker. When any campaign becomes bitter, the bars are let down for all manner of misrepresentation and false statement. Often, under these conditions, false issues are raised which prejudice a case before it is fairly opened for discussion. Now, as there have been some misleading and some false statements made as to the operations of the joint-stock land banks under the farm-loan act, I desire to submit a letter from the Farm Loan Board correcting a statement that has become current about the earnings of these banks. This letter was addressed to Guy Huston, of Chicago, president of the American Association of Joint Stock Land Banks, and in effect says that the statement that any joint-stock land bank has made 30½ per cent is false, and that a correct statement of earnings of the particular bank referred to would have been but 9½ per cent per annum, a great difference. I submit this letter from the Farm Loan Board, because this seems to be the only effectual way of dissipating the prejudice created by the first and erroneous statement.

I read:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
FARM LOAN BUREAU,
February 28, 1920.

Mr. GUY HUSTON,
President American Association of Joint-Stock Land Banks,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: The Secretary of your association has to-day stated to the Farm Loan Board that an incorrect statement as to the earnings of your institution, in which it was quoted as earning 30½ per cent per annum, is being widely circulated in a campaign against joint-stock land banks, and he stated further that the fact that the Federal farm-loan act imposes no limitation upon joint-stock land banks, as to the amount and purposes of loans, or the vocation of the borrower, is being widely circulated in the same campaign. He has asked us to give you a statement on these points, with leave to give publicity to such statement. We willingly comply.

It is probable that the statement as to your earnings grew out of the misinterpretation of a memorandum issued from this office in which that figure was given as covering your earnings for a period of 22 months. Subsequently, this statement was supplemented by the following memorandum, dated January 8, 1920:

"With reference to memorandum, dated June 18, 1919, showing earnings of the First Joint-Stock Land Bank of Chicago as at the close of business May 31, 1919, the following information is respectfully submitted.

"On page 1 of the above-mentioned memorandum the average amount of capital stock invested in this bank for the period from organization to May 31, 1919, was shown to be $299,148.15. This amount is correct, as shown by the records of this bureau, such records being compiled from certificates of the First Joint Stock Land Bank of Chicago. Since preparing the above-mentioned memorandum, however, it has been called to my attention that these certificates were not made at the time the funds were actually collected on account of this stock subscription, but at some subsequent date prior to the issuance of bonds against such stock, and that the average capital investment on May 31, 1919, was actually $354,340.

"Earnings of this institution at that time were shown to be $61,208.60, which would represent 17.3 per cent on the average investment for the period from organization to May 31, 1919, or about 9½ per cent per annum on average capital invested.

"Respectfully submitted,

"H. HISE,
"Chief Land Bank Examiner."

The above memorandum correctly states your earning as reported to this office and verified by examination of your institution.

In reference to the amount of loan, the board has made a specific ruling as follows:

"Maximum loan to one borrower: No loan to a single borrower made by any joint-stock land bank in excess of 15 per cent of its capital and surplus will be approved as security for a bond issue, and in no case will such approval be given of any loan in excess of $50,000."

As to the purpose of loan, the board's position was defined in a circular, from which the following is a quotation:

"PURPOSE OF THE LOAN.

"Joint-stock land banks are also exempted from the specific limitation imposed upon Federal land banks, in reference to the purposes for which loans may be made.

"The general purposes of the act, however, are so clearly defined in the title, 'To provide capital for agricultural development,' and this purpose is so generally understood and accepted, that the board feels it is inconsistent with the purposes of the act and sound public policy that loans should be made by joint-stock land banks, except for the

purposes enumerated in the act or other purposes related to agricultural development.

"You are, therefore, requested to confine your loans to such purposes and advised that the board can not approve loans which are made for the purpose of speculation or other purposes entirely foreign to agricultural production."

In justice to the joint-stock land banks it should be further stated that these suggestions of the board have been cheerfully accepted, and we think very nearly universally complied with; and the legislative committee of your association recently went on record before the Banking and Currency Committee of the United States Senate as approving these limitations and favoring their incorporation in the farm-loan act.

You are at liberty to give such publicity as you may desire to this statement.

Respectfully, yours,

W. W. FLANNAGAN,
Secretary Farm Loan Board.

I am disappointed to find that some Members of Congress view the farm-loan act as a sort of glorified "poor law" for the relief of paupers, and to view the duties of the Farm Loan Board as being for the most part those of dispensing small charity to small farmers. On this point let me read an utterance made some time ago by a former Secretary of the United States Treasury. He said:

The American farmer is not a pauper seeking alms. Neither is he a ward of the Government to be treated as an irresponsible child.

Up to the time of the passage of the farm-loan act the system of farm credits in operation in this country was exceedingly cumbersome. It was so cumbersome that it would not furnish the kind of service the farmer required at any price. That is, it could not furnish loans on the long-term amortization plan. Also the entire field of farm credits was without anything more than the most primitive—and therefore futile—regulation as to rates of interest and commission charges.

After an exhaustive study of the needs of the country and after another exhaustive study of the credit system of European countries, Congress decided to adequately finance agriculture as a great underlying industry essential to the life of the Nation.

Congress did not contemplate any petty remedies. It did not contemplate charity for the small farmers. It did not contemplate a special privilege for the big farmers.

But Congress did contemplate establishing a practical system of rural credits by which the farmer would be enabled to secure as a right—not as a favor—adequate funds at reasonable rates.

Some of those who now are fighting the Federal and joint-stock land banks forget what were the conditions which prevailed before the passage of the farm-loan act. To get this matter before us in brief form I shall read from a widely known farm paper published by the present Secretary of Agriculture, E. T. Meredith. The paper I read from is Successful Farming, and the article I read was written by W. G. McAdoo, former Secretary of the Treasury. It is as follows:

THE FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACT—ARE THE PROPOSED CHANGES CONTRARY TO THE FARMERS' INTERESTS?

[By W. G. McAdoo, formerly Secretary of the Treasury.]

The attacks now being made in the courts and in the Congress of the United States on the farm-loan act, and the great system of agricultural credit banks thereby created, indicate a purpose on the part of the majority leaders to yield to the pressure and influence of the farm mortgage brokers and to destroy or so cripple the Federal land banks and the joint-stock land banks that the farmers of the country will again be put at the mercy of usurers and mortgage sharks.

A suit was recently brought at Kansas City, Mo., attacking the constitutionality of the farm-loan act. Judge Van Valkenburg, at Kansas City, decided in favor of the constitutionality of the farm-loan law. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the case was recently argued. If the Supreme Court should sustain the constitutionality of the farm-loan act, then the only danger to the farm-loan system is from Congress.

Prior to 1913 there was a severe money stringency at crop-moving seasons. The farmers suffered severely from these annual money squeezes. Inability to get sufficient credit on reasonable terms to harvest their crops and to hold them after harvest for a reasonable time so that they could market them gradually and get the benefit of fair prices resulted each year in the enforced dumping of the crops on the market in a short period of time, with the result that prices fell frequently below the cost of production, entailing grave losses and hardships upon the farmers. Credit was largely controlled by a powerful group in New York commonly referred to as "Wall Street." Doubtless every farmer remembers that in the fall of 1913, the Treasury Department for the first time in its history disregarded "Wall Street" and made direct deposit of Government money in banks in the crop-moving centers throughout the country on condition that the same be lent to farmers for crop-moving purposes at reasonable rates. This broke up the annual crop-moving squeeze, and since 1913 nothing has been heard about tight money and the difficulty of moving the crops.

But this was not enough. The administration realized that unless remedial credit legislation was promptly enacted what the Treasury had gained in breaking the selfish control of credit would be lost. Therefore the Federal reserve act was passed, and while it created a great system of commercial credit, it made provision only for the essential short-time credit needed by the farmer. It put the farmer's six months' notes, given for agricultural purposes such as growing crops or carrying his matured crops when in the form of staple products, upon the same favorable basis as the notes of merchants and other business men when given for commercial purposes.

The farmer's notes of this character were made eligible for rediscount in Federal reserve banks just as were the business man's notes. What does this mean? It means that every national bank can now lend money to the farmer for agricultural purposes or upon the security of staple agricultural products, with full knowledge that it can rediscount such notes in Federal reserve banks upon the same favorable terms that it can rediscount the merchant's paper. This makes the farmer's paper just as desirable to a national bank as the merchant's paper, and opens up to the farmer a vast field of essential short-time credit.

PROVISION FOR LONG-TIME LOANS.

But this was not enough. The farmer also needed a system of agricultural credit under which he could borrow on a mortgage on his farm for a long term of years and at low interest rates and be relieved of high charges for commissions, attorney's fees, and other exactions which, in times past, have made the cost of money borrowed on mortgage, where he was able to get it at all, so high that he could ill afford to bear it. The farmer could rarely borrow on mortgage for a longer period than five years. Frequently he could borrow for a much shorter time only. He had to submit to arbitrary valuations of his property, which were not infrequently lower than was justified, and he had to take the money upon any terms the lender imposed upon him. The small farmer who wanted to borrow on mortgage, $1,000 or less, found it very difficult to get it on any terms. There was little or no credit on farm mortgage for the small borrower.

The need of mortgage credit to the farmer is very great, because he can not make permanent improvements on his land, or buy machinery, or raise cattle or fruit trees or other crops which take a long time to mature, or clear his land, or tile it, or lime it, and get returns from the additional investment unless he has a long-time loan. It became necessary, therefore, to create a farm-mortgage system which would give the farmer, first, the long-time mortgage loan covering a period of as much as 40 years and repayable on the amortization plan, namely, in annual installments of, say, 1 per cent; second, a low rate of interest, which would be uniform throughout the United States, so that farmers everywhere would share equally in the benefits of the system. This could be accomplished only by the creation of land banks with power to sell a standard form of bonds based upon the security of the farm mortgages they purchased from the farmer. By making these bonds safe and attractive to investors the land banks would be able to command a constant supply of money by sale of their bonds and thus be able to lend upon the security of the farm mortgage.

It was essential that the mortgages given by the farmer and the bonds issued by the banks upon the security thereof should be exempt from all United States, State, and local taxation. Without this exemption, it would be impossible to sell the bonds of the banks at such reasonable rates of interest that the banks in turn could lend money to the farmers on mortgages at a reasonable rate of interest. Consequently, the Congress of the United States, upon the recommendation of the President, passed the Federal farm loan act in July, 1916. Under this law the country has been divided into 12 districts and a Federal land bank has been established in each. These Federal land banks are not permitted to lend more than $10,000 to a single borrower, and they can not lend except upon the cooperative plan through a farm loan association which the farmers have to organize. It was necessary, therefore, to provide another class of banks which could make loans to farmers desiring to borrow in excess of $10,000. Therefore, the act provides for the organization of what is called joint-stock land banks. These banks are permitted to lend direct to a single borrower in any amount up to $50,000. The joint-stock land banks, like the Federal land banks, issue their bonds against the security of the farm mortgages they take. The joint-stock land banks are required to lend on the long time amortization plan at rates of interest regulated by the Federal farm loan board at Washington, just as in the case of the Federal land banks. The entire system is under the supervision and control of the farm loan board established in the Treasury Department at Washington. Thus a great system of agricultural credit is created, the short time loans being supplied by the Federal reserve system and the long time amortization mortgage loans by the Federal farm loan system.

THEIR NEED IS APPARENT.

Although the Federal land banks have been in operation but little more than two years, they have made loans to farmers throughout the United States aggregating $285,000,000 at 5 and 5½ per cent interest, plus 1 per cent per annum for amortization, so that at maturity the principal will have been paid in full if the interest and amortization charges shall have been regularly paid as they became due.

The joint stock land banks have made direct loans to farmers amounting to something like $41,000,000, at low rates of interest and on the amortization plan. It is evident from the manner in which the farmers are making use of the system that it is serving a genuine need. All of the Federal land banks are now established on a profitable basis, and this farm credit system, conceived in the spirit of helpfulness and cooperation, if not destroyed, can perform a notable service for American agriculture.

The provision that the bonds issued by the Federal and joint stock land banks and secured by farm mortgages shall be exempt from taxation, and that the rates of interest shall be regulated by the Farm Loan Board and be uniform in all the States, makes it possible for the farmer having good security, even though he lives in a sparsely settled State, to secure credit on just as reasonable terms as the farmer who lives in the most populous and settled State.

But those private money lenders and brokers who for years have fattened at the expense of the American farmer have fought bitterly this tax-exemption feature, because they are now forced into competition with the land bank system and compelled to lend money on reasonable terms. Threats that the tax exemption on farm mortgages and land bank bonds would be knocked out by the present Congress have been confidently made by the farm-mortage brokers of America. The attacks recently made by two of the leaders of the House of Representatives, and by one of the leaders of the Senate, should serve as a warning to every farmer and citizen interested in the maintenance and success of the land bank system that they must resist the attempts of these selfish interests if they want the farm-loan system to be preserved.

Representative J. W. FORDNEY, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, and Representative MCFADDEN, a member of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House, have made speeches recently in opposition to the tax-exemption clause, and these speeches are being widely circulated by the farm-mortgage brokers of America.

Senator SMOOT has introduced a bill in the Senate to force the liquidation of the joint-stock land banks, and Mr. MCFADDEN has introduced a similar bill in the House of Representatives. If the joint-stock land banks are thus destroyed and the tax exemption on farm mortgages and land-bank bonds is repealed, the farm-mortgage brokers and private money lenders will again have a monopoly of the field of long-time agricultural credit, and the farmers of the country know what that will mean in high-interest rates, commissions, attorneys' fees, and other charges on the original loan and large commissions on each renewal if the farmer succeeds in getting a renewal. The cost of money to the farmer will be increased and all the old abuses will be restored; the mortgage bankers will not grant the long-time amortization loans which the farmer can gradually pay off so that the principal of the debt will be liquidated at maturity. Farmers will have to take short-time loans on such terms as the farm-mortgage brokers and lenders choose to make. In other words, the old system of farm loans with its insufficiency of credit, its usurious rates of interest, its high commissions, and injustices leading only too frequently to the tragedy of foreclosure and loss of everything will be restored.

FAIR PLAY FOR FARMERS.

Why should farmers not have the benefit of exemption from taxation on farm mortgages and the bonds issued by the land banks against these mortgages? What is a mortgage anyway? It is merely an evidence of indebtedness. Why should the Government of the United States tax the evidence of the farmers' indebtedness? What is the bond of the land bank but an evidence of indebtedness issued on the security of the mortgage of the farmer and by means of which the bank is enabled to get the necessary money from investors to lend to the farmer on his mortgage? If a tax is imposed on the Federal and joint-stock land bank bonds, who will pay it? The borrowing farmers, of course. They will pay the higher interest rates which the bonds will have to carry, if the tax exemption is removed, because the banks will have to charge the farmers a higher rate of interest on their mortgages. If the farmer has paid taxes on his mortgaged farm and on his income as well, why should he be asked to pay taxes on his debt? The mortgage on his farm and the bond issued by the land bank are both mere evidences of indebtedness, resting upon the land upon which the farmer pays taxes.

Why should this tax exemption, which makes the land-bank system successful and enables it to give the farmer sufficient agricultural credit on long time and at reasonable rates of interest, provoke the hostility of leaders in the Congress when a similar tax exemption has been granted in favor of rich and powerful national banks? We have heard no complaints about this tax exemption. No one challenges it or complains of it. But if the farmers of the United States are given a similar exemption, then it becomes an "outrageous" thing.

The national banks of the United States own all the stock in the 12 Federal reserve banks, which have an aggregate capital of more than $86,000,000. These national banks are permitted to receive 6 per cent preferred dividends on their Federal reserve bank stock, and, in addition, every dollar of that stock and the income therefrom is exempt from all Federal, State, and municipal taxation. All State and municipal bonds issued throughout the Nation are given full exemption from Federal, State, and local taxation. There are millions of these securities in the hands of the wealthy classes. Why should they have the benefit of exemptions which withdraw hundreds of thousands of dollars of their income from all Federal, State, and local taxes? Certainly a tax exemption which will permit the farmer to get credit on reasonable terms is no more heinous than a tax exemption in favor of the stock holdings of the national banks in the Federal reserve banks and in favor of wealthy people who invest their money in State and municipal and county bonds, the income of which can not be taxed one cent by Federal, State, or local governments.

In order to establish successfully the great commercial credit system represented by the Federal reserve act and the great agricultural credit system represented by the Federal farm loan act, I think that the Congress was justified in granting exemptions from taxation of the stock held by the national banks in the Federal reserve banks and of the farm mortgages and bonds of the Federal and joint-stock land banks; but if the exemptions from taxation in favor of the agricultural credit system are to be repealed, then with equal justification the exemptions from taxation in favor of the commercial credit system should be repealed.

Apparently, in the eyes of these selfish interests, the farmer is entitled to no consideration; and it is equally apparent that in their eyes capital and wealth are entitled to every consideration.

The agricultural class, upon whose prosperity and welfare the life of the people of the United States depends, will not now consent to see this great land bank system destroyed for the benefit of those who for years have taken advantage of the farmer's necessities by selling him credit at extortionate rates of interest and on extremely hard and unsatisfactory terms.

I do not say that there should be no amendments to or changes of the farm-loan act. The system is new and the test of experience will undoubtedly show that beneficial amendments of the law may from time to time be made. For instance, I think it would be wise to amend the law so that joint-stock land banks shall not be permitted to make loans on farm lands, except to farmers who will actually engage in the cultivation of the soil and for live stock, equipment, improvements, etc., just as in the case of the Federal land banks. I also think it would be wise to limit the loans which a joint-stock land bank may make to any one borrower to not more than $50,000; this, however, is already covered by a regulation of the Federal Farm Loan Board and may be sufficient for the purpose. These amendments are necessary to prevent the funds of the joint-stock land banks from being used for the buying up of farm lands with money borrowed from the banks by those who will not improve or cultivate it but merely hold it for an advance in values. Our new and admirable agricultural credit system must not be prostituted to speculative ends.

The Federal farm loan system must be preserved. The tax exemption on the mortgages given by the farmers to the Federal land banks and the joint-stock land banks and upon the bonds issued by these banks must be continued so that the great basic industry of agriculture, upon which rests the prosperity of all, will not be burdened unnecessarily. The business of food production is fundamental. No one must be permitted to collect one cent of unjust tribute from it.

The farmers of the United States and all citizens interested in the welfare of the Nation must assert themselves vigorously against any effort on the part of selfish interests in or out of Congress to destroy this great land-bank system which furnishes for the first time in the history of America, adequate agricultural credit to the farmers at reasonable rates and on just terms.

The Federal farm-loan act was the farmer's declaration of independence against usury and insufficient credit, as well as against unjust exactions of private money lenders and brokers.

Mr. Speaker, we have a joint-stock land bank in Wisconsin, and it is adapted to our peculiar needs. The Bankers' Joint Stock Land Bank of Milwaukee is performing a valuable service by supplying the capital we need for the development of the northern part of Wisconsin. We have nine millions of acres of hardwood cut-over lands in the northern counties of my State—9,000,000 acres of good farming land, adapted to dairy farming; 9,000,000 acres of undeveloped land that is as fertile and that will be as productive as the land in the southern counties of Wisconsin, where we have developed the dairy industry until now it produces milk, butter, and cheese valued at $200,000,000 a year.

Mr. Speaker, I want to see the northern part of Wisconsin as fully developed as southern Wisconsin. We can not develop these lands without the aid of outside capital. And that is why I do not want anything done to cut off our supply of outside money. That is why I do not want any action taken by Congress that will deprive us of the services of the joint-stock land bank. The men who control and operate the Bankers' Joint Stock Land Bank of Milwaukee have brought to Wisconsin to be used in agricultural development a total of more than $10,000,000. Of this amount approximately $5,000,000 has been made available within the last two years by the organization and operation of the joint-stock land bank.

I submit these facts and have engaged in this discussion that the character of the service performed by joint-stock land banks may be known and understood.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW J. HICKEY,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920,

On joint resolution (H. J. Res. 327) terminating the state of war between the Imperial German Government and the United States.

Mr. HICKEY. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of the passage of this resolution. It will establish peace and at the same time repeal all war legislation. This legislation was passed in the stress and excitement of war and ought not to be continued now that peace has actually come. Congress by joint resolution approved April 6, 1917, declared that a state of war existed and had existed for some time between the United States Government and the Imperial German Government. After prosecuting the war to a successful conclusion, an armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, between the allied Governments and the Central Powers. Since that date hostilities between this Government and the Government of Germany have ceased, and to all intents and purposes these nations are at peace. But owing to the inability of the President and the Senate of the United States to agree with respect to a League of Nations, the country has continued to be in a state of war with the Government of Germany. This condition of affairs has become intolerable.

The league covenant was made part of the peace treaty, and this is the reason why its ratification has been delayed. The provisions of the treaty are fairly acceptable to the United States. The treaty has been ratified by many of the allied nations and by Germany. Our failure to ratify the treaty because of the league covenant places this country in the anomalous position of being at war with Germany when, in fact, we have been at peace with Germany since the signing of the armistice. My information is that while we are technically at war we are supplying Germany with many things she needs; we are receiving substantial commerce from her. But this commerce with Germany is being carried on contrary to the laws in force at this time; it is being carried on knowing that the trading-with-the-enemy act and other legislation in the nature of war legislation prohibits such commerce, but with the knowledge and tacit consent of the Government.

This is an unfortunate situation. The war measures vest in the President extraordinary powers and the powers so vested have in certain cases been used to punish certain people who offended the administration, while others guilty of like offenses have gone unpunished. This may be the situation with respect to those who are now carrying on with the consent and knowledge of the Government commerce with the Central Powers. Something may arise whereby they may come under the displeasure of the administration, and if they do they will be subject to the penalties and punishments provided by the drastic war measures now in full force. I may add, too, that some of our commerce with the Central Powers is carried on through foreign countries, mostly through British channels. The laws now in force, as I have stated, provide severe penalties for the very things the Government permits to be done. If this resolution becomes a law, it will end this situation.

The country is weary of war and of war laws and is earnestly anxious that peace relations be resumed. The so-called war power conferred upon the President vested him with more abso-

lute, arbitrary power than has ever been lodged in any monarch in modern times. The President apparently seems not at all disposed to surrender any of these powers, but rather is constantly asking for other and more drastic laws.

Peace was established between the Central Powers and the United States November 11, 1918, nearly 17 months ago. The President submitted certain terms to the Central Powers advising those powers that the Allies, including the United States, were willing to deal with them upon certain conditions and submitted or suggested a basis for peace. The Central Powers accepted the terms as submitted by the President in what is known as his 14 points and his other communications dealing with the question of peace. An armistice was agreed to and signed with the understanding between the high contracting parties that the terms to be agreed to would be in harmony with the proposals made by the Allies through the medium of the President. After the armistice had been entered into, and in due time, the allied nations met at Versailles for the purpose of preparing a treaty of peace. The peace conference opened in December, 1918, and continued in session until June 28, 1919. The President constituted himself the representative of this Government to attend this conference and acted in behalf of his Government, and, accompanied by upward of 1,500 secretaries, counselors, servants, and attendants, he proceeded to the peace conference.

At Paris he received the homage that in ancient days were paid to monarchs visiting a foreign court. Under these pleasing and auspicious conditions he entered upon his duties as the peace envoy of the great republican democracy of America.

The President soon learned that the proposals made by him before the signing of the armistice could not, and would not, be carried out by the Allies, our associates in the war; that secret treaties and secret engagements had been entered into by the allied nations before and during the war; that it was the purpose of the allied powers to fulfill the obligations they had made to each other in the way of secret treaties and engagements. He therefore cast about to devise a plan that might, as he thought, be substituted instead of the solemn promise, embodied in the 14 points and other promises made and which became a part of the terms of the armistice. There was prepared by Gen. Smuts, of the British Army, and submitted to the peace conference by the President, a plan to form a combination of the allied nations and other nations that would accept the terms imposed by these nations that is known as the League of Nations. There is no doubt that the President sincerely and honestly believed this league plan would be of great benefit and aid in settling future disputes that might arise among nations. He therefore concluded to make this league plan an integral part of the treaty of peace. The allied nations encouraged this idea; they were not concerned about altruistic and idealistic things; they sought spoils in the way of territory and indemnities, and so they strongly approved the idealistic though impractical, unworkable, and impossible plan of the President. This league plan was written into the first draft of the treaty. It surrendered to the allied Governments, through the league plan, certain rights that no nation could surrender and retain its sovereignty, and it gave to the members of the league the power to regulate our coastwise trade, to regulate our immigration laws, determine the size of our Army and Navy; in fact, to surrender to a foreign supergovernment to be created by the league the things that are and have been held most sacred by the citizens of this great Republic.

The President, all aglow with the spirit of kindness and love for the world, and in utter disregard of the interests of the United States, returned home and disclosed to a limited extent the nature of the work that was being done in the conference at Versailles. Up to this time the work had been carried on with the greatest secrecy—not a word, not a line, had come to the American people with regard to the way the rights and interest of the greatest Republic that time has ever known were being traded away by their self-appointed representative at the conference table. The President, as I have stated, gave a glimpse of what was taking place and the kind of a contract he was making for his country. He first held a conference with the Foreign Relations Committees of the Senate and the House, when he outlined his plan for a League of Nations.

Members of the committees were astounded, and in polite language so advised the President; they pointed out as well as they could with the limited information at hand the evils that would come to this country should it enter into so unequal an engagement. The President was not convinced, and before leaving the country for the peace conference made known that notwithstanding the objections of the Senators, who by the Constitution have equal power with himself in the making of treaties, that notwithstanding the objections of the American people he would so interweave and intertwine the league covenant proposed into the treaty that they could not be separated, and I suppose trusted that a war-weary Nation would be forced to accept the treaty, surrender its most sacred rights, abandon its priceless traditions for the precious boon of peace. This was the President's attitude before he returned to Europe. The President returned to his duties in France and, in justice to him, carried into effect his proposals with respect to the league. With the greatest ingenuity, he and his coworkers contrived to have it so related to the treaty itself and so interwoven into the language of the treaty that it could not be separated therefrom.

We are now not only asked to accept this league plan but, in addition, to deliver over to the machinery of the league the free will of this country, and to the Governments that concealed from our Government the secret treaties they made before we entered the war and other treaties made during the progress of the war after we entered. All of which were concealed from us.

It is obvious to all that by becoming a party to the league we no longer adhere to the traditional policy of our country—a policy established by Washington and never departed from down to this good hour. The proponents of the league in this country are the first Americans to advocate an abandonment of the policy of strictly confining our international activities to our own affairs.

Washington, in his Farewell Address, delivered in September, 1796, in a most fervent and convincing appeal, urged this policy. I quote from his address, as follows:

> Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government.
>
> The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop. Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities. Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course.
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> Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice? It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.
>
> Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respective defensive posture, we may safely trust to alliances for extraordinary emergencies.
>
> Constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another, that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character, that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more, there can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

Thomas Jefferson was also a strong advocate of this policy. I quote from his letter written to his friend, Mr. Gerry, in 1779:

> I am for free commerce with all nations and political connections with none; I am not for linking ourselves by new treaties with the quarrels of Europe, or entering the field of slaughter to preserve their balance, or to join the confederacy of kings to war against the principles of liberty. The first object of my heart is my own country.

Thomas Jefferson also on the same question wrote President Monroe, June, 1823, and said:

> Do what is right, leaving the people of Europe to act their follies and crimes among themselves, while we pursue in good faith the paths of peace and prosperity.

James Monroe, when President of the United States, in a message to Congress, December 2, 1823, said:

> The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never been a part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so.

John Quincy Adams, when President of the United States, in in a message to Congress, March 15, 1826, dealing with this same question, said:

> Reasoning upon the state of things, from the sound and judicious principles of Washington, must we not say that the period which he predicted was not far off has arrived that America has a set of primary interests which have none or a remote relation to Europe; that the interference of Europe therefore in those concerned should be spontaneously withheld by her upon the same principles that we have never interfered with hers.

Andrew Jackson, when President of the United States, in a message to Congress dated December 4, 1842, said:

> Our best wishes at all times, our good offices when required, will be offered to promote the domestic tranquillity and foreign peace of all nations with whom we have any intercourse. Any intervention in their affairs further than this, even by an expression of official opinion, is contrary to our principles of international politics and will always be avoided.

President Johnson, dealing with questions affecting our foreign relations in a message on December 4, 1865, said:

Under any circumstances our great extent of territory, variety of climate, producing almost anything that is necessary for the wants and even the comforts of man, make us singularly independent of the warring policy of foreign powers and protect us against every temptation to entangling alliances while * * * strength that comes from harmony will be our best security against nations who feel power and forget right.

President Grover Cleveland said:

The genius of our institutions, the needs of our people in their home life, and the attention which is demanded for the settlement and the development of the resources of our vast territory dictate the scrupulous avoidance of any departure from that foreign policy commended by the history, the traditions, and the prosperity of our Republic. It is the policy of independence, favored by our position, and defended by our known love of justice and by our own power. It is the policy of peace suitable to our interests. It is the policy of Monroe and of Washington and Jefferson: "Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliance with none."

President Wilson, in a speech delivered at Des Moines on February 1, 1916, had this to say:

There are actually men in this country who are preaching war, who are preaching the duty of the United States to do what it never would before—seek entanglement in the controversies which have arisen on the other side of the water, abandon its habitual and traditional policy, and deliberately engage in the conflict which is now engulfing the rest of the world. I do not know what the standard of citizenship of these gentlemen may be. I only know that I, for one, can not subscribe to those sentiments.

If time would permit I could show by the statements of every great American, from Washington to the meeting of the peace conference in France, that the thing that is sought to be accomplished by becoming a member of the League of Nations was the thing that all warned against. Of course, the fundamental question involved concerns the independence of the United States. If the proposed League of Nations is to safeguard liberty and maintain peace without taking from us our sovereignty we should give it honest, thoughtful consideration. Americans have never before faced such a situation or anything resembling it. Those in authority are pursuing a course so radically different from anything that was ever done before or even dreamed of that it behooves every well-wisher of the Nation, from President Wilson to the newest voter, to pause and take careful inventory before groping into unknown territory with strange ground underfoot and unfamiliar skies overhead.

The power vested in the assembly and council would give them authority to call upon the United States to send troops to any part of the world whenever, in their opinion, the necessity required it; it would also vest in these administrative bodies power to deal with the most vital interests of the Republic; it would take from Congress the power, now expressly conferred by the Constitution, of declaring war and providing means for national defense, and would vest this power in an alien assembly, to be used according to the whims of the league members. It would confer on the council the authority to determine the funds we should contribute to the support of war, should it come, the number of troops we should furnish, and what part of the loss we should pay. It could regulate our labor situation and determine our immigration laws; in fact, there seems to be no limitations on the power of the council. It is vested with legislative, executive, and judicial functions, to be exercised at its will.

It is contended by the advocates of the League of Nations and by the adherents of the President that Congress has no authority to terminate the war. It is conceded that the power to declare war is lodged in Congress. The Constitution clearly gives this power to Congress; the treaty-making power is vested in the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The President initiates the making of the treaty and the Senate accepts, modifies, amends, or rejects the treaty initiated, prepared, and submitted by the President. These two governmental functions lodged in different branches of the Government being clearly defined by the Constitution, the question may be asked, Has the President authority without the sanction of Congress to engage in war? There are many instances when this has been done, and the legality of the act, while questioned, has not been denied. It may be said to be a usurpation of power, to be bad governmental policy, for the President to encroach upon the functions of another branch of the Government; nevertheless, the right has been exercised. Mr. Wilson landed troops at Vera Cruz during his first term, sent an Army under Gen. Pershing into Mexico, called to his aid in prosecuting this war State troops as well as Federal troops, and carried on this war for months, though it ended unsuccessfully. This war was conducted without consulting Congress and without the approval of Congress. The President without the advice or consent of the Senate concluded a peace with the Government, or the pretense of a government, of Mexico. This peace was a complete surrender of American rights; it was made in secrecy without the advice or consent of the treaty-making branch of the Government between the President and Carranza. The acts of the President were not questioned by Congress and the bills made by this war were paid and the President's act approved by his party and the Congress, in which his party predominated.

There are other instances where the President of the United States has exercised war powers without being granted specific authority by Congress to do so. There is no doubt that the Executive might bring about a state of war by his acts of omission or commission and that the country would be compelled to defend its integrity and national honor without any formal declaration of war.

This being so, does it not follow that Congress, being named in the Constitution as the war-making part of the Government, having the right to vote the necessary funds to carry on war, can also terminate war? The fact that it has the power to declare war and the exclusive power to furnish the means to carry on the war by implication gives it the right by formal action to declare that the thing it begun and carried to completion has ended. I do not see how there can be any escape from this conclusion; if it were not so the country might be placed in this position: A war might be under way when a President was elected and ended before he took office, and the President so elected and taking office on March 4 of any year could continue such a war, or technically so, for four years after the war had actually come to a close, thus keeping the country in a state of chaos. Such a thing is unthinkable.

I concede that a treaty of peace would have been much more satisfactory than this resolution, if it could have been made, but this seems out of the question at this time. The covenant of the League of Nations is in the treaty submitted to the Senate by the President, and the Senate has refused to ratify the treaty with the league as prepared by the President. The President refuses to change the covenant of the league in any particular that will change its substance so that it will safeguard American rights. In these circumstances the Senate was in duty bound as the representatives of the American people to reject the treaty and refuse to ratify the same. I believe the country approves the action taken by the Senate. The question therefore is this: Is there a constitutional way to establish peace without a treaty? If there is, I favor that way. I earnestly desire to have peace. The country is hungering for peace. One hundred and ten million American people wish the repeal of the drastic war laws now in force. They wish to get back to normal. They long to become free again. They have had enough of war. They have had enough of war laws. This brings us to a consideration of the legality of the resolution under consideration. It is well in dealing with this question to consider it from the standpoint of international law. The highest authorities on this subject have agreed that war may be terminated by a treaty of peace, by conquest, or by cessation of hostilities.

It is a matter of common knowledge known to the world that the armies of the German Empire have been disbanded, that the armies of the Allies have been disbanded to a very great extent, that the German Government with which we went to war has been overthrown, that a large part of our Army has been brought back from Europe and disbanded, that there is no desire on the part of our Government to resume fighting with the German Government, that the Allies signed the treaty of peace with Germany and resumed friendly relations with Germany. Then on what theory can we be said to be at war? The only theory is that a formal treaty has not been entered into between this Government and the German Government. Peace has technically come by a cessation of hostilities. No one can successfully dispute the right of Congress to formally declare this fact. No one can deny to Congress the right to repeal the war laws and place this country on a peace basis. This is what will be accomplished by this resolution if enacted into law; it will be a legislative expression that the war has ended. It will state the real wish of the American people for peace. It is not and does not interfere in any way with the treaty-making branch of the Government; it is a purely legislative act. It will be a means of bringing about peace without entangling our affairs with the affairs of Europe. This is what the country wants; I sincerely believe that the country is opposed to the treaty of peace as submitted by the President; it would mean only trouble and future distress for the country. We must all agree that as our own masters we have fared tolerably well. From a few sparsely settled States on the Atlantic seaboard we have grown in wealth and power until we stand before the world as the best that the ages have produced, and we must be as jealous of surrendering to the blandishments offered by the gifted statesmen of Europe in the form of the league as we must be determined in correcting evils at home.

The United States is the mightiest force in the world; all nations desire her friendship; she towers far above any other nation in the world. Her moral influence has been and is a

potent factor which is felt by all other nations; her freedom from all entanglements has given her a prestige which she could not otherwise enjoy. All nations know her to be disinterested. By remaining free to act on her own initiative she will do more to restore the world to normal than she can possibly accomplish as one of the group of nations under the name of the League of Nations. In view of what I have stated I am pleased to say that it is my purpose to support this resolution by my vote.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN Q. TILSON,
OF CONNECTICUT,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, April 9, 1920.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the most difficult and perplexing problems now demanding solution is the separation from the pay roll of several thousand Government employees who rushed into the several executive departments for one reason or another during the war. It was supposed that this unusual and extraordinary force of employees would be required only during the continuance of the war, and that soon after the war ceased there might be a return to something approximating the normal. Thus far those who so believed have been doomed to disappointment.

However difficult the task may be, all who think must agree that it must be done with all possible expedition. To carry on indefinitely the swollen Federal pay rolls of war times is not only unnecessary and expensive but is positively subversive of the most elementary principles of sound government. Every Bolshevist, every communist, every socialist, will favor the support of as many people as possible by salaries from the Public Treasury, because such a policy leads directly toward the adoption of their theories. But to those who believe in the principle of individual initiative, a fair field with no favor, with the right to enjoy the fruits of one's own honest toil and frugality, such a doctrine is most repugnant.

How can a great number of war employees be speedily and safely reduced without danger of impairing the efficiency of the public service? There are many and serious obstacles in the way. Old human nature looms large in the path, coupled with habit and inertia. What has been for even a brief period becomes, in the view of the one most concerned, not only a habit, but a vested right. His family and friends incline to the same view of it. Every possible or plausible reason is advanced and every influence brought to bear to keep him in his place. Instance the morning following any material reduction of employees in any bureau here in Washington, when the offices of Senators and Representatives will be besieged by those whose services have been dispensed with.

Human nature also applies with full force in the case of most section, division, and bureau chiefs. Each one very naturally wishes to maintain the relative importance of his own office, and this can not be done if it be conceded that the work can be done with a less force. It is entirely creditable to him to be enthusiastic in regard to his work, and seeing, with singleness of purpose, only his own corner of the universe, he does not understand why his very important work should be disturbed while all the other activities of the Government, more or less useless, from his viewpoint, are continued.

The heads of departments, in the very nature of things, must rely in great measure upon their subordinate chiefs, and thus the entire department is magnified. It is a brave head of a department who is willing to take the ax and the pruning knife and go forth to put his own premises in proper condition.

The net result is that very little assistance is given by those in position to know most about the matter in hand.

Congress has made a genuine effort to deal effectively with the problem through the Committee on Appropriations and some of the other appropriating committees. While the Republicans now control the committees, it is only fair to say that some of the Democrats on these committees have worked just as hard and as earnestly as the majority members to make a start toward reducing the great, swollen war force of employees still on the Government pay rolls.

The great and apparently insuperable difficulty is the lack of cooperation and the apparent lack of desire on the part of the executive branch of the Government to cooperate with Congress in an honest effort to reduce the abnormal expense of the Government.

No one desires to cripple any department. Everyone is willing to appropriate sufficient funds to maintain at an efficient standard the public service. Nevertheless it is well known and generally understood that far too much money is now being expended in keeping up unnecessary, abnormal department and field establishments, brought into existence or abnormally increased under stress of war. Now that we are well along in the second year since the war ceased, it is time to consider seriously how the necessary reduction can be accomplished.

The present administration has signally failed to seriously tackle the problem within the several departments where it could best be done. Congress is doing something by cutting appropriations, but without the bona fide cooperation of the executive branch of the Government Congress must cut more or less blindly, being always restrained by the fear of doing injury to some important public service.

In the midst of the present somewhat discouraging situation there appears one hopeful promise for the future. Unless all present indications fail, an entirely new administration will control the executive departments after March 4, 1921. No man should be permitted to hold a portfolio in that administration who is not pledged in advance to a policy of the most drastic reduction in the number and personnel of the governmental activities now being carried on, nor should any bureau or subordinate chief be retained who is unwilling to cooperate loyally with the head of the department in trying to restore at least prewar efficiency, without continuing indefinitely the burden of war-time establishments.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. HARRELD,
OF OKLAHOMA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, April 9, 1920.

Mr. HARRELD. Mr. Speaker, I believe I speak correctly when I say that I am the only Member of this House who was elected upon a platform in opposition to the League of Nations unless properly amended or altered so as to Americanize it. That constituency favors peace, regardless of the fate of the league, and I would be derelict in carrying out the solemn instruction of that constituency if I did not at this time lift my voice in favor of this resolution, which carries peace on its wings. I shall not attempt an extended argument.

I had not thought to inject myself into this discussion, because I realize that there are men here at whose feet I should sit for a long time before essaying to array my judgment against theirs, and I had been content to listen to their words of wisdom; but when my colleague from the State of Oklahoma [Mr. FERRIS] addressed you and essayed to put that great State in the attitude of opposing this resolution and to leave the impression that that State was against this resolution and favored the League of Nations instead, without change or reservation, then I remembered that even I was elected to this great body from a Democratic district in that State by Democratic votes, if you please, as well as Republican votes, upon the direct issue that the people of that district and that State want peace, without regard to the League of Nations.

I remembered that the people spoke in no uncertain tones at that election, and commissioned me to come here and lift up my voice for peace, the League of Nations notwithstanding. I remembered that two great Democratic Senators from that State had voted in the Senate for peace regardless of the league. Then why should I not be true to the commission the people had conferred upon me and raise my voice, which I feel sure is the voice of my State, in contradiction of that position on his part, and in support of a resolution which is at least one step toward the goal of peace, which at least will be an expression of this body in favor of that peace and an expression of indignation at the powers that be who have deliberately stood in the way of peace?

Yesterday we were told on this floor by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POU] that this resolution was a bastard, and to-day the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] so designates it under a more polite title. There is one thing you can say about a bastard. It is always a living thing—it is not a dead one—and some leagues of nations I know are dead ones. It is a known fact that an illegitimate child is almost always a virile personage, abnormally so at times. Some of the world's greatest statesmen have been illegitimates. So let them call this

resolution a bastard if they so desire. That does not alter the fact that it is a lusty chap, and one that the Republican Congress will be proud to own. That much can not be said of the League of Nations. It was conceived in iniquity. It was born in the decadent atmosphere of decaying dynasties. It was left on the doorstep of Congress by its godmother, like Moses of old was left by Miriam in the bulrushes, and like Moses it was reared in secret; secretly nurtured by its godmother who now proposes to put it on the throne of this country as the godmother of Moses sought to impose him upon the people of Egypt.

But Congress does not propose to allow this thing that is foreign to our institutions and doctrines to be nurtured in secret and forced upon us. We propose now and here to say to its erstwhile godmother, we will kick it off our doorstep even as the United States Senate has already done. We will do what the Constitution does not prohibit us from doing. I am one of those who believe that Congress has power to do that which it is not forbidden to do by the Constitution, either specifically or by implication. The power to make treaties is with the President, but the power to declare peace is not forbidden to Congress.

Just as the framers of the Constitution substituted the word "declare" for the word "make," when it conferred power on Congress to declare war, so now we take the position that the President may "make" war and "make" peace, but Congress has the power to "declare" war and to "declare" peace, and that is what we propose to do.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN B. JOHNSTON,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

Mr. JOHNSTON of New York. Mr. Speaker, it is with extreme regret that I find myself compelled to vote against this resolution. I had hoped on this question—not of national, but of world-wide moment—I could be in harmony with the majority of the committee to which this House refers all questions affecting the relations of our country with the rest of the world. I regret most profoundly that a disposition has become general to treat this—the greatest crisis which our country has ever confronted—as though it were an issue to be decided on party lines. I am a partisan and a strong partisan. I believe that in all matters relating to the domestic concerns of this country parties are agencies absolutely essential to effective operation of this Government. But matters affecting our relations with the rest of the world should be considered, I believe, entirely as matters of conscience. Of course, divisions of opinion will arise on international matters, as on all other questions; but such divisions should never be suffered to run along party lines. For when any question comes to be considered as a party issue, the judgment of partisans must inevitably be affected, if not controlled, by the position of their organizations. And on a matter involving the relations of this country with foreign nations nothing should be allowed to affect the judgment or action of a Representative in Congress except the very highest sense of duty to his country; of duty not as a party platform or caucus has prescribed it, but as Almighty God has revealed it by the light of conscience.

I deem it necessary to say all this in order that the spirit which governs what remains for me to say may be clearly understood.

If this were a resolution merely proclaiming peace with Germany and all the world, I should vote for it without any hesitation. I believe that the undisputed power of Congress to declare war involves and necessarily includes an equally clear right to declare war at an end. But it by no means follows that Congress has any right whatever to interfere in the negotiations of treaties. Confusion of thought on this subject is general, and it arises from misapprehension as to the real character of a treaty.

A treaty is by no means necessary to conclude a war, any more than a declaration of war is necessary to begin one. The great war between Japan and Russia in our own time began when Japanese sailors, without any warning, sank Russian ships, and by that action practically determined the result of the conflict. And some of the greatest wars ever raged were brought to an end without the conclusion of any treaty between the belligerents. This war has been ended, in fact, so far as we are concerned, these many months, although no treaty formally declaring it at an end has been adopted. War, it must be remembered, is a fact, not a phrase. A state of war exists when one nation invades another, seizes its territory, kills and takes captive its inhabitants, or attempts to do any of these things. When none of these conditions prevail there is no war.

No country is seeking now to disturb our security, injure our citizens, or interfere with our commerce. We are not, therefore, actually at war. But as we have recently been engaged in hostilities against Germany—if we are satisfied that she is not now intending to attack us—there is no reason why this House should not publicly declare the fact that a state of war no longer exists between the two countries. Such a declaration, however, would not be a treaty. It would, therefore, be in no sense an attempt by this body to usurp or invade the treaty-making power.

A treaty is necessary to establish peace only when one belligerent country exacts from the other some concession of territory, payment of money, or other action, as a condition on which the war is to be terminated. The agreement to accept that condition and the promise to fulfill it constitute the treaty. If there be nothing we desire Germany to do—no condition that we want to impose on her—a simple resolution declaring peace to have been restored would not, in my judgment, be open to any criticism or objection. I certainly should vote for it. But this is not the pending resolution. By its terms we are demanding that Germany shall do certain things as a condition of peace. And that is attempting to make a treaty—only it is attempting to do it by indirection.

This resolution, in the last analysis, attempts to appropriate certain features of a treaty recently entered into and now in force between Germany and certain other powers, and to prescribe these as conditions on which we will make peace. This, clearly, is assuming to ourselves the whole treaty-making power, while the Constitution excludes us from any part whatever in it. If this country is unwilling to make peace except upon conditions, it remains with the President alone to propose the conditions, and if they be accepted by the enemy, then it rests with the Senate to ratify or reject the proposed treaty. With these conditions we have no constitutional power whatever to interfere.

Deeply as I desire to cast a vote which might tend in some degree to obliterate party distinctions in considering this proposal, yet the right to vote on any subject in this body is conferred upon me by the Constitution which has established the Government. That Constitution it is my sworn and my first duty to defend. And, therefore, I must vote "no" on the pending resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVAN T. FULLER,
OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

Mr. FULLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, Congress is now trying to make itself the organ of intercourse between the United States and Germany. It has no such right or function as it is now presuming to exercise. Every man in the House knows that fact perfectly well. The Republicans of the House are now trying to assume for themselves powers which they must know they have no constitutional right to exercise. They should read what Alexander Hamilton wrote on June 29, 1793, as follows:

> The legislative department is not the organ of intercourse between the United States and foreign nations. It is charged neither with making nor interpreting treaties. It is, therefore, not naturally that member of the Government which is to pronounce the existing condition of the Nation with regard to foreign powers.

The Republicans who are supporting this peace resolution have been advised by their lawyers and logicians that since the legislative branch has the power to declare war it, therefore, can with equal authority declare peace. That is a fallacy. By that same process of reasoning Congress might by resolution do away with the executive and judiciary departments altogether.

It has power to create offices and abolish them; why not then, by resolution, to administer them? It has power to establish courts; why not then, by resolution, to preside in them and interpret the law? It has power to raise and support armies; why not then, by resolution, to supersede the Commander in Chief and direct their operation? Congressmen in their eagerness to respond to the party lash and to discredit the treaty are play-

ing desperate politics and forget that this is a Government of enumerated and delegated powers. The foreign relations of the United States are exclusively under the control of the President. It is true that his appointments are subject to confirmation by the Senate and that treaties negotiated by him must be approved by them, but the initiative in all respects is his, and Congress has no more right to intrude upon them than it has to make an appropriation or deliver a judicial decision.

The people of the United States have paid a great price for victory. They are in very truth crying for the bread of peace and the politicians would give them a stone. I would cut off my right hand before I would support a resolution which in substance puts the House on record as indorsing the action of the treaty wreckers in the Senate. These men in the Senate may feel as Senator BORAH did, namely, that he would be opposed to the peace treaty even if Jesus wrote it himself. Personally I do not feel that way about it; but, on the other hand, believe the people want a league to enforce peace, and I do not think they are particularly interested in the phraseology of it.

This peace resolution is a sugar-coated pill prescribed by Dr. LODGE to be taken by all regular Republicans before thinking. It is painless as well as senseless and will in effect put the stamp of approval of the House of Representatives on the action of the treaty wreckers in the Senate. If you are a Republican and you are sick it will make you well, and if you are well it will make you better.

Would to God it might cure the Republican Party of the sleeping sickness that has kept it from doing anything constructive since they captured control of the House and Senate, except to criticize the Democrats. How about the reforms Republicans were to put into effect when they came into control? Where is the budget? What have they done about the taxes? How have they reduced the high cost of living?

A joint resolution of both Houses or a single resolution by either is no more than an academic expression of opinion. Peace is not so made. Doubtless Mr. Wilson will have an honest pleasure in repeating for the instruction of Congress the convincing and ironic remarks made by Richard Olney, Secretary of State, in regard to certain expressions of opinion by Congress about the foreign policy of the United States. It is in the power and it may be in the pleasure of Congress, for partisan or political reasons, to utter the thoughts that arise in it in regard to foreign relations. In point of efficacy such resolutions are mere foam and vapor.

For my own part I believe the time will come when men will be as ashamed of rigging the President because of his foreign policy and of opposing the League to Enforce Peace as those partisan politicians were who fought and criticized Abraham Lincoln.

I am a Republican. I believe a Republican is to be the next President of the United States, but I can not forget the obligation we owe to the men who fought and won the war to make it what we claimed it was then, namely, a war to end all wars.

I am proud to indorse the President's foreign policy and his efforts to make a league to preserve peace, although I do not find myself in accord with him on domestic and economic questions. And in considering this question, while I do so as a Republican, I thank God I am an American first and a Republican afterwards, rather than that I should consider this important question from the standpoint of personal or party advantage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. FREAR,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, the resolution before us says a state of war declared by Congress April 7, 1917, between the United States and Germany is at an end, that trade relations may be resumed, and that specified drastic war laws are hereby repealed.

Seventeen months after the armistice was signed our Government still finds itself tied hand and foot, with 60 war-time laws remaining on the statute books—laws which specifically recited they were to terminate with the ending of the war. An anomalous situation is presented by the failure of the peace treaty that came to us linked up with a League of Nations pact. The proposals brought back from Versailles by the President and the international obligations that he insisted should be assumed by this country through the league in settling Old World differences need not be discussed here.

That league pact was debated before the Senate for many months, and after it was amended and Americanized to meet the approval of a large majority of the upper branch of Congress, President Wilson repudiated the document, refused to approve the treaty, and has locked horns with the coordinate treaty-making power of the Government, the Senate. If the contention of a few constitutional sharps is sound, that Congress is now helpless to act; that a Congress that has declared war, that furnished all the sinews of war, that can remove the President himself, if need be, under its constitutional powers—if that Congress can not announce to the world a self-evident fact when the war is over, we are indeed a helpless body, not responsive to common knowledge nor to the people whom we represent and who demand some action.

The treaty, the League of Nations, 60 war-time laws, and every reminder of the world's greatest tragedy still remain with us and, according to such construction, will remain unsettled until an agreement is reached in the distant future between the Executive and the Senate. Meanwhile war-time legislation continues to fetter business and prevents the country from returning to normal conditions, because theoretically war exists, when in fact it does not exist. This absurdity leaves over 100,000,000 of American people and countless millions in the world at large dependent upon the judgment or whim of one man before any resumption of peace relations can be had, notwithstanding the Kaiser's government with which we were at war has been overthrown and a different government substituted, which has tried for a year and over to negotiate peace terms with us.

The framers of our Constitution when placing the treaty-making power primarily with the President never intended to remove from the American Congress the power to stop war or to say to the world that war is ended. The European war terminated nearly a year and a half ago, and, responding to an overwhelming demand that drastic war-time legislation be repealed, this resolution should be passed. Any other course invites condemnation of a Congress that declared war early in 1917 and is now called upon to say that that war is ended.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. RAINEY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3, 1920,

On the resolution (S. J. Res. 156) that authority be, and hereby is, given to the Secretary of War to use such Army transports as may be available to bring back to the United States from Danzig, Poland, such residents of the United States of Polish origin as enlisted in the Polish Army and who were engaged in the war on the side of the allied and associated powers.

Mr. JOHN W. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, when the history of the World War is written, it will contain no brighter pages than those devoted to the Polish Army in France. It consisted of about 108,000 men, drawn from all over the world, for the Pole, like the Irish, is ubiquitous, and wherever civilization exists there you will find both. The same cause, the tyranny of foreign oppressors whose claim to the right to rule Poland or Ireland has been found only in the might to do so, has heretofore made the Pole and the Irish wanderers in every corner of the habitable globe. A brighter day has dawned for Poland, and freedom can not much longer be denied to Ireland, even by the nation that would have hung George Washington as a traitor; that during the World War, through its propaganda, preached the right of self-determination for all peoples; and at this very hour is repeating its own history of broken promises by planting the machine gun, the tank, and 200,000 soldiers in Ireland, and thereby, and thereby only, robbing a liberty-loving people of the right to rule themselves. What the Irish in Ireland are enduring to-day arouses the heart-felt sympathy of every true Pole, and conversely the attainment of Poland's freedom has immeasurably strengthened the determination of Irishmen and all lovers of liberty throughout the world that Ireland, too, must be free and independent.

The first city in this country in which Mr. Paderewski made an appeal for recruits to the Polish Army was, I am proud to say, Chicago. We had in Chicago Poles who, because of being over age or on account of physical disabilities, were unable to get into the American Army. We had other Poles who, because they had

been born on German or Austrian soil, would not be accepted by the American Army. These men did not have to go to war, but these were the very men Mr. Paderewski appealed to, and these were the men, gathered throughout this country, nearly 25,000 of them, who fought in the Polish Army in France under Gen. Joseph Haller until the armistice.

And now about 12,000 of these men are awaiting the passage of this resolution which will entitle them to return to this country on American transports. That this resolution ought to pass, there can be no question in the mind of any Member who has been acquainted with the Poles and has known them as I have in Chicago. For, Mr. Speaker, the Pole, transplanted to the United States, makes the kind of American citizen this country needs and should welcome. The Pole is appreciative of the opportunities that this country offers, and he has already demonstrated in my own city his right to be, in turn, appreciated for his sterling qualities. His children, educated in this country, compare most favorably with the sons and daughters of any other great race that contributes to our country's greatness. They are found in every profession and calling, and they reflect credit not only on themselves but also on America. Those members of this House who have first-hand knowledge of the Poles will gladly indorse my views on this resolution.

These 12,000 men have wives, children, brothers, sisters, and other relatives in this country who are anxiously looking forward to their return. That return is already overdelayed. Let us speed the date of the happy return; let us serve them who, through no fault of their own, or because of no wish of theirs, being denied the privilege of directly serving under the Stars and Stripes, journeyed over 3,000 miles, at no expense to this Government, to serve us indirectly in the Polish Army in France; and let our votes in favor of this resolution testify to our pride in the glorious record of that Polish Army and indicate in a measure the hearty welcome that awaits the soldiers of the Polish Army in France when they return to the hospitable shores of these United States of America.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. ASHBROOK,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 10, 1920,

On the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 327) terminating the state of war between the Imperial German Government and the United States.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I desire briefly to make a few observations on the peace resolution passed by the House last evening and to state why I voted for it. I am not a constitutional lawyer, a curbstone lawyer, or any other sort of a lawyer, and my notion is, with all good will to the lawyer, that the country would not suffer seriously if there were fewer of the various varieties of that profession here. I am, therefore, in possession only of the limited amount of cross-roads common sense with which the good Lord endowed me plus some experience gained in the school of hard knocks. If, therefore, I split wide open the Constitution by voting to end this terrible war, I will not be held as highly accountable as gentlemen learned in the law and old pals of the Constitution.

One thing that puzzles me is that these great constitutional authorities argue as fervently and as heated on this floor on one side that the peace resolution is constitutional as the gentlemen on the other side that it is a flagrant violation of the Constitution. It looks to me like the same practice obtains here as in the courts. There is always an attorney for the plaintiff and an attorney for the defendant, providing, of course, there is a fee in sight. There may be exceptions in both cases, I admit. And so it is largely with the peace resolution. I think political vantage and disadvantage animated at least some both for and against the resolution.

Without doubt some gentlemen honestly believe that Congress—and by that I mean both the House and Senate—has a constitutional right to terminate war, since it has the undoubted constitutional right to declare war. Without doubt many gentlemen honestly believe that that finality rests solely with the Senate and the President of the United States. My poor judgment is that the Constitution fixes this authority in the Senate and the President, but since they refuse, or have failed to function, something must be done. And since these same great and wise gentlemen have argued both sides of other constitutional questions heretofore and were not always sustained by the highest tribunal of the land—the Supreme Court—for one I decided to cast aside constitutional convictions, not being absolutely sure which was right and which was wrong, and vote for what I believe the people most fervently desire—peace—and let the constitutionality of the resolution be determined by others better qualified to decide than I know I am and possibly other Members of this body.

The people are tired and disgusted with the jockeying and delay in the adoption of a treaty of peace at the other end of the Capitol. The United States is not a military Nation now, and I trust that it never will be. We do not war for conquest. We were forced into the war with Germany—we did not seek it. I voted for the declaration of war, although I hate war, because there was no escape. I thank God the war was won and the Kaiser and his cohorts were driven from power, and I hope the world was made safe for democracy by the blood and sacrifice of the more than 4,000,000 brave American soldiers and the loyal support and sacrifices of a hundred million American citizens. But the war ended on the day the armistice was signed, 17 months ago. The people of the United States are more anxious to get back to normal peace conditions and be relieved of the drastic war legislation than they are that the Republican Party or the Democratic Party should win at the November election.

Mr. Speaker, I fail to see why a peace treaty can not be adopted and should not have been adopted months ago, even though the League of Nations fails. I fail to see any umbilical connection between the peace treaty and the League of Nations. If there is, give the people a chance and I think they will perform the necessary surgery. Give us one dose at a time and let each tub stand on its own bottom. I am in favor of the principles of a League of Nations, but why should the people and business be kept in turmoil and doubt for months and months while long-winded, hard-headed, gentlemen spar and jockey for political advantage? I think some of them, at least, will be muzzled and hobbled, when the people go into the booth to vote, as they should be.

I hope that the country will not be misled by the vote on the peace resolution yesterday to believe that more Republicans in Congress are in favor of a peace treaty than are Democrats. I think if there is any difference that the exact opposite is true, although the vote would not so indicate. My honest opinion is that if the President of the United States were a Republican this resolution would have never been introduced in the House or voted upon. I also believe that if the President and a majority in the Senate were of the same political faith, a peace treaty would have been agreed upon long ago. I believe a majority of the American people believe as I do, and I will therefore not further refer to the animus of the controversy which is patent to all. If it is true, then, that political reasons have delayed the ratification of a peace treaty, the President was right two years ago in his appeal for a friendly Congress, even though it proved to be a most unfortunate appeal and demonstrates that right does not always win.

I would like here to say that in my humble opinion the historian will link the names of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and Woodrow Wilson as the three greatest Americans to this date in the history of our Government. If those who doubt will read history they will find that the Father of his Country and the great Lincoln were vilified and criticized even more severely than the man who now occupies the White House, and who has all but sacrificed his life in his devotion to his country during the most critical period of American history. He may have made mistakes, as did even Washington and Lincoln—only the Divine One is infallible—but Wilson's place in history is secure and his achievements are imperishable.

And so, Mr. Speaker, still desiring to retain my party loyalty and with some doubts as to the constitutionality of my vote, and with even graver doubts as to the sincerity of those responsible for this resolution, I decided to cast my vote with the Republicans, hypocrites, and sinners as a protest against the dallying and dangerous methods of those who claim the right to terminate a war, which every man, woman, and child knows was ended on November 11, 1918, and as an earnest that the people are impatient with whoever is charged with the responsibility of ending the war with Germany and are anxious to resume the duties and privileges of a peaceful nation and people. If by my vote I have helped to crack the Constitution I might add that the old Liberty Bell, too, is cracked, but all good Americans still think a mighty sight of it. I know that my vote to end the war will not cause me the sleepless nights that my vote did three years ago now to declare war. If I erred in my judgment and vote, there will at least be no doubts in the mind of anyone where I stand on this question. Let us have peace with the world, if possible, and less bickerings among ourselves.

The Peace Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. T. W. SIMS,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920,

On the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 327) terminating the state of war between the Imperial German Government and the United States.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I have always wanted to believe that no partisan political purpose or advantage was considered, or to be considered, in connection with the consideration of the League of Nations or a league of nations or as to the desirability of having some kind of an international tribunal or agency by which and through which wars between nations could at least, in a large measure, be prevented.

Peace treaties looking to the perpetuation of peace or the prevention of wars between two nations may and no doubt will tend to prevent wars between the two nations parties to the treaty. Treaties of arbitration between one or more nations can and will tend to prevent wars between the nations parties thereto. Many such treaties have been made and many are in existence now between the United States and other nations. Notable examples of such treaties are those negotiated by Mr. Bryan while he was Secretary of State. But in order to prevent all wars, or practically all wars, such a treaty must embrace all the great nations of the world. Practically all nations must subscribe to and be bound in a joint effort to make war impossible as between all the nations of the earth. Manifestly, all nations becoming parties to such a treaty must do so voluntarily without compulsion or constraint and must earnestly and ardently promote and desire the full realization of the purposes of such a treaty.

But it must be remembered that a treaty to which all the nations of the world are to become parties is of necessity much more difficult to secure and perfect than a treaty between two or even three or four nations to the same tenor and effect.

The horrors of the late great World War were so terrible and so appalling that the minds of all the peoples of the world naturally turned to the thought of some great international treaty, ultimately to embrace all the nations of the world, looking to the prevention of wars altogether. Such an offer had never before been made. It was perfectly apparent that nothing less than the whole-hearted, unreserved cooperation of all the great nations of the world was necessary to accomplish the object sought. During the latter part of the month of September and the earlier part of the month of October, 1918, when Germany put out feelers as to an armistice a spirit of criticism was manifested toward the President as to any attempt he might make to secure peace by negotiation and a demand was made upon him to agree to nothing less than unconditional surrender on the part of Germany.

Finally when the terms of the armistice were made public, on the 11th day of November, 1918, by the President they were found to be nothing less, in effect, than unconditional surrender so far as Germany was concerned. But the moment that it was learned that the President contemplated going to France and taking part in person in the negotiations of a peace treaty violent criticism of such a course of action was made by many leading Republican Senators. It is true that no substantial reasons were forthcoming in support of such criticism.

But it seemed that for first one reason and then another there were a number of Republican Senators who were displeased with anything and everything the President did or tried to do. No sooner had the story come from Paris as to the tentative terms of the proposal for a League of Nations than the most violent criticism and denunciation of the proposed League of Nations was uttered by a large number of Senators, among whom were many of the Republican leaders. It was self-evident that it was intended by these Senators to discredit the President with the Allies as much as possible and thus to cripple his influence with them. Some of them went so far as to sign a statement and publish it to the world that they would not vote to ratify the treaty if it contained the League of Nations. Thirty-seven Senators signed this statement, which was called the "round robin," which number was more than one-third of the Senators, a sufficient number to defeat the ratification of the treaty if it contained the League of Nations. This was done during the last days of the Sixty-fifth Congress, and no doubt its purpose was to further discredit and further impair the influence of the President with our allies for the purpose of preventing any agreement by the Allies to any provision of the treaty proposed by the President that did not in advance have the approval and the "advice and consent" of the signers of the so-called "round robin." This was all done before any final agreement was reached as to the provisions and terms of the League of Nations. These Senators in support of their action had made detailed statements of their objections to the tentative draft of the league, and when the President returned to Paris he secured such changes in the covenant as in substance removed all the objectionable parts of the covenant that had been given out by these objecting Senators, so that the covenant as it finally appeared in the signed treaty contained none of the provisions of the covenant upon which the specific objections of the signers of the "round robin" had been based.

No doubt the President believed that he had removed all objections to the covenant that the objecting Senators specifically set out, and there is no doubt that such was his intention and purpose. But it seemed that no sooner did the President get one ground of objection removed than other grounds were conjured up as a basis for other and further objections. The tenor and temper of the objectors took the form of charges and denunciations calculated to, and no doubt did, stir up a feeling of bitterness and resentment toward the President. This manifestation of malignant hatred of the President must have been due to the bitter disappointment felt by the "round robinites" in failing to so discredit the President with our allies as to prevent the adoption of the League of Nations as a part and parcel of the general German peace treaty, and that rather than have the covenant included in the treaty, for which the whole world would credit the President, they decided to defeat the ratification of the entire peace treaty; but in doing so they wanted, if possible, to deceive the people into believing that the President is the whole cause of the defeat of treaty ratification. In pursuance of this purpose the pending resolution was introduced, fully believing that the President will veto the resolution and that the veto will be sustained. It is believed by the majority party, both here and in the Senate, that they can make their partisan followers believe that they have done all they could, both by ratification of the treaty and then by joint resolution, to bring about a state of peace, and that the President is altogether to blame for the failure of both methods to bring about peace, which is so much desired by everybody.

Mr. Speaker, I can not see how anybody, however biased and however partisan he may be, can, after a full examination of the record, come to the conclusion that the Republicans in the Senate are really sincere in desiring the ratification of the treaty, either with the so-called Lodge reservations or without them.

Mr. Speaker, the vote on the ratification of the treaty with the Lodge reservations on November 19, 1919, was as follows:

The roll call resulted—yeas 41, nays 51, as follows:

YEAS—41.

Ball	Hale	Myers	Spencer
Calder	Harding	New	Sterling
Capper	Jones, Wash.	Newberry	Sutherland
Colt	Kellogg	Owen	Townsend
Cummins	Kenyon	Page	Wadsworth
Curtis	Keyes	Penrose	Walsh, Mass.
Dillingham	Lenroot	Phipps	Warren
Edge	Lodge	Pomerene	Watson
Elkins	McCumber	Shields	
Frelinghuysen	McLean	Smith, Ga.	
Gore	McNary	Smoot	

NAYS—51.

Ashurst	Harris	McKellar	Simmons
Bankhead	Harrison	Moses	Smith, Ariz.
Beckham	Henderson	Norris	Smith, Md.
Borah	Hitchcock	Nugent	Smith, S. C.
Brandegee	Johnson, Calif.	Overman	Stanley
Chamberlain	Johnson, S. Dak.	Phelan	Swanson
Dial	Jones, N. Mex.	Pittman	Thomas
Fernald	Kendrick	Poindexter	Trammell
Fletcher	King	Ransdell	Underwood
France	Kirby	Reed	Walsh, Mont.
Gay	Knox	Robinson	Williams
Gerry	La Follette	Sheppard	Wolcott
Gronna	McCormick	Sherman	

NOT VOTING—3.

Culberson	Fall	Nelson

The VICE PRESIDENT. On the resolution of ratification the yeas are 41 and the nays 51. The resolution not having received the constitutional two-thirds, it is rejected.

It will thus be seen that the following Democrats voted for ratification, to wit: GORE, MYERS, OWEN, POMERENE, SHIELDS, SMITH of Georgia, and WALSH of Massachusetts. Seven in all.

The ratification of the treaty with the Lodge reservations having failed, the following further proceedings were had by the Senate on November 19, 1919, as follows:

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the resolution submitted by the Senator from Alabama.

The Secretary read as follows:

"*Resolved (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein)*, That the Senate do advise and consent to the ratification of the treaty of peace with Germany concluded at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919."

Mr. UNDERWOOD and Mr. LODGE called for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

The roll call was concluded.

The result was announced—yeas 38, nays 53, as follows:

YEAS—38.

Ashurst	Henderson	Overman	Smith, Md.
Bankhead	Hitchcock	Owen	Smith, S. C.
Beckham	Johnson, S. Dak.	Phelan	Stanley
Chamberlain	Jones, N. Mex.	Pittman	Swanson
Dial	King	Pomerene	Underwood
Fletcher	Kirby	Ransdell	Walsh, Mont.
Gay	McCumber	Robinson	Williams
Gerry	McKellar	Sheppard	Wolcott
Harris	Myers	Simmons	
Harrison	Nugent	Smith, Ariz.	

NAYS—53.

Ball	Gore	McLean	Smoot
Borah	Gronna	McNary	Spencer
Brandegee	Hale	Moses	Sterling
Calder	Harding	New	Sutherland
Capper	Johnson, Calif.	Newberry	Thomas
Colt	Jones, Wash.	Norris	Townsend
Cummins	Kellogg	Page	Trammell
Curtis	Kenyon	Penrose	Wadsworth
Dillingham	Keyes	Phipps	Walsh, Mass.
Edge	Knox	Poindexter	Warren
Elkins	La Follette	Reed	Watson
Fernald	Lenroot	Sherman	
France	Lodge	Shields	
Frelinghuysen	McCormick	Smith, Ga.	

NOT VOTING—4.

Culberson	Fall	Kendrick	Nelson

So the resolution of ratification offered by Mr. UNDERWOOD was rejected.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I rise to a point of order——

Mr. LODGE. One moment. I yielded to the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] and did not make the point of order as I might then have made it, but I desire now to make a motion in connection with the treaty.

I move to reconsider the vote by which the Senate rejected the resolution of ratification moved by the Senator from Alabama, and pending that motion I move to lay the motion to reconsider on the table. On that motion I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and, having been taken, resulted—yeas 48, nays 42, as follows:

YEAS—48.

Ball	France	Lenroot	Poindexter
Borah	Frelinghuysen	Lodge	Reed
Brandegee	Gronna	McCormick	Sherman
Calder	Hale	McLean	Shields
Capper	Harding	McNary	Smoot
Colt	Johnson, Calif.	Moses	Spencer
Cummins	Jones, Wash.	New	Sterling
Curtis	Kellogg	Newberry	Sutherland
Dillingham	Kenyon	Norris	Townsend
Edge	Keyes	Page	Wadsworth
Elkins	Knox	Penrose	Warren
Fernald	La Follette	Phipps	Watson

NAYS—42.

Ashurst	Hitchcock	Phelan	Stanley
Bankhead	Johnson, S. Dak.	Pittman	Swanson
Beckham	Jones, N. Mex.	Pomerene	Thomas
Chamberlain	King	Ransdell	Trammell
Dial	Kirby	Robinson	Underwood
Fletcher	McCumber	Sheppard	Walsh, Mass.
Gay	McKellar	Simmons	Walsh, Mont.
Gerry	Myers	Smith, Ariz.	Williams
Harris	Nugent	Smith, Ga.	Wolcott
Harrison	Overman	Smith, Md.	
Henderson	Owen	Smith, S. C.	

NOT VOTING—5.

Culberson	Gore	Kendrick	Nelson
Fall			

So Mr. LODGE's motion to lay the motion to reconsider on the table was agreed to.

Mr. LODGE. I now renew my motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of legislative business.

Mr. FLETCHER. I make the point of order that the business next in order would be to communicate to the President the various resolutions and action thereon relative to the treaty.

Mr. LODGE. That order is not necessary. It was so held by the Senate in the case of the Chamberlain-Bayard treaty, which was rejected as this has been.

Mr. FLETCHER. I observe that nearly all the precedents are to the contrary.

Mr. LODGE. It has been done many times, but it was held in the case of that treaty that it was not necessary, and it is not necessary. I am sure the President will take official notice of the action of the Senate.

Mr. FLETCHER. I should like a ruling of the Chair on the point of order as made, anyway.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Well, the Chair overrules the point of order.

It will be seen, Mr. Speaker, that on motion of Senator UNDERWOOD, on November 19, 1919, to ratify the treaty without any reservations after the motion to ratify with the Lodge reservations had failed, that there were 38 votes for ratification, all Democrats but one, Senator MCCUMBER, and that there were only 6 Democrats who voted against ratification without any reservations, to wit, GORE, REED, SHIELDS, SMITH of Georgia, THOMAS, and WALSH of Massachusetts.

It further appears that Senator LODGE moved to reconsider the Underwood motion and to lay that motion on the table, and that every Republican, except Senator MCCUMBER, voted for the motion to lay the motion to reconsider on the table, and two Democrats also voted for the motion to lay on the table, Senators REED and SHIELDS. Every Senator, including the so-called mild reservationists, knew that when he voted to lay the motion to reconsider on the table that he made it impossible to further consider the treaty during the remainder of the Sixty-sixth Congress without a two-thirds vote for suspension of the rules in order to take the treaty from the table. How can any Senator who voted to lay the motion to reconsider on the table expect anyone to believe that he sincerely wanted to ratify the treaty with the Lodge reservations? If he had been sincere, would he not have wanted the treaty to remain in such a situation as would enable the Senate by two-thirds majority vote to again try to secure the ratification of the treaty with the Lodge reservations? tI will be seen that only 53 Senators, including Republicans and Democrats, voted for ratification with the Lodge reservations. So it appears that the vote to ratify with Lodge reservations was not sufficient to take the treaty from the table for further consideration. The press reports carried an item to the effect that Senator LODGE said the treaty was dead.

Mr. Speaker, it further appears that Senator FLETCHER made the point of order that the business next in order was to communicate to the President the action of the Senate on the treaty and that Senator LODGE insisted that such an order was not necessary, that he was sure the President would take official notice of the action of the Senate. Senator LODGE seemed to be anxious to retain the physical possession of the treaty, and for what reason seems sufficiently to appear in the concurrent resolution that he immediately had sent to the desk and read, as follows:

That the said state of war between Germany and the United States is hereby declared to be at an end.

We all know that a concurrent resolution does not require the approval of the President, but becomes valid and effective simply by a majority vote of both Houses; but a joint resolution, like the one now pending, requires the approval of the President in order to become effective, or else it must pass over his veto by a two-thirds vote of both Houses. Now, I ask why was the Lodge concurrent resolution not acted on and passed? It could be passed by a simple majority vote of both Houses and could not be blocked by the veto of the President.

Does anybody believe for a moment that Senator LODGE had not sought and obtained the ablest legal advice before introducing his concurrent resolution at the very moment the Senate refused to ratify the treaty either with or without reservations, and after his motion to table his own motion to reconsider had been laid on the table, and after he had stated, in opposing Senator FLETCHER's point of order that the treaty should, by order of the Senate, be returned to the President, that it was unnecessary to make such an order; that the President would take official notice of the proceedings of the Senate touching its action on the treaty? Now, I ask, why was not that concurrent resolution acted on by both Houses long ago? Why wait from November 19, 1919, until April 9, 1920, and then bring in a joint resolution that does require the signature of the President in order to be valid or else its enactment by a two-thirds majority of both Houses over the veto of the President? The majority in this House and the Senate have not the slightest doubt that a concurrent resolution declaring the war has ended can pass and will pass both Houses by a decided majority and will be valid and legal without the approval of the President.

Mr. Speaker, I can not escape the conclusion, based upon the record action of the Republican leadership in both the Senate and House, that they really do not want to end the state of war but want to make the people believe that the reason it does not end legally and technically is because the President will not accept the Lodge nullifying reservations to the treaty and then vetoes a joint resolution declaring the war has ended. Your action simply means that you had rather put the blame on the President and have neither a ratification of the treaty nor the ending of the war by resolution than to end the war by either process. As a further argument that compels me to accept this conclusion I cite the action of the Senate leader and his Republican followers in the action taken by the Senate on the 19th of March, 1920.

Mr. Speaker, I call your attention to the fact that in the vote for ratification of the treaty of the 19th of November, 1919, only 7 Democrats voted for ratification with the Lodge reservations, but that on the vote for the ratification of the treaty

on March 19, 1920, 21 Democrats voted for ratification with the Lodge reservations.

The vote on ratification with Lodge reservations on March 19 was as follows:

The roll call having been concluded, it resulted—yeas 49, nays 35, as follows:

YEAS—49.

Ashurst	Gore	Myers	Spencer
Ball	Hale	New	Sterling
Beckham	Henderson	Nugent	Sutherland
Calder	Jones, Wash.	Owen	Trammell
Capper	Kellogg	Page	Wadsworth
Chamberlain	Kendrick	Phelan	Walsh, Mass.
Colt	Kenyon	Phipps	Walsh, Mont.
Curtis	Keyes	Pittman	Warren
Dillingham	King	Pomerene	Watson
Edge	Lenroot	Ransdell	Wolcott
Elkins	Lodge	Smith, Ga.	
Fletcher	McLean	Smith, Md.	
Frelinghuysen	McNary	Smoot	

NAYS—35.

Borah	Gronna	McCormick	Shields
Brandegee	Harris	McKellar	Simmons
Comer	Harrison	Moses	Smith, S. C.
Culberson	Hitchcock	Norris	Stanley
Dial	Johnson, Calif.	Overman	Swanson
Fernald	Johnson, S. Dak.	Reed	Thomas
France	Kirby	Robinson	Underwood
Gay	Knox	Sheppard	Williams
Glass	La Follette	Sherman	

It therefore appears that 14 Democrats had been gained for the ratification with Lodge reservations from November 19, 1919, to March 19, 1920, in exactly four months. It will also appear that on this vote only 28 Republicans voted for ratification with Lodge reservations, but it appears that in the vote for ratification of the treaty with the Lodge reservations on November 19, 1919, there were 34 Republican votes for ratification, or 6 more Republican votes for ratification with Lodge reservations on November 19, 1919, than on March 19, 1920.

So it appears that the Lodge reservations ratification vote in these four months lost 6 Republicans and gained 14 Democrats. And, in all reason, Mr. Speaker, does it not seem reasonable that if Senator LODGE really wanted the treaty ratified with his own reservations he would have been tremendously encouraged by the great gain in Democratic votes and would have felt that all he needed to do would be to make another effort; that he would soon be able to ratify the treaty with his own reservations with Democratic votes, and be thus enabled to ratify in spite of the well organized and duly encouraged senatorial "battalion of death"? But how did he act in this delightfully encouraging situation? I will let the RECORD speak for itself:

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution, which I ask may be read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate be instructed to return to the President the treaty of peace with Germany, signed at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, and respectfully inform the President that the Senate has failed to ratify said treaty, being unable to obtain the constitutional majority therefor."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. LODGE. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I desire to inquire whether this is a debatable matter?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is of the opinion that the question is debatable.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I hope the consideration of the resolution may be deferred for a little more mature consideration. So long as the treaty remains in the Senate there is a possibility of action upon it. When we send it to the White House that possibility is probably at an end. Under those circumstances why not take a day or two in which to consider the matter? Why so precipitately act upon it at this time?

It seems to me that the sincere friends of ratification of a real treaty, those who sincerely desire to make the last effort to bring together the presidential mind and the mind of the Senate, ought to be willing to defer action upon the matter at this time.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I have offered this resolution, which has been the customary resolution in most cases where a treaty has been rejected by the Senate, because it seemed to me that after a year devoted to the discussion of the treaty and after the Senate had twice refused by more than a one-third vote to advise and consent to its ratification, the time had come to end it. The hope that we can again take the treaty up and discuss it in the present Senate is a vain one, and we have no right to bring it again before the Senate and interfere with all the public business of the country for another two months. Personally, I have gone as far as I think I am justified in going in the effort to get the treaty ratified. I think, in justice to the country and the business of the country and our public duty, we should officially inform the President of the action of the Senate.

In the first instance I did not present the resolution but withheld it, but I think to keep it here a day or two longer, drag it on and precipitate further debate, would be simply a failure to perform our duty.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, it is possible that the motion as made by the Senator from Massachusetts may be adopted with practical unanimity. What I am asking now is that it may be deferred until to-morrow. It is not important to take the action to-night.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Vote!

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I ask that the resolution may be stated.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will again state the resolution.

The Assistant Secretary read as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate be instructed to return to the President the treaty of peace with Germany signed at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, and respectfully inform the President that the Senate has failed to advise and consent to the ratification of the said treaty, being unable to obtain the constitutional majority therefor."

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I cite the Chair to the last paragraph of Rule XIV, which reads as follows:

"All resolutions shall lie over one day for consideration, unless by unanimous consent the Senate shall otherwise direct."

I object to the consideration of this resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is of the opinion that the resolution is in order.

Mr. LODGE. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The result was announced—yeas 47, nays 37, as follows:

YEAS—47.

Ball	France	La Follette	Shields
Borah	Frelinghuysen	Lenroot	Smoot
Brandegee	Gore	Lodge	Spencer
Calder	Gronna	McCormick	Sterling
Capper	Hale	McLean	Sutherland
Colt	Johnson, Calif.	McNary	Townsend
Cummins	Jones, Wash.	Moses	Wadsworth
Curtis	Kellogg	New	Walsh, Mass.
Dillingham	Kenyon	Norris	Warren
Edge	Keyes	Page	Watson
Elkins	Kirby	Phipps	Williams
Fernald	Knox	Reed	

NAYS—37.

Ashurst	Harrison	Overman	Smith, Md.
Beckham	Henderson	Owen	Smith, S. C.
Chamberlain	Hitchcock	Phelan	Stanley
Comer	Johnson, S. Dak.	Pittman	Swanson
Culberson	Jones, N. Mex.	Pomerene	Trammell
Dial	Kendrick	Ransdell	Walsh, Mont.
Fletcher	King	Robinson	Wolcott
Gay	McKellar	Sheppard	
Gerry	Myers	Simmons	
Harris	Nugent	Smith, Ga.	

NOT VOTING—12.

Fall	McCumber	Penrose	Smith, Ariz.
Glass	Nelson	Poindexter	Thomas
Harding	Newberry	Sherman	Underwood

Mr. Speaker, I beg to call special attention to the fact that when the treaty failed in November, 1919, that while Senator FLETCHER insisted that it was the proper course of procedure to send the treaty back to the President with all the resolutions informing him of the action of the Senate, that Senator LODGE insisted that it was wholly unnecessary, but now see how he acts about the same matter on the 19th of March, 1920. He introduces the resolution himself and insists on sending the treaty back to the President with information of the action of the Senate; the very thing that Senator FLETCHER insisted should be done under exactly the same conditions on November 19, 1919. I also call attention to the pleading of Senator HITCHCOCK to permit the treaty to remain in the Senate so that the Senate could act on it at its will and pleasure. But Senator LODGE had seen that if the treaty remained in the Senate, where it could again be considered without let or hindrance of the President, that there was the greatest danger of its being ratified, Lodge reservations and all, by further increase in Democratic votes. Of course, the Senator could not bear the thought of having the treaty ratified with his death-dealing reservations by Democratic votes. So he reverses his own position and urges the passage of his resolution to send the treaty back to the President so it would be impossible for the treaty to be ratified, even with his own death-head reservations and in spite of the well-organized and well-nurtured "battalion of death." So we find that on the resolution to send the treaty back to the President so that it would not be possible for the Senate again, on its own motion, to take up and ratify the treaty unless the President should again send it back to the Senate, every single Republican voted to send it back to the President, together with five Democrats; that it also included all the members of the "battalion of death" on active duty at that time.

There were 37 votes against sending it back to the President, and every one of them were Democrats. These Democrats wanted to retain the treaty in the Senate so that it could be further considered without the affirmative action of the President. If the 5 Democrats had voted with the 37 Democrats the vote would have been a tie and the resolution would have failed of passage, and the treaty would now be in the Senate subject to ratification with the Lodge reservations, but all the Republicans that voted with the five Democrats said by their votes that "we do not want to give ourselves any further chance to do what we proclaim publicly that we want to do. So we will send the treaty back to the President, hoping that he will not send it back, and then we will go to the country and tell the people that the President is too stubborn to send the treaty back to us and is therefore to blame for not permitting the treaty to be ratified by the possible further increase in Democratic votes for ratification, Lodge reservations and all." Now, I ask, how can anyone

expect that the people are going to believe that there is any sincerity back of this resolution or back of the pretended desire of the Republicans in the Senate, who have denied themselves all opportunity to further act in the treaty without the initiative of the so much hated and despised President who will live in history for thousands of years after the memory of these pigmies of hate and malice have faded from the pages of history and have passed into well-deserved oblivion?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD F. McKINIRY,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

Mr. McKINIRY. Mr. Speaker, I have voted against the rule proposed for the consideration of House joint resolution No. 327, a resolution declaring that the war with Germany is at an end, because that rule is a harsh, arbitrary exercise of the power of the majority of this House to stifle the free expression of the opinion of the individual Members of the House. Under the terms of that rule no amendment can be offered to this important legislation.

Notwithstanding that fact and also notwithstanding the fact that this resolution, in my opinion, is a clumsy, incoherent, and inadequate method of ending the greatest war in all history, I shall vote in favor of the resolution. I would have preferred to vote for this resolution only after it had been amended, but I believe it expresses in substance the real thought of the people of the United States at this time.

I know also that the action sought to be brought about by this resolution more properly belongs to the President of the United States and to the Senate of the United States, but more than a reasonable length of time has been given to those two branches of our Government to exercise the jurisdiction which more properly belongs to them on this subject, and the time has come when, if the House of Representatives has any power in the premises, then it should exercise it. There is, of course, a preliminary question whether or not the House of Representatives has any power. We can not solve that question. It belongs to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States to say whether or not the adoption of this resolution is an unconstitutional act. In no other way can we be satisfied that the House of Representatives has not the power. The mere declaration by a number of the Members of the House, no matter how deep and profound their knowledge of constitutional law may be, is not an answer to the country on this point. If it is deemed that we have the power, then there is no escape from the duty pointed out to the House of Representatives as the direct representatives of the people to bring about an end to the insufferable condition of affairs arising from the failure of the President and the Senate to agree on a treaty ending the war.

We have not sought and are not seeking now a separate peace, nor are we deserting those countries which were associated with us in the World War. That might be said if this resolution were being considered a year ago in the House of Representatives, but now the plain facts are to the contrary. Is France in danger? Is Belgium in danger? Is England in danger? Is any one of those associated allies in danger? No! Germany now lies prostrate, weak, its military and naval power destroyed, confronted with internal war, and not in a position now or in the near future to raise a strong hand against any nation. If it is said that this resolution endangers the League of Nations, then it might be answered that perhaps, after all, the people of this country have no desire to enter the present League of Nations which makes England the dominating nation of the world, a League of Nations which has not formally recognized the constitutional limitations of the American Government, and a league that has yet to demonstrate whether it will or will not bring real self-determination to the weak and the small nations of the earth.

On the termination of the great World War there is no doubt that the people of this country generally favored the entry of the United States into a league of nations which would have as its purpose the ending of war, the reduction of armament, and the general advance of civilization. There is also no doubt that while the people of this country desired to cooperate with a league of nations, they by no means desired to surrender for such a league the policies which made this a great Republic, nor is there such necessity.

The people of this country were content that the duly constituted treaty-making branches of our Government, under the Constitution, should plan and adopt such a treaty, but after more than a year of discussions, debate, and recriminations no treaty, with or without a league of nations embodied in it, has been formally adopted. It is very evident that the treaty-making machinery of this country has broken down under a great and unusual task. What, then, is to be done? A deadlock exists between the President, who, as such, is charged with the duty of initiating and originating a treaty, and the Senate, which is charged with the duty of assenting to such treaty.

The continuation of the present status of this country as regards the Governments of Germany and Austria is impossible. Not only does commerce and trade require the resumption of relations with the rest of the world on a peace basis, but the people of the United States are irritated and harassed by legislation cheerfully endured by them as necessary war-time legislation, but now unendurable when, as every citizen knows, this country is actually at peace.

The people, through their Representatives in Congress, cheerfully gave to the Executive every possible means of conducting the war, and now that the war is ended there is no necessity of continuing the harsh and strict legislation demanded by those emergency conditions. There is no doubt that the people of the country desire a return to conditions of peace. There is no doubt that war measures should not continue when we are actually at peace. The spirit and intelligence of our people can never countenance the fictitious and technical state of war now existing as an excuse for the continuance of war-time restrictions.

And now, under these circumstances, a resolution is presented in the House of Representatives declaring the war at an end and terminating all war legislation, and requiring the Government of Germany to notify the President of the United States that it has declared the termination of the war with the United States and that it waives any claim or benefit against the United States or its citizens that Germany would not have a right to assert had the United States ratified the treaty of Versailles. This resolution also has a clause penalizing the Government of Germany and its citizens in case it fails to declare that it has terminated the war with the United States, and has several clauses unimportant when compared with the main features of the resolution. This resolution squarely presents to each Representative whether or not he recognizes the fact that the war is at an end; secondly, whether or not he desires to end war-time legislation.

The first question presented is whether or not this resolution is a treaty. If it is a treaty, then the Houes of Representatives is assuming unconstitutional power. The declaration of the ending of a war is not a treaty, since a treaty is an agreement between two nations. There is no agreement here between this country and Germany; secondly, there is no constitutional prohibition against Congress declaring the end of the war. It does not usurp the prerogative of the Executive in so doing, because in no place in the Constitution is the Executive given the exclusive right to terminate a war. Only by implication from his power over treaties can the Executive be deemed empowered to end hostilities.

That whole question has never been clearly determined. If this resolution brings about its solution it will serve a great purpose.

The termination of legislation enacted for the period of the war is plainly within the powers of Congress. Therefore the only doubtful question in this resolution as to its constitutionality is the third section, forbidding the citizens of this country to trade with Germany until such time as the German Government has notified the President of the United States that it has fulfilled the conditions of this resolution. Congress has the right to make legislation contingent on a fact to be ascertained and announced by the President. This principle was announced by the Supreme Court of the United States which, under the Constitution, has the power and duty of interpreting the Constitution. It has precedents in the embargo acts of 1809, 1810, and in the act of Congress relating to the annexation of Texas in 1845.

I personally still believe in and hope to see the establishment of a League of Nations. I hope to see such a League of Nations established as will permit the United States to become a member without impairing or undermining any of those great principles of representative government and democracy which have made this country the greatest Republic of all time.

I believe also that the creation of a League of Nations on the plan devised at Versailles is one of the most wonderful advances of civilization in all history, but I further believe that the founders of this country never dreamed at the time of the adop-

tion of the Constitution that the treaty-making power devolved by them on the President and Senate would ever be used for the purpose of forming a federation of the nations of the entire world, of which federation this Republic would be an integral part. There is no doubt that the United States, in entering the League of Nations as now proposed, would yield some of its sovereignty. I believe that the real spirit of our institutions should require the submission of such a treaty to the people directly, because it does alter fundamentally the independent existence and freedom of action of our country.

The adoption of this resolution of peace in no wise interferes with the entry of this country into the League of Nations, whether it enters that league by a treaty made by the President and ratified by the Senate or by means of a treaty ratified by the people directly. The League of Nations, by its own constitution, is open at all times to new members, and for that reason I can see no room for criticism of this resolution as a resolution hostile to the membership of the United States in the League of Nations. The question of the right or of the expediency of the United States becoming a member of the League of Nations is so important that, in my opinion, it should be absolutely determined only when the majority of the citizens of this country desire that end.

This is a Government of the people; never should the representatives of the people change the fundamental law of the land except in answer to the clear voice and command of the people.

Despite its defects, I shall vote for this resolution. Its consideration transcends all partisan party policies. It clears the road leading to normal peaceful prosperity.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. EVANS,
OF NEVADA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

Mr. EVANS of Nevada. Mr. Speaker, while favoring the amendment offered by Mr. KITCHIN to recommit as improving the proposed legislation, still to support this measure of peace my mind is set.

We equipped and sent across the sea a superb army of more than 2,000,000 men, with double that number prepared to follow and carry on our principles for humanity and for peace. No nation has, nor will they ever achieve, this solid, radiant record. Our Army and our Navy were ready; our Nation expected victory of level justice, which would speedily come through indomitable courage armed with righteous resolve, but bungling statesmanship intervened with the high-sounding word "armistice." There should have been no temporary cessation by mutual agreement of hostilities instead of the powerful peace our preparations justified. We are not at actual—only technical—war with the Imperial German Government. That Government is gone, perished, its successor struggling for light which shines from a Republic. It is our country's wish for universal peace to include all men who forever renounce monarchy. There can be no harm in this resolution and much good will ensue from its adoption. We want peace without politics, if possible, but lasting and honorable peace.

This measure declares nothing more; its modesty recommends it to the world. A peace agreement now will aid in removing reminders of war. We wish to continue our present charitable intentions to all nations. Our actions prove honest purpose in all dealings with them, but we do not bind ourselves by blanket liability nor enter agreements without knowing all the responsibility for ourselves. Our Nation is not ready to sign a contract calling for enlisting boys, uniforming, training, and arming them to answer a hurry call from the War Department or elsewhere to enforce orders of one or more foreign nations without first having the legitimate declaration of Congress. We continue our high moral plane of action in foreign affairs, always certain that it is America bound only by our conscience and our honor with even justice in all foreign relations.

Where is harm coming to us from passing this resolution with amendment? It indorses that which our Nation has always wished, enduring peace. Why assume that a treaty of peace, combined with a covenant to enforce peace, can ever be consummated? We want peace composed of plain statements, which all will understand. This bill extracts a treaty of peace from covenant complexity. Thus it becomes our duty to advance peace while clearing the way for consideration of agreement with all nations of the world participating in the dignity of a covenant. Accepting the higher definition of covenant as the one most fitting where human life is so vitally concerned, we first indorse the way; afterwards we will with wise judgment consider a covenant.

Our Nation has looked with confidence for relief from war-time measures, cheerfully borne during war, until now we suffer from hope deferred. We are not fully convinced, with conflicting citations of previous action, but hold out our hands containing the Golden Rule, while our country with sublime faith looks to Congress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETTE B. HOWARD,
OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, in accordance possibly with every Member of this House I am more than anxious that we shall have peace, a real peace, and a lasting peace at the earliest possible moment. It was to secure a real peace and a lasting peace that we were forced to enter the World War in April, 1917. It was for these things that we made great sacrifices during the dark and bloody days from that time until the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918. But, Mr. Speaker, in my opinion the passage of this resolution does not mean peace, and certainly not the lasting peace we desire. At best it is only a makeshift, calculated to bring no good to this country or to its citizens, but is, in my humble opinion, only a partisan effort to shift the responsibility of duty nonperformed from the shoulders of a partisan United States Senate—a large number of whose partisan Members signed a "round robin" against its ratification while it was yet in the making—to those who are standing firmly in behalf of a real and lasting peace. In my opinion, it is one of the most desperate and most dangerous pieces of partisan legislation ever attempted upon the people of the United States. It is an attempt to, for political purposes, ride down, set aside, and destroy the Constitution of the United States, the greatest Constitution ever written for the government of man, the bulwark upon which our freedom has rested for more than a hundred years, and through which we have built up the greatest Nation ever known in the history of the world.

It is the history of nations that when the people disregard and set aside their constitution decay and decline of those nations begin, and it is a sad reflection upon our Government in this enlightened age that any man or set of men would become so daring in their efforts for political preferment as to in any way even suggest the overriding of our Constitution, as is suggested in the attempt to pass this resolution.

Consequently, knowing that such a resolution is unconstitutional, in that it does not conform to the constitutional provision for making peace as is provided by Article II, section 2, of the Constitution, which is as follows:

He—

The President—

shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur.

I can not bring myself to forget the Constitution and support this resolution. I can not support it for the reason that the record of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 sets out that an attempt was made to clothe the Congress with the power which is now suggested in this resolution by giving it a right to make peace, which right was denied to it at that time by a unanimous vote of the framers of the Constitution.

I can not support this resolution in view of the fact that the history of our Government discloses that it has been the uniform construction on behalf of the Government since our Constitution was formed that the power to make treaties is vested in the President and the United States Senate and that relative to same the House of Representatives has no jurisdiction.

But, Mr. Speaker, in my opinion, even if Congress had the power to pass such resolution, it would be both unwise and dangerous. It is but an effort to make a separate peace with an enemy nation, and would alienate the friendship of the 45 nations which have just signed the peace treaty, consequently would not bring to our citizenship the things which they hope for in a declaration of peace, but would destroy our prestige and our war achievements.

The passage of such a resolution would commit us and our country to an abandonment of their effort to secure a method of settling disputes by arbitration, an abandonment of all methods by which we could secure the reduction of armament of the nations of the world, and an abandonment of our earnest desire and hope for the abolition of secret treaties—three fundamental and needed principles for which the world has so long craved, for which 50,000 American boys gave their lives, for which 236,000 of our boys were wounded on the battle fields of France, and for which principles we are to-day staggering under the load of taxation to raise the money with which to repay the $30,000,000,000 which we expended in war activities and loans.

The passage of this resolution, to my mind, would be an abandonment of the $500,000,000 worth of alien property seized under the authority of Congress, and would forever wipe out the opportunity for American citizens to recover on indemnity claims against the German Government, amounting to more than a billion dollars. In short, the passage of this resolution would accomplish nothing. It will not aid the regularly constituted treaty-making authorities to arrive at a conclusion, but will, in my opinion, delay and hamper our opportunities for peace; it would tend to confuse and retard the efforts for peace, rather than aid and promote.

A peace should be made at once; in fact, should have been made many months ago. The Constitution places the responsibility. Those upon whom this responsibility rests should rise to the occasion and perform the duties which the Constitution imposes upon them.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KING SWOPE,

OF KENTUCKY.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

On joint resolution (H. J. Res. 327) terminating the state of war between the Imperial German Government and the United States.

Mr. SWOPE. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of this peace resolution and am going to vote for it, but before going into a discussion of the provisions of this resolution let us analyze the conditions under which it becomes necessary for the House of Representatives to present a separate peace resolution.

On the 11th of November, 1918, actual war with the Central Powers ceased and has not been resumed. After the signing of the armistice our representatives went to Versailles to take part in the preparation of a peace treaty. Of our representatives, the President was without doubt the spokesman and central figure.

When they returned they brought not only a treaty but a League of Nations, and instead of being two separate documents they were so interwoven and intertwined as to constitute one document. The quite obvious purpose was to compel the American people to accept the League of Nations in order to have a peace treaty.

Everyone was tired of war and wanted peace, but when this League of Nations was carefully examined it was discovered that it proposed to tie us up in a supergovernment which was to be set up above the United States and which gave England and her colonies six votes while the United States was to have only one vote.

It also pledged the United States to help preserve the "territorial integrity and political independence of all members of the league." Now, what does that mean? It means that we would be entangled in practically every war on the earth, and we have the President's word in substance to that effect.

In speaking to the Roumanian and Serbian delegations he said, in part:

If the world should be troubled again, if the conditions which we all regard as fundamental are challenged, the guaranty which will be given you will pledge that the United States will send its Army and fleet across the ocean.

Lloyd-George, the British premier, in presenting the league to the British Parliament, said:

Had it been in existence in 1914 it would have been difficult for Germany to make war; and if they had, America would have been in the first day instead of two years afterwards.

And yet this is the article 10 which President Wilson declared was the heart of the league. Instead of being a heart it is a veritable war breeder.

Something like 100 years ago England, France, Austria, Germany, and Russia formed the greatest alliance in the history of the world to promote peace, and inside of 10 years they were fighting among themselves. Europe, since the dawn of creation, has been the stage upon which war almost continuously has played. From 1812 to 1914 there were 106 European wars, and we were not involved in a single one of them. Had we signed the league covenant as it was proposed before reservations, the very minute a war started over the "political independence" or "territorial integrity" of any of the European members of the league we would be forced into it also.

Now, some people who never did any military service and who had no sons, brothers, or husbands in the service may urge this country to involve itself in all foreign wars for so-called altruistic purposes, but I have been unable to find a single soldier who wants to go back at a later date to fight for the League of Nations. I have been unable to hear of a single mother or father who is in favor of having his or her boy drafted to go to Europe and help preserve the "territorial integrity and political independence" of the various members of the league.

WITHDRAWAL.

This league also failed to provide any way for this or any other Government to withdraw from it. After the President was notified of that fact he secured a provision which permitted a Government to withdraw only upon two years' notice, provided it had performed all of its obligations, which was practically no better, because a nation might be destroyed in two years; and, moreover, the language of the covenant failed to state who should be the judge as to whether or not the country desiring to withdraw had performed all of its obligations. Suppose the United States should join and then decide to withdraw. Would we want England and her six votes and the other countries of Europe voting to keep us in against our will, simply because they believed we had not performed all our obligations, perchance because we might decline to sacrifice our boys to maintain the territorial integrity of Roumania or Serbia?

Such a proposition and covenant are contrary to all American ideals and destructive of our rights for which our forefathers shed their blood in every battle from Lexington to Yorktown. After this Nation has been absolutely free from England 144 years, and during that time developed into the greatest Nation on earth, our President has proposed to tie us up again in an alliance on the terms just mentioned.

AMENDMENTS OFFERED.

Fortunately, when he laid this proposition before the United States Senate all the Republican Senators, aided by a few Democratic Senators, who loved the United States more than they love the President, said we will not permit this country to become a party to such a dangerous and un-American compact; but we will revise it with reservations which maintain the complete independence and sovereignty of the United States, which will equalize the voting power of the different members of the league, which state that the United States alone shall be the judge as to whether we have performed all the obligations necessary before withdrawing from the league, and which will relieve the United States from any obligation whatever to send her soldiers or sailors to die for the "political independence" or "territorial integrity" of any foreign country. And a majority of the Senate adopted these reservations. These reservations were adopted by an average majority of 28 votes on each reservation. Then, the President said we had to accept the League of Nations without any changes or we could not have peace at all, and directed every Democratic Senator he could control to vote against it, and they did, and that is how it was defeated, although there was a majority of 14 in favor of ratifying with reservations and the vote shows it. Twenty-eight Republican Senators and 21 Democratic Senators voted for the League of Nations and peace treaty after it had been amended with reservations, and 23 Democrats and only 12 Republicans voted against it. So a two-thirds vote necessary to adoption failed.

A DEADLOCK.

Our Constitution provides that the President "shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur." The President refused the advice of a majority of the Senate and, as a result, was unable to get its consent. As a result thereof we have a deadlock between the President and the Senate; and as long as this deadlock prevails the United States will technically be at war, and all war-time legislation will remain in force unless we, the members of the House of Representatives, acting within our powers, relieve this situation. With the purpose of terminating the state of war and permitting the resumption of foreign trade, the House of Representatives has before it to-day House joint resolution No. 327, and practi-

cally every Democratic member of this body is trying to defeat this great measure. They are admitting that the Republican members will pass it, yet they tell us that the President will veto it. To you, my Democratic friends, I say, without the least spirit of bitter partisanship, you can vote against this resolution if you feel like it, but we are going to pass it over your protest, and if the President vetoes it, I still believe that there will remain enough patriots to pass it over his veto. The only reason our Democratic friends can offer for voting against this peace resolution is they think it is unconstitutional. Let us now read it and see if it is unconstitutional, and, if so, wherein it is unconstitutional.

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 327) terminating the state of war declared to exist April 6, 1917, between the Imperial German Government and the United States, permitting on conditions the resumption of reciprocal trade with Germany, and for other purposes.

Whereas the President of the United States, in the performance of his constitutional duty to give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, has advised the Congress that the war with the Imperial German Government has ended:

Resolved, etc., That the state of war declared to exist between the Imperial German Government and the United States by the joint resolution of Congress approved April 6, 1917, is hereby declared at an end.

SEC. 2. That in the interpretation of any provision relating to the date of the termination of the present war or of the present or existing emergency in any acts of Congress, joint resolutions, or proclamations of the President containing provisions contingent upon the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, the date when this resolution becomes effective shall be construed and treated as the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, notwithstanding any provision in any act of Congress or joint resolution providing any other mode of determining the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency.

SEC. 3. That with a view to secure reciprocal trade with the German Government and its nationals, and for this purpose, it is hereby provided that unless within 45 days from the date when this resolution becomes effective the German Government shall duly notify the President of the United States that it has declared a termination of the war with the United States and that it waives and renounces on behalf of itself and its nationals any claim, demand, right, or benefit against the United States or its nationals that it or they would not have had the right to assert had the United States ratified the treaty of Versailles, the President of the United States shall have the power, and it shall be his duty, to proclaim the fact that the German Government has not given the notification hereinbefore mentioned and thereupon and until the President shall have proclaimed the receipt of such notification, commercial intercourse between the United States and Germany and the making of loans or credits, and the furnishing of financial assistance or supplies to the German Government or the inhabitants of Germany, directly or indirectly, by the Government or the inhabitants of the United States shall, except with the license of the President, be prohibited.

SEC. 4. That whoever shall willfully violate the foregoing prohibition whenever the same shall be in force shall, upon conviction, be fined not more than $10,000 or, if a natural person, imprisoned for not more than two years, or both; and the officer, director, or agent of any corporation who knowingly participates in such violation shall be punished by a like fine, imprisonment, or both, and any property, funds, securities, papers, or other articles or documents, or any vessel, together with her tackle, apparel, furniture, and equipment, concerned in such violation, shall be forfeited to the United States.

SEC. 5. That nothing herein contained shall be construed as a waiver by the United States of any rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations, or advantages, to which the United States has become entitled under the terms of the armistice signed November 11, 1918, or which were acquired by or are in the possession of the United States by reason of its participation in the war, or otherwise; and all fines, forfeitures, penalties, and seizures imposed or made by the United States are hereby ratified, confirmed, and maintained.

Now, what is unconstitutional about that? The opponents of this resolution, as I have just stated, claim it is unconstitutional, because they say the House of Representatives does not possess the treaty-making power. In other words, they base their whole argument upon the false assumption that this resolution constitutes a treaty. If it is simply a resolution formally and officially declaring a condition known already to exist and prescribing the conditions upon which commerce can be resumed, it is not a treaty and is constitutional, and we are clearly within our rights. Let us see what a treaty is. A treaty is defined as a compact between two or more sovereign States. The requisites of a valid treaty are (1) competent sovereign States; (2) expression of agreement; (3) agreements signified by agents; (4) it must be ratified. Do all of these elements appear in the resolution? They do not. Then, certainly it is not a treaty. But now the opponents of this resolution ask why pass it if it is not a treaty, because they claim a treaty is the proper way to terminate a war. In answer to that argument I would cite them to Oppenheim on International Law, who states that war may be terminated in three different ways:

(1) Abstain from further acts of war and glide into peaceful relations without expressly making peace through a special treaty; (2) belligerents may formally establish the condition of a peace through a special treaty of peace; (3) a belligerent may end the war through subjugation of his adversary. (Oppenheim, International Law, vol. 2, p. 322.)

In view of the fact that the President and the Senate have failed to agree upon a treaty of peace as contemplated in the second method of terminating a war as just read, it is the plain duty and right of Congress to declare that the condition as described in paragraph (1) by Oppenheim has arrived, and to give official recognition to the fact that war has terminated. This is not the first time this kind of resolution has passed the House. As brought out by the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. TEMPLE], the House of Representatives passed a similar resolution just prior to the admission of the State of Texas to the Union. Before Texas became a State of our Union it was an independent Republic, known as the Republic of Texas, and the United States made several treaties with the Republic of Texas. When the Republic of Texas sought admission to the Union, a treaty of annexation was prepared, and then, just as to-day, a joint resolution was offered which relieved the situation, and although it was not a treaty it accomplished the same end. I will offer section 2 of that old resolution just to show the great similarity between it and the resolution we have to-day. It provided, in part, as follows:

SEC. 2. *And be it further resolved*, That the foregoing consent of Congress is given upon the following conditions and with the following guaranty, to wit: First, said State to be formed subject to the adjustment by this government of all questions of boundary that may arise with other governments; and the constitution thereof, with the proper evidence of its adoption by the people of said Republic of Texas, shall be transmitted to the President of the United States to be laid before Congress on or before the 1st day of January, 1846.

That joint resolution prescribed the conditions under which another republic might be admitted to the Union and required notice by the President of the Republic of Texas to that effect, just as section 3 of the resolution we are discussing to-day prescribes the conditions under which commercial relations might be resumed with Germany. The Constitution expressly provides that Congress shall have the power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations," and that is all section 3 of the joint resolution does. It provides for the resumption of trade with Germany upon certain conditions. This is not unprecedented. In 1809 and 1810 the House passed two similar resolutions which permitted us to trade with England and France only when those countries conformed to conditions set out in the resolutions and their compliance therewith proclaimed by the President. Thomas Jefferson, whom our Democratic friends proclaim the father of their party, was President at the time and he signed the act of 1809, and Madison, commonly referred to as "the father of the Constitution," was President in 1810, and he signed the act of 1810, and neither of these great leaders raised the objection that they were unconstitutional, so it seems a little late for our Democratic friends to advance that objection.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, this resolution simply places this country in a normal status of peace. It repeals all extraordinary war powers, reestablishes reciprocal trade with Germany, and gives the people and honest business a chance to proceed in a condition of certainty. I see no valid reason why we should technically be at war 17 months after war actually ended, and therefore I am glad to support this joint resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, the joint resolution under discussion, instead of being called a peace resolution, should be called a political resolution. It was introduced for political purposes and it is being debated for no other reasons. No one believes that it will finally pass or become a law or be effective. The Republican majority appreciates that the Senate is being criticized from one end of the country to the other for not cooperating with the President in making a treaty of peace. In order to divert attention from the Republican Senate, this political resolution was introduced. Let us consider what it attempts to do.

In the first place, it has a misleading preamble stating that in substance the President has said the war was at an end. It is true the day the armistice was signed, November 11, 1918, the President did appear before Congress and say that hostilities were at an end, but everyone understood, who is capable of understanding anything, that actual hostilities had ceased and that fighting was at an end. Everybody knew that the war had not legally ended, that a treaty of peace would have to be signed, and

that it would be some time before such a treaty could be prepared and ratified.

In passing upon the question as to when the Spanish-American War ended, the Supreme Court, in the case of Higo *v.* United States (194 U. S., 315), held:

A state of war did not in law cease until the ratification in April, 1899, of the treaty of peace—

Although hostilities ended in 1898.

A statement in this joint resolution does not change the facts. The people will not be deceived. The reiteration time after time as to what the President advised Congress on November 11, 1918, will not change matters. The country everywhere understood that the fighting had ceased, which is true. That is what the President meant, and all attempts to prove the contrary will not avail anything.

The Supreme Court only a few months ago, on December 15, 1919, in the case of Hamilton against Kentucky Distilleries Co., held that what the President had done did not announce the legal determination of the war.

Section 1 of the joint resolution before us attempts to fix a date when peace shall begin. It is an attempt to usurp the functions of the President with the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senate.

Section 2 fixes the date of the passage of the resolution as the date of the termination of the war, so far as the repealing of war-time legislation is concerned. Attention is invited to the fact that it does not repeal legislation, and this point can not be too strongly emphasized. Of course, the Republicans are in the majority in both branches of Congress. They have all the committees of the House. They could introduce section 2 as a separate, independent resolution or as a separate bill, and could repeal all of the emergency legislation complained of. They would have the assistance of the Democrats, who are in favor of such a repeal. It may be upon consideration that some of the legislation should be amended or modified in certain particulars. The Democrats are willing to join with the Republicans in enacting legislation repealing the so-called war legislation. The majority appreciate that they are being criticized throughout the country for not enacting this repealing legislation. They want it embodied in an unconstitutional resolution that will never become a law in order to go before the country in an attempt to deceive the people. They are being criticized for not enacting this legislation when they promised to pass reconstructive legislation. They have conceived the idea that if they can embody it as a section in this joint resolution, which has no chance of passing, they can go before the people and argue that they passed it and the President vetoed it. Of course, the people will not be deceived, because they know that if the Republicans were sincere and in earnest about the repealing of this war-time legislation they could and would introduce a bill for this purpose. They have the committees and can get consideration of it. They must answer to the people as to why they have not done so. They can not embody it as a section in an unconstitutional joint resolution. The Democrats favor the repeal of this legislation and offered a motion to recommit, as follows, which the Republicans voted against:

That House joint resolution No. 327 be recommitted to the Committee on Foreign Affairs with instructions to the committee to report the same to the House forthwith with the following amendment:

Strike out all the preamble and all after the enacting clause and insert following the enacting clause the following:

"That all acts and joint resolutions of Congress which have been passed since April 6, 1917, and which by their terms are to be effective only for the period of the war, or for the present or existing emergency, or until a treaty of peace should be ratified, or until the proclamation by the President of the ratification of a treaty of peace, are hereby repealed; and all such acts and resolutions which by their terms are to be effective only during and for a specified period after such war, or such present or existing emergency, or the ratification of such treaty, or the proclamation by the President of the ratification of such treaty are hereby repealed, which repeal shall be effective at the end of the specified period, such specified period being construed as beginning on the date of the final passage of this resolution."

This would be a constitutional resolution. It would be effective. It could pass, if separately introduced. The Republicans voted against it, which shows that the repeal of this legislation is not what they want. They are trying to get some political benefit.

Section 3 provides for the negotiation of a treaty of peace by means of this joint resolution with the Imperial German Government, taking the power away from the President and the Senate. It requires the German Government to consent to the conditions named therein within 45 days from the passage of the resolution.

Section 4 makes it a criminal offense, punishable with a fine of $10,000, for violating the provisions of section 3.

Section 5 provides that the resolution shall not be a waiver of any of the rights of the United States to indemnities and is an attempt to ratify the action of the United States in all fines, forfeitures, penalties, and seizures imposed. No one seriously contends that Congress has the constitutional authority to pass such a joint resolution. Everybody knows that this is an attempt to make a treaty with the German Government and to disregard our allies. It has never before been attempted by the House of Representatives.

Article II, section 2, of the Constitution provides:

He (the President) shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur.

When this provision was up for consideration in the Constitutional Convention on September 7, 1787, an effort was made to amend it by adding, after the word "Senate," the words "and House of Representatives," as the following record shows:

The fourth section, to wit, "The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall have power to make treaties," etc., was then taken up.

Mr. Wilson moved to add, after the word "Senate," the words "and House of Representatives." As treaties, he said, are to have the operation of laws, they ought to have the sanction of laws also. The circumstance of secrecy in the business of treaties formed the only objection; but this, he thought, so far as it was inconsistent with obtaining the legislative sanction, was outweighed by the necessity of the latter.

Mr. Sherman thought the only question that could be made was whether the power could be safely trusted to the Senate. He thought it could and that the necessity of secrecy in the case of treaties forbade a reference of them to the whole Legislature.

Mr. Fitzsimmons seconded the motion of Mr. Wilson; and, on the question—ayes 1, noes 10.

Mr. Hamilton, in discussing the treaty-making power of the Constitution in the Federalist, 75, said:

Though this provision has been assailed on different grounds with no small degree of vehemence, I scruple not to declare my firm persuasion that it is one of the best digested and one of the most unexceptionable parts of the plan.

Another source of objection is derived from the small number of persons by whom a treaty may be made. Of those who espouse this objection a part are of opinion that the House of Representatives ought to have been associated in the business.

The remarks made in a former number will apply with conclusive force against the admission of the House of Representatives to a share in the formation of treaties. The fluctuating and, taking its future increase into account, the multitudinous composition of that body forbid us to expect in it those qualities which are essential to the proper execution of such a trust.

Accurate and comprehensive knowledge of foreign politics; a steady and systematic adherence to the same views; a nice and uniform sensibility to national character; decision, secrecy, and dispatch are incompatible with the genius of a body so variable and so numerous. The very complication of the business, by introducing a necessity of the concurrence of so many different bodies, would of itself afford a solid objection. The greater frequency of the calls upon the House of Representatives and the greater length of time which it would often be necessary to keep them together when convened, to obtain their sanction in the progressive stages of a treaty would be a source of so great inconvenience and expense as alone ought to condemn the project.

President Washington, in a message to the House of Representatives, March 30, 1796, discussing this question, said:

Having been a member of the general convention and knowing the principles on which the Constitution was formed, I have never entertained but one opinion on this subject, and from the first establishment of the Government to this moment my conduct has exemplified that opinion, that the power of making treaties is exclusively vested in the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur.

In response to the message of President Washington April 7, 1796, the House passed the following resolution by a vote of 54 to 36:

Resolved, That it being declared by the second section of the second article of the Constitution, "That the President shall have the power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur," the House of Representatives do not claim any agency in making treaties, etc.

A treaty is an agreement between two sovereign nations. It is no more and no less. Section 3 of this joint resolution attempts to make an agreement by joint resolution. Every authority on constitutional law states that this can not be done. None can be cited in favor of it.

Webster defines a treaty as "An agreement between two or more independent States."

A treaty may be defined to be a compact between nation and nation. (Tucker on the Constitution.)

Treaty is international compact. The root of the word indicates negotiation between two or more. In itself, treaty is a bargain, not law. (Tucker.)

A treaty is primarily a contract between two or more independent nations and is so regarded by writers on public law. (Whitney *v.* Robertson, 124 U. S., 194. Head Money Cases, 112 U. S.)

Congress is given the authority "to declare war" in Article I, section 8, clause 11. This is contained in the section enumerating the powers of Congress. When this matter was up before the constitutional convention for consideration, an amendment was offered to add the words "and peace," after "to declare war." This would have given to Congress the power to declare war and to make peace, had it not been unanimously voted down. It can be seen from this that the authority to make peace was

attempted to be conferred upon Congress by the constitutional convention, but it was rejected after being thoroughly considered.

The following is a record of the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention on August 17, 1787:

FRIDAY, AUGUST 17, 1787.

On the clause, "to make war."

On the motion to insert "declare," in place of "make," it was agreed to: Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia—ayes, 8; New Hampshire—no, 1; Massachusetts, absent.

Mr. Pinckney's motion to strike out the whole clause was disagreed to, without call of States.

Mr. Butler moved to give the Legislature the power of peace, as they were to have that of war.

Mr. Gerry seconds him. Eight Senators may possibly exercise the power, if vested in that body, and 14 if all should be present, and may consequently give up part of the United States. The Senate are more liable to be corrupted by an enemy than the whole Legislature.

On the motion for adding "and peace," after "war," it was unanimously negatived.

Adjourned.

In commenting upon this action in his work on the Constitution, Mr. Joseph Story said:

In the convention, in the first draft of the Constitution the power was given merely "to make war." It was subsequently, and not without some struggle, altered to its present form. It was proposed to add the power "to make peace"; but this was unanimously rejected upon the plain ground that it more properly belonged to the treaty-making power. The experience of Congress, under the Confederation, of the difficulties attendant upon vesting the treaty-making power in a large legislative body, was too deeply felt to justify the hazard of another experiment.

Mr. John Randolph Tucker, an eminent constitutional authority, in a report made to Congress, among other things said:

The status of war created by Congress may be determined by a status of peace created by treaty. Congress can not create the status of peace by repealing its declaration of war, because the former requires the concurrence of two wills, the latter but the action of one.

It has been the uniform construction that all peace treaties are to be negotiated by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Republicans in support of this political resolution do not attempt to justify its constitutionality, but they argue that it would be sweeping asde technicalities such as the Constitution. Each Member of Congress took an oath to support and defend the Constitution, and I will not for personal, political, or public advantage violate my oath and support a measure the constitutionality of which no one attempts to defend.

It is argued that 17 months have elapsed since the armistice was signed and that a treaty of peace ought to be concluded. I know that the people are for peace. I am for peace. Action upon the treaty ought to have been had months ago. The people have been impatient with the long-drawn-out debate in the Senate, but if the Senate does not do its duty, or if the President and the Senate do not come to an agreement, that does not clothe Congress with constitutional power to make peace. I am sure that every school child throughout the country clearly understands this. Because the Senate or the President do not do their duty, it does not confer a power upon the House that it would not otherwise possess.

This is an attempt to make politics for the coming election. The Republicans know that the resolution will not pass. They know it is unconstitutional, but it can not be called into question unless it does pass. They know, therefore, that they will not be held up to ridicule, but they hope to use it as political camouflage to deceive some of the people of the country. They want to make them believe that the President had come before Congress and said that the war had ended, hoping that the people will not follow such argument and place a proper construction upon it. The President meant that hostilities had actually ceased.

In the debate upon the resolution the covenant of the League of Nations has been drawn into it, but the essential things have not been mentioned. Again, the majority side has hurrahed a great deal when certain Members criticized the President when they arose to address the House. These same Members of Congress were notoriously against the prosecution of the war, voted against all war legislation, and called into question the constitutionality of all war legislation. The President needs no defense at the hands of any Member of his party. He has made a record for service that has not been excelled, if equaled, by any former President. There has been no man that has been able to state the ideals of the people of the country with such precision as President Wilson. He will go down in history as one of the greatest Presidents of this country. He will not only be remembered as one of our greatest Presidents, but as the leading citizen of the world.

During this discussion no man on behalf of the majority pointed out or emphasized the three salient features of the covenant of the League of Nations. First, it provides a method of settling disputes between nations. The citizens of every county and State and of every civilized country throughout the world have a method for settling their disputes by an appeal to some tribunal, and it is an unanswerable argument that nations should submit international disputes to the decision of an impartial tribunal rather than go to war. If the covenant had no other provision it would favorably commend itself to every father and mother who sent their boy across the sea to fight for the liberty of the world. Second, it contains a provision for disarmament. One nation keeps a large standing army and a big navy. Another nation is compelled to compete with it and to raise as large or larger army and a more expensive navy. We are called upon this year to spend more for the Army and the Navy than our entire expense of running the Government before the war.

Universal military training is being urged upon Congress. What better way to escape universal military training and to keep from paying heavy taxes than a provision for disarmament for all the nations signing the covenant? This is a practical way out of it. It is a sensible way out of it. I have no doubt but what the people of this country fully appreciate its importance, but the majority throughout the discussion of the covenant point to the minor questions without taking into consideration the larger questions involved. Third, another important provision of the covenant that is not referred to by our friends on the other side is the one against making secret treaties. Everybody knows that secret alliances have been the principal cause of a large majority of wars since the beginning of history. Nobody believes that this last war would have been entered into but for the secret agreement between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the other Central Powers.

Instead of calling attention to the important things that the covenant contains, our opponents haggle over the minor matters. For instance, the Republicans become very much excited over the Shantung affair. This is the first time that anybody has been solicitous for China. Germany went into that country with our acquiescence in 1898. China was forced to make certain concessions and to enter into certain agreements giving Germany preferential rights. Germany held these rights until the war came on. Japan went into China and by military force drove Germany out, and China agreed to the substitution of Japan for Germany. The United States had nothing to do with it. It was before we entered the war, and France and England acquiesced in it. Under the circumstances, how could President Wilson do anything to eliminate that provision of the treaty that China agreed to with Japan. Should he have left the peace table because he could not get this provision omitted, which had been agreed upon by China herself?

It has been stated in general debate that we want to Americanize the treaty. This is a high-sounding phrase. It appeals to the ear of any audience. What does Americanize mean? Do not embarrass too many of our Republican friends when they are discussing it. They prefer to use the word "Americanize" rather than go into details. It suits their argument better. Perhaps if you were to ask them they would say that it does not protect our domestic affairs, but when you look at the covenant it is noted that the covenant specifically provides that only international disputes are referred to the council and that domestic questions are reserved, and that the council would have no jurisdiction over them. This is made clear by articles 1, 11, 13, 14, and 15 of the League of Nations covenant. Article 15 provides.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them and is found by the council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the council shall so report and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

There is not a line in the covenant that indicates the League of Nations is to have any jurisdiction over domestic questions.

Again, it is argued that we want to Americanize the League of Nations covenant in order to protect the Monroe doctrine. The Monroe doctrine is referred to in the covenant and especially excepted, as follows:

Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace. (Art. 21.)

A number of the more important South American countries have already signed the treaty and are members of the league. Finally, it is argued that we have only one vote and that England has six votes. To an audience that does not follow a speaker this is an appealing argument. However, there can be no decision by the council upon any point that would bind the United States that is not unanimous, including the vote of our Government. Wherever it is stated in the covenant that anything may be decided by less than a unanimous vote it is only where a recommendation is made or a report is made. Finally, it is argued that article 10 is a great stumbling block. The only authority to declare war is placed in Congress, and article 10 does

not authorize the President or the council to declare war, but the covenant specifically provides:

The council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

In other words, the council will report back to their several Governments and then the constituted authorities of such Governments will decide what shall be done. In other words, if there is a recommendation to declare war it would be reported to Congress. There is no other method for declaring war. The covenant does not supersede our Constitution.

It is not my purpose to make a lengthy argument upon the covenant of the League of Nations. I think the responsibility is upon the Senate to take some action upon the treaty with Germany, and if in the judgment of two-thirds of the Senate the present treaty with the covenant is not satisfactory, differences should be compromised until a modified treaty can be agreed upon. The fact that the Senate and the President have not agreed upon the matter does not give the House any jurisdiction. There have been any number of treaties of various kinds negotiated by the executive branch of the Government that have either been rejected or amended or held up for years, but the House was not given any jurisdiction over them by such action. Suppose the Senate were to refuse to confirm an ambassador or a postmaster or a member of the Supreme Court, such a course would not give the House jurisdiction over the confirmation of any of them.

By the Constitution the House is given jurisdiction in originating legislation of certain kinds. If the House failed to do so, it would not give the Senate jurisdiction. All appropriation bills must originate in the House. If the House declined to orginate an appropriation, it does not give the Senate or the Executive jurisdiction.

When the President returned from Europe in February, 1919, he conferred with the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee with reference to some criticisms of the covenant of the League of Nations, and upon going back to Versailles amendments were added for the purpose of meeting all of these criticisms. As is well known throughout the country, President Wilson incurred the enmity of the Republicans in the Senate by not placing some of them upon the commission to negotiate the treaty of peace and a fight was started upon him. Nothing he did met with their approval. Before the election in 1918 they were applauding him, and in their campaign speeches claimed that they were upholding the President's hands and assisting him in every way to win the war. They made the statement so much that they believed it. The record will show, however, that all through the war, on practically every bill that had for its purpose the vigorous prosecution of same, the Republicans haggled and criticized and presented amendments to weaken the measures. However, when the bills came up for final vote they usually protected themselves politically by voting for them.

A League of Nations has been advocated by prominent men of both parties for a number of years. Senator LODGE has warmly indorsed it. Ex-President Roosevelt was one of its leading advocates. No one has more strongly supported it than ex-President Taft, and ex-Senator Root, ex-Attorney General Wickersham; and thousands of other prominent Republicans in every State of the Union have favored a League of Nations of the world as a preventive of war. The objections to the present league are personal and partisan. If President Wilson had brought back with him the Ten Commandments, personal and partisan critics would have sought first to criticize and then to amend.

Everybody appreciates that differences had to be composed at the peace table. The same was true in every constitutional convention. No constitution was ever adopted, no treaty was ever entered into, and no act of Congress was ever passed where some objection could not be found to the language used.

The Supreme Court has been construing the Constitution for more than 100 years, as well as the constitutionality of practically every act of Congress. Is it any wonder, then, that persons unfriendly to the league should find objections to the phraseology of the covenant. There has been no act of Congress of any consequence passed since I have been a Member of the House that I would not have amended its phraseology if I could.

Washington was opposed and criticized while he was President. The English language was exhausted in criticism of Lincoln, as shown by an excerpt from the speech of Senator Sherman, February 25, 1863, as follows:

We do no good to our cause, no good to our country by constant crimination of the President, by arraigning him here, as I have heard him arraigned, as a tyrant and an imbecile. * * * If we allow his authority to be subdued and overrun, we destroy the authority of the Government of the United States.

Within the past year every effort has been made to lessen the esteem and confidence of the people of our country in President Wilson. He is not only the great leader of America, but he is the spiritual leader of the world. The scurrilous attacks made upon him for partisan advantage or from personal motives will not detract from the future estimate of him.

When the war ended so gloriously, the United States occupied a more commanding position among the nations of the earth than ever before in our history. If the treaty had been promptly ratified, an era of prosperity such as had never been experienced would have set in. We were financially stronger than any other nation. We had more raw material and we could have easily expanded our trade in every market in the world, so as to have been the dominant factor. Much of this advantage has been lost through partisan criticism.

The unrest throughout the world, including our own country, is in a large measure due to unsettled conditions. If the peace treaty had been ratified promptly, conditions throughout the country would have been settled and everyone would have returned to their usual occupations. As a result, production would have increased and normal conditions would have been restored. Instead, delays have been encountered. Intemperate criticisms of the President have been indulged in, and faultfinding for partisan purposes with every act of every Government official has had the effect of prejudicing the people more or less against their own officials and their own Government, and has resulted in the people losing confidence in their public servants. We need a return to normal conditions, increased production, a restoration of confidence, and a respect for law.

I am going to vote for the motion to recommit, because I favor the repeal of this war-time legislation, but I am not going to vote for a joint resolution which attempts to make a treaty of peace with Germany, as everybody knows it is unconstitutional and no one seriously attempts to defend it.

The Republicans argue that they are for peace and that the country is for peace and that, therefore, we ought to pass this resolution. Does this give the House constitutional power to act? So far as fighting is concerned, we have been at peace since November 11, 1918. Actual hostilities ceased then and everybody throughout the country is yearning and longing for a legal peace. The people want action on the treaty expedited. They do not want an unending debate. I can not too strongly emphasize that this resolution was introduced for political purposes, as our opponens know that it will not become a law. Therefore, the constitutionality of it can not be tested. It was introduced so as to save the majority party in the Senate from condemnation by the American people. The Senate has had the peace treaty for six or eight months, and it is the duty of that body to compromise their differences in such a way that it can be ratified.

The Republican Members of the House make the additional claim that section 2 of this resolution repeals war-time legislation, in order to excuse themselves for their inaction. Since May 19, 1919, they have not introduced and pressed to final passage the necessary legislation to repeal these war measures.

Finally, let me call attention to the rule introduced for the consideration of this most important resolution—important in that it has never been attempted to negotiate peace by joint resolution—important because it is clearly unconstitutional—important because it is an abandonment of our allies by attempting to make a separate treaty of peace. This rule permits debate until 5 o'clock upon the succeeding day. However, the thing that I want to call attention to and emphasize is that it does not permit an amendment to be made. No amendment can be offered and none can be voted upon. Therefore, we are compelled to vote either for or against the resolution. I feel sure that the people throughout the country are not aware that practically every day such a rule is being introduced in the House, and that the House is being run by gag rule instead of under the general rules of the House as adopted. A few years ago there was a revolt against so-called Cannonism, but there was never a time in the history of the House of Representatives where so many gag rules were introduced as during the present session of Congress. The people are ready to believe that the House of Representatives is a deliberative body and that the Members are permitted to offer and debate amendments. However, no amendment could have been offered to this resolution, the most important that has been introduced since the foundation of our Government. No amendment could have been discussed or voted upon. The resolution was agreed to by the Republican steering committee and presented to the Rules Committee. As a result the rule was brought in to consider it.

To recapitulate: First, the preamble to this resolution is misleading. Second, the resolution is unconstitutional, as shown by the records of the constitutional convention and the authorities cited. Third, we favor the repealing of war and emergency legislation and will support a motion to recommit to this effect.

Fourth, the resolution is unprecedented in that no treaty of peace was ever before attempted to be negotiated between the United States and any foreign Government by joint resolution. Fifth, it would be construed as an abandonment of our allies in making and enforcing the terms of peace. What would the people of the United States have said if either France or Great Britain had entered into a separate peace with Germany?

Holding, as I do, that it is not within the constitutional power of the House of Representatives to pass this joint resolution, I shall vote against it, although favoring the repeal of war and emergency legislation.

The Peace Resolution Terminating the War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

On the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 327) terminating the state of war between the Imperial German Government and the United States.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, the war with Germany is over, and America to-day is concerned with facts, not theories; with conditions, not technicalities. The armistice was signed November 11, 1918, and on that day, forever memorable in the annals of civilization, the President, in announcing the happy event, stated to the Congress of the United States that—

> The war thus comes to an end, for having accepted these terms of armistice it will be impossible for the German command to renew it. We know, too, that the object of the war is attained, the object upon which all free men had set their hearts, and attained with a sweeping completeness which even now we do not realize.

On December 2, 1918, the President referred to "the great processes by which the war was pushed irresistibly forward to the final triumph," and on July 10, 1919, in presenting the peace treaty to the Senate, he said, "The war came to an end in November, eight months ago."

With positive declarations such as these from the Commander in Chief can anyone question for a moment that the war is not over? With our former enemy not only vanquished but disintegrated, with our victorious soldiers and sailors demobilized and again pursuing the paths of peace, is there a single person who can argue that we are still waging war on Germany? And yet from the remarks of those who oppose this resolution it would seem that they yet hear the roar of cannon and the patter of bullets along the old battle line.

When America drew the sword in this conflict in defense of the principles of freedom, it was a patriotic, unselfish, unpartisan America which answered the challenge from across the seas. In that spirit the war was carried forward by our people, and in that spirit our boys triumphed on land and water. It should be in that same spirit, without prejudice and without partisanship, that we sheath the sword of victory. Republicans and Democrats vied with each other on the floor of this Congress in their zeal for the Nation's honor; Republicans and Democrats should know no party lines now in gathering the fruits of their endeavors. As Americans we declared war; as Americans we should establish peace.

We are to-day considering a resolution "terminating the state of war declared to exist between the Imperial German Government and the United States." It has but one purpose; its passage will accomplish but one object—peace. It is simply a declaration of the truth that the war is over. It will give a legal status to existing peace conditions and make a technical state of affairs correspond to actual facts. Our Democratic colleagues recoil at the suggestion that Congress, which by joint resolution on April 6, 1917, declared that a state of war existed, can not now by a joint resolution declare that the war has ended. They urge that only by a formal treaty of peace, in the consummation of which the President and Senate alone are concerned, can peace be established. Can it be possible that they are more concerned with political expediency than with the national welfare, more submissive to the will of their party leader than to the voice of the people of the United States?

What are the facts? It has been seventeen months since hostilities ceased. Nine months ago a treaty of peace was submitted to the Senate, and yet, despite the long interval of time which has elapsed since the signing of the armistice, we are technically at war, with all the war emergency legislation still in operation.

I will not enter into a discussion of the controversy between the President and the Senate over the peace treaty, but in passing let me say that while I feel that some method of settling international disputes should be inaugurated in place of the arbitrament of arms, I can not subscribe to the League of Nations adopted at the Paris conference unless that covenant embodies reservations for the protection of American rights and American principles. And if the President resubmits for ratification the Versailles treaty, or any other treaty of similar character, I trust the Senate will insist on reservations which will safeguard the United States from entangling alliances and which will make clear and definite the responsibilities to be assumed by the Nation under its provisions.

Had the treaty been ratified without the proposed reservations—reservations solely and essentially in the interest of American sovereignty—the United States would have been committed to the maintenance of the political integrity and geographical boundary lines of every nation in the world. We would have been dragged into every European quarrel whether we willed it or not.

We would have surrendered to the council of the league the right to decide when and how and where our sons should fight and die, and American boys would have laid down their lives in the snows of Siberia, in the deserts of Asia, and under the tropical suns of the Equator, at the dictation of a power superior to the Constitution itself. We would have intrusted the custody of America's national ideals and the destinies of her people to men of alien customs, languages, and habits, whose prejudices and commercial jealousies have kept Europe in a turmoil for a thousand years. We would have been swept irresistibly into Old World currents and feuds. We would have been internationalists instead of nationalists, and upon the shoulders of America would have been placed the burdens and calamities of the earth. The opponents of the reservations said that unless America accepted this league as it was written it would break the heart of Europe. Heed not the breaking of the heart of Europe; look you first as to whether or not it would break the heart of America and American mothers, whose sons would have been called upon to enter every conflict springing up anywhere in the world.

We Republicans are accused of making the League of Nations a political issue. I regret and deny that accusation, for a great question such as this should be above politics and broader than party lines; but if we are charged with being partisans we must meet the issue, and I for one will accept that challenge whenever it is made and answer it by declaring that now, as in the past, here and elsewhere, the Republican Party willingly, deliberately, and proudly champions the cause of Americanism against all opponents, whether those opponents be within or without the borders of our national domain.

We desire to extend a helping hand to others and to have a humanitarian interest in our sister nations, but to subscribe to any doctrine which will give to any covenant a higher place than our own Constitution and which will place any flag, no matter what its symbol, above the Stars and Stripes, is a denial of the potency of our Constitution and a negation of the supremacy of our own flag.

How much more are we to be called upon to do for Europe? Is there no limit? Our soldiers stopped the onrush of the Germans at the Marne, broke their attack at Chateau-Thierry, rolled them back at the Argonne while our sailors were sinking their submarines and rendering German aggression harmless on the deep. Our armies rescued our allies, our food fed them, and our money maintained them. We left 60,000 dead in France, and brought to our own land another 60,000 brave men, blind, crippled, and diseased. We accumulated a debt of $23,000,000,000. We fought for ourselves, yes; but we fought for our allies also, and without our aid I hesitate to predict what the outcome of the war would have been. Are we to be called upon without the sanction of the people of the United States, speaking through their constituted representatives, to send our boys again and again into the trenches in lands where we have no interest, where we have no obligations, and where no American principles are involved? I say no.

Calling to the colors the sons of this Republic belongs to the people of this Nation alone and must not be delegated to any power for them to command at will. Our first obligation is to the mothers and fathers and the young men of this country. If it is selfishness to act for America above all other nations, then I am selfish, for I feel the time has come for us to look within

our own Republic and not beyond the seas. We have responsibilities to our own people, who are entitled to our first consideration. Many problems of great moment at home demand our attention and should receive our first care.

The Declaration of Independence, a declaration of the principle of our independence, new, yet embodying the fundamentals of national life, which, constant as the eternal stars, was the guide of our destiny in the beginning, shall be the guide of our Nation in its onward sweep of progress and power for all the years to come. Independence—freedom in thought and action—concedes no surrender, no subservience, to any power on earth.

We hear it frequently said that the United States must do this or that, in regard to the League of Nations. Must is not a proper word to be used by any foreign nation or domestic official to the American people. We recognize neither master nor dictator, and the sovereign will of the people of the United States rises supreme to any authority in the world. We are told that if we refuse to abandon the policies which have brought us to the heights of our prosperity we are "dreamers, living in the forgotten age." If we seek to prevent America from being dragged into every war, we are accused of "seeing with jaundiced eyes." Unless we are willing to repudiate the doctrines of the fathers which gave this country birth and which have prospered it upon its onward course of enlightenment and greatness, we are told that we "lack vision."

Colleagues, I, too, have a vision. Mine is the vision of a Washington, of a Jefferson, of a Hamilton, of a Lincoln, and of a Roosevelt, Americans all, whose voices from their honored graves are beseeching me, as they are beseeching you, my countrymen, to preserve America's independence, imploring us to keep out of Europe's wars and intrigues. We revere other nations, we respect other flags, we sympathize with other races, but, above every other State, above every other banner, above every other race, our love for our own flag and our reverence for the institutions it symbolizes must be supreme in the future as it has been in the past.

What are the facts that confront us to-day? The Senate has declined to acquiesce in an unconditional ratification of the treaty submitted by the President, and the time-worn document has been returned to the Chief Executive unapproved. It is not now before the Senate, and so that body is powerless to act; but let me remind you that the passage of this resolution will not prevent the Senate considering another peace treaty. What we do to-day will in no wise hinder the operation of their treaty-ratifying functions, but the Senate is without authority to negotiate a treaty; only the President has that power, and he evidently has no intention of exercising it. Thus we find ourselves in the position that the President will not act, the Senate can not; so Congress must.

The opponents of this resolution base their arguments on the constitutional restriction that gives to the Senate alone the power of ratifying treaties submitted to it by the President. No one disputes that, but we are not considering a treaty either of peace or of commerce. Here is where the confusion lies. This resolution is an alternative for a treaty and is not in any degree a usurpation of the treaty-making powers of the Senate. It is not a treaty, for it involves only mere recognition of peace on the part of Germany and an admittance and acceptance by her of the indisputable fact that the war has terminated.

It is not a treaty of trade, for it provides merely for a contingency. In the event that Germany does not acquiesce within a stipulated period the President shall proclaim that fact, whereupon commercial intercourse shall cease; that is all. There are ample precedents for this method of procedure. Many acts of Congress provide for our doing certain things in the event other nations do or do not do certain other things. While it is true that these acts have been criticized on the grounds that they were usurpations by Congress of the treaty-ratifying functions of the Senate and because they involved the delegation of legislative power by Congress to the President, the Supreme Court by a decision in 1891, in the case of Field against Clark, determined that Congress had this authority. That question having been adjudicated by the highest tribunal in the land is not open to discussion. Under this resolution the exercise of legislative authority by the President is not authorized; it is therefore not delegated. He is simply required to ascertain a fact, upon the finding of which certain things will follow.

It is not a treaty of commerce, but simply a trade arrangement, and as such is squarely in line with many time-honored precedents. Our Democratic friends maintain that a resolution such as this is beyond the authority of Congress, and is therefore unconstitutional. While a formal treaty of peace is the usual way to terminate war, many cases can be cited in history where this course of procedure was not followed. I contend that not alone by a treaty of peace can war be ended. Let me quote some eminent authorities on international law to show the three methods by which war may be ended:

War may be terminated in three different ways: Belligerents may (1) abstain from further acts of war and glide into peaceful relations without expressly making peace through a special treaty, or (2) belligerents may formally establish the condition of peace through a special treaty of peace, or (3) a belligerent may end the war through subjugation of his adversary. (Oppenheim, International Law, vol. 2, p. 322.)

There are three ways of terminating hostilities between States, namely, (1) by a mere cessation of hostilities of both sides, without any definite understanding supervening; (2) by the conquest and subjugation of one of the contending parties by the other, so that the former is reduced to impotence and submission; (3) by a mutual arrangement embodied in a treaty of peace, whether the honors of war be equal or unequal.

Under the first mode the relationships between the parties remain in a condition of uncertainty, and, owing to the numerous difficulties involved, combatant States have very seldom resorted to this method of withdrawing from the war without arriving at some definite and intelligible decision. (Phillipson, Termination of War and Treaties of Peace, p. 3.)

It is certain that a condition of war can be raised without an authoritative declaration of war, and, on the other hand, the situation of peace may be restored by the long suspension of hostilities without a treaty of peace being made. History is full of such occurrences. What period of suspension of war is necessary to justify the presumption of the restoration of peace has never yet been settled and must in every case be determined with reference to collateral facts and circumstances. (Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, July 22, 1868, Moore's International Law, vol. 7, p. 336.)

The Senate of the United States having refused to ratify the treaty submitted by the President, the customary method of terminating the war status can not be accomplished, and it becomes the plain duty of Congress to declare the admitted fact that the war is ended. There has been a complete suspension of hostilities on both sides without any intention of resuming them. Congress is clearly exercising powers which are within its constitutional rights in recognizing and declaring that the condition described by the writers on international law has now arrived, and that the war is at an end. As by the resolution of April 6, 1917, Congress officially recognized the fact that war had been thrust upon us, so now it becomes the duty of Congress to give official recognition to the fact that the war is ended. To me it seems absurd that Congress, which recognized the existence of war, called to the colors the manhood of the country, marshaled the resources of the Nation, and carried the war forward, can not now terminate that which it initiated and prosecuted to a victorious conclusion. If Congress has not this right, then it follows that the President may keep the country in a state of war indefinitely. Certainly no such power is vested in common sense or can be found delegated to the President by the Constitution.

The first part of the resolution, about which so much discussion centers, is merely the exercise by Congress of the right to repeal that which it itself passed; to terminate that which it began. During the war Congress conferred extraordinary powers upon the President, greater powers than were ever before granted to a Chief Executive. Many of these laws are extremely drastic, and can be justified only as war necessities; but since the war has, in fact, long since ceased, the justification for these laws no longer exists. Laws enacted for the duration of the war are still in force and effect, and many constitutional rights are still suspended, for war technically exists to-day.

Some of the war laws were to be operative only during the war; some were to continue for certain periods after the war in order to give an opportunity to adjust and liquidate business undertaken under war powers and not completed when the war ended; others were to continue in effect for limited periods and various purposes. Each of these laws fixes as the date of the termination of the war the date of the President's proclamation announcing the ratification of the treaty of peace. Section 2 of this resolution proposes, in lieu of the date of the President's proclamation, the date when this resolution becomes effective as the date of the termination of war.

America wants peace. The general welfare of the United States imperatively demands it. Unrest and discontent are universal. Suspicion and distrust are everywhere. Unsound economic conditions prevail, aggravated by the consciousness that peace has not yet come. Business halts and is uncertain of the future. Enterprise and development hesitate, fearing to advance. The people are weary of the exercise of war legislation in times of peace, and demand that these war powers shall be vacated and set aside. Industry, labor, business, and commerce are all impatient to resume a status under the laws and conditions that pertain to peace. My vote will be cast for the resolution, and I hope both branches of Congress will adopt it.

Shall the Democratic Party Keep Us Out of Peace?

"I do not believe there is a single Democratic Senator who would not vote for this resolution of ratification if it were not for the belief of such Senators that the President of the United States desires them to defeat the resolution of ratification now pending and would regard their failure to do so as a refusal to follow his view as party leader." Senator Owen (Democrat) In the United States Senate March 19, 1920.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. IRA G. HERSEY,

OF MAINE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

On the joint resolution 327, being a joint resolution "terminating the state of war declared to exist April 6, 1917, between the Imperial German Government and the United States; permitting on conditions the resumption of reciprocal trade with Germany, and for other purposes."

Mr. HERSEY. Mr. Speaker, 17 months ago the President came before Congress with a message and among other things he said:

* * * The war thus comes to an end * * *. We know only that this tragical war, whose consuming flame swept from one nation to another until all the world was on fire, is at an end. * * *

Seventeen months ago Germany surrendered her arms, signed an armistice and the President at once came before Congress and said:

The war thus comes to an end, * * * for having accepted these terms of the armistice it will be impossible for the German command to renew it.

On October 27 last the President further said:

The war itself is still a fact, when the war is still in suspense as to negotiations for peace, when our troops are still being transported, and when this means of transportation is in urgent need of fuel.

On this 9th day of April, 1920, we are still in a state of war with Germany. Trade relations have not been resumed. Our soldiers have not all been returned from Europe. The business of the Nation has been paralyzed by the failure to ratify a treaty of peace. Over 30 different war emergency acts and laws are still in force. Capital and labor are demanding peace conditions. The whole Nation is sick and tired of the attempt of politicians to use the war powers of the President to perpetuate this administration and to find a political issue for the coming campaign.

Can it be possible that partisan politics would descend to this level or that for the purpose of retaining party supremacy politicians would keep the Nation in a state of war to further the ambitions of any one man or the aspirations of any one party?

If there is any doubt that the President and his party are about to use the war powers under the Constitution to continue this Nation in a state of war with Germany for political advantage, then listen to the facts.

In January, 1919, about two months after the signing of the armistice, the President, self-appointed representative of the American people, went to Paris to attend a peace conference, and returned with what he called a League of Nations, which league he said must be adopted and ratified by the Senate of the United States without change or reservation, and the Senate, which had equal treaty-making powers with the President, after a careful examination of this so-called league, refused to accept it, and 39 Senators, more than enough to defeat it, signed the following resolution as a notice to the President that the country wanted peace, and a treaty of peace and not a future alliance with Europe or an obligation to take part in all future wars of other nations. The resolution is as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the negotiations on the part of the United States should be immediately directed to the utmost expedition of the urgent business of negotiating peace terms with Germany satisfactory to the United States * * * and that the proposal for a league of nations to insure the permanent peace of the world should be then taken up for careful and serious consideration.

The President returned to Paris and obtained the consent of our allies to so connect and entwine his League of Nations with the treaty of peace that, like the Siamese twins, they could not be separated without the death of both—and he brought this strange instrument of over 500 printed pages to the Senate with the statement in substance that the only way this Nation could have peace with Germany was to accept his League of Nations without change, entwined as a league in 79 different places with the treaty of peace.

After a full discussion of this treaty a majority of the Senate adopted the following reservations to the treaty and League of Nations:

Resolution of ratification.

Resolved (*two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein*), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the treaty of peace with Germany, concluded at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, subject to the following reservations and understandings, which are hereby made a part and condition of this resolution of ratification, which ratification is not to take effect or bind the United States until the said reservations and understandings adopted by the Senate have been accepted as a part and a condition of this resolution of ratification by the allied and associated powers, and a failure on the part of the allied and associated powers to make objection to said reservations and understandings prior to the deposit of ratification by the United States shall be taken as a full and final acceptance of such reservations and understandings by said powers:

1. The United States so understands and construes article 1 that in case of notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations, as provided in said article, the United States shall be the sole judge as to whether all its international obligations and all its obligations under the said covenant have been fulfilled, and notice of withdrawal by the United States may be given by a concurrent resolution of the Congress of the United States.

2. The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country by the employment of its military or naval forces, its resources, or any form of economic discrimination, or to interfere in any way in controversies between nations, including all controversies relating to territorial integrity or political independence, whether members of the league or not, under the provisions of article 10, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States, under any article of the treaty for any purpose, unless in any particular case the Congress, which, under the Constitution, has the sole power to declare war or authorize the employment of the military or naval forces of the United States, shall, in the exercise of full liberty of action, by act or joint resolution so provide.

3. No mandate shall be accepted by the United States under article 22, part 1, or any other provision of the treaty of peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States.

4. The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction and declares that all domestic and political questions relating wholly or in part to its internal affairs, including immigration, labor, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, the suppression of traffic in women and children and in opium and other dangerous drugs, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty to be submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the council or of the assembly of the League of Nations, or any agency thereof, or to the decision or recommendation of any other power.

5. The United States will not submit to arbitration or to inquiry by the assembly or by the council of the League of Nations, provided for in said treaty of peace, any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe doctrine; said doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of said League of Nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said treaty of peace with Germany.

6. The United States withholds its assent to articles 156, 157, and 158, and reserves full liberty of action with respect to any controversy which may arise under said articles.

7. No person is or shall be authorized to represent the United States, nor shall any citizen of the United States be eligible, as a member of any body or agency established or authorized by said treaty of peace with Germany, except pursuant to an act of the Congress of the United States providing for his appointment and defining his powers and duties.

8. The United States understands that the reparation commission will regulate or interfere with exports from the United States to Germany, or from Germany to the United States, only when the United States by act or joint resolution of Congress approves such regulation or interference.

9. The United States shall not be obligated to contribute to any expenses of the League of Nations, or of the secretariat, or of any commission, or committee, or conference, or other agency, organized under the League of Nations or under the treaty or for the purpose of carrying out the treaty provisions, unless and until an appropriation of funds available for such expenses shall have been made by the Congress of the United States: *Provided*, That the foregoing limitation shall not apply to the United States' proportionate share of the expense of the office force and salary of the secretary general.

10. No plan for the limitation of armaments proposed by the council of the League of Nations under the provisions of article 8 shall be held as binding the United States until the same shall have been accepted by Congress, and the United States reserves the right to increase its armament without the consent of the council whenever the United States is threatened with invasion or engaged in war.

11. The United States reserves the right to permit, in its discretion, the nationals of a covenant-breaking State, as defined in article 16 of the covenant of the League of Nations, residing within the United States or in countries other than such covenant-breaking State, to continue their commercial, financial, and personal relations with the nationals of the United States.

12. Nothing in articles 296, 297, or in any of the annexes thereto, or in any other article, section, or annex of the treaty of peace with Germany, shall, as against citizens of the United States, be taken to mean any confirmation, ratification, or approval of any act otherwise illegal or in contravention of the rights of citizens of the United States.

13. The United States withholds its assent to Part XIII (articles 387 to 427, inclusive) unless Congress by act or joint resolution shall hereafter make provision for representation in the organization established by said Part XIII, and in such event the participation of the United States will be governed and conditioned by the provisions of such act or joint resolution.

14. Until Part I, being the covenant of the League of Nations, shall be so amended as to provide that the United States shall be entitled to cast a number of votes equal to that which any member of the league and its self-governing dominions, colonies, or parts of empire, in the aggregate, shall be entitled to cast, the United States assumes no obligation to be bound, except in cases where Congress has pre-

viously given its consent, by any election, decision, report, or finding of the council or assembly in which any member of the league and its self-governing dominions, colonies, or parts of empire in the aggregate have cast more than one vote.

The United States assumes no obligation to be bound by any decision, report, or finding of the council or assembly arising out of any dispute between the United States and any member of the league if such member or any self-governing dominion, colony, empire, or part of empire united with it politically has voted.

15. In consenting to the ratification of the treaty with Germany the United States adheres to the principle of self-determination and to the resolution of sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choice adopted by the Senate June 6, 1919, and declared that when such government is attained by Ireland, a consummation it is hoped is at hand, it should promptly be admitted as a member of the League of Nations.

Through Viscount Grey, British ambassador to the United States, the President and the Senate were informed that these reservations were acceptable to our allies, that they would be pleased to have the treaty and League of Nations ratified with these reservations; but the President sent word to his party in the Senate not to accept these reservations but to defeat the treaty, and it was done by Democratic votes, as he had wished.

On March 19, 1920, Senator OWEN in the Senate said of this defeat of the treaty of peace by his party:

I do not believe there is a single Democratic Senator who would not vote for this resolution of ratification if it were not for the belief of such Senators that the President of the United States desires them to defeat the resolution of ratification now pending and would regard their failure to do so as a refusal to follow his view as party leader.

The Republican Party in Congress has exhausted every resource to obtain a treaty of peace to protect American rights. They have now brought before the House of Representatives the following resolution, which is under consideration:

That the state of war declared to exist between the Imperial German Government and the United States by the joint resolution of Congress approved April 6, 1917, is hereby declared at an end.

When this resolution was being considered by the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House, Chairman Cummings, of the Democratic national committee, came to Washington and called together his party leaders in House and Senate and informed them that they must defeat this resolution and stand by the President so as to make the League of Nations an issue in the coming campaign. The rank and file of the Democratic Party submitted, as it always does, to the political decrees of the President, and they have agreed to do all in their power to defeat this resolution of peace and to keep us in a state of war at least until after next election. All this to "save the face" of the President and to furnish an issue for the campaign.

Hitherto when Democrats have been asked why we did not have peace and why the treaty has not been ratified by the Senate they have answered that it was due to the "stubborn man" in the White House. They have said that the Democratic Party was not responsible for what one man does and that they did not intend to follow the President in the coming campaign. Now, when the Democrats in the Senate obey and the Democrats in the House follow his commands—the Democratic leaders say if the Republicans pass this legislation they will stand solidly against it and that the President will veto it, and that we can not get Democratic votes enough to pass it over the veto—they have placed themselves irrevocably by the side of the President and have adopted his issue, "No peace until the League of Nations has been ratified without the dotting of an 'i' or the crossing of a 't.'"

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUDDLESTON] is one of those Democrats who has refused to be a "rubber stamp" for the President. Yesterday in the discussion of this resolution he gave the House some facts as to the position of his President and his party. His speech was full of patriotism, courage, and independence, and I want to call the attention of the country to a few things he said. Among other things he said:

No; we will not have peace, except on condition that the League of Nations shall be accepted without reservations just as our President desires.

* * * * * * *

The people will visit upon the public man or the party that takes that obstinate position against their proper desire for peace a punishment which I shall not accept for myself, because I do not intend to deserve it.

* * * * * * *

Where will we be if we do not accept this proposition or some other of similar purport? We will project this issue into the next political campaign. We will distract the public attention from grave domestic questions that need to be solved. We will divert the thought of the people of America away from problems which concern them and enter into the troublesome foreign questions with the certainty that at the end of the campaign we shall be found exactly where we are to-day, hopelessly divided, and a deadlock existing between the President and the Senate.

* * * * * * *

The people will not tolerate that the war laws be held at their heads like a loaded pistol to force them into accepting the treaty. They claim the right to consider the treaty and the league upon their merits. They resent the attempt to intimidate them and to demand their acceptance of the treaty as the price of relief. Public men and parties which seek thus to impose upon the people will find themselves the mark of hearty disapproval.

I can not agree with those who may argue that we are bound in honor to join in a treaty with the nations associated with us in the war. They entered the war without our leave. We entered it upon our own initiative. We cooperated with them to defeat the common enemy. We went into the war unpledged to our associated nations. We have come out of the war without owing them anything; to the contrary, they are our debtors. The honor of America is not pledged to unite in a common treaty with our associated nations. It is pledged neither expressly nor by implication. The people have not pledged American honor, neither has it been pledged by Congress nor by anyone authorized by the people to speak for them. We entered the war for reasons of our own; we spent our blood and treasure without stint; we have asked neither land nor money, favors nor indemnity; we fought in defense of the civilization of the world. Continued cooperation with the nations associated with us in the war is neither obligated nor compelled. We will hereafter, as I hope, act freely, as heretofore, for the welfare and dignity of America and for the peace and hope of mankind.

The nations associated with us in the war have made peace with Germany. America alone of all the nations retains her war status. We do not abandon our associated nations by terminating the state of war. We do but join them in their status of peace. We do not abandon them to a common enemy. They are at peace and no longer require our support or protection. It is absurd to say that American honor is pledged to stand alone among the nations in a state of war with Germany. If in any sense American honor is under pledge, it is to promote peace, harmony, and good will at home and among the nations of the world.

A morning Washington paper has an item of news in big headlines, entitled "Wilson's sheep will lead the animal parade." I have not examined this item of news to see if there is anything in it as to the gathering of the Democratic hosts to win the next election on the slogan "He will keep us out of peace." William Jennings Bryan says that for his party to stand for the ratification of the League of Nations without reservations protecting American rights would be suicide. The poet Longfellow, in speaking of the duties and obligations of the true citizen, says:

In the world's broad field of battle,
In the bivouac of life,
Be not like dumb, driven cattle!
Be a hero in the strife!

For the Democrats to be "dumb, driven cattle" or "Wilson's sheep" in the coming campaign means according to Bryan suicide. To be a "hero in the strife" one must not commit suicide, as the suicide is not a hero but a coward.

Since the birth of this Nation no political party has ever found itself in such a desperate situation as that which now confronts the "Wilson party." They dare not stand on the record of the last seven years. They desire, above all things, to distract the attention of the people from the great waste, extravagance, and incompetency that has attended the present administration during the past four years. To find an issue something must be done by Democratic leaders to further deceive the people until after the next election. Think for a moment of the actual situation. The party that four years ago obtained a renewal of its lease of power by the slogan, "He will keep us out of war," will now find itself pledged to defend its present cowardly attitude, "He will keep us out of peace."

Representative Godwin's 14 Years of Faithful Service to the People—"By Their Fruits Ye Shall Know Them."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HANNIBAL L. GODWIN

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 12, 1920.

Mr. GODWIN of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me by the House to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to state that my sense of duty to my constituents as well as justice to myself suggests the propriety of making a brief statement of my "stewardship," referring to some of the measures I have advocated and accomplished in the past and to what I favor to-day and for the future.

I am serving in my fourteenth year as the Representative from the sixth North Carolina district, and during that time I have been deeply interested in everything that would promote the prosperity and happiness of our people.

I have stood squarely for every relief in which the farmers and business men have been interested. I have favored the greatest possible yield for the least possible cost. I am and have been in favor of equal and exact justice between labor and capital. Their cause has been my cause and I have responded to their every call and helped them to secure much that has brought happiness and comfort to their homes. I have aided in inter-

esting the farmers in such agricultural subjects as the extension of the farm demonstration work, crop rotation, seed selection, the improvement of soils, the growing of winter cover crops, and the crops that gather nitrogen from the air; also the construction of good roads by State and Federal aid. I have helped to secure aids for swamp drainage and thousands of acres of swamp lands have been reclaimed. Swamp drainage and good roads are two handmaidens and both are necessary to build the country.

The Agricultural Department has granted daily requests for the relief of the farmers of the sixth district. I know the head men in every bureau and they have responded when I made known the wishes of our people. I have distributed quantities of forage-crop seeds, such as vetch, clover, alfalfa, grass mixture, and so forth.; also, yearbooks, bulletins, and reports have been sent to every man who has been trying to improve his soil, build up waste places, rotate his crops, and double his yield on the same acreage by the use of better methods.

Every pond, lake, and stream is alive with fish sent from Washington. I have been interested in and aided the boys' and girls' clubs, and the flower seed which I have sent them enabled the girls to have flower gardens at home and at school. I have aided in beautifying the homes, which has done much to make the country and farm life more attractive and profitable.

I have supported measures for the rural carriers and the Rural Free Delivery Service, including the parcels post and the postal savings banks and all other rural benefits, as I am firm in my belief that the people who live in the country are entitled to as many conveniences as those who live in the towns.

I gained the favorable consideration of the Bureau of Soils and the soil-survey work has been carried on in almost every county. These soil-survey maps and reports have done much to advertise and increase the value of our farm lands and they have given information to the farmers in the way of planting and rotating their crops which would be difficult to measure in money value. No section has been neglected; every county has been the object of my labors. The smallest townships and the remotest precincts have come in for a full share of attention. No industry has been favored at the expense of another; neither has one section of my district been built up by tearing down another, and no class of our people has received any privileges over another class, but all alike at all times have received my best efforts.

While I have worked for the country districts, the cities, the towns, and the villages have not been neglected. They have all come in for a full share of benefits. I have secured appropriations for public buildings and sites for more. The question of a new customhouse at Wilmington was not agitated before I entered Congress. Now we have a building that makes the heart of every citizen rejoice.

The improvement of the Cape Fear and other rivers of the district has at all times received my careful attention. I favor cheap freight rates and feel that we must have water transportation to guard them. The 8-foot project in the Upper Cape Fear, with Fayetteville as a distributing and freight-rate basing point, has been one of the objects of my chief endeavors. At the beginning of my service only a few thought this project would ever be accomplished. Now the Government has about completed the work. The improvement of rivers and harbors, the deepening and straightening the channels of streams, securing aids for navigation, and the extension of the inland waterway south along the Atlantic coast have all received my daily efforts and are being carried on to success.

I am not only interested in a general way in behalf of my constituents, but I have made it a rule to attend to the smallest requests made by the humblest individuals. Every letter has received a prompt reply. I have made known to my constituents the progress of public legislation and put forth every effort to ascertain the wishes and sentiments of the people on every public question. I have attended the sessions of the House and voted for the best interests of my people.

I have warm personal friends in both Houses of Congress, and I am familiar with every step involved in accomplishing legislation. I also possess a full knowledge of the labor and the tactics essential to carry on to completion the work now pending involving many matters in the interest of the people which I have in hand for attention, and when all are fully completed they will be worth to the people what no man would dare attempt to figure out in dollars and cents.

THE AMERICAN SOLDIER.

I favor prompt relief for the American soldier. Millions of our boys gave up their homes and the hopes of future years and marched to a ruthless and relentless war. They became the bravest soldiers God ever made. Their names have gone down upon the immortal roll of honor, and we are still living beneath the protecting folds of the Stars and Stripes. Germany had become one of the most vicious and bloodthirsty nations that ever disgraced the pages of history. She was seeking to conquer the world or to engulf it in a sea of blood. She had drawn from the eyes of women and children enough tears to make another sea. She had drawn from the hearts of mankind enough blood to redden every wave of that sea. It became necessary for us to draw the sword of a righteous retribution, and that sword was not sheathed until German Kaiser, Turkish Sultan, and Austrian Emperor were scourged from their blood-soaked thrones and the peace of the world reestablished upon an enduring foundation of liberty and humanity.

Some of our soldiers who went to war will never return. We are weeping for graves that we may never see. Their blood has enriched the soil of France and from the place where their blood was poured out roses and lilies have sprung up and are growing, and their perfume will be for the healing of down-trodden humanity. We have had our sacrifices.

It is and has ever been the inscrutable law of God to blot out the sins of the wicked with the blood of his saints. From Calvary's crimson cross to the battle fields of the Marne and the Somme sacrifice has been the immutable purchase price of progress, while civilization has written every luminous page of its resplendent history in profusions of precious blood. Joan of Arc gave her life to save France. Abraham offered his son Isaac because of his faith in God. Moses suffered the privations of the wilderness to liberate the children of Israel.

Our American boys went to France; from there, through countless lines of battle, with machine guns and cannons in front of them, with poisonous gases enveloping them, with the air filled with death-dealing crafts above them, with exploding mines beneath them—through all these horrors they triumphantly bore the flag of this Republic to liberty and freedom, and I favor any measure that will contribute to their relief or comfort.

I wish to state something of the general legislation which I have helped to enact.

The Federal reserve law, affording America a new currency system, weeding out the miserable makeshift currency law that had grown old, antiquated, and lacking in efficiency, avoiding panics and expanding the volume of currency, enabled the Government to finance the World War and all business institutions still intact.

The income-tax law, requiring the swollen fortunes of the rich to bear their fair share of the burdens of government.

Election of Senators by direct vote; prior to this provision Senatorships were decided by legislatures, now by the sovereign voters.

Abrogation of bossism in Congress; providing for the election of committees instead of the appointment thereof, a reform demanded by every section of the country.

Publicity of campaign expenses; affording the poor man a chance to aspire for office by not giving the rich a monopoly on the same; a curbing of outrageous contributions by special interests.

Corrupt-practices act: Providing against the unlawful use of money in elections; to prevent vote buying; to prevent corrupt election methods, so elections will be clean, honest, open, and free from crooked dealing.

Federal Trade Commission law: To eliminate trusts, combines, and dishonest business men everywhere; a stimulus to honest business, a curb bit in the mouth of dishonest business.

Marine insurance law: Insuring an open sea, an open market; providing for marine insurance to shippers of American products; the resumption of shipping to markets of the world; affording the six and a half million farmers an open and an honest market for their crops; affording 20,000,000 wage earners permanent employment at a living wage. Cotton was selling for 5½ cents a pound after the war began, due to closed seas occasioned by the withdrawal of insurance companies. The enactment of the Government marine-insurance law aided in restoring the price of cotton, wheat, and other products.

Ship purchase act: Enabling Americans to control their own shipping and make certain their markets. Establishing a merchant marine, ships to carry our commerce. Enabling the farmer to have a steady and dependable market for his wheat and his cotton; enabling the business man to prosper and improve; to keep the arteries of commerce open and going; to enable ships to navigate the seas and carry products of mine, field, and forest to the markets of the world. This legislation is important in peace times but doubly important in war times, both to business men and farmers.

Clayton antitrust law: To prosecute the trusts and combinations and those engaged in vicious business methods that oppress the poor; to encourage honest business; honest business will not object; dishonest business will get justice, and no more.

Philippine independence bill: Giving the Filipinos a modified form of independence and giving them a wider scope of local self-government. This will hasten the day of complete independence, which is desirable both to the United States and to the Philippines.

National prohibition: Congress, by a two-thirds vote in both branches, has passed it; three-fourths of the States have ratified it; it is the law of the land.

ACHIEVEMENTS FOR THE FARMERS.

Rural credits law: Cheaper interest, longer tenure—what the farmers desired. I am now working for amendments so loans can be made direct, dispensing with red tape, and rendering loans more easy and simple of acquirement. While the law is not patronized by all, the low rate of interest and long tenure of payment has lowered interest rates in all farm loan companies, thereby benefiting the farmer.

Law to prevent gambling in farm products: This law needs tightening up, so that farmers may be sure of an open and honest market, free from gamblers, who neither sow nor reap; a market free of graft.

Warehouse bill: Enabling farmers to hold their crops properly insured for favorable market conditions.

Grain-grades bill: Classifying and grading grain, thereby securing better conditions and better prices.

Lever agricultural-extension bill: Carrying education to the farmers' sons; improving agricultural conditions.

Good-roads law: Federal aid for improvements to highways of the country. For the benefit of all.

Ferris 640-acre homestead law: Increasing area that homesteader may secure. Aids in opening the West.

Three-year homestead law: Cutting down residence from five to three years, thereby aiding the homesteader.

Second homestead entry for soldiers: Giving soldiers an additional opportunity to secure a home.

Preference right to soldier entrymen: Aiding soldiers to have a second chance to secure a home.

Credit given for time of service in Army as residence on homestead: Aids homesteaders in acquirement of homes by reducing residence on land.

Federal appropriations for agricultural and mechanical colleges where farm boys and girls can learn trades; putting agriculture on a business basis; making agriculture a science; reducing cost of production.

Construction of fertilizer plants to improve the impoverished and run-down soils: Here Government steps in to stamp out monopoly in fertilizer, thereby rendering aid to farmers.

Increased appropriations for agriculture, thus recognizing agriculture as one of the leading industries.

Bureau of Markets: To enable the farmer to have an open and honest market; to avoid waste; to provide better market facilities; to aid farmers in every way.

Bureau of Good Roads: To keep alive road improvement everywhere; to study improved methods of road construction.

Repeal daylight-saving law: It was repealed on the 20th day of August, 1919.

LABOR SUPPORTED.

Establishment of the Department of Labor: Providing for a Cabinet member to represent the wage earners of the country.

Eight-hour day on public works: In the interest of every man who toils.

Children's Bureau: Protecting orphanage of land; demanded by civilization.

Safety of railway employees: Only justice to both employees and dependent ones.

Bureau of Labor Safety: Scientific methods of protecting those engaged in hazardous employment.

Workmen's compensation law: To make certain compensation to dependent ones.

Seamen's law: Requiring decent living facilities and proper protection of life.

Anti-injunction law: Labor's demand.

Increased wage scales on Government work.

The establishment in the Department of Labor of an adjustment service, including (a) Division of Conciliation, (b) United States Employment Service, (c) Bureau of Labor Statistics, (d) Bureau of Immigration, (e) Bureau of Naturalization, (f) Information and Educational Service, (g) Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation, (h) war labor policies board, (i) adjusting of labor disputes.

All in the interest of labor; all enacted for its benefit.

AMERICA'S NATURAL RESOURCES KEPT FREE FROM GRAFT.

Aided in stamping out graft in connection with the 70,000,000 acres of public land, the 165,000,000 acres of forest reserves, the 70,000,000 acres of coal land, the 6,000,000 acres of oil land, and the 3,000,000 acres of phosphate land, the 60,000,000 horsepower of hydroelectric energy, and the 31 national monuments and national parks. This property belongs to all the people—all should be interested in its preservation, development, and proper use. The handling of this great estate was both intricate and difficult. Not a breath of scandal, not an acre given away to railroads or frittered away by tax legislation.

Prior to the administration of Secretary Franklin K. Lane America suffered a constant scandal regarding the public domain.

AMERICA'S GREAT ACHIEVEMENT AND EFFICIENCY DURING THE STRESS OF WAR.

1. Raised an Army of 4,000,000 men—the mightiest and most efficient Army of all history.

2. Bridged the Atlantic with American ships and put 2,000,000 men safely across the sea amidst the greatest adversity known to history.

3. Established the greatest Medical Department and reduced the loss of life by disease to a minimum.

4. Established the greatest hospital service.

5. Established the greatest aeroplane service and established the greatest Navy in the world, save and except England alone.

6. Had an Army of the bravest men, the best clothed, the best fed, and the best paid of any army of the 26 nations engaged in the conflict.

7. Loaned $11,000,000,000 to the Allies to aid in the conduct of the war.

8. No panic; no failing, crumbling institutions; money plentiful; business men prosperous; the Treasury safe and sound; American institutions growing and expanding; no scourge among us.

9. The establishment of a war-time espionage law; a law to punish the spy, the agitator, the I. W. W., who, while the boys were dying at the front and were being submarined as they crossed the sea, were disseminating insidious propaganda of the murderous Hun.

10. Increased pay of the private soldier both in war and peace times from $15 to $30 a month. There was not a dissenting vote by either Republican or Democrat when this increase was added as an amendment to the draft law.

RECONSTRUCTION LEGISLATION, BOTH PENDING AND PASSED, INCIDENT TO CLOSING THE WORLD'S GREATEST WAR.

First. Vocational education for the wounded soldiers, so they may learn trades and become independent, self-sustaining citizens. Approximately $22,000,000 has already been appropriated, more to follow. These wounded soldiers shall be protected; they shall be educated; they shall not want.

Second. Pending legislation putting within reach of America's soldiers an opportunity to own and reside in a home they can call their own. I am in favor of extending the Mondell bill to town homes as well as farm homes; also to allow segregated homes as distinguished from soldiers' colony homes; also to let soldiers designate locality and particular homes desired; also to afford an equal chance to men of every State without requiring soldier to abandon his home State to avail himself of the law.

Third. Preference in the civil service and Government employment of all kinds for the soldiers. Will be assistance to soldiers who desire to enter Government service. It gives them a preference in all Government appointments. It is a law.

Fourth. Preference rights extended to all soldiers in acquiring of public lands and homes upon the public domain.

Fifth. Appropriate cash bonuses to the soldiers commensurate with their needs to reestablish them in society and make them as well off as they were before they entered the service. This should be done. It is only justice. Their service has upset all their plans. It is only a just recognition of service faithfully performed.

Sixth. Sweeping away of emergency war-time legislation. Total exemption of farmers from all profiteering laws, as they are not hoarders—not dealers—merely producers and selling in an open market.

Seventh. Repeal of the espionage laws and censorship laws of all kinds simultaneously with the closing of the war; this was necessary during the war, but indefensible in peace times. All patriotic Congressmen and Senators were willing to pass stringent laws to help win the war; all should now join in their repeal.

Eighth. To dispense with all unnecessary boards and Federal control, and allow honest business, labor, society, and the farmers to be free from Federal interference—Federal regulation—and allow the law of supply and demand, honestly administered, to again assert itself and control. If abuses spring up, let them be prosecuted in the courts as other infractions of law. In war times drastic laws were required. In peace the least governed is the best governed.

Ninth. To prosecute and put behind bars gamblers in the necessities of life and hoarders and extortionists of all sorts and kinds. Hoarders, gamblers, profiteers, and extortionists should no longer be tolerated. They extort from the producer and consumer. They breed Bolshevists, anarchists, and law violators.

Tenth. For the enactment of legislation to reduce the high cost of living and the abnormal and unconscionable profits, due to practiced extortion on both producer and consumer; hoarding and profiteering to be prosecuted for breaches of the law.

Eleventh. Restoration and reinstatement on easy terms, without penalty, of lapsed war-risk insurance policies.

Twelfth. Payment of soldiers' insurance in lump sums, as distinguished from monthly installments, at the option of the insured.

Thirteenth. Establishment of educational advantages in all camps, cantonments, forts, arsenals, thereby rendering service in Army and Navy sufficiently attractive to insure an adequate peace-time Army without compulsory military training in peace times.

Fourteenth. Free education to all disabled soldiers without red tape or entrance conditions of any sort; make admission easy and attractive.

Fifteenth. Deportation of alien slackers, as desired by the American Legion.

The Fortifications Appropriation Bill—Opposed to Compulsory Military Training.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WELLS GOODYKOONTZ,

OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 10, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 13555) making appropriations for fortifications and other works of defense, for the armament thereof, and for the procurement of heavy ordnance for trial and service, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.

Mr. GOODYKOONTZ. Mr. Speaker, the object of this bill is to appropriate money for fortifications and other works of national defense, including the big calibered long-range rifles necessary to guard our coast cities, the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands, and the Panama Canal. The greater portion of the fund sought to be appropriated is to cover the cost of completing works heretofore authorized and in process of construction, and for the repair and protection of existing structures.

The bill carries $98,959,888 less than the original estimates, and $47,460,672 less than the revised estimates submitted by the Director of Finance. The bill, when enacted into law, will prevent the further expenditure of appropriations heretofore made and cover into the Treasury on that account $800,534,992.93.

The very active and interesting Member from Texas, Mr. BLANTON, has spoken in favor of a reduction in national expenditures, and, while crediting the majority with a measure of success, has somewhat violently attacked the majority and their leader, Mr. MONDELL, for not making sufficient progress along this line. We must admit that not always have we cut appropriations as severely as they should have been pruned, but this was not the fault of the main body of the majority. The trouble is that when it comes to economy the Democratic Party has only one BLANTON; he is a leader without a follower—a John the Baptist crying in the Democratic wilderness. The minority generally have voted for all motions to increase appropriations and against all motions having as their object the reduction of appropriations.

But we are now considering another measure, one involving appropriations for the national defense. The spokesman for the bill is the chairman of the subcommittee, the distinguished gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SLEMP]. In this Chamber this afternoon I listened to every word of his splendid address. We have many remarkable men in the House of Representatives. We have at the head of all the committees and of the subcommittees men of preeminent ability, and I have heard many of them speak upon and interrogated as to the measures they were managing upon the floor, but never before have I observed a Member whose wealth of information, accuracy of thought, fairness of dealing, soundness of judgment, and clearness of expression exceeded that of the modest, unassuming, but erudite and polished, gentleman from Virginia.

His struggle for political existence in Virginia—until the last election, when his former political enemies, recognizing his ability and patriotic devotion to his country, declined to oppose him—has been an ever recurring one. He has grappled with some of the ablest Democrats of his time, including the mighty Stuart, late Governor of that Commonwealth, but they each and all went down before him, not because they were unworthy, but for the reason that he and his principles were more worthy.

May it not be that his skill as an astute politician and as a profound statesman can be accounted for in the fact that as a cadet in the Virginia Military Academy, the West Point of the South, at Lexington, at graduation his examination papers showed that he had reached the highest mark ever attained by a student in that renowned institution.

Mr. Chairman, soon after arriving at Washington to take my seat in this body I was presented to the honored and distinguished gentleman who formerly presided with so much grace and dignity and fairness over the deliberations of this House, Mr. ex-Speaker CANNON, who said to me, "Young man, you are entering the greatest school in the world."

Not long afterwards I had the privilege and pleasure of meeting that great leader of men and expert on parliamentary law from Illinois [Mr. MANN], whose comment was, "You have become a Member of the greatest representative body in the world."

Here are men of every school of thought and shade of political opinion. Here are men of almost every profession, trade, and calling. Here are men from every section and community of our broad land and its island possessions, a country of varied industries, interests, and aspirations. Here we find the Representatives of all the sovereign peoples of our great Nation. Truly it is a representative body and made up of "many men of many minds."

The narrow soul and sordid individual, the misanthrope and the pessimist, who questions the ability or impugns the motives of the membership of this body is attacking the people themselves and seeking to undermine the foundations of free government.

This afternoon we were entertaind by the accomplished gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. TILSON], who exhibited in our presence numerous firearms, such as rifles, shotguns, pistols, and revolvers, and whose knowledge of the mechanism of these implements of war seemed truly remarkable. The truth is that except for the fact that he has such information, coupled with other splendid qualifications, his Yankee constituents would not have sent him here, but having sent him they are smart enough to keep him here so long as he shall desire to stay.

While the gentleman was demonstrating the good points of the revolver my memory reverted to an incident of early boyhood. I had purchased for a small sum, from an auctioneer, a so-called "British bulldog revolver." I think "British" was a misnomer, for down on the metallic part of the revolver was the name of the manufacturer, located at New Haven, Conn. I kept the revolver hid around for a day or so until the folks were away from home and then proceeded to try it out. About the center of the barn door was a plank with a knot in it; standing off about 10 steps I steadied myself, and holding the pistol firmly with both hands, deliberately fired at the knot. The report was deafening and the smoke from the discharge hung low and heavy near the ground; with eagerness I hastened to the door to find out how accurate "she" was, but I could find no trace of the ball. There was an original small hole in the knot and I had begun to flatter myself with the thought that the ball had passed through the center and that I was, therefore, a dead shot, but glancing at a place some 4 feet away I was humiliated to observe the ball half buried in a log. This disgusted me with the old pistol and I soon traded it off.

Another incident of this period of my life was the discovery in the advertising columns of a farm newspaper—there was very little in the paper but advertisements—of a cut resembling a watch, under which it was said, "This solid rolled gold, stem winder and stem setter sent, postage prepaid, for $1." When the article came, much to my chagrin, I found it to be a kind of old brass sundial. I think I got this piece of property from a firm in Massachusetts. New England was not the only section of the country that duped me. One day I received from Chicago a very personal letter from a firm styling itself "Cody & Co.," saying that it had come to their knowledge that I was a prominent man in my community; that they were engaged in the portrait business; that if I would send them a photograph they would make and send me, free of charge, a splendid crayon portrait of myself, their object being to advertise their work. This remarkable proposition appealed to my vanity and the photograph was sent. A few days later receipt of my letter and

photograph were duly acknowledged, with the statement that they had put one of their most skillful artists at work, and intimated that on account of my good looks the portrait would be an unsually handsome one. Then followed the suggestion that since this work was being done for me without charge it were only fair that I advance $20 to cover the cost of a suitable frame for the portrait. Upon carefully considering the proposition it gradually dawned upon me that more than likely when they said that I was "a prominent man," I being then only about 16 years of age, they might have been lying to me, and were trying to swindle me. It was only after repeated demands that I was able to secure a return of the photograph, which I highly valued, it being the only one I had.

Perhaps there were many boys on the farms not as green as I, but I expect that there were quite a few equally unsophisticated who were caught by the same devices that entrapped me.

There is now in Chicago a society organized to assist in securing the passage of a law providing for compulsory military training; furthermore, many people in Connecticut—from which State comes the gentleman who has so ably presented to us the merits of the guns, pistols, and revolvers made in that great State—I understand are very much in favor of compulsory military training for our 18-year old boys. While I have the greatest respect for the gentleman, as also for all the ingenuous and thrifty Yankees of New England, yet I feel that I am now too old to have the wool again pulled down over my eyes.

This bill makes no appropriation for small arms. We have on hand millions of such, enough, let us hope, to last the country for many, many years. And I am not very anxious that Massachusetts and Connecticut shall ship any more of their repeating rifles into West Virginia, for if so many of them had not in the past been made and sent there fewer good men would have died with their boots on in my good State.

Mr. Speaker, the propaganda for universal compulsory military training has had no effect upon me nor upon the vast majority of the men in Congress. The people, too, are fast awakening to a full realization of the danger of converting this country into a vast military camp. The doctrine of compulsory military training can only be compared with mental henbane or the deadly nightshade.

The Peace Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES V. GANLY,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

Mr. GANLY. Mr. Speaker, I have given to the consideration of this pending resolution declaring the war with Germany at an end the most serious thought. I have approached its consideration not in any partisan spirit, because I am firmly convinced that this question in nowise is affected by party partisanship, but is rather one requiring earnest, conscientious, and sincere patriotism. There should be neither Democratic politics nor Republican politics in a question affecting the vital interests of the Republic; and, although other men in this House and in the other branch of the National Legislature have attempted to limit their consideration to this question along partisan lines, for my part I have endeavored to dismiss from my mind all other questions but what is best for all the people.

I represent a district which I firmly believe is composed of citizens whose patriotism and Americanism is of the highest type. I believe they hold dear the honor and prosperity of our country, and I intend to vote for this resolution because I believe that not only do they wish it, and therefore I should represent their desire, but because it is the first opportunity presented for a real solution of the unrest among the people and of the paralysis of trade due to the failure to negotiate a proper peace treaty. The waging of a successful war required rigid and drastic war legislation, but that necessity has passed, and no representative of the people could be true to their interests if he tolerated for a single day the continuance for war purposes of laws which hamper the individual and curtail his ordinary legal rights and liberties, and which have been a handicap and burden upon normal trade and commerce. This resolution brings an end to uncertainty.

Are all the business activities of this country and the great enterprises of commerce and domestic industry on which the livelihood of every citizen depends, to remain paralyzed and prevented from growth and development while the Senate and Executive of this country are settling their contest of strength in formulating a treaty of peace? How long are the citizens of this country to wait for a full and complete settlement of the questions arising between Germany and the United States and the questions involving the international relations of this country with the whole world? To me, as a representative of my people, are presented the plain questions by this resolution whether I am in favor of declaring the war at an end, whether or not I am in favor of terminating the restrictive legislation which curtailed ordinary liberties of the citizens during the war, whether or not I am in favor of the trade and commerce of this country continuing on its normal, unimpeded progress. To all these questions I have but one answer, and that is that I am in favor of every one of these propositions. If I voted against this resolution simply because as a Democrat I feel that I should vote along party lines, I would in my own opinion be betraying the best interests of my constituents.

One of the greatest evils of our day is the profiteering in commodities and in the staples of life, leading to a tremendous burden on the ordinary people in their cost of living.

To my mind this evil condition is largely due to the failure to settle upon the terms and conditions of peace and to resume normal commercial intercourse with the whole world.

America should lead the world in establishing peace; instead we are lagging behind.

The whole world is seeking peace, our entire country is seeking peace, the constituents whom I represent earnestly desire the resumption of peaceful conditions, and this resolution seeks to bring about that condition. I shall therefore gladly vote for it.

Some question has arisen as to whether or not this resolution is within the constitutional powers of the House of Representatives. I have examined this question with care, and, in my opinion, the Constitution of our country does give this power to the House of Representatives; and I therefore believe that under all the circumstances, which I need not rehearse, because they are so well known to every citizen, that it is the duty of the House of Representatives to use whatever power it does possess to bring to an end the great difficulties, the continuing unrest, and the intolerable burdens incident to the delay of the Senate and of the President to agree upon a treaty.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. GALLIVAN,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 12, 1920.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, March 24, the Committee on Ways and Means of this House held an important session, attended by practically every member of the committee, for the purpose of considering certain suggested beneficial legislation affecting the soldiers and sailors of the World War. The executive committee of the American Legion and various State commanders of this splendid order had been invited to appear before the Ways and Means Committee with any suggestions as to legislation affecting the welfare, physical and financial, of the soldiers and sailors of the World War.

Every State in the Union was represented by an officer of the legion at the hearing, and, as a Representative in Congress from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, I was privileged to address the Ways and Means Committee during its session.

By permission of the House I herewith present to this body the argument made by me at the hearing in favor of a substantial bonus for the ex-service men of America:

STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES A. GALLIVAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, MARCH 24, 1920.

"Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like very much to be heard now.

"The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be glad to hear you now, Mr. GALLIVAN.

"Mr. GALLIVAN. I am so much interested in this legislation that I have left a hospital where I have been confined for seven weeks and have come here from Boston to appear before this committee, and I asked to be heard at this moment because of some

questions which were asked of the gentleman who has just preceded me and which, I think, I can answer better than he can, although he did excellently well, and I want to compliment him on the way in which he met some of these questions that were put to him.

"First of all, an effort was made by some member of the committee to show that the American Legion was asking for this legislation. They are not asking for anything of the kind. My good friend from Texas on this committee tried to pin it onto the American Legion and he tried to show that it was a selfish demand from the legion.

"And the gentleman from Ohio answered by saying that, because of numerous bills which had been introduced on the floor of the House—and I think some were introduced in the Senate—these demands came from the people of this country and not from the legion.

"I want to say that I heartily echo what Mr. Bettman said, that the demand for this legislation comes from the country.

"Long before the American Legion had its first session in Paris I introduced a bill, the first bill, if you please, for a bonus; and I have the pleasure and the pride—I would 'point with pride,' as the campaign platforms say, to the fact that I introduced the first bonus bill in Congress.

"And from that day to this I understand that 76 bills have been introduced asking for bonuses or adjusted compensation, or whatever you choose to term it. I can see nothing selfish in it. My excellent friend from Texas [Mr. GARNER] wanted to know whether there was a general newspaper support of it; he said he could not find any such support. I do not know what newspapers he reads. I have in front of me an editorial from the standpat reactionary Republican organ of New England, the Boston Transcript, of March 4. I do not want to read it, because it reflects on us Members of Congress for not having passed legislation of this sort long ago. It is the most enthusiastic thing I have read in favor of this legislation. And the Boston Transcript is probably the most enthusiastic Republican newspaper in the country. And the best editorial that I have read on it comes from the Boston American, which is 80 per cent of the time a regular Democratic paper.

"So, therefore, I could quote to this committee, from my own city, strong editorial indorsements from recognized newspapers with big circulations, heartily indorsing this proposition, which did not originate with the American Legion, but which, if I may be permitted to say it, this committee put up to the legion, the American Legion not having taken any position on the bonus theretofore.

"The question of a bonus has been considered by this committee because of frequent requests from individual Members of Congress who have come here to the chairman, or to individual members of the Ways and Means Committee, and said that they had introduced bills; that they wanted hearings on their bills. And you gentlemen well know that there have been private conferences of the Members of the House who have introduced bills, who wanted to agree on some concrete measures.

"The story went out that the American Legion had not taken a position; and the legion was criticized for not having taken a position; and the legion was accused of having sidestepped the question of bonus.

"And so the legion came to the Nation's Capital, and it has held a meeting, and it has appointed a committee on this legislation, and out of that committee comes this bill which is before you to-day. I want to say, as the first man who introduced a bonus bill, that I am here now to withdraw my bill and to give hearty support to the legion proposition, which is the best thing I have seen of all the bills which have been offered.

"My friend from Texas—and there is no man in the committee or in Congress for whom I have a higher regard—wanted to know this morning something about the individual votes taken on these various titles. Well, it was all right for him to probe into the executive actions of the executive committee of the American Legion. But I know he would object if anybody attempted to probe into the votes taken at the executive sessions of the Ways and Means Committee.

"But as long as it came up, I will give him some information: I will tell him why there was a unanimous vote on titles 1, 2, and 3 of the bill. It was because a majority of the men voting had agreed that they would vote for title 4; and everybody who was in favor of title 4 voted for titles 1, 2, or 3, because of the absolute understanding that where a man did not want to take a land grant, or to borrow money to build a home, but wanted a cash bonus, the men who favored the provisions of titles 1, 2, and 3 would support a proposition for a cash bonus or an adjusted compensation.

"I do not want the committee to be misled, because there was a small minority which voted against title 4; titles 1, 2, and 3 would have been opposed by some if there had not been a general agreement that the entire thing would be agreed to; and it was agreed to unanimously when the vote came on the completed bill.

"Now, I have no special desire to prolong this discussion. The distinguished Congressman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MORIN] has also left a sick bed to come here, and he wants to be heard by the committee this afternoon. I would like to emphasize this one fact:

"I want this committee to realize that these men came back from France, after having gone through hell; and they found this country engaged in an orgy of riotous expenditure of war profits. And naturally, after getting into an atmosphere of that kind, they looked around and said, 'What was this war all about? What happened here while we were over there?' And the war is not over yet, because we have not joined the League of Nations, if you please. [Laughter.]

"Now, they want to know where they 'get off'—and I do not blame them.

"As my friend from Ohio said, he is not speaking for himself; and the men at the head of the American Legion are not speaking for themselves; they are speaking for the rank and file.

"I will tell my good friend from Texas that I feel that I voice the sentiment of 220,000 boys in Massachusetts who went into this war, and who went into it whole-heartedly, and who saw it all, and who have come back, and who have seen what happened while they were overseas or on the seas; and they recall the high-sounding phrases that they heard from us Congressmen when the world was at war, when we stood here in the House Chamber, lifting our voices and waving our arms, and shouting that we would never forget them when they came back.

"And we are not trying to pay them, Mr. GARNER, 25 cents on the dollar; we have been paying them 1 cent on the dollar if it comes down to a cash basis.

"I want to say to this committee that I know you have got a problem; you have got a big problem to find out how you are going to raise the money. But I also know that the Ways and Means Committee, since I have been in Congress, has had other big problems——

"The CHAIRMAN (interposing). The bankrupt nations of Europe are expected to pay more than 5 cents on the dollar, are they not?

"Mr. GALLIVAN. We hope so; they owe us a lot of money. [Laughter.]

"I know you have got a problem, but I know what the Ways and Means Committee has always done. If it was not able to do what the distinguished chairman believes that its membership is capable of doing, namely, solve the problem itself, I know what it can do, as it always has done in the past, call the best brains in this country to help it out.

"We were spending $2,000,000,000 every three weeks when the war was on. And the highest figure which has been mentioned in connection with this bonus proposition is $2,000,000,000. We were voting that amount of money every two or three weeks when the war was on; and let me say to you gentlemen that if the war had lasted three or four weeks longer, these questions asked here to-day would not have been asked; you would not have asked where we were going to get a couple of billion dollars; you would have voted $10,000,000,000 to end the war. And it was these men who ended that war——

"The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Will you allow me to interrupt you at this point?

"Mr. GALLIVAN. Certainly.

"The CHAIRMAN. I have heard it stated that when our boys landed over there, about the time that Gen. Haig said that their backs were against the wall, the English Government was converting its munitions factories into the manufacture of bathing suits. [Laughter.] Our boys got there just in time.

"Mr. GALLIVAN. Yes, sir. That is what I want this committee to realize. We sent over 2,000,000, and we had two and a half million more who were prepared to go over there—and millions more, if necessary. And we promised those boys everything when they came back. And now we are trying to forget them. We gave them a $60 tip when they came home; that is all. [Laughter.]

"I do not know that I can add anything, Mr. Chairman. I have not had a chance to make a speech for several weeks because of illness; so that I have grown a little enthusiastic on this bonus question.

"The CHAIRMAN. Well, you have made one that is condensed, and is worth several weeks of ordinary speeches.

"Mr. GALLIVAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. [Applause.]"

The Peace Resolution.

"The President under these war measures has as much or more power than any King or Emperor of any civilized country of the present age; and I am in favor of this declaration of peace, the repeal of these oppressive war-time measures, and a restoration of our commercial relations with the nations of the world."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ROBSION,

OF KENTUCKY.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, three years ago, after the German Government had blown up many of our ships and murdered hundreds of our people on the high seas, Congress declared a state of war existed between the United States and Germany. About 17 months ago the armistice was signed between the Allies and the German Government. On that day President Wilson appeared before the House and Senate and declared that the war with the Imperial German Government had come to an end.

No treaty of peace has been made between our country and Germany. The Allied Governments and Germany have executed and exchanged formal treaties of peace. Our country alone remains technically at war with Germany. This joint resolution under consideration declares that a state of war no longer exists between our country and Germany. We now declare peace.

Democrats in the House assert that this resolution is unconstitutional; that the President alone has the power to make treaties of peace with the advice and consent of the Senate. I have observed that when our southern Democratic friends find no other means of escape in their opposition to any proposed action of Congress, they claim that such action is unconstitutional. We answer this objection by stating that we are not attempting to make a treaty. We are simply called upon to declare that the state of war which the Congress declared to exist on April 6, 1917, has ended, and to repeal the war measures passed by the Congress to meet war conditions, and to regulate commercial relations between this country and Germany.

THE WAR IS OVER.

Following the declaration of April 6, 1917, we called into the service nearly 5,000,000 men and pledged the entire resources and man power of the Nation to repel the German assaults. Our boys went forth and won a complete and glorious victory on land and sea and in the air and brought imperishable honor and renown to our flag and country. President Wilson's note-writing habit alone prevented them from marching into Berlin and raising the Stars and Stripes over the German capital. By his action we were denied a dictated peace. The German fleet was taken over. The German Army surrendered. We took possession of a large portion of the German territory. The Imperial Government was overthrown and the Kaiser has been ever since an exile sawing wood in Holland. The Germans have set up a new Government. All of the allied nations have executed formal treaties of peace with Germany, and have resumed both political and commercial relations with her. Our grand Army has been demobilized and our Navy placed upon a peace basis. Neither side intends to resume hostilities. The war is certainly over.

THREE WAYS TO TERMINATE A WAR.

The highest authorities on international law agree that there are three ways of terminating a war: First, by a formal treaty of peace; second, by the conquest and subjugation of one of the warring nations; third, the mere cessation of hostilities so long continued that there is apparently no intention of resuming them.

While no formal treaty of peace has been made yet, we have subjugated the German Nation, and there has been such a long cessation of hostilities coupled with other circumstances as to make it clear that there is no intention on the part of Germany or our country to resume the war; so therefore this war has been ended in two of the ways in which a war may be terminated. The Civil War was ended without any formal treaty. History is full of instances where wars were ended without any formal treaty of peace.

WHY SHOULD CONGRESS DECLARE THAT WAR IS OVER?

During the war more than 60 important war measures were passed by Congress. These war measures by their terms were to continue in force until the war ended and the President issued a proclamation of peace. Some of them were to continue in force for a certain stated period of time after the issuance of this proclamation of peace. These war measures gave the President extraordinary powers and disarranged the whole social and industrial life of the Nation. On the whole the President through these war measures had as much or more power than any king or emperor of any civilized country of the present age. He had as much or more power than the Kaiser and all of us who have watched the President feel that he has been and is still as much of an autocrat as Kaiser Bill himself. Because we were at war and the President is the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy we granted to him these extraordinary powers. The Congress and the people were willing to forego their social, political, and industrial rights in order to win this war. These laws were never intended to be operative in peace times and no free people should submit to them in peace times any longer than is reasonably necessary for their repeal. The people of the country and Congress have waited for 17 long months for the President to conclude a formal treaty of peace. I for one believe that no formal treaty of peace is possible until the autocrat who now sits in the White House is swept out of power by the American people and a Republican administration takes charge of the Government.

OPPRESSIVE WAR-TIME MEASURES STILL IN FORCE.

Among the sixty-odd war measures that were passed by Congress is included the Lever food and fuel control act, the national defense act, the espionage act, and similar laws.

Under these drastic laws the President has almost absolute control of all of the industries of this country. He can take over the great industries of the country and place them in charge of bureaus, commissions, and administrators. Since the war is over, to my own knowledge, he has greatly crippled the great coal industry. By the continual meddling of himself, his bureaus, commissions, and administrators, he has put thousands of coal mines out of business. He has disorganized labor and brought about a disturbed condition of the operator and the miner. The coal industry of Kentucky and elsewhere, so far as I have been able to learn, has greatly suffered because of this meddling on the part of the administration. Under this same law the sugar industry of this country has been paralyzed and the price of sugar greatly enhanced. Normal conditions are impossible so long as the great business and commercial industries of the country are controlled and managed by bureaus and commissions located at Washington. The mining industry can not live and prosper until these arbitrary laws are repealed and the operator and the miner are permitted once more to carry on the mining industry of this country, and this is true as to steel, sugar, agriculture, and the other industries of the country. The President should not have the power in peace times to take over the great industries of this country by simply making or entering an Executive order and placing in charge of the business a lot of incompetents.

The war is over, yet because of certain war measures the American people are denied the right of free speech. Under this law an American citizen can not criticize the President or the least of his subordinates, even though the criticism is deserving. This law must be repealed and free speech once more restored in this country. In order to get rid of these oppressive laws and take away from Mr. Wilson the autocratic and despotic powers now being exercised by him, it is necessary for the Congress to declare that the war between this country and Germany is at an end. This resolution does declare the war to be at an end and does repeal these wartime laws and does restore the country to a peace basis.

PRESIDENT WILSON AND HIS PARTY OPPOSE.

The distinguished ex-Speaker and Democrat, Mr. CLARK, has stated that the House should not act upon this resolution because too many cooks spoil the broth. He must have forgotten the fact that President Wilson took about 80 cooks and about fifteen hundred other people to Paris to make the treaty of peace. This great army of people that President Wilson took with him to Paris spent millions of dollars and did spoil the broth. The President brought back his treaty bound up in about 70 different ways with the so-called League of Nations. In this treaty we did not get the promise of a foot of ground nor one dollar in money. We surrendered our Constitution, the Monroe doctrine, and nearly all of the other great rights of this country. In this peace treaty was created a superstate, which had a capital in Europe, a chief ruler to rule over our Nation and the other nations in the league, and a flag that would hang over and above the Stars and Stripes. We simply would become the colony or State of this great superstate made up of the various nations of the world. In other words, we surrender

our nationality and independence. President Wilson agreed to give Great Britain six votes to our one in this league. He agreed for us to guarantee the boundary lines and political freedom of every one of these nations, both large and small, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australia. He agreed that we should mix up in every quarrel, brawl, and war of the world. He pledged all of our resources and the unborn generations of our boys to fight the battles of nearly all of the countries of the world. He agreed that this League of Nations should have the power to declare war for us and to say how large our Army and Navy should be, and to determine how much money and how many of our splendid boys should be contributed to take care of the countries of the world and to say when and where they should fight. He agrees to give foreign countries power over our foreign immigration and to permit the League of Nations to regulate our commerce and to control the hours and wages for the American workingmen, and thereby put our workingmen on the same footing with all classes of labor throughout the world. Then he said to the American people and to the United States Senate, "You accept this political monstrosity, that was conceived in sin and born in iniquity, without the dotting of an 'i' or the crossing of a 't.'"

If you do not, you can not have peace. I will keep you in war. You can not resume trade relations with the world. I will hold over your heads these oppressive war measures. The American people had repudiated the leadership of President Wilson before he went to Paris. It is generally believed that the President helped to create this League of Nations in the hope that he would become some day the chief ruler of the world.

The Constitution provides that the President may make treaties, with the advice and consent of the Senate. He at no time sought or accepted the advice of the United States Senate. He ignored the advice and warnings of the Senate as well as the American people.

The Senate adopted reservations which Americanize the treaty and protect the rights of our people. The average majority in the Senate on the adoption of these reservations was 28, and on the final vote on ratification with reservations there was a substantial majority but not a two-thirds majority. Twenty-two of the leading Democratic Senators from the North, East, and West voted to ratify the treaty with reservations, but the President held certain southern Democrats in line and defeated ratification, and thereby denied peace to the American people. It is now up to Congress to act and to declare that the war is over, repeal the oppressive war measures, and establish again our commercial relations with the world.

Some Democrats of the House now talk about us violating the Constitution in taking this action. These same Democrats are backing the President and his League of Nations. The President has shown little more regard for the Constitution than if it were a scrap of paper. The covenant of the League of Nations practically destroys the Constitution. Verily these Democrats strain at a gnat and swallow a camel.

IS THE PRESIDENT SEEKING A THIRD TERM?

Mr. Speaker, everyone knows that President Wilson has defeated the peace treaty. He will now, if he can, defeat this resolution for peace by his veto power. He is the champion of the League of Nations and says it must be an issue in the coming campaign, and, of course, no one but himself could be the candidate on this issue. This is worrying many of our Democratic friends. We Republicans welcome Mr. Wilson and his league as the issue from a political standpoint, but every loyal Republican is more interested in the peace and general welfare of the country than he is interested in party advantage or success.

The Senators who voted to ratify the treaty with reservations represent more than two-thirds of the population of the United States. These same States paid several times more taxes and bought several times more bonds than the States paid in taxes or bought bonds whose Senators voted against the ratification of the reservations and who followed President Wilson in his effort to prevent peace. Wherever the people have voted on Mr. Wilson and his league they have lost ingloriously. Mr. Wilson in 1916 had for his slogan, "He kept us out of war." This year he can sing, "He kept us out of peace." A New York dispatch of April 12 has the following:

A former ambassador of the United States and an intimate and personal political friend of President Wilson said to-day: "I saw him in Washington a few days ago. Should the President continue to improve and the Senate persist in its refusal to ratify the League of Nations covenant he will offer himself for a third term with the League of Nations as the paramount issue."

I firmly believe that the President has kept the treaty from being ratified so that he may force himself upon his party for a third-term nomination. If he does, there will be millions of sick Democrats and also millions of jubilant Republicans.

THE REPUBLICANS RESPOND TO THE DEMANDS OF THE PEOPLE.

Some of the Democratic speakers on the floor of the House have declared that the Republicans have brought forward this resolution for political purposes and to embarrass the President. The people want peace. They are entitled to peace. The people want President Wilson shorn of his war-time autocratic powers. The people want these oppressive war-time laws repealed. It is not our purpose to play politics or to embarass the President. It is our purpose and our duty to respond to the needs of this Republic. It is good politics to heed the voice of the people. Mr. Wilson has refused to heed their voice. He has failed and refused for 17 months to give them peace. This resolution no doubt will embarass the President and the Democratic Party, but, Mr. Speaker, the President and his party have not only embarrassed but afflicted the American people for a long time, and I, for one, desire to relieve that embarrassment. If anyone must be embarrassed let it be the President, whose acts and conduct have brought about this condition. This resolution will not prevent the President from making a treaty of peace with Germany. This would have been done more than a year ago but for the so-called League of Nations. This resolution protects us in all of the rights we would have acquired by the treaty of peace. We hold the ships and property belonging to Germany and German citizens.

Mr. Speaker, I have no doubt of the constitutionality of our action here to-day. I welcome the opportunity on this third anniversary of our declaration of war to vote for peace and to repeal these war-time measures and to strip the President of the war-time powers which he is exercising in the time of peace. I could do no less and be true to my conscience and true to the wishes and desires of a very great majority of the American people.

The Peace Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. A. AYRES.

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, on last Tuesday I said in a speech that the House of Representatives had no jurisdiction over this so-called peace resolution; that the Constitution does not empower us to consider peace treaties or to interfere with the treaty-making power of the Government, and to the best of my ability at that time I gave my reasons for this position.

In addition to what I said then I want to present further reasons for opposing this resolution.

It is needless to say again that I am just as anxious as anyone for peace and will go just as far as anyone to bring it about without stultifying myself and disgracing my country. I do not hesitate to say the proponents of this resolution know full well the passage of it will not bring peace; but feel they are playing a great game of politics, which may be true. The overwhelming sentiment for the return of the railroads enabled the railroad interests to force through this House a measure in restoring them to private ownership that would not have had any consideration at any other period.

The steering committee of five Members on the other side of the aisle can do most anything with its side of the House and are ready to capitalize the overwhelming sentiment for peace to the extent of jamming through this House a resolution which is pure bunk and camouflage. It is expected so long as they have their hold on that side as they now have they will continue to jam such measures through the House until, in the language of a noted Kansas editor, they bust the jammer and spill the jam.

Suppose those of you who intend to vote for this resolution had told the people in the fall of 1918, just before the election, you intended to try to make a separate peace with Germany. How many of you would have been elected if you had said, "I am not concerned about our Allies, but believe we should make peace with Germany regardless of them, and make it to our own interests, and in any manner we may see fit, just, as set forth in the third section of this resolution, so we secure reciprocal trade with the German Government and its nationals." Great God! has it come to this, that for the sake of making it possible to enable a few money changers and profiteers to trade with an enemy country we will attempt to make a separate peace and abandon

the nations with which we were associated during the war? And so eager are we to do this we are ready to do it unlawfully. As the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. KELLEY] said:

By this resolution we say in effect to Germany: The war is over; let bygones be bygones; let us shake hands and call it square; it is all over, and besides we want to trade with you.

I have the greatest admiration for the gentleman from Michigan, who is a Republican with the courage of his convictions, and notwithstanding the frowns of this fearful and mysterious Republican steering committee of five, whose displeasure most every Member on that side of the aisle fears to the extent it is pitiful, he takes the position of a fearless and courageous statesman. He further said:

Now, this is a new and strange attitude for us to take on the Republican side of the Chamber. Only a year or so ago one of the distinguished Republican leaders of this country laid down the correct doctrine, in my judgment, for Republicans and Democrats alike to follow upon the conclusion of the war.

He did not seem to think that it was our place to cut ourselves off from the allied nations and make a separate peace with Germany without terms. Oh, they say we can negotiate a treaty afterwards, but it is a fine thing to give a man a receipt in full and then tell him to come back and settle afterwards. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.] Here is what a great Republican statesman uttered only a year or so ago, and he blazed the correct pathway for this country to take at the conclusion of this war. He said:

"The United States occupies, fortunately, a position in which she will be able to speak with a powerful voice."

Oh, this is a powerful voice, this resolution. [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

He said:

"We seek no territory; no material gain for our own country. There is no territory by which we could be bribed or influenced; no trade advantage by which we could be tempted."

He could not have even dreamed of this resolution, which recites "in order that we may have reciprocal trade with the German Government." [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

Continuing, he said:

"There is no personal profit which can turn us from the one great object. Our sole purpose is to put Germany finally and completely in a position where she can never again attempt to conquer and ruin the world, as she has done in the last four years."

That is what a great Republican statesman said only a few months ago. I stand by every word of it, and commend it to my colleagues on both sides of the Chamber.

SEVERAL MEMBERS. What was the date?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. August, 1918. Again, in order that there should be no question about that or that America should take its proper place in the settlement of this Great War, he went on to say that we must see to it that Belgium must be restored. What does this resolution say about restoring Belgium? Nothing. I can not so soon forget that Belgium threw herself across the path of the world's despoiler and held the lines until France could arrive.

I for one refuse to forget the services which Belgium rendered to mankind. [Applause on the Democratic side.] This great Republican leader and statesman further declared:

"Alsace and Lorraine must be returned.
"Italia Irredenta must go back to Italy.
"Serbia and Roumania must be established in their independence.
"Greece must be more secure.
"The Jugoslovakia and Czechoslovakia must be independent States.
"The Polish people must have an independent Poland.
"The Russian Provinces must be restored.
"Constantinople must be taken away from Turkey.
"Palestine must never be returned to Turkish rule.
"There must be compensation to Belgium, and a partial compensation at least can be found in the disposition of the German colonies, which ought never to be returned to the empire which has so abused all the most ordinary rights of humanity. These in outline are the principal conditions"—

He says:

"What conditions are in this resolution? None."

Continuing—

"which alone will give us a victory worth having, and when we talk about a complete peace, and a just and righteous peace, let it be known to all the world that that is what we mean."

I adopt as my own the language and sentiment of this great leader. Those are the words of a great Republican statesman, the Republican leader of the Senate, HENRY CABOT LODGE. [Applause on the Democratic side.] That is the record we have made on this question, and I propose to stand there, and not upon the record that we will make here this afternoon.

Yes; there is another Member of this House on that side of the aisle who from some cause does not fear this mysterious committee of five. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. FULLER] said:

This peace resolution is a sugar-coated pill prescribed by Dr. LODGE to be taken by all regular Republicans before thinking. It is painless as well as senseless and will in effect put the stamp of approval of the House of Representatives on the action of the treaty wreckers in the Senate. If you are a Republican and you are sick it will make you well, and if you are well it will make you better.

Would to God it might cure the Republican Party of the sleeping sickness that has kept it from doing anything constructive since they captured control of the House and Senate except to criticize the Democrats. How about the reforms Republicans were to put into effect when they came into control? Where is the budget? What have they done about the taxes? How have they reduced the high cost of living?

A joint resolution of both Houses or a single resolution by either is no more than an academic expression of opinion. Peace is not so made. Doubtless Mr. Wilson will have an honest pleasure in repeating for the instruction of Congress the convincing and ironic remarks made by Richard Olney, Secretary of State, in regard to certain expressions of opinion by Congress about the foreign policy of the United States. It is in the power and it may be in the pleasure of Congress, for partisan or political reasons, to utter the thoughts that arise in it in regard to foreign relations. In point of efficacy such resolutions are mere foam and vapor.

For my own part I believe the time will come when men will be as ashamed of rigging the President because of his foreign policy and of opposing the League to Enforce Peace as those partisan politicians were who fought and criticized Abraham Lincoln.

I am a Republican. I believe a Republican is to be the next President of the United States, but I can not forget the obligation we owe to the men who fought and won the war to make it what we claimed it was then, namely, a war to end all wars.

I am proud to indorse the President's foreign policy and his efforts to make a league to preserve peace, although I do not find myself in accord with him on domestic and economic questions. And in considering this question, while I do so as a Republican, I thank God I am an American first and a Republican afterwards, rather than that I should consider this important question from the standpoint of personal or party advantage.

The framers of this joint resolution attempt to protect this Nation in any benefits it might have by reason of the provisions of the treaty of Versailles, which we have refused to ratify. Can anyone conceive of a more ridiculous and absurd position for a nation to be placed in than to undertake to force a defeated people to agree to waive and renounce on behalf of itself and nationals any claim, demand, right, or benefit against the United States or its nationals that it or they would not have had the right to assert had the United States ratified the treaty of Versailles?

Think of the humiliating position of a powerful nation of fair-minded and generous people, through its lawmaking bodies, demanding of a defeated people to abide by the provisions of an agreement signed by both nations, which we, as one of the contracting parties, refuse to ratify but repudiate. That is exactly what you say in section 3 of this resolution, which you intend to jam through this House. The proponents of this resolution know full well they can not by the passage of same, even with this proviso last stated, protect this Nation in any rights we may have under the Versailles treaty.

This, gentlemen, is what you are doing by the passage of this resolution: You are saying to Germany, "So far as we are concerned you need not pay any attention to article 173 of the treaty of peace, which provides—

"Universal compulsory military service shall be abolished in Germany.
"The German Army may only be constituted and recruited by means of voluntary enlistment.

"Nor, as for that matter, article 228, which provides:

"The German Government shall hand over to the allied and associated powers, or to such one of them as shall so request, all persons accused of having committed an act in violation of the laws and customs of war, who are specified either by name or by the rank, office, or employment which they held under the German authorities.

"Oh, no; you need not bother about this little matter just so you agree to establish reciprocal trade relations.

"You need not pay any attention to that provision of the treaty which you signed, being article 232, which provides, among other things, that, in accordance with your pledges already given as to complete restoration for Belgium, you undertake, in addition to the compensation for damages elsewhere in this part provided for, as a consequence of the violation of the treaty of 1839, to make a reimbursement of all sums which Belgium has borrowed from the allied and associated Governments up to November 11, 1918, together with interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum on such sums, which amounts to $171,780,000, so far as this Nation is concerned. Oh, no; you need not bother about a little matter like this. Reciprocal trade relations are all we want.

"You likewise need not comply with section 4 of annex 3, which provides that you—

"Deliver to the Reparation Commission in respect of each vessel a bill of sale or other document of title evidencing the transfer to the commission of the entire property in the vessel, free from all encumbrances, charges, and liens of all kinds, as the commission may require.
"Take all measures that may be indicated by the Reparation Commission for insuring that the ships themselves shall be placed at its disposal—

thus making it unnecessary to take any further steps in the way of findings of prize courts."

And you say to Germany, by the passage of this resolution: "You do not have to comply with the provisions of article 249, wherein you agreed that the total cost of all armies of the allied and associated Governments in occupied German territory, from the date of the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918; that is, including all expenses of every kind and character, shall be borne by you, and which will amount in all probability to over a hundred millions of dollars to this Nation alone. But this is a small matter when you take into consideration the question of reciprocal trade with you."

On December 2, 1889, a treaty was made between the United States, Great Britain, and Germany, in which Germany was given the control over the islands of Upolu and Savii, and all other islands of the Samoan Group west of longitude 171° west

of Greenwich. Article 288 of the treaty of Versailles provides that the special rights and privileges granted to Germany by reason of that treaty are terminated as of the date of August 4, 1914. Of course, upon the passage of this resolution Germany need not consider herself bound to carry out that agreement but can insist upon the provisions of the original treaty of 1899.

And furthermore you say by the adoption of this resolution: "We did not mean what we said in the third paragraph of article 289 of the Versailles treaty which reads:

"The allied and associated powers undertake among themselves not to revive with Germany any conventions or treaties which are not in accordance with the terms of the present treaty."

If that is binding upon the parties who have entered into this contract, then I might ask, Is not it equally as bad faith with our allies and associates to undertake to enter into a separate peace with Germany as it would be to revive any conventions or treaties which are not in accordance with the terms of this treaty?

Such a humiliating position as this must make a red-blooded American feel anything but proud of the American Congress.

You say to Germany, "You are not bound to carry out the provisions of one of the sections of article 296, wherein you contract and agree to be responsible for the payment of such debts due by your nationals to the nationals of powers, including that of the United States." There are millions of dollars due nationals of this Nation from the nationals of Germany. No doubt they will be disappointed when they know they were protected in so far as it was within the power of the Government of Germany to protect them, which she agreed to do, but will not need to do by the provisions of this resolution, and they will find they have to adjust their claims with the nationals of Germany as best they can.

You say, in effect, to the German Government, "You are not bound by section 2 of annex 1 of the treaty, which provides—

"No claim or action shall be made or brought against any allied or associated power or against any person acting on behalf of or under the direction of any legal authority or department of the Government of such a power by Germany or by any German national wherever resident in respect to any act or omission with regard to his property rights or interests during the war or in preparation for the war. Similarly no claim or action shall be made or brought against any person in respect to any act or omission under or in accordance with the exceptional war measures, laws, or regulations of any allied or associated power—

but your nationals can at any time, after this resolution becomes a law, bring action to recover from the Alien Property Custodian something like $500,000,000. All we need to do is to put a little more tax on the dear people to make it up, just so we have reciprocal trade relations."

Section 1 of part 13 of the treaty relating to labor contains this paragraph:

The high contracting parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following:

The functions of the international labor office shall include the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labor, and particularly the examination of subjects which it is proposed to bring before the conference with a view to the conclusion of international conventions and the conduct of such special investigations as may be ordered by the conference.

It will prepare the agenda for the meetings of the conference.

It will carry out the duties required of it by the provisions of this part of the present treaty in connection with international disputes.

It will edit and publish in French and English, and in such other languages as the governing body may think desirable, a periodical paper dealing with problems of industry and employment of international interest.

Generally, in addition to the functions set out in this article, it shall have such other powers and duties as may be assigned to it by the conference.

This, however, is a secondary matter, so far as the steering committee is concerned, as anything intended to better the condition of labor the world over should not be allowed to interfere with establishing reciprocal trade relations with Germany by a joint resolution.

The proponents of this resolution say we can negotiate a treaty which would take care of all these things. As has been said, it is a fine thing to give a man a receipt in full and then tell him to come back some other day and settle.

Section 2 of this joint resolution attempts to repeal war-time legislation, which is such an absurdity it is useless to discuss it.

One of the greatest complaints made against the President at the time he made his second trip to Europe was that he did it without calling Congress in extra session so that many of the objectionable war-time laws might, at an early date, be repealed. You have been in session almost a year, with absolute control of both branches of Congress and not a single one of these obnoxious laws has been repealed. In fact, you have done nothing but appoint smelling committees, some 65 or 75 in number, to investigate the things every schoolboy already knows, and that is that there was untold waste, and no doubt in many instances willful and criminal waste. In doing this you are piling up another big sum of millions of dollars in making these investigations, and in all the reports that have been made there has not been a single committee that has had the courage to designate an individual or a contractor that should be prosecuted. I think there should be prosecutions in some cases, and the chairman of a committee who has not the courage to point out the guilty party or parties has failed to do his duty, and is a useless expense to the Government.

But so long as the two Houses can fritter away the time in making these investigations and reports and debate such resolutions as this one now under consideration, they will not have to pass needed legislation before time to adjourn, and the leaders can go before the people without having passed legislation of any kind that might displease.

This resolution, when messaged to the other end of the Capitol, will furnish that body something to discuss for months, as it has done the peace treaty, and thus delay all matters before them indefinitely. I receive some of the most pitiful letters from my home from Civil War veterans and Civil War widows, wanting to know when their relief can be expected. Early in January there was a bill passed this House giving this relief, and since it has been in the possession of the other branch of Congress there have been over 16,000 old veterans and widows passed to the great beyond. Four thousand three hundred and seventeen in January, 4,808 in February, 5,700 in March, and April, up to date, over 2,000; and if they take the usual time to discuss this new treaty of peace you intend sending over there by this resolution it will be unnecessary for them to pass that pension bill.

I can enumerate many other measures sleeping securely in both Houses of Congress for the relief of the people that are meeting the same fate. This is not what you promised the people in the campaign of 1918. The question is, Can you fool all the people all the time?

Peace Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. BABKA,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 8, 1920.

Mr. BABKA. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to this resolution because I believe that it violates the Constitution of the United States in that it is an attempt on the part of Congress to usurp a function of government delegated to the Executive authority of the land. I would remind the gentlemen who say the opposition to this resolution on constitutional grounds is an alibi that it is this Constitution that stands between our Government and anarchy. Destroy it and chaos shall set in all over the land. The surprising thing of it all to me is that those very gentlemen who are always prone to parade the Constitution every time the toiling masses dare to raise their voice for justice and fair treatment; those gentlemen who are always so thoroughly in accord on the question that every protest against repressive legislation is a blow aimed at the Constitution—the surprising thing of it all is that these same gentlemen are ready to forego and abrogate, if necessary, every provision of that same Constitution when it serves their selfish and political purposes to do so. Mr. Speaker, the question of the constitutionality of the action proposed here is not new. It has been decided often and very clearly. The advisability of giving Congress this power was debated at length in the Federal Convention, and finally the proposition was voted down by unanimous vote of the fathers. (Federal Convention, Aug. 17, 1787.) And, Mr. Speaker, there was no misconception on this question on the part of anyone present in that convention. George Washington had no doubts concerning it when it confronted him. In 1796, after the Jay treaty with England was ratified, a treaty which met with much opposition and popular discontent, the House of Representatives made a request of Washington that he furnish it with all papers and information upon which said treaty was ratified. Washington's reply, under date of March 30, 1796, is enlightening as being first-hand information from one who took part in the framing of the Constitution. He wrote:

Having been a member of the general convention and knowing the principles upon which the Constitution was formed, I have entertained but one opinion on this subject; and from the first establishment of the Government to this moment my conduct has exemplified that opin-

ion, that the power of making treaties is exclusively vested in the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, provided two-thirds of the Senators concur.

Thereafter, on the 7th day of April, the House of Representatives passed a resolution in part as follows:

Resolved, That it being declared by the second section of the second article of the Constitution, "That the President shall have the power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur." The House of Representatives do not claim any agency in making treaties, etc.

And from that day till this no Congress has ever asserted otherwise. But the friends of this resolution say, "This is not a treaty, it is a mere declaration of a fact which no one disputes." True, if you would confine it to the first section, which is harmless, futile, and unnecessary, as everyone already recognizes the fact which it seeks to establish. This section by itself would probably meet with very little opposition, but you do not stop there. Section 3 of the resolution attempts to adjust trade relations with Germany; and it goes further than that: It adopts for us all of the benefits we were to have under the treaty of Versailles and compels Germany to say within 45 days after the passage of this resolution whether or not she accepts its provisions. And yet gentlemen are found who argue that this is not a treaty. Is this not an offer of terms which requires a subsequent action on the part of the German Government? And if so, is there anyone who will say that it is a constitutional function of Congress to initiate such a negotiation? Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that this question is elementary. While it is true that one party to a dispute may declare war, yet it is also true that once this is done it requires the agreeing of the minds of both parties to that war before peace can again be said to exist between them. One party can not start a fight and withdraw from it and live at peace with its adversary without first in some contractual way adjusting the difficulties that were involved and that follow of necessity. This makes necessary negotiation between our Government and our enemies, and that function is clearly given by our Constitution to the executive department. But, Mr. Speaker, graning that Congress has the power and that peace can be brought about in this way, is this the kind of peace that America desires? Are we now to abandon our late allies and make terms with our late enemy, separate and apart from them?

Are we to abandon Belgium to this heartless brute of a nation without making, as far as human ingenuity can do so, a repetition of her outrage an impossibility? Has Belgium sacrificed herself in vain? Shall we abandon France, who came to our assistance in our infancy; France who for over a century has held back this wave of militarism, that but for her would now have the world at its feet? Have we forgotten the agonizing cry of the defenseless babes in mothers' arms that came ringing in our ears from out of the chilled grave of the *Lusitania?* Do gentlemen not know that this resolution makes no provision for the payment of damages for this defenseless deed? And what shall we say to those valiant youths who suffered the tortures of hell in the vermin-infested trenches of France in order that American ideals and institutions might be maintained; those gallant men who came home maimed and disfigured; those courageous boys who made the supreme sacrifice and now sleep in Flanders Field, believing that their sacrifices would make others unnecessary? What answer shall we give to them for this base surrender? Do we not owe it to them to rise above petty politics and allow the properly constituted authority of the land determine this grave question? But gentlemen say that section 2 of the resolution justifies its adoption. In fact, all of the argument made in support of it is based on this section, which repeals some of the war-time powers of the Executive, but not all. The most ardent supporters of this measure admit that Congress has no power to make treaties, but justify their position on this section and on their desire to repeal the war-time powers of the Executive. Gentlemen, I agree with you that it is high time that these powers should be repealed, but I am willing to go further than you are; I am going to vote for the motion to recommit with instructions to substitute the motion of Mr. FLOOD to repeal all war-time powers of the Executive. If you are sincere in your statement that your reason for supporting this resolution is your desire to bring to an end these autocratic powers of the Executive, vote for the motion to recommit. By doing so you will be accomplishing your purpose without setting an example of a reckless disregard of the fundamental law of the land. And, after all, your whole purpose would be served by such action. For, granting the legality of the resolution, it can not do more than repeal the war-time powers. It will not bring home a single boy from France; they are already home. It will not save the life or limb of a single American soldier. The fighting ceased on the 11th of November, 1918, and has never been resumed. Your whole intent and purpose will be served by voting for the substitute and at the same time the rights of the Government preserved. Will you do it or will you vote for the resolution, the constitutionality of which, to say the least, is questionable and whose only purpose is to deceive the people into believing that you are giving them something which all of us desire, but which you know we can not give?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JARED Y. SANDERS,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 15, 1920,

On the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 327) terminating the state of war between the Imperial German Government and the United States.

Mr. SANDERS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I voted for the motion made by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] to recommit this resolution to the committee with instructions to report same forthwith with an amendment striking out all that portion of the resolution pertaining to the making of a treaty, and further amending the resolution so as to provide for the immediate repeal of all war-time legislation.

When this motion to recommit was voted down by the majority side of the House I voted against the adoption of the resolution. No man upon this floor is more heartily in favor of restoration of peace than myself. No man is more in favor of the immediate repeal of all the war-time powers lodged in the Executive by Congress for war purposes. I know that if the resolution had been amended as our side sought to amend it it would speedily have become a law, and that all of the war-time legislation would have been repealed.

The Republican Party has been and is in control of both branches of this Congress, and every act of this House is indicated and dictated by its steering committee. They control every committee in the House and control all legislation. The responsibility is theirs for the fact that the American people are cramped in their efforts toward restoration of normal conditions by the restrictive measures made necessary by war, because it was not only within their power but it was also their duty to have brought legislation before the House repealing all war-time legislation for action many months ago, and the Democratic side would have voted solidly for such legislation.

The Democratic side of the House has had no opportunity to act on the repeal of war-time legislation until this resolution was offered, and as soon as it was and as soon as the parliamentary situation would permit our side, acting through the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD], offered the necessary amendment and voted solidly for a measure which would have repealed the war-time legislation and which would have passed the Senate and which would have received Executive sanction.

But, Mr. Speaker, this relief was not to be granted the American people. The steering committee of the Republican majority in this House had ordered otherwise.

I will not discuss at length the constitutional objection to House joint resolution 327. Everyone knows that the House has nothing to do with the declaration of peace or with treaty making. Everyone knows that that function is lodged with the President, acting by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

This resolution was conceived in partisanship and born of Republican necessity. Having so conducted themselves in another branch of Congress as to keep our country in a technical state of war, it became necessary, according to their beclouded judgment, to do something to hoodwink the people. It is unthinkable that the American people can be thus fooled. No one knows better than the authors and the proponents of this resolution its utter futility.

The people have asked for bread and they gave them a stone. The people have asked for relief from war-time legislation and they have refused to grant this relief. The people have demanded the repeal of all the war-time powers lodged in the Executive. The Republicans have refused and neglected to hearken to their demand. And then, in order to befog the issue, they have sought to pass a resolution which by its very verbiage and by the declared intention of its proponents institutes a treaty between this Government and the German Government, and they know that this power is not lodged in the House, but that, to the contrary, it is expressly lodged by the Constitution, that we are sworn to uphold, in the hands of the Executive and the Senate of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, the saddest thing to me about this whole procedure is the fact that gentlemen are willing to thus trample under foot the very mandate of the Constitution, when the danger to America to-day consists in the fact that regard for law is at a low ebb, and the sanctity of the Constitution itself seems to rest but lightly upon the conscience of some. Everyone knows that there is a secret, sinister, organized effort to-day in this land to undermine the faith of the people in the Constitution of the fathers, and that this same effort is directed toward instilling into the minds of the citizenship of America a disregard for the law of the land.

This secret, sinister, insidious propaganda by the enemies of our institutions is either the outgrowth of ignorance or criminality, but when such a sentiment is abroad in the land it is a sad thing for those who love the Constitution, for those who believe in an orderly government by law, to see the chosen representatives of a great party show such an utter disregard for the Constitution, such an utter disregard for the traditions and the institutions of our country.

It should be both your duty and your pride to stand by the provisions of our written Constitution as acted upon and lived up to by the men who have made our country great in the days gone by.

Whenever we, the representatives of the people, by vote and by act, show our contempt for and disregard of the Constitution of our land, how can we exact of others that obedience to its provisions which we ourselves disregard?

I repeat, Mr. Speaker, that I will do anything within my power and under the Constitution of the United States to bring a state of settled peace to this land. But I will not do a vain and a useless thing. I will not vote for a lawless resolution which I know to be in violation of that fundamental law which I have taken an oath to uphold.

The Comer Cotton Rider to the Agricultural Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. GARLAND DUPRÉ,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 15, 1920.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print granted me to-day, I herewith append an editorial from the New Orleans Times-Picayune of April 13, 1920, regarding the Comer cotton rider to the Agricultural appropriation bill, which is now in conference between the Senate and House.

The editorial is as follows:

[Editorial from the New Orleans Times-Picayune, Apr. 13, 1920.]

THE COMER "RIDER."

Cotton grower and cotton spinner again have clashed, and Senator COMER, himself one of the Nation's wily spinners, is attempting further to fasten upon our great crop the fetters of a "spinners' contract." Thereupon the cotton trade, representing farmer and cotton banker, cotton factor, and cotton dealer of the exchanges, are up in arms to defend their very reasonable and logical position.

Senator COMER'S assault is in the form of a "rider" to the Agricultural bill, designated as the "Comer rider," which, if adopted, will reduce the volume of tenderable cotton by many hundred thousand bales and will throw that amount of useful, spinnable cotton into the class of low grades, refused admission to the exchanges and deprived of the "hedge" protection which has such great importance in all cotton dealings.

In recent years cotton futures trading has been governed by the Lever bill, which, although to a considerable extent a measure favoring the spinner, has many good points, and has been considered, by the cotton trade generally, as perhaps the best compromise that could be reached to facilitate cotton operations on the exchanges.

To explain the point for laymen we must turn for a moment to the cotton grower and his troubles, many of them climatic, that result from year to year and from spot to spot in slight variations in the length and color and cleanliness of the staple.

Obviously standard grades had to be established and, equally with reason, there had to be a point in the downward graduation at which the cotton would be considered enough inferior to be excluded from tender on contracts. To place this point too low might have forced cotton consumers to accept—although, of course, with differentials in price—cotton unsuited to their manufaturing needs. On the other hand, if the tenderable limit was placed too high it would throw back upon the planter's hands much cotton that, in spite of minor defects of color or condition, might be perfectly sound and spinnable.

It is but natural that the precise line of demarcation between tenderable and nontenderable cotton should have been the cause of many Homeric struggles. In early days the planter had the advantage, but the Lever bill placed the tender point at low middling cotton with other definitions as to admissible stains, etc., which formed what the trade recognized to be a contract favorable to the mills.

One of the first effects of the change was, of course, to limit the total volume of tenderable cotton and thereby to render market manipulation easier. However, in view of its other desirable features, the Lever bill was accepted and has operated satisfactorily.

But along comes Senator COMER of Alabama with a measure to lift the tenderable grade to middling cotton and to place new color restrictions on allowable staple. The law would, as we have intimated, throw hundreds of thousands of bales of useful cotton on the bargain counter to be sacrificed for what it would bring, and would take from it the sales flexibility that is possessed by tenderable cotton.

Nor is that all. The planter who seeks to hold his cotton is in most cases able to do so only by borrowing against his bales from the banks. The latter, as an insurance against market slumps, dare lend only when the cotton has been hedged in the future market. Therefore the moment the planter's cotton falls below the legalized tenderable grade he can not safely carry hedges against it and consequently can not secure the desired bank loan. This, of course, is equally true in the case of all subsequent deals in the under grades, by exporters, etc., until the stuff is finally turned into goods.

By this system of grading and strengthened by the Comer "rider," the twelve or more millions of bales of an average cotton crop are reduced to a few million of tenderable staple which, as the year progresses, dwindle to a point where monthly cotton corners are possible and the "spinners' contract" becomes harmful to all save the spinners themselves, as represented by Senator COMER and his kind. Defeat of the measure therefore is imperative in the interest of the vast majority of the South's population interested in our great staple crop.

The Peace Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MERRILL MOORES,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 8, 1920.

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, it was before the days of written constitutions when a wise philosopher gave utterance to the statement which has become a truism: "No thief e'er felt the halter draw with good opinion of the law." The modern knave, offended with the enforcement of a law, at once denies its constitutionality, as to-day the minority is doing with this resolution.

To be unconstitutional a pretended law must infringe some provision of a written constitution controlling the legislative body which has attempted to enact the law.

The provision here claimed to be violated is found in Article II, section 2, of the Constitution, where, in defining the power of the President, that instrument says:

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur.

It will be my purpose to show that this resolution, in case it shall pass, will not impair the treaty-making power.

The argument of its opponents is that because wars have usually been followed by a treaty of peace, they can not be ended in any other way. I shall not attempt to answer this contention other than by stating that all the authorities on international law, many of which have been cited by other speakers, announce that there are at least three ways of terminating wars between States, which are (1) mere cessation of hostilities on both sides without definite understanding; (2) conquest and subjugation of one of the contending parties; and (3) a treaty of peace.

It would therefore appear that a treaty being not the only method of ending war, another method can not be held to impair the treaty-making power of the President and Senate. The only question is whether the alternative method chosen is otherwise objectionable or is within the power of Congress.

Territory has commonly been annexed by treaty, and it might be contended with equal force that annexation of territory other than in the way in which Alaska, Porto Rico, or the Virgin Islands were annexed would impair the treaty-making power. Such a contention would certainly have fully as much force as the one now made by the minority.

Probably the greatest of writers on American constitutional law was Judge Thomas M. Cooley. The Forum in 1893 published an article by Judge Cooley contending with intense earnestness upon constitutional grounds that Hawaii could not be annexed to the United States. For all of Judge Cooley's argument against it, Hawaii is now a part of the United States, and the constitutionality of the annexation is questioned by no one. The history of the annexation is most interesting. An annexation treaty had been negotiated by President Harrison, which was withdrawn by President Cleveland in April, 1893. The annexation treaty was returned to the Senate for its ap-

proval by President McKinley after being signed at Washington June 16, 1897. This treaty was ratified by the Hawaiian Legislature, but the cession was accepted and confirmed on the part of the United States by a joint resolution approved July 7, 1898. (30 Stat. L., 750; 2 Supp. R. S. U. S., 895; Crandall on Treaties, p. 138.)

For this method of annexation there was really abundant precedent. April 24, 1802, an agreement was entered into with the State of Georgia for the cession to the United States of western lands. Commissioners were appointed by President Adams, under an act of Congress approved April 7, 1798; and the act of May 10, 1800, vested final powers in the commissioners. On the part of Georgia the agreement was ratified and confirmed by the Georgia Legislature June 16, 1802.

After the admission of Texas an agreement as to boundaries between the Federal Government and State was effected by an act of Congress September 9, 1850, and an act of the Texas Legislature November 25, 1850. (Richardson's Messages, V, 95.)

A more interesting case is that of the annexation of Texas. The Republic of Texas achieved its independence from Mexico in 1836. April 12, 1844, a treaty was signed at Washington with the Republic of Texas for its annexation to the Union. June 8, 1844, this treaty was rejected by the Senate by an adverse vote of 35 to 16, more than two-thirds of the Senators having voted against it. March 1, 1845, a joint resolution was approved consenting to the erection of the territory rightfully belonging to the Republic of Texas into a new State, and Texas, having accepted and complied with the conditions of the resolution, was admitted by a joint resolution approved December 29, 1845, as a State into the Union. (Crandall, Treaties, p. 135; Richardson, Messages, IV, 386.)

Does any member of the minority question the validity of the annexation of Hawaii or of Texas?

In his second annual message to the Congress President Grant, December 5, 1870, makes the following recommendation:

> During the last session of Congress a treaty for the annexation of the Republic of San Domingo to the United States failed to receive the requisite two-thirds vote of the Senate. I was thoroughly convinced then that the best interests of this country, commercially and materially, demanded its ratification. * * * In view of the importance of this question, I earnestly urge upon Congress early action expressive of its views as to the best means of acquiring San Domingo. My suggestion is that by joint resolution of the two Houses of Congress the Executive be authorized to appoint a commission to negotiate a treaty with the authorities of San Domingo for the acquisition of that island, and that an appropriation be made to defray the expenses of such a commission. The question may then be determined either by the action of the Senate upon the treaty or the joint action of the two Houses of Congress upon a resolution of annexation, as in the case of the annexation of Texas. (Richardson, Messages, VII, p. 100.)

While President Grant was not a lawyer, it must not be forgotten that his Attorney General at the time was a former justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts and one of the most eminent of American lawyers, Ebenezer R. Hoar.

It is not to be forgotten that the Civil War in this country did not end in a treaty. In April, 1866, President Johnson made proclamation that the Civil War was at an end in all the rebellious States except Texas, and August, 1866, proclaimed that the rebellion was wholly suppressed. March 2, 1867, an act of Congress fixed August 20, 1866, as the termination of the war.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in United States *v.* Anderson (9 Wall., 56, 71) seems to recognize the authority of Congress rather than that of the President, as controlling in the matter of fixing the end of the war. It says:

> As Congress, in its legislation for the Army, has determined that the Rebellion closed on the 20th day of August, 1866, there is no reason why its declaration on this subject should not be received as settling the question wherever private rights are affected by it. That day will therefore be accepted as the day when the Rebellion was suppressed.

Trenching on the treaty-making power is the making of agreements and conventions with foreign powers with regard to international postal and money-order regulations; and the exercise of this power by the Postmaster General without the concurrence of the President and Senate has continued from the establishment of the Government until now, absolutely without question. On the other hand, it was held by the Supreme Court in Cotzhausen *v.* Nazro (107 U. S., 215) that a provision in the regulations of the Berne postal convention, October 9, 1874, to the effect that no article liable to customs duties should be admitted for conveyance by the post, was the law of the land, and that goods so imported were liable to seizure. The first law by which the Postmaster General was authorized to make "arrangements with the postmasters of any foreign country for the reciprocal receipt and delivery of letters and packages through the post offices" was section 26 of the general act of February 20, 1792.

Ever since the passage of the McKinley Tariff Act of October 1, 1890, the President has been making trade agreements with foreign nations, none of which were submitted to the Senate for ratification or approval, but which have simply the authorization of acts of Congress. Prior to the repeal of the McKinley Act, 10 such commercial agreements were concluded and made effective in virtue of section 3 of this act of 1890: January 31, 1891, with Brazil; June 4, 1891, with the Dominican Republic; June 16, 1891, with Spain; December 30, 1891, with Guatemala; January 30, 1892, with Germany; February 1, 1892, with Great Britain; March 11, 1892, with Nicaragua; April 29, 1892, with Salvador. None of these appear in the Official Treaties, but they were held valid by the Supreme Court in Field *v.* Clark (143 U. S., 649, 693); and see Buttfield *v.* Stranahan (192 U. S., 470, 496); and Monongahela Bridge Co. *v.* United States (216 U. S., 177); and were all terminated under section 71 of the tariff act of August 27, 1894, which repealed the section on which they were based.

It is interesting to note that this section of the Wilson Act, while it expressly repeals section 3 of the McKinley Act, expressly provides that—

> nothing herein contained shall be held to abrogate or in any way affect such reciprocal arrangements as have been heretofore made and now exist between the United States and foreign countries, except where such provisions are inconsistent with the provisions of this act.

That the existing trade agreements were revoked was because of the acts of President Cleveland and not of the Congress.

The Supreme Court in the case cited says:

> What the President was required to do was simply in execution of the act of Congress. It was not the making of law. He was the mere agent of the lawmaking department to ascertain and declare the event upon which its expressed will was to take effect. * * * The court is of opinion that the third section of the act of October 1, 1890, is not liable to the objection that it transfers legislative and treaty-making power to the President.

Section 3 of the act of July 24, 1897, provided for the conclusion by the President of commercial agreements with countries producing certain enumerated articles in which concessions should be secured in favor of the products of the United States. On the authority of this section the President concluded and made effective commercial agreements with France, Portugal, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Spain, Bulgaria, the Netherlands, and Great Britain. Full force and effect has been given to these trade agreements by the courts.

In sustaining the validity of these compacts between our Government and foreign nations, the Supreme Court says:

> While it may be true that this commercial agreement, made under the authority of the tariff act of 1897, section 3, was not a treaty possessing the dignity of one requiring ratification by the Senate of the United States, it was an international compact, negotiated between the representatives of two sovereign nations and made in the name of and on behalf of the contracting countries, and dealing with important commercial relations between the two countries, and was proclaimed by the President. If not technically a treaty requiring ratification, nevertheless it was a compact authorized by the Congress of the United States, negotiated and proclaimed under the authority of its President. (Altman *v.* United States, 224 U. S., 583, 601.)

The tariff act of 1897 authorized the President, in section 3:

> To enter into negotiations with the Governments of those countries exporting to the United States certain enumerated articles, or any of them, with a view to the arrangement of commercial agreements in which reciprocal and equivalent concessions may be secured in favor of the products and manufactures of the United States.

The Canadian reciprocity act of July 26, 1911 (937 Stat. L., 12), contains substantially the same provision, and this act was passed by a Democratic House and a Republican Senate.

The Underwood tariff act of October 3, 1913 (38 Stat. L., 192), passed by a Congress Democratic in both Houses and approved by President Wilson, contains this provision in section 4:

> The President of the United States is authorized and empowered to negotiate trade agreements with foreign nations wherein mutual concessions are made looking toward freer trade relations and further reciprocal expansion of trade and commerce.

These trade agreements are precisely analogous to the similar provisions of sections 3 and 4 of the joint resolution under consideration, and the decision in Field against Clark, as well as those in the later cases referred to, leave no doubt whatever as to the validity of the joint resolution from a constitutional standpoint.

Stress has been laid by those contending for the invalidity of the joint resolution on the statement in Story's ordinarily reliable Commentaries on the Constitution to the effect that the proposal in the Constitutional Convention to confer on the Congress the power "to make peace" in addition to that of declaring war "was unanimously rejected upon the plain ground that it more properly belonged to the treaty-making power." (Sec. 1173.)

Mr. Justice Story was a great judge and a voluminous and most learned text-writer; but he was in Boston when the con-

vention met in Philadelphia and was less than 8 years old when the discussion of this provision was had in Philadelphia. His work quoted from was published in 1833. At the time it was written Justice Story had access to Elliott's Debates, but not to Madison's Journal, which was kept secret during his life, which ended in June, 1836, and his journal was first published in 1845. All that we know of the Constitutional Convention is found in these two books, but one of which was available for Justice Story when he wrote his commentaries. It is not to be at all wondered that he guessed at the "plain ground" on which the words "to make peace" were omitted by a unanimous vote. He guessed wrong, as the Madison Debates or Journal give evidence. Elliott's Debates, which were the only evidence he had, give no part of the argument.

The purpose of the convention is made only too plain in the debate described in Madison's Journal, from which I quote the debate on Friday, August 17, 1787:

On the clause "to make war"—

Mr. Pinckney opposed the vesting of this power in the legislature. Its proceedings were too slow. It would meet but once a year. The House of Representatives would be too numerous for such deliberations. The Senate would be the best depository, being more acquainted with foreign affairs and most capable of proper resolutions. If the States are equally represented in the Senate, so as to give no advantage to large States, the power will, notwithstanding, be safe, as the small have their all at stake in such cases, as well as the large States. It would be singular for an authority to make war and another peace.

Mr. BUTLER. The objections against the legislature lie, in a great degree, against the Senate. He was for vesting the power in the President, who will have all the requisite qualities and will not make war but when the Nation will support it.

Mr. Madison and Mr. Gerry moved to insert "declare," striking out "make" war, leaving to the Executive the power to repel sudden attacks.

Mr. Sherman thought it stood very well. The Executive should be able to repel and not to commence war. "Make" is better than to "declare," the latter narrowing the power too much.

Mr. Gerry never expected to hear in a republic a motion to empower the Executive alone to declare war.

Mr. ELLSWORTH. There is a material difference between the cases of making war and making peace. It should be more easy to get out of war than into it. War also is a simple and overt declaration; peace attended with intricate and secret negotiations.

Mr. Mason was against giving the power of war to the Executive, because not so safely to be trusted with it; or to the Senate, because not so constructed as to be entitled to it. He was for clogging rather than facilitating war, but for facilitating peace. He preferred "declare" to "make."

On motion to insert "declare" instead of "make," it was agreed to.

Mr. Pinckney's motion to strike out the whole clause was disagreed to without call of States.

Mr. Butler moved to give the legislature the power of peace, as they were to have that of war.

Mr. Gerry seconds him. Eight Senators may possibly exercise the power, if vested in that body, and 14 if all should be present, and may, consequently, give up part of the United States. The Senate are more liable to be corrupted by an enemy than the whole legislature.

On motion for adding "and peace" after "war," it was unanimously negatived.

Further light on the motives actuating the convention is thrown during the discussion, September 7, 1787, of a motion to except treaties of peace from the provision requiring ratification by the Senate, which exception was originally inserted and finally stricken out.

It will be perceived from Mr. Madison's argument that he had the amazing foresight to anticipate the election of just such an Executive as an unkindly fate was to bring to the United States at this time, incredible as the possibility must have seemed to the other Members, whose knowledge of ambition must have been limited to men of the mild type of Aaron Burr, Horatio Gates, and Charles Lee. I quote from Madison's Journal of September 7:

Mr. Madison moved to insert, after the word "treaty," the words "except treaties of peace," allowing these to be made with less difficulty than other treaties. It was agreed to nem. con.

Mr. Madison then moved to authorize a concurrence of two-thirds of the Senate to make treaties of peace, without the concurrence of the President. The President, he said, would necessarily derive so much power and importance from a state of war that he might be tempted, if authorized, to impede a treaty of peace.

Mr. Butler seconded the motion.

Mr. Gorham thought the security unnecessary, as the means of carrying on the war would not be in the hands of the President, but of the legislature.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris thought the power of the President in this case harmless; and that no peace ought to be made without the concurrence of the President, who was the general guardian of the national interests.

Mr. Butler was strenuous for the motion as a necessary security against ambition and corrupt Presidents. He mentioned the late perfidious policy of the stadtholder in Holland and the artifices of the Duke of Marlborough to prolong the war of which he had the management.

It must be remembered that the greatest book on international law ever written, Vattel on the Law of Nations, had been translated and published in English in London in 1758, and that all members of the convention were undoubtedly familiar with it.

The same power who has the right of making war, of determining on it, of declaring it, and of directing its operations has naturally that likewise of making and concluding the treaty of peace (189). These two powers are connected together, and the latter naturally follows from the former. If the ruler of the State is empowered to judge of the causes and reasons for which war is to be undertaken, of the time and circumstances proper for commencing it, of the manner in which it is to be supported and carried on, it is therefore his province also to set bounds to its progress, to point out the time when it shall be discontinued, and to conclude a peace. But this power does not necessarily include that of granting or accepting whatever conditions he pleases, with a view to peace.

A nation that has the free disposal of her domestic affairs and of the form of her government may intrust a single person, or an assembly, with the power of making peace, although she has not given them that of making war. Of this we have an instance in Sweden, where, since the death of Charles XII, the King can not declare war without the consent of the States assembled in Diet; but he may make peace in conjunction with the senate. It is less dangerous for a nation to intrust her rulers with this latter power than with the former. She may reasonably expect that they will not make peace till it suits with the interest of the State. But their passions, their own interest, their private views, too often influence their resolutions where there is question of undertaking a war. Besides, it must be a very disadvantageous peace indeed that is not preferable to war, whereas, on the other hand, to exchange peace for war is always very hazardous. (Vattel's Law of Nations, pp. 431, 432.)

It must be manifest that the purpose of the framers of the Constitution in using the language they did was to make war as difficult to make as possible and peace as easy to bring about as it could be done. The language and the intentional omissions both lead, as the debate shows, inevitably to this conclusion.

The power of Congress to make a law ending the war has been questioned in this debate. There can be no doubt of its power. Article I, section 1, of the Constitution provides:

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

Section 8 enumerates the powers of the Congress, and among several which fully cover the power of ending a war is the power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations." This of itself is sufficient authority to end a disastrous war, despite the equally disastrous policy of a President who manifestly wishes to keep the war alive lest its cessation reduce his extraordinary war powers.

The sick man of Europe no longer dominates the Sublime Porte, and the entire civilized world hopes that his domination may be at an end forever. If the sick man of America demands the further continuance of a state of war, it is high time that a Congress with the full authority to cause the war to cease should promptly exercise its authority.

The Peace Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, my constituents without regard to party affiliation are for peace. Some 17 months have elapsed since the armistice, and Central Europe is still in chaos and there is general unrest in the United States. This peace resolution, if adopted, will not in any material way interfere or embarrass the further consideration of the peace treaty by the Senate. I believe it is constitutional because it is not in conflict with any provision of the Constitution. There is valuable record history on this subject. During the last days of President John Tyler's administration—in 1845—when Texas was an independent State, a treaty to annex Texas to the United States was submitted to the Senate by President Tyler and rejected. Later the House and Senate, by joint resolution, declared Texas a State in the Union of States, and Texas was admitted into the Union under that joint resolution. That right was never questioned. This case, in my judgment, is on all fours with the pending peace resolution.

I agree with Lincoln that this Republic is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. This means that the voice of the people regularly and legally expressed through the people's representatives should be the supreme law of the land. I believe the people want peace, and that there is no provision in the Constitution forbidding Congress to declare peace. Whether we are in war or peace is not a constitutional question. It is a question of fact. It seems to me absurd that Congress is forbidden by the Constitution officially to declare a universally recognized fact; a fact that has been recognized officially by Congress since the armistice of November 11, 1918.

The following is a fair speciman letter from one of my constituents—one of many of like import—on the psychology of this and many other vital questions before Congress:

TOLEDO, OHIO, *April 11, 1920.*

Hon. I. R. SHERWOOD,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am taking this opportunity to commend you for the position taken in the recent activities in Congress.

Your attitude on the Irish question is the only course worthy of the consideration of a true American. Your aloofness from the autocratic aspirations of others proves that you are as ready to-day to defend our constitutional policies as you were in 1861. Surely you must have a feeling of pride to be worthy of the trust imposed upon you.

The manner in which you took up the question concerning "our boys" inspired within me an admiration that will never die. The last to consent to sending them across, and yet the first to look after those who are left. This one thing alone is worthy of the greatest consideration of well-meaning men. But how lonesome you must be! How discouraging to try to convince an assembly such as you have tried. It takes one of sterling qualities coupled with the lengthy and copious experience to command the respect that you enjoy.

Another matter which, in my mind, shows the character of the man is that of Berger. Although we may not agree with his policies, surely he is entitled to a seat as representing those who by fair ballot elected him.

* * * * * * *

Employers are rapidly accepting the more democratic relation with their employees, and the day is not long before we will consider the two elements in society responsible to the third in case of a strike. Surely the public is the more important party in such a controversy as the coal strike, the impending rail strike, and many others that have recently been settled. Congress must recognize the different relations of one class to another as we advance from the agriculture age into the systematic factory age if our national traditions are to be perpetuated.

It is fortunate that this district is represented by such an able man, one who has characteristics which are difficult to duplicate. Recent elections bear me out. It is equally unfortunate that so few men are thus qualified. Little did I think when a boy listening to my worthy grandsire praise your judgment and inclinations that one day my interests would be in your care. Though at times it seems as though you have been criticized severely, remember that the majority are those whose business it is to work, and the only expression they give is with the ballot. You surely recognize this, for your actions prove that you are not afraid to do the right thing although in face of severe criticism.

When life's long race is run, when your voice is forever still, the truest briefest comment will be, "He lived to bless mankind."

Feeling that as one who has used his voice only at the ballot, that indifference is not just, and that kind words do more good before than after death, I penned these few lines. Hoping that God will give you the strength and power to continue your good work and that success crowns your efforts, I remain,

Respectfully, yours, WILLIAM E. SCHUMAN.

Army Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KING SWOPE,
OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 16, 1920.

Mr. SWOPE. Mr. Speaker, I was unable to be present to vote for the motion to recommit the Army appropriation bill to the Committee on Military Affairs, because I was out of the city that afternoon on the invitation of a number of my constituents to make an address before the Center College alumni. I was assured before I left that the bill would be passed without a roll call, and that my vote would not be needed. However, had I been present, I would have voted for the motion to recommit, which directed the Committee on Military Affairs to report the Army appropriation bill back with the following amendment:

Provided, That no part of the funds herein appropriated shall be expended in payment of the salary of any officer of the Army of the United States who shall issue or cause to be issued any order, written or verbal, preventing social intercourse between officers and enlisted men of said Army while not on military duty, when such order was not authorized by law or general Executive order: *Provided further*, That this limitation shall not apply to an officer who shall have acted in obedience to the mandates of his superior.

There were certain camp commanders who gave orders which prohibited officers from attending social affairs at which enlisted men were invited, and vice versa. That was not only embarrassing to the host or hostess, but also to the officers and enlisted men. Several camp commanders issued orders which prohibited officers and enlisted men from attending the same dance, and it often occurred that relatives who were in the Army together were not allowed to have any social relations simply because some were officers and some were enlisted men.

Such orders are out of the question and were generally given by some Regular Army officer who had been in the Army so long that he had ceased to be human and had become a machine. This amendment will stop the pay of any officer who issues such an absurd order. Discipline, as everyone knows, is necessary in an army, but such silly orders as prevent any social intercourse whatever between officers and men off duty do not produce any discipline, but on the contrary create a condition that seriously threatens the morale of the whole Army. Our Army is not constructed on Prussian principles, and we do not want any Prussian practices injected into it.

America's Schools—America's Teachers.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SCOTT FERRIS,
OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 16, 1920.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the Congress, America's scholastic population is 20,853,516; America's school-teachers number 600,000. The total amount invested in school property is $1,983,508,818. The total amount expended annually for school maintenance is $736,678,089. The average amount expended per child per annum for schooling is $36.62. The National Education Association asserts that there are 38,000 schools closing on account of inability to secure teachers; they further assert that there are 65,000 inefficient teachers in the United States.

The Bureau of Education advises that the average salary paid teachers by States is as follows:

Alabama	$345
Arizona	952
Arkansas	387
California	1,012
Colorado	749
Connecticut	745
Delaware	561
District of Columbia	1,052
Florida	382
Georgia	366
Idaho	685
Illinois	778
Indiana	587
Iowa	578
Kansas	513
Kentucky	364
Louisiana	471
Maine	443
Maryland	687
Massachusetts	858
Michigan	663
Minnesota	651
Mississippi	291
Missouri	651
Montana	670
Nebraska	562
Nevada	874
New Hampshire	548
New Jersey	911
New Mexico	500
New York	976
North Carolina	284
North Dakota	578
Ohio	744
Oklahoma	571
Oregon	702
Pennsylvania	702
Rhode Island	802
South Carolina	315
South Dakota	504
Tennessee	370
Texas	487
Utah	754
Vermont	467
Virginia	385
Washington	422
West Virginia	408
Wisconsin	521
Wyoming	578

Thus it will be observed that the average salary for the 600,000 school-teachers throughout the United States is but $635 a year. Thus it will be observed that in my own State of Oklahoma the average salary paid to teachers is $571 per annum, which is $64 per annum less than the general average throughout the country.

To me the schedule of salaries above published is totally inadequate to maintain teachers in their school work. To me such salaries can not be expected to retain the best teachers. It means a deterioration of the schools; it means inferior schools; it is a reflection upon our school system; it ought to be corrected.

A recent report issued by the National Education Association discloses that of the 600,000 school-teachers engaged in teaching

America's youth 300,000 of them have had no education beyond the eighth grade; 100,000 more of them have had less than two years' training beyond the elementary grades. Five million out of a total of twenty million of the school children are being taught by teachers who have not even proceeded beyond the eighth grade.

The State of New York furnishes information to the effect that salaries are received by different crafts as follows:

Machinists	$1,945
Inside wiremen	1,859
Bricklayers	1,716
Blacksmiths	1,697
Lathers	1,825
Plumbers	1,716
Glaziers	1,659
Machine tender (printing)	1,612
Structural ironworker	1,602
Head baker	1,300
Carpenter	1,144
Hod carrier	1,144
Average school-teacher	934

Thus it will be observed that in the great Empire State of the Union, school-teachers who are expected to train, educate, and carry America's children through the formative period, are receiving less salary than any other of the crafts or professions.

I can not think this is just—I do not think it is just—it should not be. I can not think it is for the best interests of our schools. Yea, it is not for the best interests of our country to pursue such a course.

To me America's 20,000,000 school children are America's best crop; they are the hope of the Republic; they are our children. The very genius of America throughout the ages that are gone—civilization itself—the advancement of every line and every walk of life must of necessity depend upon the education of our children.

Is the emergency so great; is the cost too great; will not the penalties and injury that will flow from such a course be more than we can stand, more than a thoughtful Nation will bear, more than the taxpayers would desire us to endure?

For me and mine I am in favor of increasing the salaries to all school-teachers throughout the length and breadth of the Republic commensurate with the services that they perform, and greater still, to be commensurate with the necessity of the hour in securing the very best teachers available and the very best talent available to train America's youth.

Value and Efficacy of the Point of Order—By Their Fruits Ye Shall Know Them—People Want Action, Not Words—Loyal 100 Per Cent Americanism, Sane Economy, and Maximum Production Are Demanded by the American People and Should Be Our Slogans.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS L. BLANTON,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 21, 1920.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I sincerely thank my colleagues for this privilege unanimously extended (p. 4622) of discussing matters of public interest.

For months during debate of practically every one of the many supply measures, as well as all other legislation seeking appropriations from the Treasury, I have made an uncompromising fight on the floor against waste and extravagance and for establishing sane economy in all of our Government business.

By ascertaining, through careful study of appropriations authorized in prior Congresses, what proposed items of appropriations in the various supply bills are unauthorized by law and by making proper points of order against same, I succeeded in having stricken from such bills in the House items aggregating millions of dollars. This leads me to mention the value and efficacy of "the point of order" in safeguarding sane legislation.

When a bill is reported by a committee my colleagues are aware of the fact that it is almost impossible for any of the other Members to amend the bill, due to the many privileges in the way of advantage enjoyed by the committee in charge of the measure. For instance, the committee controls the general debate, most of which time is consumed by members of the committee on irrelevant subjects, and when the bill is read for amendment under the five-minute rule any member of the committee is entitled to recognition over Members not on the committee, and the chairman can cut off debate almost when he wills by motion, and where the committee opposes an amendment and the issue comes to a vote, with only a handful of Members usually present, the absent Members coming in not being familiar with the controversy, almost invariably vote to sustain the committee, thus defeating amendments. And so it is likewise, when you attempt to amend by motion to recommit the bill, usually only such Members as are in favor of the bill are present at the time, and when you are able to force a roll call the absent Members who might vote for the amendment if they understood it rush in during the roll call and are informed that it is an attempt to change the committee's bill and, having no knowledge of the merit of the amendment, they naturally vote against the motion to recommit, to sustain the committee.

Let me illustrate. On March 5, 1920, the House passed the bill substantially increasing the salaries of 1,048 employees in the Patent Office, such bill providing:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 477 of the Revised Statutes be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 477. The salaries of the officers mentioned in the preceding section shall be as follows:

"The Commissioner of Patents, $6,000 a year.

"The First Assistant Commissioner of Patents, $5,500 a year.

"The Assistant Commissioner of Patents, $4,500 a year.

"Five examiners in chief, $5,000 a year each."

SEC. 2. That as much of section 440 of the Revised Statutes as follows the words "in the Patent Office" and refers to said office only be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"Chief clerk (who shall be qualified to act as principal examiner), $4,000; 6 law examiners, at $4,000 each; examiner of classification, $4,200; 2 examiners of interference, at $3,900 each; examiner of trade-marks and designs, $3,900; first assistant examiner of trade-marks and designs, $3,000; 1 second assistant examiner of trade-marks and designs, at $2,700, and 1 at $2,500; 1 third assistant examiner of trade-marks and designs at $2,200, and 1 at $2,050; 6 fourth assistant examiners of trade-marks and designs—2 at $1,800 each, 2 at $1,650 each, and 2 at $1,500 each; examiners—47 principals, at $3,900 each; 100 first assistants—40 at $3,300 each, 30 at $3,100 each, and 30 at $2,900 each; 100 second assistants—40 at $2,700 each, 30 at $2,500 each, and 30 at $2,350 each; 100 third assistants—40 at $2,200 each, 30 at $2,050 each, and 30 at $1,925 each; 100 fourth assistants—40 at $1,800 each, 30 at $1,650 each, and 30 at $1,500 each; financial clerk, who shall give bond in such amount as the Commissioner of Patents may determine, $2,500; librarian, who shall be qualified to act as assistant examiner, $2,700; 8 chiefs of nonexamining divisions, at $2,500 each; 8 assistant chiefs of nonexamining divisions, at $2,100 each; private secretary, to be selected and appointed by the commissioner, $2,000; translator of languages, $2,400; assistant translator of languages, $2,000; clerks—22 of class 4, at $1,800 each; 33 of class 3, at $1,600 each; 100 of class 2, at $1,400 each; 125 of class 1, at $1,200 each; 100 at $1,000 each; skilled draftsmen, 1 at $1,800 and 3 at $1,600 each; 3 draftsmen, at $1,400 each; 40 copyists, at $1,100 each; 36 messengers, at $1,080 each; 13 laborers, at $1,080 each; 50 examiners' aids and 24 copy pullers, who shall be selected without regard to apportionment, $720 each; in all, $1,885,500."

As soon as the reading of said bill began the following colloquy occurred between myself and the chairman of the committee:

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I notice that the salary of the Commissioner of Patents has been raised $1,000, I believe. The First Assistant Commissioner of Patents is raised $1,000, and the five examiners in chief have had their salaries raised $1,000, or how much?

Mr. NOLAN. The Assistant Commissioner of Patents at the present time receives $3,500. By the adoption of the amendment his salary is now increased $1,500 a year. The five examiners in chief receive $3,500, and the increase for them in this bill makes an increase of $1,500 a year.

Mr. BLANTON. Then beginning with the chief clerk under the next section on down the raises have been relatively how much?

Mr. NOLAN. The chief clerk at the present time gets $3,000 and he is raised $1,000 to $4,000. The law examiners get $2,700 and they are raised to $4,000 each, or $1,250. The classification examiner receives at the present time $3,600 and he is raised to $4,200. The examiners in chief, $3,500, and are raised to $5,000. Those are the five examiners in chief provided in section 1. The interference examiner gets $2,700 and he is raised to $2,900.

Mr. BLANTON. So they approximate from $1,000 to $1,500 raise?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes. In some cases $600. I will state to the gentleman from Texas that the original bill provided more of an increase. The commissioner was placed at $7,500, the first assistant at $6,000, the assistant commissioner at $5,000, and so on down the line—chief clerk, $4,200; law examiners, $4,200; etc.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to know if the chairman of this committee can give me information whether or not the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee indorses these raises?

Mr. NOLAN. I do not know.

Mr. BLANTON. The matter has not been submitted to him? Has not the steering committee had the matter presented to them?

Mr. NOLAN. Well, the Rules Committee has. I do not know if they took it up with the steering committee or not.

Mr. BLANTON. I was just wondering, Mr. Chairman, under the program of economy concerning which we hear so much daily from the majority leader, the distinguished gentleman from Wyoming, and others, how are we going to save this billion dollars that is being heralded to the country as to be saved, if we are going to raise all of these salaries? We have passed through the war and now that the war is over and we are in the days of reconstruction and economy and retrenchment, with a deficit of $3,000,000,000 staring us in the face, how are we going to meet that emergency when in this bill we raise war-time salaries now during days of peace and when we are increasing them from $1,000 to $1,500 apiece at one clatter, right out of the box?

And then later I took the floor and called attention to the motion to recommit which I would later offer, to wit:

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I desire to be heard on the amendment. I realize that it would be a waste of the time of the committee and of the few Members present—some 25 or 30 of us, who stay here and work and attend to the people's business—it would be a waste of our time to try to change any of these numerous large raises which the Committee on Patents has brought about in this bill. I was in hopes that the steering committee on the other side of the House, which has indicated its lip desire for economy, would step into the breach now before the House and have protected the people of the country against these unreasonable raises.

Now, I am in favor, if there are employees here who are not getting sufficient salary, if they earn by their industry and thrift and efficiency a raise, to give it to them. But to make a blanket raise of from $1,000 to $1,500 for a great many of these employees I think is out of all reason. I realize I would be wasting time by offering the numerous amendments here necessary to change these numerous raises, and I am not going to attempt it, but I want to put this Committee on Patents on notice, and I want to put the Appropriations Committee on notice, and I want to put the steering committee on notice, and I want to put the majority leader, the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL], on notice, that when this bill is finished in the Committee of the Whole, I intend to offer a motion to recommit and have all these salaries changed back to amounts at least approximating their present status. And then I hope that the steering committee will come in here and force a roll call and let the Members of Congress go on record on this question of whether they are going to stand for economy and efficiency in this Government, or whether they are going to blindly follow this committee and make a blanket raise in such large amounts for clerks and employees whether they deserve it or not. I do think that the time has come, or it is coming soon, when we are going to be put on notice. This matter I put in the RECORD a while ago contains threats of employees as to what they and their organizations are going to do to Congressmen if they do not support their demands. The gentleman from New York [Mr. MACCRATE] says it does not affect us. I wish to God it did not affect us, but if you let water run over a rock, and keep running over it, after a while it wears a groove. And they are continually coming to us with their threats and these demands.

Mr. MACCRATE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I am sorry I can not yield, because this is an important subject I am discussing, and it is more important than the interruption by the gentleman from New York.

I want to say this: They say that we are going to hear from them and their organizations in the elections and on the hustings. Our Government clerks say so. They and their affiliated associate, the American Federation of Labor, have placed the distinguished Speaker and "Uncle Joe" CANNON and myself and others on the blacklist. God knows I am glad to be on their blacklist with such men as the distinguished Speaker of this House and "Uncle Joe" CANNON, who has faithfully served his country for 44 years in this body. I want to tell you whom else you are going to hear from besides the organized clerks of this country and the organized unions of this country when election time comes; you are going to hear from the people of the country. They are going to ask you whether you voted for this economy motion of this man BLANTON, of Texas, to recommit this bill and get back to economy. They are going to ask you how you stood on some of these many economy and good-government questions that BLANTON has proposed here. They are going to pin you down as to whether or not you have stood for these things that BLANTON has proposed here in behalf of the people, or whether you have voted for these threats and demands. I am getting many letters from your districts now asking me how you stand and whether you are safe to be returned here. Of course, I answer them to the effect that you are my colleagues and that I like you, and that they will have to get your record from your votes. I am not giving you fellows away, but the people of this country are going to examine your records, as well as the organized Government clerks and the unions of this country.

And, as usual, when any attempt to economize is made, an effort to laugh it off ensues, and so on this occasion the gentleman from New York [Mr. CROWTHER] told one of his funny jokes and sought to sidetrack my efforts for economy with facetiousness, as follows:

Mr. CROWTHER. Mr. Chairman, this patent bill reminds me that one of the most useful inventions we have had during the last few years, particularly in case of motor cars, has been a self-starter, and when I hear the gentleman from Texas day after day in the House shouting that our economy is mere lip economy, I wish to God, as he does so often, that somebody would invent and present to him a self-stopper. [Laughter.]

And when I made the motion to recommit the bill so that it could be properly amended by reducing said unreasonable raises in salaries to amounts within reason, and which would have saved half a million dollars annually for the people of this Government, the following occurred:

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I make a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas makes a motion to recommit, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Mr. BLANTON moves to recommit this bill to the Committee on Patents, with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith with the following amendments, to wit: On page 1, line 7, strike out '$6,000' and insert '$5,500'; in line 8, strike out '$5,500' and insert '$4,800'; in line 11, strike out '$5,000' and insert '$4,000'; and on page 2, in line 1, strike out '$5,000' and insert '$4,000'; in line 7, strike out the two sums of '$4,000' and insert in lieu of each thereof '$3,500'; in line 8, strike out '$4,200' and insert '$3,700'; in line 9, strike out '$3,900' and insert '$3,300'; in line 10, strike out '$3,900' and insert $3,300'; in line 11, strike out '$3,000' and insert '$2,600'; in line 12, strike out '$2,700' and insert '$2,300'; in line 12, strike out '$2,500' and insert '$2,000'; in line 13, strike out '$2,200' and insert '$1,800'; in line 14, strike out '$2,050' and insert '$1,850'; in line 15, strike out '$1,800' and insert '$1,600'; in line 15, strike out '$1,650' and insert '$1,500'; in line 16, strike out '$1,500' and insert '$1,400'; in line 17, strike out '$3,900' and insert '$3,300'; in line 18, strike out '$3,300' and insert '$2,800'; in line 18, strike out '$3,100' and insert '$2,600'; in line 19, strike out '$2,900' and insert '$2,500'; in line 20, strike out '$2,800' and insert '$2,250'; in line 20, strike out '$2,500' and insert '$2,000'; in line 21, strike out '$2,350' and insert '$1,800'; in line 21, strike out '$2,200' and insert '$1,600'; in line 22, strike out '$2,050' and insert '$1,500'; in line 22, strike out '$1,925' and insert '$1,400'; in line 23, strike out '$1,800' and insert '$1,400'; in line 24, strike out '$1,650' and insert '$1,350'; in line 24, strike out '$1,500' and insert '$1,300'; and on page 3, in line 2, strike out '$2,700' and insert '$2,500'; in line 3, strike out '$2,500' and insert '$2,200'; in line 4, strike out '$2,100' and insert "$1,750'; in line 6, strike out '$2,400' and insert '$2,250'; in line 8, strike out '$1,800' and insert '$1,600'; in line 9, strike out '$1,600' and insert '$1,500'; in line 9, strike out '$1,400' and insert '$1,300'; in line 11, strike out '$1,100' and insert '$1,000'; in line 13, strike out '$1,100' and insert '$1,000'; in line 13, strike out 'thirty-six' and insert 'six'; and in line 14, strike out the two sums of '$1,080' and insert in lieu of each of such sums '$800.'"

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Texas to recommit.

The question was taken, and the Speaker announced the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order of no quorum.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas makes the point of order that there is no quorum present. It is clear that no quorum is present. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absentees, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 6, nays 272, not voting 149, as follows:

[Roll No. 85.]

YEAS—6.

Blanton	Jones, Tex.	Quin	Thomas
Garner	Porter		

I will not embarrass my colleagues by giving the negative vote and the absentees, as I believe that the American people would have voted for said motion.

Under our present system, when so few Members stay on the floor while bills are debated and read under the five-minute rule, the foregoing illustrates how very difficult it is to amend a bill against the wishes of the chairman of the committee having the bill in charge.

And thus the value and efficacy of "the point of order" is emphasized. It is indeed a wise rule of the House that legislation in an appropriation bill is unauthorized and is subject to a point of order; that all items in an appropriation bill unauthorized by law are subject to a point of order; and that an amendment to a bill must be germane.

Yet it frequently happens that an unauthorized provision is stricken out of a bill in the House on a point of order, and then is reinserted in the bill by the Senate, whereupon Members of the House are helpless, as no point of order will again avail. Our rules in this respect should be changed. The Senate should not be permitted to place on House bills unauthorized riders which under the rules of the House were stricken from the bill by the House on points of order, and Members of the House should be permitted to make points of order against any Senate amendment that under the rules of the House is subject to a point of order when originally considered by the House. Otherwise the House is at the mercy of the Senate and helpless with respect to unauthorized riders except as they may resist same through very uncertain action of their conferees.

Let me illustrate. Shortly after our entering the war our Government employees demanded a bonus, and upon their insistent demands Congress granted them a bonus of $120 but required them to work eight hours instead of only seven hours per day. Following their threats of quitting work and leaving the Government helpless in war time, upon the insistent demands of their unions, the President vetoed the eight-hour provision and permitted them to continue to work only seven hours a day. Then, after drawing their $120 bonus, the Government employees next demanded that their bonus for the succeeding year be doubled, and, over my protest and vote, Congress again granted their demands and gave a bonus of $240 to all employees receiving salaries as high as $2,500, which embraced 240,000 Government employees and which bonus alone amounted to $57,000,000 a year. The higher salaried employees above $2,740 were paid no bonus. But even a $240 bonus did not satisfy them, for after drawing their $240 bonus their various organizations went before the subcommittee framing the last legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill and demanded that not only should their $240 bonus be again doubled, to a $480 bonus, which meant about $100,000,000 bonus to them annually, but also that the higher-salaried employees be also paid a bonus, entailing an additional $50,000,000 annually, their demand being that a bonus of $480 be paid all employees receiving salaries as high as $2,500; that a bonus of $360 be paid to all employees receiving salaries between $2,500 and $3,500; and that a bonus of $240 be paid to all employees receiving salaries between $3,500 and $4,500. But be it said to the everlasting credit and honor of the distinguished gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] and his subcommittee, the threats of political defeat

made by the various organizations of these employees did not prevail, and there was no change made, but the same bonus provision was placed in the bill, allowing a $240 bonus to employees with salaries not over $2,500.

Then, because their demand for a $480 bonus was denied, the numerous organizations of Government employees, numbering over 150 different locals, began to harass Congress with petitions, letters, interviews, demands, and threats. The House Office Building was simply besieged with delegations. Personal calls were made at the offices of Congressmen. Washington newspapers daily conveyed the influential news that the organizations of Government employees were cooperating with the American Federation of Labor in card indexing all Congressmen and Senators and in keeping watch over their personal habits, pleasures, and pursuits, so that if they did not respond to the employees' demands they would be defeated by direct fights being made against them in their districts. Every pressure imaginable was brought to bear upon Members to force compliance. So when that section of the bill was reached in the House, on March 3, 1920, the employees had present ready for action every Congressman whose vote for their demands they were able to influence. The gentleman from California [Mr. NOLAN], who is the representative and mouthpiece on the floor for said employees' organizations and other unions, and whose several attacks against me I have borne with patience and forbearance, had prepared ready to be offered the amendment to give them their demanded $480 bonus and to give the $360 bonus to ones drawing salaries between $2,500 and $3,500, and to give the $240 bonus to ones drawing salaries between $3,500 and $4,500; and in such situation such amendment would have carried beyond doubt with so many Members absent had he been permitted to offer it and to get a vote on it. The only possible chance to keep it from passing was to keep it from being offered and to keep it from being voted upon. The only way to accomplish this was through "the point of order." The entire bonus section in the bill was subject to a point of order. With it left in the bill, however, it would be subject to germane amendments, and the proposed bonus amendment of the gentleman from California [Mr. NOLAN] was germane, and if offered, with the bonus section in the bill, would not itself be subject to a point of order; but with the bonus section out of the bill such Nolan amendment would not be germane and would be subject to a point of order. Hence the only way to knock out the proposed Nolan $480 bonus amendment was to have stricken from the bill the whole bonus section by a point of order.

Therefore, in order to save $50,000,000 for the people of the United States by preventing the bonus from being changed from $240 to $480, and in order to save another $50,000,000 by preventing a $360 bonus being granted to salaries up to $3,500, and a $240 bonus to salaries up to $4,500, I made the point of order against the whole bonus section, knowing that even if the Senate placed the former bonus back into the bill it would nevertheless save about $100,000,000 for the people of the United States by reason of defeating in this way the increases in the Nolan amendment. And the Chairman sustained my point of order and the whole bonus section thereby was stricken from the bill, and in this way the proposed Nolan $480 bonus amendment was defeated through a point of order.

I here insert excerpts from the RECORD of March 3, 1920, showing the making of the point of order and the sustaining of it by the chairman:

Mr. BLANTON. I make the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas makes the point of order.

Mr. BLANTON. I make the point of order against this paragraph that it is new legislation, unauthorized by law, on an appropriation bill. I will state that this is the bonus section which was provided for temporarily during the war. The law providing for this bonus first of $120, then of $240, was passed merely as an emergency, to assist our employees during the war. It was understood then that when the war was over and we got back to normal conditions this should be taken off of their pay. If proper consideration——

Mr. BAER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. Just a moment. If proper consideration had been given our soldier and sailor boys who fought and served in the war, with reference to a proper bonus, I would not have made this point of order; but until we do justice to the soldier and sailor boys of this country who won the war in France, I do not think civilian employees should draw a war bonus.

The CHAIRMAN. Does any gentleman desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I desire to say that this legislation, or legislation like it, has been carried in the bill for the last three sessions of Congress. I will not contend that it is not subject to a point of order, but I had hoped that there might be some agreement or understanding here with reference to this bonus and that the point of order would not be made.

Mr. BLANTON. I think we can get some working agreement, if the gentleman will permit me to make a statement. I understand that there is to be an effort made here to increase this bonus from $240 to $480, which would be unconscionable. That is why I have raised this point of order.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. I do not know whether there is any such arrangement.

Mr. BLANTON. If I did not make this point of order at this time, it would make this paragraph subject to that amendment, and certainly the chairman does not want a $480 bonus put in this bill.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. I suggest to the gentleman that he reserve his point of order, so as to allow the matter to be debated.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Why does not the gentleman reserve the point of order until we can arrive at some understanding?

Mr. BLANTON. I make the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. Does any gentleman desire to be heard on the point of order? If not, the Chair is compelled to sustain the point of order. The Clerk will read.

And thus about $100,000,000 was saved for the people by preventing the proposed Nolan amendment. Of course, the Senate put back into the bill the regular $240 bonus, and it has been agreed to in conference, but the proposed $100,000,000 increases have been defeated and saved to the people, and the unreasonable $480 bonus program is killed as dead as Hector.

The American Federationist, published monthly here in Washington, is the "Official magazine of the American Federation of Labor," so stated on its cover. I have the new issue of April, 1920, before me, with its pronunciamento article "Labor's political banner unfurled," written by Samuel Gompers, wherein he discloses how certain Representatives of the people are to be defeated in the coming election. I notice on page 362 the following:

BONUS FOR PUBLIC EMPLOYEES.

For a number of years, since the war agitation was on, rather than institute an inquiry into the wages of employees of the Government, a general bonus was granted them amounting at first to $120 per year, and next to $240 per year. This year the employees' unions asked for an increase of the bonus. Representative BLANTON, of Texas, when the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill was under consideration, made a point of order against the bonus, claiming that it was unauthorized by law. Thereupon the appropriation was omitted from the bill. It would have been possible to bring in a special rule making this appropriation in order, and it was understood that this would be done. However, it was not done, and Mr. BLANTON has the satisfaction of saving to the Public Treasury an outlay of about $40,000,000 by cutting the wages of public employees to that extent.

I am thankful for even small favors, but in giving me credit for saving public money this enemy organ should not have reduced the amount to $40,000,000, as the difference between the proposed $480 bonus and the $240 bonus placed in the bill by the Senate amounts alone to about $50,000,000, and the new $360 and $240 bonuses to employees drawing salaries up to $3,500 and $4,500, respectively, as proposed by the Nolan bonus program, would have amounted to about another $50,000,000, making in all about $100,000,000 saved.

The American Labor World is the only labor magazine in Greater New York officially recognized by the American Federation of Labor. On page 30, issue for March, 1920, under an article headed "Labor declares political war on all opponents," is a vicious attack upon me, from which I quote the following:

Congressman BLANTON, of Texas, is perhaps the most relentless foe of all the Representatives in Congress. Mr. Gompers claims him as labor's most coveted prey. * * * Gompers captured BLANTON'S "goat" sometime ago when the House ordered NOLAN'S scornful arraignment of the Texan retained in the RECORD, and the old premier can be pardoned if he were guilty of chuckling—

And so forth.

Congressman BLANTON is only one of the antilabor lawmakers that the American Federation of Labor will endeavor to relegate to private life, and in this particular case the campaign committee will go to any extreme within the limits of the election law to rid Congress of him—

And so forth.

And joined with the American Federation of Labor in this war against Congressmen is the organization embracing about 200,000 Government employees. Engaged in politics! Yes; certainly. Congress will not let soldiers or sailors or marines or postal employees engage in politics, but permits all of its other civilian employees to take charge of politics.

The Postal Record for April, 1920, on page 98, says:

POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

MARCH 2, 1920.

The following statement of the United States Civil Service Commission is published for the information of postmasters and postal employees:

"Prohibited political activity by an employee does not consist exclusively in direct, open, actual, personal participation in political affairs. What a classified employee is prohibited from doing independently and directly he may not do indirectly and by collusion or cooperation. Collusion is a fact always open to proof and often to be presumed from the relation of the parties and the manifest motive based on supposed or intended beneficial results to the persons involved. If a husband or wife of an employee in a competitive position engages in political activity for the benefit of such employee, the presumption of collusion is immediate and strong and casts upon the employee the burden of overcoming the assumption by affirmative proof.

"The commission is of opinion, therefore, that evasion of the rule by an employee through the activities of wife or husband will be found the easiest of all forms of collusion to discover, establish, and punish."

J. C. KOONS,
First Assistant Postmaster General.

While the Washington Times, issue of March 29, 1920, says:

EMPLOYEES RUSH TO JOIN FEDERAL UNION—SIX NEW LOCALS ADDED IN WEEK—PLAN BIG CAMPAIGN MOVE.

Stimulated by vital legislative issues before Congress concerning Government employees, and intent to exercise every influence in the coming elections, the National Federation of Federal Employees is daily adding members at a rate unprecedented in its history.

Reports received at the headquarters of the union this morning show that six new locals were added to the federation during the past six days. There is now a total of 168 locals, making it one of the big union organizations of the country.

New locals are springing up in every section of the country according to reports, and scarcely a State is not now represented in the federation.

A vigorous organization campaign is being conducted at present. Charles F. Hutchinson, a vice president of the federation, of San Francisco, arrived in Washington this morning after a flying trip across the continent in the interests of the union. He was successful in organizing many new locals, and reported that the interest everywhere was at a high pitch.

Charles L. Wiegand, president of the Baltimore local and a member of the executive council of the federation, left to-day on an organizing trip through the South and Middle West.

President Luther C. Steward has just returned from a similar trip through neighboring States.

Reports show that there is every indication that through their unions Government employees will wage a strong fight at the next election in an effort to have candidates favorable to their cause elected.

What significance has the word "union" to these 200,000 Government employees? What does it mean to them? Which union with them is paramount—their labor union or their Government Union? Does the term "union" mean to them what it meant to Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Roosevelt, and other immortal Americans? The Bible says that "no man can serve two masters." Hon. Herbert D. Brown, Chief of the United States Bureau of Efficiency, has advised us that we can not expect efficiency from these employees as long as they are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as they depend upon their union card rather than efficient service for holding their positions. And because of such statement our Government employees are now trying to oust and ruin this chief of the Bureau of Efficiency.

We have forced the policemen and firemen in Washington to withdraw from the American Federation of Labor. Why does Congress hesitate to require Government employees to withdraw from unions that are so frequently in controversy with and antagonism with the one great Government Union of the United States? Are we afraid of Mr. Samuel Gompers? Are we afraid of the American Federation of Labor? Are we afraid of the 168 locals of these various Government Employees' Unions? Are we not yet alive to the danger and menace, when we are now informed by the Department of Justice that this late so-called "outlaw railway strike" was brought about through the well-known anarchist, William Z. Foster, whom Mr. Gompers not long ago placed in charge of the great steel strike?

Why, our Government employees are the "favored few" and the "pets of the Nation." They work only seven hour a day for the Government, in luxurious, comfortable buildings, under most pleasant environments, and with every luxury and convenience accessible, and many make double income by having dual employment out of Government hours with private firms and corporations. They are given 30 days' vacation on full pay each year, 30 days' additional sick leave on full pay each year upon doctor's certificate, have all 52 Sundays, all regular national holidays, half holidays every Saturday during the three summer months, and holiday on every special occasion so numerously occurring in Washington. Thousands of them own their own comfortable homes here, with rates cheaper than anywhere else in the United States on splendid water, lights, gas, tax exemption of $1,000, and tax rate of only 1½ per cent, most of the running expenses here being paid by the Government. Thousands own their own automobiles, with access to hundreds of miles of paved streets and boulevards, paid for half by the people of the United States; have access to the splendid art galleries, incomparable public libraries, museums, flower gardens, parks, swimming basins, zoological gardens, riding parks, tennis, cricket, polo, and golf grounds, all free for public amusement; and access to the finest churches, lectures, theaters, picture shows, and music to be had anywhere else in the United States. Many wear the finest sable furs in August and decollette gowns in January, and are forever dissatisfied with their incomes in this extravagant atmosphere of Washington. And now the Senate has forced on the House a measure to pension all of these civilian employees, so that they need have no apprehension or bother about saving anything up for old age. Verily, they are the "favored few, and pets of the Nation." And for our brave service men, who faced the dangers of a submarined sea and no man's land, winning a World War for civilization, we have only given, besides their $33 a month wages, a paltry bonus of $60, which was not sufficient to buy a good suit of civilian clothes.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let me get a little brush out of the way. Because I have insisted on a quorum remaining on the floor to attend to public business and have forced a record vote on a number of measures, a few of my Republican colleagues, momentarily out of humor because registered absent or forced to leave their offices, have attempted to make it appear that I have caused much expense to the Government in demanding roll calls. This would be true if expenses stopped when Congress adjourns. But practically all of the expense goes on while Congress is adjourned, just the same as when it is in session. We still draw our salaries. Our secretaries, clerks, and main committee and House employees still draw their salaries. We will soon be through and are fixing to adjourn June 5. Our running expenses will continue on through the recess just the same, as practically all of the employees except the pages draw annual salaries, so the time consumed in roll calls has not been nearly so much wasted as the hours of hot-air spouting.

But a few enemy newspapers would have the country believe that I am the only Congressman who forces roll calls. I do not deserve all of the credit. During January and February of this year there were exactly 53 roll calls in the House, of which 9 were forced by me, and the remaining 44 by others. Numbering the first one occurring in January as No. 1, the names of the Congressmen forcing them are as follows:

HOUSE ROLL CALLS IN JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1920.

No. 1, BLANTON, page 1068; No. 2, WINGO, page 1242; No. 3, Saunders, page 1284; No. 4, CARTER, page 1285; No. 5, MONDELL, page 1339; No. 6, DALLINGER, page 1343; No. 7, BLANTON, page 1465; No. 8, WALSH, page 1497; No. 9, WINGO, page 1503; No. 10, SNYDER, page 1508; No. 11, BLANTON, page 1600; No. 12, GARD and DYER, page 1671; No. 13, WALSH, page 1679; No. 14, MORGAN, page 1744; No. 15, BLANTON, page 1782; No. 16, HOWARD, page 1790; No. 17, Saunders, page 1859; No. 18, GARD, page 1888; No. 19, SMALL, page 1923; No. 20, BLANTON, page 1953; No. 21, BLANTON, page 1958; No. 22, BLANTON, page 2668; No. 23, BANKHEAD, page 2109; No. 24, BEGG, page 2199; No. 25, VARE, page 2255; No. 26, CALDWELL, page 2362; No. 27, VARE, page 2369; No. 28, WINGO, page 2508; No. 29, BLANTON, page 2670; No. 30, BAER, page 2713; No. 31, SHERWOOD, page 2794; No. 32, BLANTON, page 2815; No. 33, SNELL, page 2910; No. 34, CARTER and RUBEY, page 2911; No. 35, LEE, page 2912; No. 36, BARKLEY, page 2912; No. 37, LEE, page 2914; No. 38, HAUGEN, page 2915; No. 39, WALSH, page 2974; No. 40, WALSH, page 3013; No. 41, FREAR, page 3136; No. 42, BARKLEY, page 3315; No. 43, BARKLEY, page 3316; No. 44, GARD, page 3351; No. 45, KINCHELOE, page 3521; No. 46, CLARK of Missouri and POU, page 3526; No. 47, CLARK of Missouri, page 3527; No. 48, CALDWELL, page 3631; No. 49, CALDWELL, page 3636; No. 50, CALDWELL, page 3637; No. 51, CALDWELL, page 3645; No. 52, BYRNES, page 3647; No. 53, TINKHAM, page 3649.

Of the nine roll calls forced by me in January and February the first was final vote on the pension bill; the second was final vote on the District of Columbia appropriation bill; the third was final vote on the Post Office appropriation bill; the fourth was trying to prevent putting into the RECORD a propaganda telegram against the proposed sedition bill; the fifth was on a resolution that takes $10,000,000 annually out of the Treasury; the sixth was on final passage of said resolution; the seventh was on a rule making in order a questionable $630,000 appropriation; the eighth was on the Nolan attack against me; and the ninth was an attempt to stop certain amendments. What was there improper about forcing said nine roll calls? Many American people sincerely believe that the country would be better off if roll calls could consume half of the time of Congress and thereby prevent the passage of many wasteful and improper laws.

But, Mr. Speaker, let me get back to my main topic, the value and efficacy of the point of order. If we could only change our rules so as to prevent the Senate from reinserting in appropriation bills items that have been properly stricken therefrom by timely points of order in the House, and to prevent, also, the Rules Committee from bringing in rules making in order items so stricken out, there would be some chance of sane economy. Our posted Members know that the Republican steering committee is ruled by four Congressmen from the four big political States, and that the steering committee controls all legislation through its control of the Rules Committee and all other committees; hence legislation in this Congress is really controlled by four Members.

Evidencing the value and efficacy of the point of order, I want to call attention to a few of the many points of order made by me which were sustained by the Chair. The following were

made during merely the two months of January and February of this year, to wit:

[Excerpts from p. 1589, RECORD, Jan. 15, 1920.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Page 17, line 23, after the figures '$4,700,000,' strike out the period, insert a colon, and add the following: '*Provided*, That out of this appropriation the Postmaster General is authorized to expend not exceeding $30,000 for the transportation of foreign mails by airplanes and seaplanes.'"

* * * * * * *

Mr. BLANTON. I renew the reservation of the point of order. If we are not going to have aeroplane service in the United States, I am dead sure we will not have it outside the United States. And I make the point of order.

* * * * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

When the amendment was offered to the rivers and harbors bill to authorize additional payment to contractors above their contract amounts, which might have involved thousands of dollars, I made the point of order:

[Excerpts from p. 1922, RECORD, Jan. 22, 1920.]

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the amendment is not germane to the bill nor to the preceding section of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas makes the point of order that the amendment is not germane, and the Chair will hear the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. Chairman, section 8 of the bill now under consideration amends section 10 of the act of July 18, 1918. It amends that section by providing for a limitation of six months' time in which contractors, who are sought to be relieved under that section, may file claims with the Department of War. Therefore, it seems to me that any other amendment to that section affecting contractors or their rights with the War Department is germane, and therefore in order. I could not offer an amendment to any other section of the act of July 18, 1918, because section 10 of that act is the only one sought to be amended by the present bill, but the present bill offering in its last paragraph an amendment to section 10 of the act of July 18, 1918, certainly any other amendment touching the same subject is in order.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, we have passed section 8 by adopting an amendment coming from the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, which constitutes a new section to the bill, and would make the amendment of the gentleman from Kentucky not an amendment to section 8 but to the new section adopted. Also the point of order should be sustained for the reason that the reference to a change of this law of March 2, 1919, was only in one particular, one specific item. The amendment offered by the gentleman from Kentucky has no reference to this particular matter in which section 8 amends the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is ready to rule. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] offers an amendment to add an additional section, and in this amendment he provides that certain contractors may under certain circumstances be excused from liability. It seems to the Chair that that is wholly unrelated to the subject of this bill or to the subject of any section of the bill, and as a portion of the amendment only, if not germane, is sufficient to make the whole amendment out of order. The Chair holds that the amendment is out of order and sustains the point of order.

Under the act of 1915 the salaries of secretaries in the Diplomatic Service ranged from $1,200 to $3,000. In the last appropriation bill an attempt was made by the committee to raise all of said salaries $1,000 each by a proviso amendment, which I knocked out by a point of order:

[Excerpts from p. 2012, RECORD, Jan. 24, 1920.]

"*Provided*, That Secretaries in the Diplomatic Service shall hereafter be graded and classified as follows: Secretaries of class 1, $4,000 per annum; secretaries of class 2, $3,625 per annum; secretaries of class 3, $3,000 per annum; secretaries of class 4, $2,500 per annum; in all, $418,375."

* * * * * * *

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, in order to save time, I make a point of order against the proviso.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order. It is clearly subject to a point of order.

In thus defeating the committee's attempt to raise each of these salaries $1,000 per annum you will note with interest what the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] said concerning the purpose of putting these consular clerks in high society in Europe, as I will insert his remarks later.

First note the various committee provisions for educating 10 Americans each in China, Japan, and Turkey at Government expense, paying each salaries at the same time, which were knocked out on my points of order. I claim that the United States receives no benefit whatever from this expenditure, for as soon as they are educated, they forget their obligation to our Government, and commercialize their learning by hiring out to private corporations on big salaries.

[Excerpts from pp. 2018, 2019, 2020, and 2021, RECORD, Jan. 24, 1920.]

"For 10 student interpreters at the legation to China, who shall be citizens of the United States, and whose duty it shall be to study the Chinese language with a view to supplying interpreters to the legation and consulates in China, at $1,500 each, $15,000."

* * * * * * *

Mr. BLANTON. I make the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the point of order?

Mr. BLANTON. I make the point of order against the provision from line 22, on page 5, to and including line 10, on page 6, because there is no law authorizing any student interpreters.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kansas will state his point of order.

Mr. BLANTON. I rose before the gentleman from Kansas did.

Mr. LITTLE. I withdraw in favor of the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order against that portion of the bill beginning on line 22, page 4, and ending on line 7, page 5, because there is no law authorizing any appropriation for 10 student interpreters at the legation in China, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas makes the point of order on the paragraph. The Chair would ask the chairman of the committee to cite the authorization for the language in the bill.

Mr. PORTER. I do not care to reply to the point of order. I concede the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

The Clerk read as follows:

"For the payment of the cost of tuition of student interpreters in China, at the rate of $200 per annum, each, $2,000."

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that there is no law authorizing this $2,000 appropriation.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas makes the point of order.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order, but I would like to be heard upon it for a moment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, this provision in the bill is unauthorized, because there is no law for it. This matter of paying salaries to pet students, and paying all their tuition and expenses, has been carried on for years without law. I think we ought by this time to have some law before we make any further unauthorized appropriations to educate students in China, Japan, Turkey, and other foreign countries.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is ready to rule. The Chair sustains the point of order, and the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

"For six student interpreters at the embassy to Japan, who shall be citizens of the United States, and whose duty it shall be to study the Japanese language with a view to supplying interpreters to the embassy and consulates in Japan, at $1,500 each, $9,000."

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Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order against the paragraph on the ground that there is no law authorizing student interpreters.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania or some member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to indicate the authorization for this.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman from Texas not to make the point of order against these items. It will disorganize the whole foreign service in these countries.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I will state to the gentleman from Virginia that I have a real, bona fide, sure-enough case of economy on me that is more than lip and skin deep, regardless of what there is on the other side of the aisle, and I think the time has come to cut down these extravagant appropriations, and cut out every single employee of this Government that we can get along without.

Mr. FLOOD. I agree with the gentleman that we have to cut down on expenses.

Mr. BLANTON. And the idea of keeping men in school year after year over in China and Japan is ridiculous. By this time we ought to have educated enough interpreters to last us.

Mr. FLOOD. But the gentleman understands that they act as interpreters for a while and then go into the Consular and Diplomatic Service.

Mr. BLANTON. Yes; and then quit and come home and commercialize the education paid for by Uncle Sam by hiring out to private concerns.

Mr. FLOOD. Sometimes they quit and come home, but the rule has been that they have stayed there abroad faithfully for years.

Mr. BLANTON. There are plenty of interpreters to be found who are not students. We can find a well-qualified interpreter right now for any of the countries without going into the business of raising them.

Mr. FLOOD. While they are students, they also act as interpreters.

Mr. BLANTON. Oh, yes; but I would rather have an interpreter and pay him than to have 10 fellows learning how to be interpreters.

Mr. FLOOD. The gentleman would find that the result would be that the service in this part of the world will be without interpreters at the time they need them most.

Mr. BLANTON. Oh, yes; it will cripple the educational institutions in China and Japan.

Mr. FLOOD. It will cripple the ability of our embassies and legations and consulates to get interpreters when they need them.

Mr. BLANTON. We ought to practice sure-enough economy, and there is no more propitious time than now to begin.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] makes the point of order on the paragraph beginning at line 10 and ending at line 20.

* * * * * * *

The item in the appropriation bill, even though it is in the nature of legislation, unless the language is so drafted as to make it permanent law, is not permanent law; and in the view of the Chair the language called to his attention is in that class, although the item has been carried in the various appropriation bills from year to year, still, if any point had been made at any time, it would have been subject to a point of order. And this relating to Japan is clearly legislation on an appropriation bill for which no authorization has been shown, and the Chair sustains the point of order. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

"For the payment of the cost of tuition of student interpreters at the embassy to Japan, at the rate of $200 per annum each, $1,200."

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that there is no law authorizing the provision.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Pennsylvania desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. PORTER. No; I do not desire to be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

The Clerk read as follows:

"For 10 student interpreters at the embassy to Turkey, who shall be citizens of the United States, and whose duty it shall be to study the language of Turkey and any other language that may be necessary to qualify them for service as interpreters to the embassy and consulates in Turkey, at $1,500 each, $15,000.

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Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that there is no law authorizing this paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is sustained. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

"For the payment of the cost of tuition of student interpreters at the embassy to Turkey, at the rate of $200 per annum each, $2,000."

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order against this paragraph, there being no law authorizing it.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is sustained.

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The Clerk read as follows:

"QUARTERS FOR STUDENT INTERPRETERS AT EMBASSIES.

"For rent of quarters for the student interpreters attached to the embassy to Japan, $600."

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order on the paragraph, there being no law to authorize it.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

The Clerk read as follows:

"For rent of quarters for the student interpreters attached to the embassy to Turkey, $600."

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order against the paragraph, there being no law for it.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is sustained.

And in this connection, Mr. Speaker, let me again call the attention of my colleagues to the havoc played by resolutions always forthcoming from the hip pocket of the distinguished gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL], the chairman of the Committee on Rules, whereby the standing rules of the House and any action taken by the House may be changed overnight to meet the ideas and desires of the four men in control of the Republican steering committee. And I want this distinguished chairman to remember the admonition I gave him, to wit:

Mr. BLANTON. I just want to put the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL], chairman of the Rules Committee, on notice with respect to all the other appropriation supply bills they are to bring in here. He would better get rules making all unlawful matters in order and keep the rules in his hip pocket, because I am going to make points of order against every single unlawful provision that appears in any and all of these appropriation bills.

Also note the following excerpt from my speech on page 2065 of the RECORD:

The gentleman from Wyoming is so used to telling his colleagues on his side of the House what he wants done and what should be done, and having them do it without any question, that he imagines that everybody else on the other side of the House is so controlled. Now, the amounts that were cut out of this bill on points of order were the following: On page 3, the sum of $134,000; on page 4, the sum of $438,000; on page 5, the sum of $15,000, and the sums of $2,000, $9,000, and $1,200; and on page 6, $15,000 and $2,000. They are the items. One of these points of order was made by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] and all of the other points of order were made by me, and by same over $630,000 was temporarily saved to the people of the United States.

I want to submit to my friend from Wyoming, the distinguished leader of the majority, that true economy is more than lip deep; it is more than skin deep. If he wants to save these sums, what must be done? What are these sums of money for? Why, to pay so-called student interpreters, 10 of them to China, a salary of $1,500 a year each, for what? To learn how to go to school over there and learn the Chinese language. Not only that, but $200 apiece is appropriated to pay for their tuition. Not only that, but $600 a year is appropriated for their quarters. And so it is with respect to Turkey. Ten students are paid $1,500 a year each and $200 for tuition and $600 for quarters. And so it is with Japan. Those students are paid $1,500 a year each to go to school. You pay them to go to school over there, and pay for their quarters $600, and pay for their tuition $200 each; and these are the sums of money that are taken out of the people's Treasury in this crucial time. With a deficit of $3,000,000,000 staring us in the face, you are paying fellows to go to school in China and Japan and Turkey, and after you educate them over there they will come right back to the United States and commercialize the education we have paid for, and we will get no service whatever from them. There is absolutely nothing that binds them to the service. There is absolutely nothing that guarantees to the United States of America one single dollar of value for the money expended. I want to say that the so-called economy on the majority side of the House is lip deep only.

Also note the following excerpts from the speech of our distinguished Democratic leader [Mr. KITCHIN] on page 2070:

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I know that there are three economists in this House; one the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL], and one the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON], and myself. [Laughter.] I want to suggest to the gentleman from Wyoming that here is one of the items where he can help me and Mr. BLANTON save some money to the Government. I am really opposed to these increased salaries for the secretaries, and I am sincere in it——

Mr. GOOD. Mostly [laughter]——

Mr. KITCHIN. And am opposed to this amendment. * * *

So that, gentlemen, this increase now at this late date is not to enable the salaries of these secretaries to keep pace with the high cost of living.

The only reason in the world which the Secretary of State gives is to enable these secretaries of the ambassadors to go into good society, into "tango" and "kow-tow" society. [Laughter.] He says here in the report:

"As the lieutenants of the ambassadors and ministers, the secretaries must be able to mingle with all classes of people and associate upon a plane of equality with the members of the highest social and official circles of the capitals in which they are located."

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; I will yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Is not that caused by the fact that the social standard was set so high by the members of the peace commission and the social dignitaries that went to Paris? [Laughter.]

Mr. KITCHIN. That is possible; it is very possible that the committee has anticipated that, and taken care of it. But Mr. Lansing does not ask for it, except to permit these secretaries to meet and mingle socially with the kings and queens and monarchs, the princes and princesses, and the lords and ladies of Europe and have them tango and kow-tow around with royalty; not to perform their duties in the office. [Laughter.] It may be that that is where the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ROGERS] gets the idea in his head, which he expressed on Saturday, that the American ambassadors are really figureheads; that they do not do anything except do the society act, and the secretaries have been doing the work. Now, the Secretary of State wants the secretaries to do the "society act" and let the ambassadors do the work. [Laughter.]

And note the extravagance of appropriating $438,000 for additional foreign clerks:

The Clerk read as follows:

"CLERKS AT EMBASSIES AND LEGATIONS.

"For the employment of necessary clerks at the embassies and legations, who, whenever hereafter appointed, shall be citizens of the United States, $438,000; and so far as practicable shall be appointed under civil service rules and regulations."

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I want to keep the RECORD straight as we go along. This item of $438,000 was eliminated from the bill last Saturday on a point of order, sustained by a Chairman from the majority side of this House, who held that there was absolutely no law whatever authorizing the appropriation; that the proposal of the committee to take $438,000 out of the Treasury was a proposal not authorized by law. It was against the law of the land, and wholly unauthorized. The Republican chairman of the committee, on a Democratic point of order, held that this $438,000 was unauthorized, and it went out of the bill. Now the committee, under this steam-roller gag rule, has brought it back and put it into the bill. And this $438,000 of the people's money will be spent and wasted.

Let me get into the RECORD where it leads us. Under the amendment recently offered by the chairman and adopted by a few Members here—about thirty-odd to 19, it has already provided for secretaries at $4,000 per annum, assistant secretaries at $3,625 per annum, second assistant secretaries at $3,000 per annum, third assistant secretaries at $2,500 per annum, making a total appropriation of $418,375; and in addition to all these secretaries, assistant secretaries, and second and third assistant secretaries amounting to $418,375, the committee comes in now and wants to appropriate this sum of $438,000 for extra clerks for the various embassies in foreign countries. Can you, under such circumstances as this, with this kind of a record facing you, put down in black and white, from which you can not escape, can you go to your constituencies on the hustings in the next few months and tell them that you tried to economize and save money for the Government of the United States? Will they not laugh at you when you make such a claim as that? You will have a devilish hard time in making them believe it.

Mr. NEWTON of Minnesota. Our constituencies are not from Texas.

Mr. BLANTON. Oh, well, so far as the constituencies are concerned, ours in Texas can see right through any camouflage. The people of Texas can look through the camouflage of the facts in any case; and when you employ a big bunch of secretaries at $4,000, assistant secretaries at $3,625, second assistant secretaries at $3,000, and third assistant secretaries at $2,500, and so on down, making a total of $418,375, you can not make them believe that it is necessary to appropriate an additional sum of $438,000 annually for additional clerks.

Now, I am not going to take up any more time, because I can not change the action of the committee, operating under Republican bullwhip, steam-roller rule, but I leave the question right there, having gotten the RECORD straight.

[Excerpts from pp. 2258 and 2259, RECORD, Jan. 30, 1920.]

The Clerk read as follows:

"FOREIGN INTERCOURSE.

"For the salary of an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Finland, at the rate of $10,000 per annum from February 1 to June 30, 1920, inclusive, $4,166.66."

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Mr. BLANTON. Suppose this anarchistic, bolshevistic, soviet Government of Russia should divide the country up into various republics containing not over 3,500,000 people, like Finland is, would the gentleman insist that an emergency arose whereby we should provide a minister for each one of those republics?

Mr. GOOD. That would depend upon whether we recognized the soviet governments and accepted their ministers. If we did, we would be almost compelled under the laws of civilized nations to send a minister there. That is international law and the rule of comity between nations requires it, and I do not think we should abrogate it.

Mr. BLANTON. Does not the gentleman from Iowa think it will behoove us to keep as far as possible from the Lenin and Trotski powers now controlling Russia?

Mr. GOOD. I do not think that has anything to do with this matter.

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Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that it is not germane to this bill or any item in it; that it is not authorized by law and is not a deficiency.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order on the ground alone that it is not authorized by law.

[Excerpt from p. 2262, RECORD.]

The Clerk read as follows:

"For purchase of labor-saving machines and supplies for same, including the purchase and exchange of registering accountants, numbering machines, and other machines of a similar character, including time stamps for stamping date of receipt of official mail and telegrams, and repairs thereto, and purchase of supplies for photographic copying machines, $7,500."

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on this paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. A point of order is reserved.

Mr. BLANTON. This paragraph partly provides for the purchase of labor-saving machines. I want to ask the chairman if he is aware of the fact that in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing we have labor-saving machines not in use, which have been bought with the money of the people at great expense to this Government, and which if used would save labor to a substantial extent, and which can not be used because of the one fact that the labor unions in charge of that department will not permit this Government to use them? It is a case of the servants being more powerful than the master. Does the chairman know anything about that?

Mr. GOOD. I do not know to what extent that abuse exists.

Mr. BLANTON. Has the gentleman ever heard of it?

Mr. GOOD. I have heard something of it.

Mr. BLANTON. If it exists, is it not time for this Government to teach these employees that they can not run this Government?

[Excerpts from p. 2271, RECORD.]

The Clerk read as follows:

"Relief of contractors: Toward the amount necessary for the payment of claims of contractors, etc., arising under the act entitled 'An act for the relief of contractors and subcontractors for the post offices and other buildings and work under the supervision of the Treasury Department, and for other purposes,' approved August 25, 1919, $500,000: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to make partial payments of any claim payable under said act, and to make payment of any and all loss and expense (exclusive of profits) incurred by a contractor or subcontractor in fulfilling his contract or subcontract with the Treasury Department in excess of the amount which such contractor or subcontractor may receive under the terms of his contract or subcontract if such loss and expense were, in the opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury, due to war conditions."

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Mr. BLANTON. Well, I will make the point of order, Mr. Chairman, that it is not a deficiency, and is not authorized by law.

Mr. GOOD. Will the gentleman confine his point of order to the provisos? The other part is clearly not subject to a point of order. The proviso is subject to a point of order.

Mr. BLANTON. Well, the whole paragraph is subject to a point of order if a part of it is subject to a point of order.

Mr. GOOD. I concede that it is subject to a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order on the entire paragraph.

[Excerpts from p. 2306, RECORD, Jan. 31, 1920.]

The Clerk read as follows:

"The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to pay, out of the unexpended balance of the sum of $1,000,000 appropriated by the joint resolution of October 1, 1918, to aid in combating 'Spanish' influenza and other communicable diseases, the bills of the proprietors of certain newspapers published in Chicago, Ill. for the publication of a notice giving warning against influenza on October 3, 1918, as follows: The Chicago Tribune, $600; the Evening Post, $366; the Daily Journal, $366; the Herald-Examiner, $448; the Evening American, $504; the Daily News, $610; in all, $2,894."

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the section.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas reserves a point of order.

Mr. BLANTON. About October 1, 1918, the Public Health Service prepared a notice in the shape of a warning to the American people concerning Spanish influenza. This notice was published almost universally by the daily press all over the country. But I notice from this paragraph of the deficiency bill that certain newspapers in the city of Chicago make a charge against the Government for giving their patrons the benefit of this warning, the same warning which the patrons of every other newspaper in the United States had as a matter of news beneficial to them.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BLANTON. In a moment. For instance, the Chicago Tribune, for giving its patrons the benefit of the warning, attempts to charge the United States Government $600. The Evening Post, for giving its patrons the benefit of that warning which would accrue to their help and assistance, attempts to charge the Government $366. The Daily Journal attempts to charge the United States Government $366. The Herald-Examiner attempts to charge the Government $448. The Evening American attempts to charge $504, and the Daily News $610.

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Mr. GOOD. I think practically the whole expenditure was a waste of money.

Mr. BLANTON. Yes; a waste of money. That is what it is, and we ought to stop it. I will make the point of order against it——

Mr. GOOD. Wait one moment——

Mr. BLANTON. On the ground that it is not authorized in the law, is new legislation, and that it is not germane to the bill.

Mr. GOOD. Will the gentleman withhold that for a moment?

Mr. BLANTON. I make the point of order. It is so clearly a waste of public money that I do not think we should take up time with it.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Texas withhold his reservation of the point of order?

Mr. BLANTON. I withhold it.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Does not the gentleman believe that his criticism should be directed even more harshly against the department for having paid certain of these bills than against the newspapers that are trying now to get what the other newspapers have already received?

Mr. BLANTON. I took it for granted that my distinguished friend could understand the criticism, apparently veiled to him, which I was making, that these departments ought to be stopped from wasting the public money in any such manner, and that when the newspapers of the country have news items for their patrons they ought not to charge the Government for it.

Mr. LITTLE. Did I understand the gentleman from Texas to say "veiled criticism"? [Laughter.]

Mr. BLANTON. It was not veiled to anybody except to my friend over there.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. If that was a veiled criticism, what would a real criticism be?

Mr. BLANTON. It might have been a little of both.

Mr. GOOD. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. BLANTON. Yes.

Mr. GOOD. I want to say to the gentleman that while I was in Chicago a few days ago I heard a great deal of discussion in regard to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON]. There seemed to be a good deal of sentiment that the two most prominently mentioned Democrats of the Nation were the gentleman from Nebraska, Mr. Bryan, and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON].

Mr. BLANTON. Oh, I do not want the gentleman to couple my name with that of Mr. Bryan. [Laughter.] I do not want to be coupled with anything that is not very much alive otherwise, as well as politically.

Mr. GOOD. I am simply telling the gentleman what the Democracy of the Middle West are talking about in this regard, and I hope the gentleman will not destroy his reputation in the country and in the Middle West by criticizing too strongly the inefficiency of the present administration in the executive departments, because I realize that the gentleman has a great future.

Mr. BLANTON. In answer to the gentleman I will say that I notice a discussion of myself in to-day's Washington Times. The person in charge of that newspaper, who the Attorney General of the United States and the United States Senate a short time ago proved conclusively was a common, subsidized pimp of German brewers during the war, tries to make out that I have been wasting the time of this House because from time to time I have forced a quorum to attend to business. I have to bear criticism from such a source as that. If the fellow who is running that paper only knew it, my people in my country believe honestly and sincerely that if I could adjourn this Congress for half of the days of the year, so that it would be in session only half of the time, I would be doing a service to the American people, because the longer we sit here the more money we waste and expend and appropriate, and the biggest fool laws that an intelligent person ever dreamed of we pass and permit to go on the statute books, and my people know I am rendering a service every time I force a quorum, even though sometimes I thereby force this House to adjourn. So much for what is reported through the country. No sheet like the Washington Times can hurt me here or elsewhere. I make the point of order, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Iowa contend that this is not subject to the point of order?

Mr. GOOD. The item is subject to a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

[Excerpts from p. 2312, RECORD.]

The Clerk read as follows:

"Amendment offered by Mr. GOOD: Page 15, after line 4, insert:

"'ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE.

"'The Secretary of War shall reallot the appropriation of $4,000,000 for temporary employees in the War Department in such manner as will provide an allotment of $500,000 for the office of The Adjutant General in addition to the allotments already made for that office for the current fiscal year for work in connection with records of the demobilized army.'"

Mr. BLANTON. I reserve a point of order against the amendment.

Mr. GOOD. I ask for the regular order.

Mr. BLANTON. If the gentleman will not permit us to find out something about this, I will make the point of order.

Mr. GOOD. Well, make it, then.

Mr. BLANTON. It is unauthorized by law, is not a deficiency, and is not germane to the bill.

Mr. GOOD. I ask for a ruling.

Mr. BLANTON. I want to discuss it.

Mr. GOOD. We have already discussed it.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas makes the point of order against the amendment. Will the gentleman from Iowa cite the Chair to any law authorizing this appropriation?

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to be heard a moment on the point of order. In the first place, the chairman of the committee admits that the amendment is subject to a point of order. In the second place, there is no law authorizing the Secretary of War, after an allotment has been made, to reallot the various sums among the various departments. In the third place, as a matter of fact, there are employed in the War Department to-day so many clerks that every morning the heads of the departments have to tell them to make five minutes' work last all day in order that they may apparently have something to do. Because of that fact, unless I can ask a question, I shall insist on the point of order. It is not authorized by law, it is not a deficiency, and it is not germane.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas states numerous grounds for his point of order against the paragraph in question, but to the mind of the Chair he does not make the point of order that is apparent on the face of the amendment, unless by saying that it is not authorized by law he means that it introduces new legislation.

Mr. BLANTON. If it is unauthorized by law, it is certainly new legislation. If the Chair did not understand that, I make that point now.

The CHAIRMAN. It does not necessarily follow, but if that is what the gentleman means, the Chair sustains the point of order on that ground.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Amendment offered by Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee: Page 15, after line 4, insert:

"'So much of the appropriation of $3,500,000 not necessary for the care and custody of the draft records and for the employment of clerical assistance for the purpose of furnishing to adjutants general of States statements of service of soldiers who served in the war with Germany shall be available for the employment of the clerical assistance necessary for the purpose of furnishing such information from the records of the demobilized army as may be properly furnished to public officials, former soldiers, and other persons entitled to receive it.'"

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against the amendment that it is not germane, that it is new legislation, and that it is unauthorized by law.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. May I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. BLANTON. Certainly.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Has the gentleman from Texas now included all the points of order that he expects to make on this amendment?

Mr. BLANTON. If they are not sufficient, I expect to make some more if necessary. [Laughter.]

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The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is ready to rule. It seems to the Chair that the entire purpose of the amendment is to authorize the Secretary of War to do something which, without the amendment, he has not authority to do. If such is the effect of the proposed amendment, it is in contravention of the rule. The Chair sustains the point of order.

[Excerpts from pp. 2313 and 2314, RECORD.]

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment to offer.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Amendment offered by Mr. BANKHEAD: Page 15, after line 4, add the following: 'For additional clerical assistance in the office of The Adjutant General, $674,000.'"

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that it is new legislation, it is not authorized by law, and not germane to the bill.

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The CHAIRMAN. A member of the committee on the floor, in the view of the Chair, would have no greater privilege in this regard than any other Member of the House. The committee in reporting out a bill, however, could bring in many propositions that might not be in order if presented by a Member on the floor of the House.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Then, according to that interpretation, no item except that which is specifically brought in in the bill, under the head of the War Department, would be germane?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair does not accept the interpretation of the gentleman, but does hold that an item which introduces a new subject

would not be in order if presented by a Member from the floor. Believing the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alabama to be one that would introduce a subject different from that under consideration, the Chair sustains the point of order.

[Excerpts from p. 2320, RECORD.]

The Clerk read as follows:

"MISCELLANEOUS.

"For one-half cost of purchasing the bridge across the Missouri River at Fort Leavenworth, Kans., $17,500, etc."

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Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that it is new legislation and is not a deficiency and is unauthorized by law.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York and the gentleman from Texas make the point of order against the item. It is clearly legislation. The Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. ANTHONY. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Amendment offered by Mr. ANTHONY: Page 16, line 5, insert a new paragraph as follows:

"'For bridge across the Missouri River connecting the two tracts of land composing the military reservation at Fort Leavenworth, Kans., $35,000.'"

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that it is new legislation, is not authorized by law, and is not germane to the bill or to the preceding paragraph or to any paragraph.

* * * * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is unwilling by his ruling to hold that the action of the War Department in taking over a bridge, whatever that may mean, thereby placed this committee in a position to appropriate money on a deficiency bill to pay for it in face of a point of order. With such authority as has been laid before the Chairman and such as he is able to find, he is unable to hold the amendment in order. The Chair, therefore, sustains the point of order.

[Excerpts from pp. 2320 and 2321, RECORD.]

The Clerk read as follows:

"ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

"The Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, is authorized to expend from the unexpended balance of appropriations heretofore made under the title 'Armament of fortifications' for the construction of storage facilities, including necessary appurtenances, for ammunition and components thereof for cannon, small arms, machine guns, and trench warfare, and for other ordnance matériel, not exceeding $6,600,000, which amount shall remain available during the fiscal year 1921: *Provided*, That the Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, is hereby authorized to expend such part, not exceeding $95,000, of the amount herein authorized as may be necessary for the purchase of land in the vicinity of Ogden, Utah, to be used as a site for an ammunition storage depot: *Provided further*, That the construction work hereunder shall be done by contract, let to the lowest responsible bidder, and no bid shall be accepted for any building to cost in excess of $2.45 per square foot for an unlined building or $2.90 for a lined building."

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the point of order. I want to ask the chairman a question. Why should Congress in a deficiency bill provide an appropriation of $6,600,000 that could be made available through the year 1921? Has not Congress through its more appropriate committee during the year 1921 plenty of time to make this provision if it becomes necessary?

Mr. GOOD. If this item is carried and the appropriation made, it will be necessary to carry on the work largely in 1921, and the only reason it was undertaken here was because of the very urgent request of the War Department, especially the Ordnance Bureau, that its storage ammunition magazines should be constructed so as to remove the ammunition now on hand to places where, if there should be an explosion, it would not cause the loss of life and property that it will cause if left where it is now stored and there is an explosion.

Mr. BLANTON. Does the gentleman think it a wise idea for Congress in a law to fix a maximum limit of $2.45 per square foot for an unlined building and $2.90 per square foot for a lined building, when the gentleman knows that whenever we fix the maximum amount that may be spent, that immediately becomes the amount that is spent?

Mr. GOOD. I think that is true; but I think when the gentleman learns just what the facts are he will see the wisdom of doing that very thing. As I recall, the amount estimated for the unlined building was $4.50 a square foot. They said that is what it would cost. We went into the question to ascertain what magazines of this kind which were built during the war cost under the cost-plus system. We found that during the war similar magazines were built under the expensive cost-plus system at an average cost of $2.45 for unlined buildings and $2.90 for lined buildings.

Now, they say that to get these buildings it will be necessary to pay a great deal in excess of this; and it was the opinion of the committee that if these magazines were to be constructed now certainly they should not be constructed at a cost in excess of the maximum cost under the cost-plus system, and that is why we put on the limitation; and by putting on the limitation we reduced the appropriation by $1,600,000.

Mr. BLANTON. But suppose in the year 1921 the Republican steering committee of the House and the Republicans of the Senate cease to spend all of their time on bills regulating the height of buildings in Washington and begin to consider the height of the cost of living, and are possibly able to reduce the price per square foot below $2.45 for an unlined building and below the price of $2.90 for a lined building, then would the gentleman want us to get the benefit of that and not want us to have to pay that; because we are going to have to pay the very price we put into this law as a maximum, and the gentleman knows that?

Mr. GOOD. Having suggested to the gentleman that in some parts of the country he was a close second to Mr. Bryan for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, I did not know he was going to come right back and concede the Republicans would have the control both of the House and Senate in 1921. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. BLANTON. It will be the greatest calamity that ever happened to the American people. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that it is new legislation, is unauthorized by law, and not a deficiency.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

[Excerpts from pp. 2403–2404, RECORD, Feb. 3, 1920.]

The Clerk read as follows:

"SECOND INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE.

"For salaries and expenses of the second industrial conference, etc., * * * $12,000."

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the point of order to call the attention of the chairman to the fact that in the preceding paragraph we have appropriated $9,100 and more, part of which the provision says is to pay the Pan American Union for the use of this building down here during that first conference. Now, that building is maintained here in the city of Washington partly at the expense of the people of this Government. I understood that conference was called in the interests of the other people who are interested in the Pan American Building, the same as the people of the United States, and why we should be called upon to pay out $9,100 for the use of that building a few days in the interests of the people of the countries involved, I can not see. Now, we are asked to pay out $12,000 more.

Mr. GOOD. If the gentleman from Texas will yield, there is no rent paid for the use of that building. That language is submitted in the estimate, but it is for the heating and the expense of lighting the building during the conference.

Mr. BLANTON. Does not the gentleman think he ought to draw the bills that he brings in here in such words that they will mean what they say, so as not to mislead us?

Mr. GOOD. This was the estimate made by the Department of Labor, and they have the entire charge of the expenditure of these funds. We went into the matter in the hearing, and it was made very clear that this money was not for the use of the building. The very question that the gentleman has raised here was raised there, and it was explained that not a penny of this was for the use of the building. It was just for the heat and light.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I applauded every word said by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH], and I think I was the only man in the House who did applaud him. I want to make my applause good, because my economy is more than lip economy, and I make the point of order against this paragraph that it is not authorized by law, is not a deficiency, and that it is new legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman makes the point of order against the first paragraph on page 36. Can the gentleman from Iowa cite the Chair to any authorization of law?

Mr. GOOD. There is no authority of law for it.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order made by the gentleman from Texas.

And, Mr. Speaker, I want to remind our colleagues of the hard fight that was necessary to prevent the adding of $9,000,000 to keep a lot of useless, idle fellows on the pay roll in navy yards, and in this connection I call your attention to the following:

[Excerpts from p. 2371, RECORD.]

Mr. BLANTON. Reserving the right to object, certain gentlemen who are interested in the spending of millions of money in navy yards at Philadelphia and elsewhere last Saturday proposed an amendment to spend $9,000,000 to keep a bunch of idle fellows on the pay roll. And then they ran off home to enjoy a few days in the metropolis cities of the northeast section, and have not yet returned, but want us to wait on them by holding up this legislation. The chairman says that he is against these $9,000,000 amendments. May I ask the chairman——

Mr. MASON. The regular order, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BLANTON. We can certainly save time by getting a little information, but if the gentleman wants the agreement which the chairman says he made with his colleagues to permit them to run home and stay three or four days—if he wants that agreement to be carried out—he had better not push us with the regular order.

Mr. GOOD. I will say to the gentleman that there need be no misunderstanding. There were quite a number of gentlemen around when the agreement was made, Members on both sides——

Mr. BLANTON. I want to get some information. Is the chairman actively against this amendment or only passively against it? Much depends upon this point.

Mr. GOOD. I am quite actively against it.

Mr. BLANTON. And is the gentleman from Wyoming against it?

Mr. GOOD. I do not know.

Mr. BLANTON. It depends on what the Republican leaders' program is, whether the $9,000,000 is going to be spent, and for the present I object until I get the information.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. I hope the gentleman from Texas will not object. We are not to blame because some one calls for the regular order.

Mr. BLANTON. Is the gentleman from Illinois against the amendment?

Mr. MANN of Illinois. I am; very strongly.

Mr. BLANTON. If he is against it and the chairman, the gentleman from Iowa, is actively against it, we have a fighting chance.

Mr. GOOD. I am against it; and I will say to the gentleman that we have a fighting chance.

[Excerpts from pp. 2479–2480, RECORD, Feb. 4, 1920.]

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

"On page 20, after line 2, insert the following:

"'Maintenance, Bureau of Supplies and Accounts: For fuel; the removal and transportation of ashes and garbage from ships of war, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1920, $1,050,000. The limitation on expenditures from the appropriation "Maintenance, Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, fiscal year 1920," for pay of classified employees is increased by the sum of $800,000.'"

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the amendment is not germane to the bill, it is not germane to the subject immediately preceding; that it is new legislation; that it is not a deficiency, and is not authorized by law.

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The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is ready to rule.

* * * * * * *

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TINKHAM] correctly estimates the situation by devoting his time entirely to the consideration of the question of germaneness, because the Chair considers that to be

the only question of consequence raised by the multitude of grounds offered by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] as a basis for his point of order.

* * * * * * *

The Chair believes that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts would introduce, under color of an amendment, a subject different from that under consideration, and is therefore in contravention of the rule. Upon this ground the Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Chairman, I have another amendment to offer.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

"On page 20, after line 2, insert the following:

"'Bureau of Construction and Repair: For preservation and completion of vessels on stocks and in ordinary, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1920, $3,250,000.'"

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order on the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Chairman, I have a fourth amendment to offer.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

"On page 20, after line 2, insert the following:

"'BUREAU OF STEAM ENGINEERING.

"'Engineering: For repairs, preservation, and renewal of machinery, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1920, $2,500,000.'"

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order, as heretofore indicated.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

[Excerpts from pp. 2615–2616, RECORD, Feb. 7, 1920.]

The Clerk read as follows:

"For the investigation, etc. * * * *Provided also*, That $147,200 shall be set aside for the location of and destruction of the barberry bushes and other vegetation from which such rust spores originate."

* * * * * * *

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, to save time I am going to make the point of order, if the gentleman from Illinois does not. I make the point of order on the second proviso on page 25, lines 13, 14, and 15, beginning with "*Provided also.*" It is new legislation and is unauthorized by law.

* * * * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] makes the point of order against the proviso beginning with the word "*Provided,*" in line 12, page 25, and ending with the word "originate," in line 15. This is a proviso that apportions a certain sum out of the total appropriation made for investigation and improvement of cereals and methods of cereal production and the study of cereal diseases, and so forth, for the purpose of locating and destroying barberry bushes and other vegetation. In the view of the Chair the organic law establishing the Department of Agriculture, to acquire and diffuse among the people useful information on subjects connected with agriculture in the most general and comprehensive sense of that word, and to procure, propagate, and distribute among the people new and valuable seeds and plants, and the further provision authorizing the employment of scientists, chemists, botanists, entomologists, and so forth, and fixing the annual salaries thereof, would not authorize the setting aside of a specific sum out of any appropriation for the purpose of locating and destroying bushes or other vegetation and paying for the same. It seems to the Chair that in order that that might properly be included in the general agricultural bill, and in order that public funds might be utilized for that purpose, it would require a specific authority of law or some definite authorization in the general authority under which the department is established, that act being referred to as the organic act. The Chair is unable to find in the organic act or in the reference of the gentleman from Iowa any such authorization, and therefore sustains the point of order.

[Excerpts from pp. 2616 and 2656, RECORD.]

The Clerk read as follows:

"For the investigation, etc. * * * *Provided*, That of this amount the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to expend $27,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, for the purchase of lands occupied by the department's experiment vineyards near Fresno and Oakville, Calif., now maintained under contracts with the owners: *And provided further*, That the land purchased for the Fresno vineyard shall not exceed 20 acres, at a cost not to exceed $12,000, and for the Oakville vineyard not to exceed 20 acres, at a cost not to exceed $15,000."

* * * * * * *

Mr. BLANTON. If the regular order is insisted on, which would prevent our colleague from California [Mr. LEA] being heard on the merits, it forces me to make the point of order, or waive it, and I make the point of order to the two provisos on page 27, in the paragraph which begins with line 9, providing for using $27,000 to purchase land in California. It is new legislation, unauthorized by law, and it is a bad policy for this Government to indulge in.

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The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

[Excerpts from p. 2777, RECORD, Feb. 11, 1920.]

The Clerk read as follows:

"For the construction and maintenance of roads, trails, bridges, fire lanes, telephone lines, cabins, fences, and other improvements necessary for the proper and economical administration, protection, and development of the national forests, $400,000," etc.

* * * * * * *

Mr. BLANTON. I make a point of order against the paragraph, that part of it is new legislation unauthorized by law.

Mr. HAUGEN. The word "hereafter" is new legislation. The object is to make it permanent law, so that it will be unnecessary to carry the paragraph in the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order to the paragraph.

[Excerpts from p. 2806, RECORD, Feb. 12, 1920.]

The Clerk read as follows:

"Amendment offered by Mr. RUBEY: Page 58, after line 17, insert a new paragraph, as follows:

"'To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to meet the emergency caused by the establishment of the European corn borer in Massachusetts, New York, and other States, and to provide means for the control and prevention of spread of this insect in these States or elsewhere in the United States, in cooperation with the State or States concerned, including rent outside of the District of Columbia, employment of labor in the city of Washington and elsewhere, and all other necessary expenses, $500,000: *Provided*, That of this sum $250,000 shall be immediately available.'"

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against it as being new legislation, unauthorized by law.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RUBEY] desire to discuss the point of order?

Mr. RUBEY. Does the gentleman from Texas desire to make the point of order or to reserve it?

Mr. BLANTON. I will ask the gentleman from Missouri if the committee considered this matter?

Mr. MCLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Regular order, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BLANTON. I make the point of order.

Mr. RUBEY. Mr. Chairman, I concede the point of order with reference to the proviso, which makes part of the sum available, but not the other.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

[Excerpts from p. 2879, RECORD, Feb. 13, 1920.]

The Clerk read as follows:

"Amendment offered by Mr. HAYDEN: Page 99, after line 2, insert as a new paragraph:

"'That during the Sixty-sixth Congress the members of the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives, not less than five in number, are hereby authorized and empowered to conduct hearings and examine into the conduct and management of the Bureau of the Forest Service and other bureaus, branches, and agencies of the Department of Agriculture, at Washington, D. C., and elsewhere, and shall have and are hereby granted authority to subpœna witnesses, compel their attendance, administer oaths, and to demand and examine all books, documents, and papers relating to the business of such bureaus and their branches and agencies; and the sum of $15,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be immediately available, is hereby appropriated for expenses incident thereto.

"'Said committee is hereby authorized to employ such clerical and other assistance, including stenographers, as the members of said committee may deem necessary in the proper prosecution of its work.'"

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the amendment is not in order.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman reserve the point of order for a moment?

Mr. BLANTON. I think we ought to get along and get through with this bill. I make the point of order that it is new legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Arizona desire to be heard upon the point of order?

Mr. HAYDEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Hereafter, if any employee of the Department of Agriculture assigned to permanent duty in Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Guam, and the Virgin Islands shall elect to postpone taking any or all of the annual leave to which he may be entitled, he may, in the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture, subject to the interests of the public service, be allowed to take at one time in any calendar year unused annual leave which may have accumulated within not to exceed four calendar years immediately preceding and be paid at the rates prevailing during the year such leave has accumulated."

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order against the paragraph. It is new legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Iowa desire to be heard?

Mr. HAUGEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

And, Mr. Speaker, when on February 14, 1920, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LEE] moved to recommit, asking that the items for $20,000 and $168,076 be increased to $500,000, I made a point of order against his motion to recommit, which point of order was sustained by the Speaker:

[Excerpts from p. 2913, RECORD.]

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I submit to the Speaker that the language of the paragraph which the amendment seeks to strike out appears in full at the beginning of the amendment, and the language of the paragraph which the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LEE] seeks to insert in lieu of the matter sought to be stricken out is set forth in full on the same page with it, and an inspection of the two will very readily disclose to the Chair that the amendment provided for in the motion to recommit is not germane to the paragraph which is sought to be stricken out, and the point of order should be sustained.

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The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair is prepared to rule.

* * * * * * *

The substitute proposed by the amendment undertakes to provide for all necessary expenses, and so forth, and then provides in a great many words the character of the work to be performed, which the Chair thinks is in no way germane to the proposition in the original bill providing for the payment of certain expenses; and the Chair therefore sustains the point of order.

[Excerpts from pp. 3541–3542, RECORD, Feb. 26, 1920.]

The Clerk read as follows:

"Naval Observatory: Astronomers—1 $3,600, 1 $2,800; assistant astronomers—1 $2,700, 1 $2,400, 1 $2,000, 1 $1,800; assistants in department of nautical instruments—1 $2,500, 1 $1,600; clerks—1 of class 4, 1 of class 3, 2 of class 2, 2 of class 1; instrument maker, $1,500; electrician, $1,500; librarian, $1,800; assistants—3 at $1,600 each, 3 at $1,400 each; stenographer and typewriter, $900; foreman and captain of the watch, $1,000; carpenter, $1,000; engineer, $1,200; 4 firemen; 7 watchmen; mechanic, $900; 8 laborers; in all, $60,000."

* * * * * * *

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I desire to make the point of order against parts of the paragraph.

* * * * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas makes the point of order.

Mr. BLANTON. I make the point of order not to the paragraph, but against the following item—the position of one astronomer at $3,600 a year—it being a new position, unauthorized by law, the one at $2,700 a year, it being a new position, likewise unauthorized by law, and the one at $2,500, being an assistant in the Department of Nautical Instruments, it being a new position and not authorized by law.

* * * * * * *

Mr. BLANTON. I make those three points of order because they are new positions created in this bill and unauthorized by law, and the committee had no right to put them in.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, let me call the attention of the House and of the gentleman to what the situation will be if the point of order is insisted upon and sustained.

Mr. BLANTON. There are three parties waiting who expect to get these soft berths.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. That is just the trouble. I wish it were possible to keep them in there. We would like to have done that, but this is the situation. Because of a law passed, as I understand, by the suggestion of the Secretary of the Navy, he has abolished the corps of professors there, and these positions now and for some time have been filled by these retired officers the gentleman is talking about. Under the law these gentlemen can no longer fill those positions, and unless we supply them, by reason of the provision for civilian employees, this department will be absolutely crippled beyond all measure.

Mr. BLANTON. It has gotten along without them in the past.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. No; it has not. The two men who are now occupying these positions are these retired officers that the gentleman has talked about, put on the active list. They go finally upon the retired list, we are informed, at the close of this year, and then these two positions will be vacant.

Mr. BLANTON. I insist upon the point of order. They are new positions, are unauthorized by law, are unnecessary, and we should save this money.

* * * * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Indiana contend that this is authorized by law?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana: I do not contend it is authorized by law, but I wished to inform the House of the situation we will be in.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Texas insist on the point of order?

Mr. BLANTON. I insist on the point of order, because I do not believe it is necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has no other recourse but to sustain the point of order.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Nautical Almanac Office: For assistants in preparing for publication the American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac—1, $2,500, 1 $2,000, 2 at $1,800 each, 2 at $1,600 each, 2 at $1,400 each, 3 at $1,200 each; assistant messenger; in all, $18,420."

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas makes the point of order——

Mr. BLANTON. I make the point of order against the position of assistant in preparing for publication the American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac, one at $2,500, for the reason that this is a new position unauthorized by law. I reserve the point of order for a minute, as I want to get some information. I call the attention of the gentleman from Indiana to this fact. I want to know whether or not his committee had this information before it. In publishing this American Ephemeris three-fourths of the information that goes into that document comes from abroad and has come from abroad since the Paris agreement of 1911. Only one-fourth of the total of that document is furnished by this American department, and, notwithstanding that fact, each year during the last two years this bill has been increasing the amount of the appropriations.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. I will say to the gentleman this is what the committee did. We dropped two places out at $1,000 each because of the fact it requires men of more than ordinary ability to do this work. We created one position at $2,500. That is the situation.

Mr. BLANTON. I call attention right here to this fact: The gentleman is probably aware of the fact, if his committee went into the matter, that during the last year, with four positions vacant, this magazine was gotten out on time. There was not any stoppage in the work at all, and the work was well performed. Why should the committee come in now and create this new $2,500 position?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. I will tell the gentleman why. During the time the gentleman was speaking about with reference to the vacancies we had a number of reservists who were employed there, and they had a great deal larger force than they have now or can have under this appropriation, and I wish to say with reference to the importance of this work that——

Mr. BLANTON. Is the gentleman speaking of the research work now?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. No; I am speaking of the almanac. Every almanac that is gotten out by the State of Texas and every other State is founded upon this Nautical Almanac gotten out by the United States department. It is a very important work and should not be crippled, and it may be we have crippled it now a little, because of the fact we did not give them anywhere near the number of extra employees that they wanted. They did have a great amount of extra force during the war, because of the fact they had assigned several from the reservist corps which are now denied them.

Mr. BLANTON. But in the next paragraph you are allowing $3,000 for piecework.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. They have always had that.

Mr. BLANTON. Always had the sum of $3,000?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. Why, they began with only $1,000.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. That was a long while ago.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman is aware of this fact, is he not, that not for 20 years has there been any research work published?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Well, I am not up on all the research work that has been done in the last 20 years.

Mr. BLANTON. Well, there has not been any published in 20 years.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. The gentleman may be particularly informed about that. We do know they are cooperating, and of necessity there should be cooperation, for all the information this Nautical Almanac contains, between this Government and all civilized Governments.

Mr. BLANTON. Does not the gentleman know for whom this position is fitted out especially?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. I presume it is fitted out for the purposes for which this place is created. We have to have a Nautical Almanac.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman does know the particular individual for whom this position is created?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. No; I do not.

Mr. BLANTON. Then, Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order against this new position of $2,500, because I do know.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the foregoing exemplifies the value and efficacy of the point of order. With the cooperation of my colleagues in preventing the Rules Committee from making such eliminated items in order, and in voting down Senate action when it reasserts them, millions of dollars can be saved on future appropriation bills. The people want action economy and not mere lip economy. Loyal, 100 per cent Americanism, sane economy, and maximum production are demanded by the American people and should be our slogans. We must economize on things big and little. We must not get careless about the little things. Illustrating, note the following from page 3530 of the RECORD:

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, on page 80, line 15, I move to strike out the sum of $250,000.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Amendment by Mr. BLANTON: Page 80, line 15, strike out '$250,000.'"

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I call the attention of the committee and the chairman to the fact that in this paragraph, to be paid for out of this $250,000, are the following items: Periodicals, newspapers, oilcloth, sponges, and street car fares not exceeding $750. Over on another previous page we find also to be paid for cushions, wardrobe cabinets, leather for covering sofas; and on another page we find chamois skin, pitchers, lace, powders, tumblers, flower garden; and again the item of street car tickets not exceeding $250, making $1,000 for street car tickets alone. I want to ask the chairman and the committee if we are going to continue appropriating for all of these items of luxury, the great majority of which could be done without by these ease-loving department employees, and are we to keep on paying for these needless luxuries just because the departments place them in their estimates? Now, I take it that the young ladies who are employees in these departments, and the dandy officers, do not need these wardrobes, lace, and leather sofas, and they do not need these powders and chamois skins.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. They may or may not need the powder.

Mr. BLANTON. They ought to furnish their own powder and their own chamois skin and their own lace, and I take it that these officers down there in the War Department ought to work during business hours and they would not have time for all these luxuries. They have no need and there is no necessity for these leather-covered sofas down there. We have done away with leather-covered sofas in the House Office Building. Why, I am informed that you will not find a leather-covered sofa in the whole House Office Building now. We are getting along without them. Why can not the War Department do without them? Do the well-kept officers, after their two hours' noonday lunch, which usually takes about three hours to devour, have to take a buttermilk siesta for another hour on these leather-covered sofas? I want to say that we ought to wake up on this proposition of real economy, and we ought to cut out all of these unnecessary luxuries in these departments.

Mr. MCKENZIE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I yield.

Mr. MCKENZIE. Does not the gentleman believe that if a man ate a three-hour meal he ought to have a sofa to lie down on for a while?

Mr. BLANTON. I want to say this, that I have rung up and have had my secretary to ring up department chief after department chief down there from time to time, along about from 5 minutes to 12 o'clock until along about 5 minutes to 3 o'clock, and it has been almost impossible to get hold of anybody down there except some second or third secretary or some underling. I want to say that I can not come to any other conclusion but that after these long two or three hour meals at noontime, when we are told the chief is out at lunch, these leather-covered sofas are put into use down there for an afternoon buttermilk siesta.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. Does the gentleman from Texas think when he waits three hours he ought to stand up during all that time or have a sofa upon which he can recline while he is waiting?

Mr. BLANTON. This is not a matter of levity with me; it is not a matter of facetiousness. This is a matter of strict business. I am here to represent 325,000 people who live in my district, who expect me to help the committees on appropriations cut out these useless and extravagant appropriations.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Texas has a misapprehension in reference to the kind of powder that is provided for here. It is not face powder for the ladies that he is talking about; it is bug powder, and the only question in the mind of the committee was as to whether or not we have appropriated enough for bug powder. We thought they ought to have more of it and get more bugs out of the department and out of these offices.

Mr. BLANTON. If the gentleman will reduce these appropriations and will cut out some of these useless luxuries for the offices out of this bill, we will probably get rid of some bughouse officers in some of the departments and save the people some of these expenses. If this is bug and not face powder, it ought to be so denominated in the bill, which merely says "powder." As chamois skin is used with face powder and not with bug powder, I expect this money will buy face powder.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion let me state that I shall cooperate in every way possible with our distinguished minority leaders, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK], and the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN], and with the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL], and the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD], in establishing and maintaining sane economy in every department of our Government.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL M. TAYLOR,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 14, 1920.

The House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and had under consideration the bill H. R. 13587, the Army appropriation bill.

Mr. TAYLOR of Arkansas. Mr. Chairman, by the courtesy of the Members I will not discuss the pending Army appropriation bill, but will speak as to some of the great general and war legislation that was enacted into law during the Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth, Sixty-fifth, and Sixty-sixth Congresses.

There was a time when the Congress remained in session only for a few months each year, but in later years, and especially in the years 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, and 1918, both legislative branches have been in almost continuous session. During the years mentioned new and most beneficent laws have been passed. Covering the World War period, never was there gathered in any parliamentary body in the world a more determined and patriotic set of men to stop and defeat the arch enemy and destroyer of civilization in his death-dealing onward march, to protect our shores, to defend bleeding and outraged nations, to make mankind free, and to lift democratic spirit and hope high among the peoples of the world than the men constituting as a whole the membership of the Congress of the United States during the time mentioned. To some of this war legislation I will later refer. As a Member of this House I feel that it is due to the great constituency which I have the honor to represent on this floor to inform them and the country of some of the results of our labors performed during these years, days, and nights.

I now give a résumé of the legislation, in part, to which I refer:

The new currency system, or what is commonly called the Federal reserve law, giving to the country a new system, setting at naught the miserable currency law we then had, avoiding panics and expanding the volume of currency, enabled our country to finance the World War and in the meantime holding our American institutions stable and intact. Under this great act our country has not been visited by panics, whereas before that time they seemed to have been made to order, but during the dark days through which our country has passed since the making of this law depositors have had confidence and our banking institutions have stood—

> Calm
> As the deep-vaulted heavens,
> Serene 'mid the scurrying cloudlets.

The income-tax law: Requiring the swollen fortunes of the rich to bear their fair share of the burdens of government.

Election of Senators by direct vote: Prior to this provision Senatorships were decided by legislatures.

Abrogation of bossism in Congress: Providing for the election of committees instead of the appointment thereof.

Publicity of campaign expenses: Affording the poor man a chance to aspire for office by not giving the rich a monopoly on the same.

Corrupt-practices act: Providing against the unlawful use of money in elections; to prevent vote buying; to prevent corrupt election methods, so elections will be clean, honest, open, and free from crooked dealing.

Federal Trade Commission law: To weed out trusts, combines, and dishonest business men everywhere; a stimulus to honest business; a curb bit in the mouth of dishonest business.

Marine-insurance law: Insuring an open sea, an open market. Providing for marine insurance to shippers of American products. The resumption of shipping to markets of the world. Affording the six and a half million farmers an open and an honest market for their crops. Affording 20,000,000 wage earners permanent employment at a living wage. (Note.—Cotton was selling for 5½ cents a pound due to closed seas occasioned by withdrawal of insurance companies. The enactment of the Government marine-insurance law aided in restoring price of cotton, wheat, and other products.)

Ship-purchase act: Enabling Americans to control their own shipping and make certain their markets. Establishing a merchant marine, ships to carry our commerce. Enabling the farmer to have a steady and dependable market for his wheat and his cotton; enabling the business man to prosper and improve, to keep the arteries of commerce open and going; to enable ships to navigate the sea and carry products of mine, field, and forest to the markets of the world. This legislation important in peace times but doubly important in war times.

Clayton antitrust law: To prosecute the trusts and combinations and those engaged in vicious business methods that oppress the poor; to encourage honest business—honest business will not object; dishonest business will get justice and no more.

Philippine independence bill: Giving the Filipinos a modified form of independence and giving them a wider scope of local self-government. This will hasten the day of complete independence.

National prohibition: Congress, by a two-thirds vote in both branches, has passed it; three-fourths of the States have ratified it; it is the law of the land.

Woman suffrage amendment passed.

ACHIEVEMENT FOR AMERICA'S SIX AND ONE-HALF MILLION FARMERS.

Rural credits law: Cheaper interest—longer tenure—what the farmers desired. Passed the House May 15, 1916; signed by President Wilson July 17, 1916. While the law is not patronized by all, the low rate of interest and long tenure of payment has lowered interest rates in all farm loan companies, thereby benefiting the farmer.

Law to prevent gambling in farm products: This law needs tightening up, so that farmers may be sure of an open and honest market—free from gamblers who neither sow nor reap—a market free of graft.

Warehouse bill: Enabling farmer to hold his crops properly insured for favorable market conditions.

Grain-grades bill: Classifying and grading grain, thereby securing better conditions and better prices.

Lever agricultural-extension bill: Carrying education to the farmer's son. Improving agricultural conditions.

Good-roads law: Federal aid for improvements to highways of the country. For the benefit of all.

Three-year homestead law: Cutting down residence from five to three years, thereby aiding the homesteader.

Second homestead entry for soldiers: Giving soldiers an additional opportunity to secure a home.

Preference right to soldier entrymen: Aiding soldiers to have a second chance to secure a home.

Credit given for time of service in Army as residence on homestead: Aids homesteaders in acquirement of home by reducing residence on land.

Federal appropriations for agricultural and mechanical colleges where farm boys and girls can learn trades; putting agriculture on a business basis; making agriculture a science; reducing cost of production.

Construction of fertilizer plants to improve the impoverished and run-down soils: Here Government steps in to stamp out monopoly in fertilizer, thereby rendering aid to farmers.

Increased appropriations for agriculture, thus recognizing agriculture as one of the leading industries.

Bureau of Markets: To enable farmer to have an open and honest market; to avoid waste; to provide better market facilities; to aid farmers in every way.

Bureau of Good Roads: To keep alive road improvement everywhere; to study improved methods of road construction.

ACHIEVEMENTS FOR AMERICA'S 20,000,000 TOILERS.

Establishment of the Department of Labor: Providing for a Cabinet member to represent the wage earners of the country.

Eight-hour day on public works: In the interest of every man who toils.

Children's Bureau: Protecting orphanage of land: Demanded by civilization.

Child-labor law: Protection of youth of land: Demanded by mothers of America.

Safety of railway employees: Only justice to both employees and dependent ones.

Bureau of Labor Safety: Scientific methods of protecting those engaged in hazardous employment.

Workmen's compensation law: To make certain compensation to dependent ones.

Seamen's law: Requiring decent living facilities and proper protection of life.

Increased wage scales on Government work.

The establishment in the Department of Labor of an Adjustment Service, including (a) Division of Conciliation, (b) United States Employment Service, (c) Bureau of Labor Statistics, (d) Bureau of Immigration, (e) Bureau of Naturalization, (f) Information and Educational Service, (g) Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation, (h) War Labor Policies Board, (i) Adjusting of Labor Disputes.

AMERICA'S GREAT ACHIEVEMENT AND EFFICIENCY DURING THE STRESS OF WAR.

1. Raised an Army of 4,000.000 men—the mightiest and most efficient Army of all history.

2. Bridged the Atlantic with American ships and put 2,000,000 men safely across the sea amidst the greatest adversity known to history.

3. Established the greatest Medical Department and reduced the loss of life by disease to a minimum.

4. Established the greatest hospital service.

5. Established the greatest aeroplane service and established the greatest Navy in the world, save and except England alone.

6. Had an Army of the bravest men, the best clothed, the best fed, and the best paid of any army of the 26 nations engaged in the conflict.

7. Loaned $11,000,000,000 to the Allies to aid in the conduct of the war.

8. No panic; no failing, crumbling institutions; money plentiful; business men prosperous; the Treasury safe and sound; American institutions growing and expanding; no scourge among us.

9. The establishment of a war-time espionage law—a law to punish the wily spy, the agitator, the I. W. W., who, while the boys were dying at the front and were being submarined as they crossed the sea, were disseminating insidious propaganda of the murderous Hun.

10. Increased pay of the private soldier both in war and peace times from $15 to $30 a month. There was not a dissenting vote by either Republican or Democrat when this increase was added as an amendment to the draft law in the House.

RECONSTRUCTION LEGISLATION, BOTH PENDING AND PASSED, INCIDENT TO CLOSING THE WORLD'S GREATEST WAR.

Vocational education for the wounded soldiers, so they may learn trades and become independent, self-sustaining citizens. Approximately $22,000,000 has already been appropriated; more to follow. These wounded soldiers shall be protected; they shall be educated; they shall not want.

Preference in the civil service and Government employment of all kinds for the soldiers. Will be of assistance to soldiers who desire to enter Government service. It gives them a preference in all Government appointments. It is a law.

Preference rights extended to all soldiers in acquiring of public lands and homes upon the public domain.

Sweeping away of emergency war-time legislation. Total exemption of farmers from all profiteering laws, as they are not hoarders—not dealers—merely producers and selling in an open market.

To dispense with all unnecessary boards and Federal control, and allow honest business, labor, society, and the farmers to be free from Federal interference, Federal regulation, and allow the law of supply and demand honestly administered to again assert itself and control. If abuses spring up, let them be prosecuted in the courts as other infractions of law. In war times drastic laws were required. In peace the least governed is the best governed.

To prosecute and put behind bars gamblers in the necessities of life, and hoarders and extortionists of all sorts and kinds. Hoarders, gamblers, profiteers, and extortionists should no longer be tolerated. They extort from the producer and consumer. They breed Bolshevists, anarchists, and law violators.

For the enactment of legislation to reduce the high cost of living and the abnormal and unconscionable profits due to practiced extortion on both producer and consumer; hoarding and profiteering to be prosecuted for breaches of the law.

Restoration and reinstatement on easy terms, without penalty, of lapsed war-risk insurance policies.

Payment of soldiers' insurance in lump sums, as distinguished from monthly installments, at the option of the insured.

Establishment of educational advantages in all camps, cantonments, forts, and arsenals, thereby rendering service in Army and Navy sufficiently attractive to insure an adequate peace-time Army, without any compulsory military training in peace times.

Deportation of alien slackers, as desired by the American Legion.

In the passage of these laws, Mr. Chairman, I contributed my support.

In 1917 and 1918, to win the war, we raised the grandest army in the shortest time, waged the greatest war, and won the most glorious victory in the memory of man, and that, too, by the patriotism, bravery, and heroism of American soldiers backed by the President, the Congress, determination, money, encouragement, and love of our rich and poor alike, women and men, whose hearts went out to the outraged countries, women, and children. As I stand here, Mr. Chairman, in this Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union in the consideration of this appropriation bill, I look into the faces of Members on both sides of the aisle who sat with me throughout the long, troublesome, and anxious days and vigils of the nights of the war praying for the safety of our soldiers and that victory might come to our arms; and it did gloriously come.

Then did a shout of joy go up;
The wild, glad cry of freedom come
From hearts long crushed by cruel hands,
And songs from lips long sealed and dumb.

It is not inappropriate at this moment to say, Mr. Chairman, that while our soldiers were across the sea, in camps and cantonments in this country, and on the sea, that when their mothers, fathers, sisters, and wives wrote their Congressman concerning the smallest anxiety or assistance for these men in any way, that such letters and inquiries were promptly answered and their desires gratified in every case possible. This duty we lovingly and cheerfully performed. The same has been true since the signing of the armistice in looking after their discharges, insurance, allotments, pay, mileage, clothing, and so forth.

It is to be hoped, Mr. Chairman, that grim-visaged war has smoothed his wrinkled front and that we may obtain a lasting and permanent peace for all time, not only for our own great and beloved Nation but for the peoples of the world; and, gentlemen, may we not hope and believe that God, full of mercy, dwelling on high under the shadow of His brow, will grant comfort and repose to the souls of the heroes who died on Flanders field and elsewhere for humanity and also that the children of men enjoy protection, peace, freedom, and liberty.

The Financial Resources of the United States—How Taxes Should Be Levied to Encourage Industry, Increase Production, and Produce Revenue Without Being Burdensome to the Taxpayer—Vision, Intelligence, and Sound Business Sense Should Dominate Congressional Action in Handling Present-Day Problems—Our Glorious Past, Our Substantial Present, Our Promising Future.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ERNEST R. ACKERMAN,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 23, 1920,

On H. R. 12820, a bill to create revenue in lieu of the excess-profits tax.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, in the autumn of 1918 the ship of state, manned by the loyalty of the people, was successfully combating the mountainous seas that had been encircling the world, and the sun was breaking through the gloom. When the date of the armistice arrived some expected the captain to order full speed ahead; but suddenly "the clouds returned after the rain," and the reaction from the enthusiasm which greeted the cessation of hostilities changed to hesitancy, then to doubt, and while there was a slight temporary recession in the upward curve of the price of commodities, no one could fathom what was to happen in the light of the great task of reconstruction. Then came a lessening of activities on every hand—unemployment increased, urgent demands for employment were heard, and a fog of apprehension settled down. Officials, bewildered by what was daily transpiring, floundered along, not knowing what course to steer the ship by so that she would not be thrown or cast upon the rocks which those who were supposed to be competent to know said lay right ahead. Conferences with Cabinet heads and War Bureau chiefs were not as productive as hoped for. While we were sailing through a period of more or less uncertainty, employment slowly but steadily increased, not because of a policy but in spite of one; business improved in volume; and the soldiers, as they were demobilized, were offered as good or better positions than they had when they sailed forth to defend the honor of the country, and nearly all were provided for.

What we must have is vision and confidence. We must take an optimistic outlook and see through the temporary fog and incidental gloom that for the moment may possibly seem to be surrounding us, but through which even now the sun is shining.

We may thus preserve for posterity the exceeding great privilege that we are enjoying and which has been purchased at a great cost of blood and treasure during the 144 years of our national existence.

That the United States is a growing entity no one will dispute, and such being the case we must maintain that progress by a policy of constructive conservatism in our forests and mines and by giving a renewed encouragement to the vital and productive industry of agriculture.

Before any understanding of magnitude can be successfully launched it is not only fitting but eminently proper that a comprehensive survey of conditions should be made.

The word "billion" is a current term to-day, the word "million" having almost been discarded. The word "trillion" will soon become not an unusual word, it having been brought into the limelight by Prof. Fisher, of Yale College, who states that the annual turnover of business for 1918 reached the sum of $1,269,000,000,000. Using the same methods employed by him for the business of the United States for 1919, we obtain a figure of $1,484,000,000,000, an increase of $215,000,000,000 over the previous year.

As during the main part of 1918 every legal and moral restraint that could be exercised was inaugurated, and quite properly so, to prevent any activity operating that did not point to the immediate winning of the war, there had consequently "backed up" an immense amount of projects that if stable conditions can obtain will for many years to come augment considerably the totals referred to.

According to the Census Bureau the wealth of the United States increased from $107,000,000,000 in 1904 to $187,000,000,000 in 1912. If we use the same percentage of increase as was shown in 1912 over 1904, which was practically 80 per cent, upon the period of 1912 to 1920, eight years, it would produce a total of $327,000,000,000 based on the same monetary standards of the earlier date.

Moreover, in a letter recently received by me from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, he states that in his opinion the value of the property in the United States at the present time is $350,000,000,000. Accepting it as a fact, this is over $100,000,000,000 in excess of any previous estimate, and this excess alone is over four times the amount of our national debt, without taking into account the $10,000,000,000 which Europe is bound under the agreement to return to us with interest.

The products of the farm in 1904 were valued at $6,000,000,000, or a little over 6 per cent of the value of all property; in 1912, at $9,000,000,000, or 5 per cent of the value of all property. If in 1919, seven years later and when daylight saving prevailed, the reported value of farm products was $24,000,000,000, reasoning by analogy as farm products consistently averaged 5 per cent of all products, the value of all property should be $500,000,000,000. Let us look at the matter from another angle.

Taking into account the rise in values on which the 1920 calculation should be based, it would be safe to assume that a 50 per cent increase over the result of $327,000,000,000 previously mentioned would not be far afield, and therefore the present market value of all property in the United States to-day, based on current standards, would total nearly $500,000,000,000.

For the purpose of obtaining a proper perspective we turn back the pages of history and review the financial increase that has taken place since 1850 and succeeding years as tabulated by the Census Bureau, discarding fractional parts less than billions and visualize it as follows:

When the population was 23,000,000 in 1850 the wealth was $7,000,000,000, or $300 per individual.

When the population was 31,000,000 in 1860 the wealth was $16,000,000,000, or $516 per individual.

When the population was 38,000,000 in 1870 the wealth was $24,000,000,000, or $630 per individual.

When the population was 50,000,000 in 1880 the wealth was $43,000,000,000, or $860 per individual.

When the population was 62,000,000 in 1890 the wealth was $65,000,000,000, or $1,050 per individual.

When the population was 76,000,000 in 1900 the wealth was $88,000,000,000, or $1,160 per individual.

When the population was 81,000,000 in 1904 the wealth was $107,000,000,000, or $1,320 per individual.

When the population was 95,000,000 in 1912 the wealth was $187,000,000,000, or $1,990 per individual.

When the population was 110,000,000 in 1920 the wealth probably is $500,000,000,000, or $4,540 per individual.

In 1917, the latest obtainable date, 3,472,890 returns of income taxes, as compiled by the Treasury Department, indicated an expressed income of $13,652,383,207.

This three and a half millions of returns equal 3 per cent of the population of the country. Would it not be most liberal to suppose that the remaining one hundred and six and a half millions of persons living here from whom no income tax was collected possessed in the aggregate at least an equal amount of wealth? Very probably they had very much more, but suppose for the sake of argument that they did not, but had only the same total, which would be the incredibly small sum of $130 income apiece, their aggregate income would be $13,845,000,000, which, added to the $13,652,000,000 previously mentioned, would exceed twenty-seven billions of income, or, capitalized on only a 5 per cent basis, would indicate $500,000,000,000 of basic wealth. They probably had several times that income each, which would in all probability allow the capitalization to be made even on a 10 per cent basis. Why not?

However, by the census of 1912 the wealth of the United States was computed to be 187 billions. The income of its people, according to Prof. Anderson, of the National Bank of Commerce, in New York, was 33.8 billions, or 18 per cent. In 1904, when the wealth was 107 billions, the income was 18 billions, or 17 per cent. Using the same rate of increase from 1912 to 1920 as was shown from 1904 to 1912, we have an income of 73.4 billions, or about 18 per cent, which is accepted in trade circles as a fact. Therefore, as we possess to-day an income in excess of the census value of all the property in the United States 30 years ago—and nearly that of 20 years ago—would not the returns of 73 billions of income be presumed to indicate wealth of more instead of less than 401 billions?

Of this 73.4 billions, 4.6 billions, or 6½ per cent, was spent for products of foreign industry, the remaining 93½ per cent for articles of domestic manufacture—fifteen times as much for home purchases as for those of foreign origin.

If in 1910 wealth being less than $187,000,000,000, the income of the people was conceded to be $30,500,000,000. That is from recorded facts. In 1918 the conceded income being $73,400,000,000, by the same arithmetical calculation national wealth might not be far from $448,800,000,000. Therefore the approximate wealth of the country, based on duly ascertained facts which no doubt are fundamentally correct and determined by the several illustrations mentioned, must be close to $500,000,000,000.

According to the Guaranty Trust Co., of New York, the exports from the United States during the month of January, 1920, were valued at $730,707,863, as against $681,649,999 in the month of December, and $622,552,783 in January, 1919. Imports were valued at $473,936,610 compared with $380,710,328 in December and $212,992,644 in January, 1919. The excess of exports for the month was $256,771,253, as compared with $409,560,139 in January, 1919. For the seven months of the fiscal year exports have reached a total value of $4,593,976,102, as compared with $3,797,413,718 for the corresponding period a year ago; and imports have been valued at $2,767,804,051, as compared with $1,689,201,420 in the first seven months of the 1919 fiscal year. The excess of exports over imports has fallen from $2,099,212,298 to $1,826,172,051, a decrease of $273,040,247.

At the beginning of the World War in 1914 it was accepted as a fact that only 400,000 persons in continental United States owned a bond for the purposes of investment. To-day, according to figures furnished by the Treasury Department the number of subscribers to the various Liberty and Victory loans was as follows: First loan 4,000,000 subscribers, second loan 9,400,000 subscribers, third loan 18,308,325 subscribers, fourth loan 22,777,680 subscribers, Victory loan 11,803,895 subscribers, making a grand total of 66,289,900 subscribers.

This is a healthy sign of interest in the country's welfare, for, excluding duplications, it is safe to assume that one bondholder for three original subscribers still exists; therefore, 22,000,000 stockholders in the corporation of the United States, if we be permitted to describe it as such, or one bondholder for every five of our population, exist at the present time. That they should be encouraged to remain such needs no argument, and that they should see their investment appreciate rather than depreciate will be admitted without question. The decline in the market value of all issues of Government bonds has put a damper upon those who made an investment therein. But we hope this will be temporary.

According to a contributor to Commerce and Finance he declares that the money in circulation is now $56.16 per capita, or about $6,000,000,000. According to a prominent bank president there are about 27,000 banks in the country, and their average vault holdings of cash are not more than $20,000, or a total of $540,000,000. This sum, plus the $1,934,000,000 of gold held by the Federal reserve banks, accounts, he maintains, for less than half of the $6,000,000,000 in circulation. It is thus clear, he asserts, that nearly three and one-half billions is in the pockets of the people or the tills of the merchants. Upon the assumption that there are about 50,000,000 adults in the

United States, this means that each of them is keeping about $70 of money out of the banks. This, he claims, is unnecessary and provocative of extravagance, and he urges that the banks of the country should join in an effort to exploit the benefits of a checking account, thereby reducing the amount of money in circulation and making the gold now held against the outstanding Federal reserve notes available as a basis for increased loans.

This brief report would, however, be incomplete without an allusion to the tightness of money that is reported by bankers throughout the country. One western bank president, who is an exceptionally careful observer, also tells us he thinks that the scarcity of loanable funds is largely due to the fact that wage earners are now carrying an unusually and unnecessarily large quantity of money in their pocketbooks and homes, and he suggests that a campaign to encourage them to open bank accounts and use checks instead of cash in paying their bills might greatly ease the situation. Also, might not a campaign encouraging membership in building and loan associations be productive of good results in thrift and good citizenship?

According to that eminent investigator and economist already referred to, Prof. Irving Fisher, of Yale College, the amount of money that is in actual circulation outside of banks and the United States Treasury is about two and one-half billions of dollars, and according to his estimates this volume changes hands thirty times a year, thus making seventy-five billions of exchange. The volume of deposits subject to check was twelve and one-half billions, and changes hands, he computes, exceeding slightly ninety-five times per year, thus effecting one thousand one hundred and ninety-five billions of exchange. Adding the two together we have seventy-five plus one thousand one hundred and ninety-five, or a total of one thousand two hundred and seventy billions.

According to the professor, this paid for a volume of trade of 641,000,000,000 units (a unit of trade being that amount of goods which in the base year of 1909 represents $1) at prices 98 per cent higher than the prices of said base year, so that six hundred and forty-one times 198 per cent is also 1,270 plus, thus proving the correctness of the proposition.

Hon. Herbert Hoover also furnishes us with some interesting figures, not heretofore published, which show that commodity production is not being increased at all commensurate with the needs of the Nation, and while during the war the 6,000 strikes retarded production, yet undoubtedly the fact that, with the exception of an increase in the production of agriculture products, other commodities declined 150,000,000 tons, so that the grand aggregate of increase over 1913 was only 3 per cent in 1919, or less than one-half per cent per annum for each of the six years down to the present time, according to the following table:

Total production of important commodities in the United States.

	Agricultural production.	Per cent of 1913.	Other commodities.[1]	Per cent compared to 1913.	Total commodities.	Per cent compared to 1913.
	Tons.		*Tons.*		*Tons.*	
1913	285,650,961	100.0	795,642,556	100.0	1,081,293,417	100.0
1914	307,649,115	107.7	711,369,092	89.4	1,019,018,207	94.2
1915	322,671,079	113.0	750,801,909	94.4	1,073,472,988	99.3
1916	318,596,147	111.5	843,893,383	106.1	1,162,489,530	107.5
1917	331,908,198	116.2	909,265,608	114.3	1,241,173,806	114.8
1918	320,537,010	112.2	927,250,873	116.5	1,247,787,883	115.4
1919	344,116,277	120.5	773,064,956	97.2	1,117,181,233	103.3

[1] Includes coal, steel, iron, and cement.

I wonder, also, how many have given a moment's thought to the fact that automatically the excess tax on profits, which law is causing so much concern to those engaged in business, might become a dead letter, namely, that circumstances might arise so that it might produce practically no substantial revenue for the Government? That is, the fall in prices might be so great that the revenue between what had been produced through its operation during the war because of the enormous war orders given at prices which were fixed so as to create large producers out of the poorest equipped or most indifferently disposed units and that which might be produced during a period of depression would cause a void to exist almost equal to that of the collapse of an irridescent soap bubble.

Facetiously, of course, the Gulf Coast Lumberman offers the following advice on "How to figure your income tax":

First, take your home, add wife's income, divide by your eldest son's age, add your telephone number, subtract your auto-license number, add electric light bill, divide by number of kilowatts, multiply by your father's age, add number of gold fillings in teeth, add your house number, subtract wife's age (approximately), divide by number of aunts you have, add your number of uncles, subtract number of daughters, multiply by number of times you have gone up in an airplane, subtract your best golf score, add a pinch of salt, and then go out and borrow the money and pay the tax. While the editor has not yet announced any formula for aiding in the figuring of excess-profits returns, there is much more truth than there is fiction in such a fantastic statement.

A great Secretary of State for the United States once made the following vivid and accurate statement:

> The aim of statesmanship should be to seek a way of permanently averting the horrors of cruel and bloody combat between countries, oftenest of one blood and speech, or the even worse calamity of internal commotions and civil strife; the burdensome and far-reaching consequence of such struggles; exhausted finances, oppressive debt, onerous taxation, ruined cities, paralyzed industries, devastated fields, ruthless conscription, the slaughter of men, the grief of the widow and the orphan; with a legacy of embittered resentment, that long survives those who provoked them, and heavily afflict the innocent generations that come after.

We should all hope for the successful conclusion of a plan so worthy and beneficent.

That is the picture of the world to-day, and in which our generous and courageous country is suffering the least of those who were engaged in suppressing the ruthless piracy of submarine warfare, thus preventing the world from being dominated by the slavery of a cruel and haughty military autocracy, and as every thoughtful citizen knows, we must pay the price, and that price is in the form of taxation, which must, by the logic of events, be borne in part by future generations.

Therefore, in fixing the taxes they should be arranged as far as possible to encourage, rather than restrict, production, so that wealth may be created in order to lighten the burdens of the present and the future, for in the final analysis it is wealth that is to be taxed, no matter where located, whether in small or large quantities. Also, the greater the creation and the distribution of wealth, the fairer and more evenly will be the burden of taxation.

Lower rates of taxation, scientifically applied, will produce increased revenue, because of the natural inclination to produce, while if they are unscientifically applied or ill-advisedly considered or punitively drawn, they have a negative effect, for the holders of capital, whether in small or large amounts, thus attacked, retire to seclusion with a shrug of the shoulder by saying, "What is the use?"

Our country has always successfully overcome every difficulty, and the present will offer no exception to the glorious and heartening precedents of the past; the inspirational pages of American history gives out a buoyant confidence for the future.

That materialism has not entirely appropriated the soul of the Nation to the exclusion of the consideration of humanitarian motives is well known. The most stupendous sums were raised during the war for every kind of philanthropic, benevolent, and altruistic work by millions of every creed. Even now fresh evidence of the gigantic movement to additionally touch the soul of America so that it may rise to higher planes of usefulness is making rapid headway, and $1,000,000,000 is the contribution that will be voluntarily given.

Let us follow the golden rule, live up to the Ten Commandments, feel and exercise a personal responsibility, and all will be well, for there is enough work ahead in all lines of activity to keep the Nation prosperous for many years to come, if we keep our heads.

According to a reliable authority, that of Commerce and Finance, published in the city of New York, the national debt and wealth of the eight principal countries outside of the United States are as follows:

	Estimated national wealth.	Present national debt.	Per cent.
Great Britain	$90,000,000,000	$40,000,000,000	44.4
France	65,000,000,000	35,000,000,000	44.4
Russia	40,000,000,000	25,400,000,000	63.5
Italy	25,000,000,000	15,000,000,000	60.0
Japan	28,000,000,000	1,300,000,000	4.6
Germany	80,000,000,000	50,000,000,000	62.5
Austria	23,500,000,000	17,000,000,000	72.3
Hungary	16,500,000,000	9,000,000,000	54.5
Total	368,000,000,000	192,900,000,000	.....

If these figures are only approximately correct, the total material wealth of our beloved country exceeds at the lowest estimate by over thirty-two billions, and perhaps by one hundred and thirty-two billions, the wealth of all these countries, because of the endowments with which we have been blessed by the Almighty.

In addition to that, even with a peak load as of August 31, 1919, $26,596,701,648, our entire national obligation is but the

comparatively smaller sum of but one-eighth of the amount that these eight nations have obligated themselves to pay.

However, as James G. Blaine once said in speaking of national debts, "It is a melancholy thought that this almost incalculable sum of money was borrowed and expended, not to promote the ends of peace, not to develop agriculture or the mechanic arts, not to build highways for commerce and trade, not to improve harbors and the navigation of rivers, not to found institutions of learning or of charity or of mercy, not to elevate the standard of culture among the masses—not for any or all of these laudable objects, but for the waste, the cruelty, the untold agonies of war."

Now, Mr. Speaker, I submit that a nation having such a glorious past, with such a substantial and religiously active present, and with such a promising future is entitled to and should be favored with such laws as will encourage further expansion rather than the opposite, especially at a time like the present, when the need is so urgent here as well as abroad for the products of its soil as well as what it can manufacture.

Production and efficiency are very much needed all over the world. Any laxity in production here is sure to result in great damage in the future to the country's welfare. Any relaxation of effort in business circles is sure to be reflected in all departments of the Government. Unless business sets a high standard, other activities are not likely to follow. By the sweat of the brow we must obtain our daily bread. A "don't care" attitude is dangerous soil in which noxious weeds may grow and attain prodigious growth at the present time, when the forces of unrest are rampant.

However, wealth must not be allowed to sulk. As a sluggard it will not be tolerated. It must not be coddled. It must not be unfairly punished. It must be shown its duty, and if that duty is rightfully performed a proper reward awaits the exercise of its potentialities.

It is true that it is contrary to human nature to continue to endure patiently taxation that was hastily instituted to protect the citadels of liberty from the menace of a foreign foe, and already, we are informed, $4,000,000,000 of hitherto active capital has been withdrawn from productive industries and invested in nontaxable securities, but American genius and statesmanship can and must successfully cope with this situation, so that individual enterprise will be encouraged and capital enticed to productive investment.

Mr. Otto Kahn points out that the only way we can assist Europe to get on its feet, and thus stem the tide of Bolshevism, is by saving, so that we can lend and export, and we can not save unless we produce more than we consume. If production is, therefore, curtailed by those possessing liquid wealth by withholding it from participation in enterprise, which would be taxed, and that heavily, then production being curtailed, no surplus exists, prices rise, and help must necessarily be withheld, our exports will decline, our merchant marine will languish, and we will be speedily headed for economic and financial disaster. To my mind it is an imperative duty to attract capital in the hands of those who have rightly acquired it to enterprises which by constant activity will bring reward—yes, even rich reward—so that capital will not draw itself into a shell of protection by seeking out investment in the fourteen billions of nontaxable securities which are existent at the present time, and which bids fair to be increased far beyond that figure. Even the new Secretary of the Treasury sees that the cumbersome forms of income tax as well as excess-profits taxation and surtaxes on incomes must be revised, so as to afford relief if disaster, and imminent at that, is to be averted.

Prior, however, to his observation I ventured to suggest in a bill I introduced in the House of Representatives a small turnover tax of one-fourth of 1 per cent, or 25 cents per $100, on all business operations throughout the United States of America, which, if applied to the base of one thousand four hundred and eighty-four billions, would produce three thousand seven hundred and ten millions of revenue, or far in excess of the tax now collected, and which would be a permanent and probably increasing source of revenue and not an economic monstrosity founded on shifting financial quicksand.

According to the Bache Review for April, 1920, wherein they advocate a sales tax, but on the 1 per cent basis, they present the following application and advantages of the tax, based on sales:

ADVANTAGES OF A TAX ON SALES.

The analyses appearing on the following pages show the tax of 1 per cent on sales worked out for three of the important products of the country; and, while this shows that the tax is duplicated several times during the progress of these commodities through business channels, the tax falls only once upon the same class of business men.

In the case of the loaf of bread, the ultimate purchasers do not have to pay more for their loaf, and the tax would be absorbed by the seller in the various movements which the wheat makes until it reaches the ultimate consumer. On beef, the maximum would be 1 cent per pound, and the same rates would apply to hog products.

The advantages of this tax would be that it would be equally paid by everybody in the country, and might lead, perhaps, to thrift, since those who wish to avoid paying taxes would only have to decrease their expenditures.

If any such amount can be raised as would appear probable, predicated on the figures submitted, all income taxes on incomes of $5,000 or less would become unnecessary, and a nominal income tax on all other incomes would be sufficient. To-day an income of $5,000 pays between $120 and $160. Under the new tax, if it is extended in toto for the purchase of commodities, the income of $5,000 would pay a tax of $50, assuming that every article purchased has had the tax added and the consumer has to pay it. But on many articles the tax is so small that it is absorbed or paid by the seller out of his normal profits, and not added to the purchase price.

This tax can only be consistently levied and collected if paid by the seller, and should be evidenced in the working out of the tax by stamps on receipts, where books are not kept, or by charges against turnover as shown by merchants' books, less any allowance for stamps given on receipts. It would be the simplest tax that could be collected, and there need never be any dispute as to the amounts of individual taxes, as now arise in a multitude of cases under the present tax laws. It will require a very much smaller staff to collect, and practically no expert service. It will materially reduce the expenses of the Government in collecting taxes, and the yield can be very closely figured, and can not materially shrink or increase by temporary developments in values or the volume of trade, since the turnover in the volume of the country's business rarely fluctuates more than 10 per cent in a year.

APPLICATION OF THIS TAX.

On bread.

In estimating the effect on the price of a loaf of bread the tax would be levied, first, when the wheat leaves the producer; second, when it leaves the miller; and, third, when it leaves the retail grocer or the baker. Prices and taxes would be as follows:

WHEN IT LEAVES THE FARM.

	Price.	Tax.
1 bushel of wheat would be sold for, say	$2.09	$0.02

WHEN IT LEAVES THE MILLER.

4⅓ bushels of wheat to the barrel, with flour averaging $12 per barrel, would make 1 bushel of wheat in flour worth	2.67	.0267

WHEN IT LEAVES THE BAKER.

	Price.	Tax.
A barrel of flour makes from 260 to 270 loaves of bread. One bushel of wheat is two-thirds of a barrel of flour. This would make 60 loaves to a bushel of wheat. Figuring these 60 loaves at an average of 8 cents to 9 cents per loaf, price would be	$5.10	$0.0510
This would make the total tax on all sales of a bushel of wheat from wheat to flour to bread		.0977

This tax thus far, approximately 10 cents, is the total price to be added to the 60 loaves of bread on account of the 1 per cent tax on sales progressively from the farm to the consumer.

This total tax, if passed along, is so small, amounting to less than one-sixth of a cent per loaf, that it could not be added to the price per loaf to the consumer. It would probably be passed on by the miller and be paid by the baker, but would be such an infinitesimal reduction from his profits that he would be almost totally unaffected.

These calculations are based on only three sales, from farmer to consumer; but if one or two more sales of the wheat take place it would still leave the tax at a small fraction of a cent to the loaf.

Further than this, it is stated that bakers do not bake half the bread used. Many domestic users buy flour from grocers and make their own bread. This further reduces the individual tax.

CALCULATIONS OF THE TAX ON BEEF.

In the same way the tax result on beef may be estimated as follows: Result on steer killed July 17, 1919, lot 301.

Cost of live animal and expense in killing and disposing of resulting products.

Live weight, 1,202 pounds, at $16.34 per hundredweight	$196.41
Expense and labor, buying, killing, driving, yarding, feeding, refrigeration, etc	8.85
Cost of selling (branch house expense) 86 cents per 100 pounds	6.10
Freight to branch house, 710 pounds, at 69 cents	4.90
Total cost	214.26

AMOUNTS RECEIVED FOR PRODUCTS SOLD.

Fats—85.8 pounds at 18.81 per 100 pounds	$16.14
Hide—78 pounds at 32.71 per 100 pounds	25.51
Offal—Edible and inedible at 41 cents per hundredweight; live weight	4.93
Dressed beef—720 pounds less shrink 10 pounds—net 710 at 23.99 per hundredweight	170.33
Total selling price	216.91

HOW THE TAX WOULD AFFECT THE CONSUMER.

	Price.	Tax.
If we analyze these figures, we find that the cost to the packer of one steer would be	$196.41	
The tax of 1 per cent, to be paid by the farmer or the seller, would accordingly be		$1.96
Following up the 720 pounds (net 710 pounds) of dressed beef, the selling price of this would be	170.33	
On which the tax paid by the packer would be		1.70
The total tax which might be added to the beef, first by the farmer and then by the packer, would thus be, when the beef reached the retailing butcher		3.66

	Price.	Tax.
Dividing this tax up among the net 710 pounds of dressed beef, we find that the tax on each pound would be		0.005+
If the butcher sold the beef at, say, an average, all cuts, of 40 cents per pound, his tax would be four-tenths of a cent per pound, or two-fifths of a cent		.004
The total tax thus far, if added to the price to be paid by the consumer, would thus amount to		0.009

which is a little less than 1 cent a pound on beef. This includes all taxes from the farm, to the packer, to the butcher, and to the consumer.

Calculations of the tax on hog products.

We have obtained, also from official sources, figures on the cost of hogs and hog products, and have estimated the tax which, under this plan, would be levied from the time the animal was sold by the farmer until the various products reached the consumer.

RESULT ON HOG—OCTOBER 17, 1919.

Live weight, 306 pounds, at 14.3 cents	$43.76	
Expense and labor, buying, yarding, driving, killing, feeding, refrigeration, etc	4.59	
Total cost		$48.35

VALUE OF PRODUCTS RESULTING FROM HOG.

Hams, 14 per cent of live weight, 42.84 pounds, at 20½ cents	$8.78	
Bacon and fat backs, 31 per cent of live weight, 94.86 pounds, at 21¼ cents	20.16	
Shoulders, 12½ per cent of live weight, 38.25 pounds, at 22½ cents	8.61	
Lard, 8 per cent of live weight, 24.48 pounds, at 29 cents	7.10	
Leaf lard, 3 per cent of live weight, 9.18 pounds, at 29½ cents	2.71	
Other products, 4.02 per cent of live weight	1.44	
72.52 per cent of live weight		$48.80

72.52 is the per cent of marketable products to live weight.

HOW THE TAX ON SALES WOULD AFFECT THE CONSUMER.

	Price.	Tax.
If we analyze these figures, we find the cost to the packer of one hog would be	$43.76	
The tax of 1 per cent to be paid by the farmer or the seller would accordingly be		$0.44
Following up the approximate 217 pounds of consumable products of one hog, the selling price of this would be	48.80	
On which the tax paid by the packer in selling this would be		.488
The total tax which might be added thus far, first by the farmer and then by the packer, would be, when the hog reached the retailing butcher		.928
Dividing this tax through the 217 pounds of consumable products, we find a tax on each pound of		.0043
The tax thus far on the 217 pounds of consumable products is, as we have seen, about 93 cents, or at the rate of less than one-half of 1 cent on each pound. If the butcher sold the pork products at retail prices, he would receive about $107, on which his tax would be about one-half of 1 cent per pound, namely		.0049
The total tax, if added to the price to be paid by the consumer, would in all amount, per pound, to		.0092

which is a little less than 1 cent a pound on pork and pork products.

Granting that this explanation is correct, how much more lightly would the tax proposed in my bill rest upon the general public and would not all business be greatly stimulated thereby?

The provisions of the measure are simple and read as follows:

A bill to create revenue in lieu of the excess-profits tax, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That on and after the date of the passage of this act Title III of the act of February 24, 1919, known as the revenue act, is hereby repealed.

SEC. 2. That on and after July 1, 1920, there shall be levied, assessed, collected, and paid in lieu of the taxes imposed by the above-mentioned title, a tax of 25 cents on each $100, or fractional part thereof, worth of sales, or turnover, of all articles of merchandise sold for cash, or any consideration being of or representing the equal cash value.

SEC. 3. That said tax shall be paid by the vendor and shall be collected, returned, and paid to the United States at the end of each quarter of the calendar year in the manner prescribed by rules and regulations promulgated by the Secretary of the Treasury.

SEC. 4. That any person, having consummated the sale or disposition of any article or articles within the meaning of this act, who shall fail to make a return of the tax on same as provided herein shall be deemed to be guilty of a misdemeanor, and it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to assess, levy, and collect a sum equal to 50 per cent additional of said tax when same shall have been determined: *Provided,* That if said failure was caused by sickness, death, or other cause beyond the control of the vendor, the legal agents or representatives of said vendor may, upon satisfactory evidence, make application for the vacating of the judgment and remittance of the penalty.

Within a few days after this bill was printed I sent out 5,000 copies of the same, calling the attention of business men, financial organizations, chambers of commerce, and other organizations and associations having to do with our economic life to it, and these in turn gave me the benefit of their views on the proposal. I find that men in these activities are closely watching the work of Congress, especially on measures affecting the commerce and industry of the country. Naturally they are quick to grasp the significance of any bill proposed which levies a tax or has any financial importance.

From the communications I have received I submit a few replies to show the way in which their minds have been made up regarding this bill.

From Norfolk, Va., I received the following:

We suggest that as individuals we do not mind contributing to the cause under consideration, but we are opposed to the vexatious forms of the present income tax. In our opinion, people do not mind paying the money so much as they are worn out with the methods used to arrive at what they should pay.

A trade association in Philadelphia, through its secretary, expressed its views in this manner:

The present system of taxation, including the income-tax law in its present form and the excess-profits tax, are so thoroughly unsatisfactory in operation that I am glad to see some effort made to remedy their defects or to remove the excess-profits tax. A tax on sales may be a happy expedient and relief from the much more difficult taxes now in operation.

A trade association in New York City in the same manner said:

I am in sympathy with the idea of a tax on sales, largely because of its simplicity and the definiteness with which it can be applied.

From Hopkinsville, Ky., I heard as follows from the Business Men's Association:

We heartily indorse your H. R. 12820 tax of 25 cents on each $100 sales or turnover on merchandise. Have requested Congressman KINCHELOE and others to support this bill.

Another organization in New York City wrote me:

While the present system of taxation continues in this country business and production are bound as by an iron ring. No single factor acts as directly and inflexibly in maintaining the high cost of living, and as long as investment is discouraged by the present faulty system prices will continue to be high and will probably go higher. To arouse the American people to the seriousness of this situation becomes the duty of all thoughtful men.

A consulting engineer in New York City gave me this comment:

Personally, I am in hearty agreement with the levying of tax on sales, believing that it is an equitably distributed tax and that it will be very much more economical to collect. It should, if adopted, remove the excess-profits tax, which, in the opinion of many, including myself, has much to do with the present high cost of living.

In Nebraska the measure also attracted attention, with the result that a questionnaire was submitted to the members of a county commercial club with headquarters at York. One of the questions asked was, "Would you favor, in place of the present cumbersome and excess-profits tax on business, the substitution of a single small percentage tax on all business transactions," and the answer given was "Yes."

In Portland, Oreg., the bill also came up for discussion at the meeting of an industrial association, with the result that I was written to as follows:

Re H. R. 12820: I am thoroughly in accord with it and believe that it is a move in the right direction, as unquestionably the excess-profits tax and certain other unjust taxes are responsible or, in other words, are the prime factor in the high cost of living.

Another Oregon association with headquarters in Dallas was somewhat more brief, merely saying:

H. R. 12820 has our indorsement.

A mercantile company doing business in Kingsville, Tex., wrote me as follows:

For your information will say that I am heartily in favor of this action being taken, as I am sure that excess-profit tax is working a hardship in a good many ways, at this time making it impossible for any business institution to provide a sinking fund against any losses which might be incurred with change of conditions, and also have a tendency to put a tax on progress, as it is only from additional revenue which comes in during prosperity that many improvements or betterments can be brought about in many instances, and where the tax, as in this instance, is heavy enough to take the greater part of this revenue, it is practically impossible for most business institutions to provide for these emergencies, and I am sure that the action you propose will be welcomed by all individuals or institutions subject to excess-profit taxes.

Los Angeles, Calif., was heard from in this manner:

A tax on the gross income is the only way of reaching everybody and of treating all alike.

A concern in Bloomington, Ind., expressed its views as follows:

Your idea of removing some of the aggravating ideas of taxation is certainly a good one and will meet with the approval of every merchant in the United States, I believe. I am, however, of the opinion that it should be carried a little further and the tax put on the article when it leaves the manufacturer.

An association of business men in St. Louis, Mo., made this observation:

We want you to know that we approve the passage of your bill, H. R. 12820, which, as we understand it, contemplates a flat tax on the amount of business done instead of the present complicated method.

A bank in Earle, Ark., through its cashier, communicated with me in the following language:

I have had much discussion with different people regarding the excess-profits tax and the present form of taxation, and there seems to be much dissatisfaction with the present form. They feel that the tax is partly the cause of high prices, as every cent added on for income you pay ten times that amount in the cost of the articles.

What would be better form of taxation is a direct taxation on all purchases of goods. Some argue that a direct tax is not good for the poor man, as it would become burdensome on him, but he pays more than this amount in the indirect way.

The New Orleans Board of Trade expresses the views of its members this way:

With regard to bill 12820, imposing a tax on the gross sales, it seems to me absolutely imperative that if such amendment should be adopted it should only become effective when adopted and not be retroactive, as has been the case with the income-tax law.

The druggists' State association write me from Wisconsin:

We are more than glad to pay our just taxes to keep up the dignity of the United States, but save us from too many burdensome keeping of records.

An agricultural exchange of St. Joseph Mo., gave me this opinion:

In our opinion the whole system of taxation as regards income and excess profits is abnormal and most of the ill will that is harbored by reason of the taxation is on account of the complex method one must follow in order to arrive at the figures that the Government desires.

From Jasper, Ala., I get this view:

Bill 12820, if passed on the scale which you have it listed, would certainly reach, in our opinion, 95 per cent of the business done throughout the States; and a small amount from a full tax-paying source is, in our judgment, the proper way to raise taxes in lieu of the prohibitive tax, as is now the case on gross sales, as paid by the particular industry in which I am interested.

From Ohio came the following expression:

We certainly feel that a revision that will do away with the uncertain and oppressive profits tax will be a boon to the country in general.

Burlington, Iowa, conveys this view:

Concerning your bill, H. R. 12820, the writer wishes to state that he leans very strongly to a tax of this kind. The excess-profits tax was a war measure, and because of its unfairness ought to be canceled.

A concern in Indianapolis, Ind., wrote me:

We believe that the abolishment of the excess-profits tax and the substitution of a more reasonable (and less costly) method of taxation such as you have suggested in H. R. 12820 would be of great benefit to this country. The present method hinders business growth, which means increased production, and tends toward making extravagant methods of doing business. Production is now needed as never before.

The business men of Clearwater, Fla., went on record in the following language:

We want you to know that all our business men heartily approve of your bill, H. R. 12820.

From Cedar Rapids, Iowa, one of the leading banks wrote me:

You are certainly to be commended in introducing a bill before Congress that will place a tax on consumption instead of the present tax law which taxes production.

Ogden, Utah, was heard from this way:

We favor your bill, H. R. 12820, as tending to eliminate extravagance and waste, and greatly simplifying collections of revenue, besides removing the deadly drag on new business.

Here is what a large manufacturing concern in Hartford, Conn., said:

It seems to me a tax such as you propose would be so thoroughly distributed among the entire population throughout the United States that the present feeling of being burdened by high taxes would be permanently removed.

A large concern in Munising, Mich., said:

We are heartily in favor of H. R. 12820 in lieu of taxes on profits, and believe it would be much easier collected, at much less expense, and prove much less obnoxious to our people generally than the present system.

From New Jersey, my home State, I received many communications.. The following was selected at random from the most representative:

The writer believes that if such measures are passed by Congress the present needs of the Government will be taken care of, and if these measures become laws the present forms of oppressive taxation should be removed by their repeal, and the writer sincerely trusts that you will be successful in having some legislation passed at this session.

Columbus, Ohio, in a lengthy communication, gave me this paragraph:

The excess-profits tax is a drain on business which should be removed as quickly as possible. The drain is not so much a financial one taken on business as a whole, but the inequities in the manner of its assessment are such as to make it tremendously burdensome to some, and very slight for others. It is primarily a tax on efficiency and capacity, and should not have any relation to invested capital.

A large manufacturing concern in Billings, Mont., made this comment:

It certainly meets with our approval, and it would seem to us would result in a much more satisfactory condition all around, as the present income-tax law is anything but satisfactory to the general public.

A large concern on Long Island gave me this comment:

I am personally in favor of a consumption tax that will do away with the excess-profits tax on corporations and the surtax on incomes. The Chamber of Commerce in New York to-day adopted a resolution calling for legislation covering these particular points, and I am inclined to believe that they express the best needs of business respecting income taxation.

One of the leading trust companies of Lincoln, Nebr., states:

A large number of business men in this city express themselves as favoring something in the nature of a sales tax to replace the excess-profits tax.

The lumber interests gave me this expression:

We beg to assure you that anything along the line of simplicity and which will amend the present cumbrous excess-profit and income-tax laws will be generally approved and accepted by the lumber interests. We also feel that the public will greatly profit by an amended act.

From Coldwater, Mich., where there is a live industrial club, I got the following:

We believe that your bill, No. 12820, should become a law, to take the place of the excess-profit tax, which tax we believe is a hardship and an injustice to a great many manufacturers, and eventually will curtail production, and, at the present time, increase the cost of production.

Nebraska again comes to the front with this expression:

I am heartily in favor of H. R. 12820, as I think it would accomplish the same purpose that our present cumbersome income-tax law does, and with a fractional part of the trouble and annoyance and a very much larger proportion of efficiency. The tax all comes from the consumer anyway, as it could come from nowhere else, and the sales tax would probably be as equitable as any that could be suggested.

One of the biggest trust companies in Maryland writes me as follows from its Baltimore headquarters:

The repeal of Title III of the excess-profits law will confer a great boon upon a long-suffering people—a majority of whom are willing and anxious to pay their just taxes, but object to employing expert accountants at great expense to prepare their returns; further, they do not wish to disclose their private affairs to those they now must consult for assistance in preparing their returns.

A leading national bank of Wilmington, N. C., gave me this view:

I think a tax on sales would be about the most equitable that could be devised, and really $4,000,000,000 could be raised on such a tax and everybody would be paying a just share of it without it being burdensome.

A large industrial concern doing business in Brunswick, Ga., communicated the following:

Referring to House bill 12820, would say that I am disposed to favor this bill if it will take the place of the iniquitous excess-profits law now in force. The ease with which your bill could be enforced and the revenue collected commends it to my judgment, and it is absolutely fair to everybody who is taxed, and so long as we are taxed alike, most people submit without complaint.

The excess-profits tax, as now imposed, certainly encourages extravagance on the part of merchants and corporations who are engaged in business, and discourages economy and conservatism. How long would a merchant do business with a silent partner who, without investing a dollar in the business or taking any of the risk, stands by to collect one-half of the net profits of the business? It kills his ambition and discourages him from much effort to make money for the benefit of somebody else, and he loses pep and courage.

Again we hear from the sunny South in the following, from Atmore, Ala.:

I believe that your proposed tax, House bill 12820, or something like it, is far better than the system we have.

Resolution adopted at the twenty-first annual convention of the National Association of Box Manufacturers held at the Congress Hotel, Chicago, Ill., April 7, 8, and 9, 1920.

Whereas the excess profits is a tax on thrift and a premium on inefficiency and waste, and is, therefore, detrimental to the best interests of every citizen; and

Whereas said excess-profits tax is unscientific, ultracomplicated, cumbersome, and extravagant in its application and effect: Therefore be it

Resolved by the National Association of Box Manufacturers in convention at Chicago, Ill., the 7th to 9th day of April, 1920, That it respectfully recommends to the Congress that the present excess-profits tax be abandoned and that there be substituted a flat tax on sales and consumption on a basis which will yield to the Government that minimum amount of revenue which will suffice for its economical operation; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each United States Senator and Representatives of the various States in which our members are located.

It is my intention to bring these communications and others I have received to the attention of the committee having the bill in charge, and my hope is they will be sufficiently convincing to get action. Lately, the idea of a sales tax has been widely discussed. It seems to have taken hold of legislators on whom has been placed the responsibility of finding the ways and means for financing the Government during the next few years. This fact makes it apparent that legislation of this character seems certain of enactment by the present Congress, which has already accomplished a lot of big, constructive things, and is capable of accomplishing many more. My prediction is that it will do so before any of us are very much older.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MASON,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 23, 1920.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a resolution directing the Commander in Chief to withdraw our troops from Europe, and I am placing in the RECORD, by consent, my reasons for doing so. I am making this statement so that my colleagues who are interested will know my reasons for the resolution and at least hear this side of the question, whether they agree with me or not, and in the hope that we may have some speedy action in this most important matter.

The Constitution of the United States, in section 8, gives to Congress power "to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces." I was not present the other day when the statement was made by the distinguished chairman of the Military Affairs Committee as to the right of the President to send our troops wherever he sees fit. I do not think that is the law, but even admitting that he was correct, it would apply only when the United States was at war. The fact that we are at peace and the Constitution gives power to Congress to make rules for the government and regulation of our Army and Navy ought to be sufficient for this Congress, for we have everyone taken the oath to support this Constitution.

It may be true that we can find no precedent for Congress ordering a change of location for American troops. It may be that no other President has given occasion for such an order, for no other President has, within my knowledge, wantonly and willfully usurped legislative power in peace and in war as has the present occupant of the White House.

What are the facts? The armistice was signed November 11, 1918. It was not signed by the United States or any military or civil representative of the United States. The United States was not an "ally" but was an "associated power," and the only reference in the armistice as to America is in article 5, which says that those districts on the left bank of the Rhine shall be administered by local authorities in control of the Allies and the "United States armies of occupation." It is manifest that there was some agreement at that time that the United States was, at least temporarily, to occupy some portion of the German territory, but so far as Congress or the people know, no agreement was reached until the 28th day of June, 1919. At that time an agreement was made between the United States, Belgium, British Empire, and France on the one side and Germany on the other, with regard to the military occupation of the territory of the Rhine. This agreement was entered into by the President really as a part of the treaty of peace. He said when he sent it to the Senate with a treaty with Poland, "this treaty and this convention are ancillary to the treaty of peace." The word "ancillary" means "subordinate, auxiliary, subservient."

The President very properly called the agreement between the United States, Belgium, France, and England, dated June, 1919, a convention, as it was not binding until the ratification of peace by the Senate. In Roman law a convention might be between parties possessing all the subjective requisites in the contract, but did not become a contract until the objective requisite was supplied. In other words, a convention was an agreement which formed a basis of a contract. Under this definition of Black, the so-called convention of June, 1919, never became an obligation, for the treaty never was consummated. In international law convention was usually applied to agreements or arrangements for a preliminary formal treaty or to serve as its basis.

Therefore, my contention that the so-called convention, like the armistice, was made as preliminary to an intended peace treaty; that peace treaty contemplated is not even pending, and it would be worse than absurd to say a year and a half after cessation of hostilities that simply because the President and the Senate have power to make another treaty or convention, therefore the American people must be taxed to the bone for another year or until such time as the consideration of a new treaty or convention will suit the personal whims or the political convenience of the President.

So it is fair to say that while we call it a convention it was an attempt on the part of the President to negotiate an agreement whereby the United States troops were to occupy a part of Germany. It was sent to the Senate August 29, some two months after it was signed by President Wilson and was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, where it still remains. No attempt has ever been made by the Senate to advise and consent to this agreement for the reason that if the treaty of peace—which Mr. Wilson negotiated without the advice of the Senate and which was rejected by the Senate—did not secure ratification, then this so-called convention, whereby we agree to leave American troops in Germany, would, in the very nature of things, fall with it.

My proposition, which I very respectfully believe to be sound, is, there being no treaty as contemplated by this convention of June 28, that there can be no convention of June 28, and the United States is not bound, either by international law or by good morals, to further retain our troops in Germany. The President, in my opinion, is not entirely frank in his communication to the Senate, published on page 5101 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 1, 1920. It was in response to the resolution of the House asking how far the activities of our troops in Germany were in control without express orders from the President of the United States. The President refers to the armistice, paragraph 5, which I have mentioned, in order to make it appear that the armistice is still in full force and binding upon the United States. He states that the armistice was continued from time to time and "on February 16, 1919, it was still further extended to a date not fixed." This would leave the impression that he expected the armistice to continue for any length of time to suit his political convenience. The language of the last extention, however, while it does not fix the number of days, says on February 16, 1919, "is further prolonged for a short period, the date of the expiration not being given. The allied powers and those associated with them reserving to themselves the right to terminate the period with three days' notice." It has now been more than a year and two months since it was extended for a "short period," and because of the fact that the treaty of peace with Germany, including the covenant of the League of Nations, was rejected by the United States, and that peace between Germany and our associates has come by treaty, and peace between Germany and the United States has come by cessation of hostilities, there is nothing legally or morally binding on the United States to keep American troops in Europe.

If I am correct in this proposition, then it is the duty of Congress to do that which is in the interest of the people of the United States, and I very respectfully submit that every interest of the United States demands that our troops be withdrawn from Germany, first, on account of the heavy expense on taxpayers of the United States; second, because the keeping of our troops there widens the breach between the people of Germany and the United States, and engenders hatred when we are seeking to make peace; and, third, it hinders and delays foreign commerce and puts our merchants and importers where they must pay tribute to the merchants of Great Britan and other of our allies who have made peace with Germany and are dealing in a most friendly way with the enemies we helped them to conquer.

Under the terms of the armistice, the peace treaty, and the "ancillary" convention, Germany was to pay our expenses. Article 6 of the convention provides that "the German Government shall continue to be responsible for the maintenance of the cost of the troops." Of course, as we expected, they have failed to pay the expenses of the United States, although we have no means of knowing whether they have promptly paid the French and English Governments for the expense of keeping their troops there.

Second. It needs no argument to show that keeping our troops in Germany engenders more war and not peace. If you doubt human nature, read again our fathers' protest in our declaration against Great Britain keeping her soldiers here. Ask yourself how you would feel if foreign soldiers were camped on us to see that we kept our agreements.

Third. You add to the high cost of living when you compel our importers to pay tribute to our late associates. You add one more middleman between the producer and the consumer. Our late friends are trading with our late enemies. Our late friends have placed an embargo on 90 per cent of our manufactures. Our imports increasing and exports decreasing—we are buying more and selling less. Every intelligent man will understand why our factories are making less. Let us make this rule, and if the President refuses to enforce it we will seek some other lawful way of relief.

Please remember, I claim, with all respect for the opinion of others, that Congress alone has power to make all laws, which includes all military laws; and, therefore, the President is bound to execute military laws as well as civil laws. There are, according to our Supreme Court, three kinds of military jurisdiction, all to be established by Congress:

First. For peace or war;

Second. To be exercised in foreign war outside of the United States, or in civil war within States occupied by rebels treated as belligerents; and

Third. To be exercised in time of invasion or insurrection within the United States.

I quote from Ex parte Milligan, United States Supreme Court, Fourth Wallace, page 142.

This is from the minority opinion, but not in conflict with the finding of the court—

> The first of these may be called jurisdiction under military law, and is found in acts of Congress prescribing rules and articles of war or otherwise providing for the government of national forces; the second may be distinguished as military government, superseding, as far as may be deemed expedient, the local law, and exercised by the military commander under the direction of the President, with the express or implied sanction of Congress; while the third may be denominated martial law proper, and is called into action by Congress, or temporarily when the action of Congress can not be invited, and, in the case of justifying or excusing peril, by the President in times of insurrection or invasion, or of civil or foreign war, within districts or localities where ordinary law no longer adequately secures public safety and private rights.

Even if we admit a state of war without the boundaries of the United States, yet the law is it must be exercised "with the express or implied sanction of Congress."

The Milligan case, above quoted from, is, in the court's opinion and in the minority opinion, our unanimous assertion of the power of Congress to control military law, military courts, and in both opinions there is a solemn protest against any construction of the Constitution which renders the "military independent of and superior to the civil power." Every American should read this whole case a few times each year with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Briefly, the case is: Milligan, a private citizen, was arrested October 5, 1864—war period—by military orders, tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged. The Supreme Court swept aside a dozen questions and legal quibbles and ordered his discharge. Lincoln was President, and the Government stood against the writ.

Congress in March, 1863, authorized the suspension of the writ throughout the United States. By the same act Congress provided that all prisoners held by order of the President, except prisoners of war, should be reported to the United States judges by the Secretary of War. Then if the grand jury did not indict the prisoner could be discharged. The President in September following by proclamation—Thirteenth Statutes at Large, page 734—added to the list of prisoners who need not be certified to the judges for indictment or discharge. How the President attempted to legislate by denying the writ of habeas corpus to those that had not been denied by Congress will be observed by reading his proclamation, for he denied or suspended the writ not only to prisoners of war but to—

> Spies or aiders or abettors of the enemy or belonging to the land or naval forces of the United States or otherwise amenable to military law or the rules and Articles of War or rules prescribed by the President or for resisting the draft or for any offense against the military or naval service.

Here is clear conflict. Congress said prisoners in Milligan's class should be certified to the court. The President said prisoners in Milligan's class can have no writ of habeas corpus.

The court, in sustaining the writ and discharging the prisoner, said:

> They can not justify on the mandate of the President because he is controlled by law, and has his appropriate sphere of duty, which is to execute and not to make laws.

Mr. Speaker and colleagues, we are playing with fire. Wherever our troops are, if the Supreme Court is right, they are there with the "actual or implied sanction of Congress." Whatever they do, it is done with the "actual or implied sanction of Congress." I am no alarmist, but call your attention to the facts and to the law. We can not shirk our plain duty. The day for handwashing and passing the buck is passed. Admit that the President had power to send them there, admit that they were kept there by the implied sanction of Congress; then, what? The President says the troops can not be used except by his orders. Yet in the same report he tells our officers to keep in "close touch" with the French and English officers and adopt for our section the same rule—the word is "régime"—adopted by the French and English. Suppose to-day at San Remo these good friends and associates do not agree with each other as to which one shall get the first money from the Germans? Suppose they disagree as to the French or German occupation? They are meeting to-day. Suppose they disagree as to Turkey? How will our army keep in touch and adopt the same régime with Great Britain and France?

Will they adopt the English plan or the French plan? They are under command of Woodrow Wilson, a man sick in mind and body. Our soldiers under his command have been killed in Mexico, in Siberia, and northern Russia by guns we furnished to help the men who killed us. Is it to be repeated in Europe? If our soldiers were home, Congress could decide where and when and with whom they should fight.

But the President says our troops in Germany are to "police" the occupied district and to "repel any attack made upon him." The American soldier, in an American uniform, and under the American flag, a policeman in Germany in times of peace, paid by the overburdened taxpayers in America. We have used them for elections in Silesia, policemen on the Rhine, track laborers and guards in northern Russia and Siberia. Under the law the President did all this with the actual or implied consent of Congress. When did you consent? Never; except by indifference and silence. Of course, I have no personal reflection, but this Congress was elected by the people as a rebuke to Woodrow Wilson for the manner in which he and his friends made one big rubber stamp of the last Congress. And yet, when I asked to get our poor boys out of Russia, the Secretary of War appeared before the Committee on Military Affairs and the old rubber stamp was applied with as much vigor as it was in the last Congress. The old chloroform bottle, prescribed by the President for American legislation, is still on tap.

You have declared peace, and did right; right but slow. Why police a country with which we are at peace and the only thing we offer is fair trade—as we have a right to under the Constitution? The only thing we ask is a waiver by Germany of war claims. Whether they make this waiver or not, we have no desire to use our "policemen" to fight. Are we to protect Germans against each other? Here is a picture of an American soldier guarding a street crossing, directing street traffic in Coblentz. We need policemen here; but, aside from that, how would you like it, to wear your country's uniform as a soldier and police the crossing in some other country? God hasten the coming of March 4 next, when no American boy wearing our uniform shall be used for anything except in his high calling as an American soldier. Is the policeman to prevent England from fighting France or Germany? Are we to consent that our people shall be taxed for 10 years to police Germany when the treaty negotiated by Wilson agreed to it and the Senate defeated the treaty?

Germany has failed to keep her agreements, claiming inability to do so. Suppose France demands reprisal under its treaty of peace which she made with Germany. Suppose Great Britain protests, as she has and may again. With whom shall we keep in close touch, France or Great Britain? Suppose Germany does not pay, are we to collect by the sword? On what shall we levy? The Kaiser and the royal family are absent. Are we to levy on the food of hungry people, or shall we take judgment and garnishee the food being sent by charitable Americans to the hungry women and children over there?

Mr. Speaker, there is a deeper and more serious danger. I have said we are playing with fire. Perhaps I should have said the President is playing with fire, and we by our silence condone his offense. He is determined to make the covenant a political issue. To do so he must keep us in a state of war. He must pretend to have our troops in Germany under the armistice, which has served its purpose. It produced a cessation of hostilities; it produced peace between the United States and Germany. It was to govern until peace was reached. A treaty of peace was contemplated, but it was presented and failed. Peace has been reached, but not by treaty. All conventions, as well as the armistice, based on the contemplated treaty fell when the treaty was rejected. To hold different would be to hold that at the end of the "short period" mentioned in the last extension of the armistice we must begin fighting again with Germany. The President may make an effort to be "cunning" and send the treaty back to the Senate, to make a political football of the lives and property of our people. I believe he will. The question is up to the House of Representatives to take the initiative—make the first move to get our troops out of Europe.

You did it in the declaration of peace and you pleased the American people. Refuse to order our troops out (now that we are at peace) and by your neglect abandon your duty, and you surrender your power to the one man and move toward militarism with gigantic strides. I beg my colleagues to read again the debates in the Constitutional Convention which gave us the great chart of liberty. Read how our wise fathers sought to withhold power from any one man. Read again the opinion of our own Supreme Court in sustaining the power of the people's representatives and setting aside the power of the one man. That great court says (Milligan case cited):

> This Nation has no right to expect that it will always have wise and humane rulers, sincerely attached to the principles of the Constitution. Wicked men, ambitious of power, with hatred of liberty and contempt of law, may fill the place once occupied by Washington and Lincoln.

Remember Wilson's letter to the sixth Indiana district at the very beginning of the war, his refusal of one hundred thousand volunteers, for quick action, just to prevent Roosevelt from being a soldier. Remember his letter while our men were fighting over there, using his political and military power to defeat patriotic men, if they were not Democrats, and to elect the very Democrats he had denounced as disloyal. Remember his making war in Russia without congressional authority. Remember his continual overriding the Constitution he is sworn to uphold.

Then decide whether you will yield any more of your power to him. Then decide whether you will complete the picture by announcing that in our country in times of peace the military power is greater than the civil power. Please, before you decide, read the gravestones in the cemeteries of history where nations are buried, the cause of national death. You will find that the compelling disease that filled the national graves was "one man controlling the military power," which is a simple name for "militarism and autocracy." There is a preventive, but no cure, for this national disease. Its prevention is in legislative action by the people's representatives. Power never limits itself. The irrepressible conflict of authority between the one man and the many will continue. You will assist either the one or the many by your act. Trusting the people means life and health to our Republic. Trusting one man may mean sickness and death to our Nation. If you doubt me, look again at the rusty crowns scattered along the highway, all the way from the days of the Cæsars to the days of the Czar of all the Russias and the Kaiser of the Imperial Government of Germany.

I can not favor the proposition to withhold appropriations from our brave officers and men over there. Such indirect legislation would reflect on our soldiers and on the Congress itself.

Pass this resolution, and if the President refuses to execute the law, then impeach him. Pass this law in line with our declaration of peace, lift the burden of taxes from our people, reduce in that way some of the burdens of high prices, and say to the world that in a Republic civil and not military law is supreme, and as our boys fought for liberty and self-determination over there, we will not abandon those great principles under our own flag.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE MacGREGOR,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 23, 1920.

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, little has been said in these halls with reference to the great part that Italy played in the World War. I deem it a duty as well as a pleasure to pay my tribute to the 300,000 sons of Italy who fought under the Stars and Stripes, and also to the nation whose blood courses through their veins.

America hardly appreciates what Italy did and the debt of gratitude that is due to her for her part in the great struggle. She fought the fight alone, practically unaided by the Allies. Our attention was centered upon the French and English lines, and we are apt to forget that if Italy had not held her line the efforts of the French, the English, and the Americans would have come to naught.

When the storm broke in 1914, if Italy had joined her then allies—Germany and Austria—France would never have been able to win the crucial Battle of the Marne, because it would have been necessary for her to protect the Italian frontier, and her forces would not have been sufficient to stem the tide of Huns that swept across Belgium. The triple alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy had existed since 1882, and was technically in force when the war began. The declaration of neutrality by Italy undoubtedly saved the world from Prussian domination, and for this act alone Italy is entitled to the fullest measure of gratitude.

There was no duty that called Italy into the war. Her treasury had been drained by the African difficulties; her military strength was low. She had no sources of supply for the manufacture of guns and munitions; she was dependent upon other nations for coal; her financial and industrial establishments were dominated by Germany; the dominant political organization was pro-German, but the memory of the wrongs she had suffered at the hands of Austria, the ever-present humiliation of the thousands of Italians held in subjugation by Austria, the soul-stirring appeal for Italian unity and the comprehension that their liberty was in danger, led the nation irresistibly to an espousal of the cause of the Allies; and on May 20, 1915, when the Russians were being pushed back through Galicia, when the war was turning against the Allies, and when there was the least chance of her being on the winning side, Italy entered the lists to fight for the cause of civilization.

For over three years she waged a hard and desperate battle along a frontier of 484 miles—a line longer than the line on the western front—on the mountain tops, in the rugged passes, upon the plains, and against an enemy intrenched in strong places, seasoned to campaigning, and flushed with victory. She fought practically alone and unaided, receiving but scant praises for her victories and unjust criticism for every setback, and she drew upon her men and boys without stint.

Five million two hundred and fifty thousand of her sons were in the service. She was the only nation that called to the colors all of her available manhood. She was the only nation that had under fire for the period of a year her boys of 19, the only nation that had under fire her boys of 18, and the only nation that mobilized her youth of 17.

She sent to France 250,000 soldiers, where they fought for over two years.

She sent 60,000 soldiers to the support of the allied armies in Macedonia.

She sent 250,000 men to Albania against the invasion of the Austrians.

She sent 40,000 soldiers to the support of Gen. Allenby and the British forces in Palestine.

She sent 250,000 construction men to France, where they labored behind the lines for two years.

Her losses were enormous—560,000 killed and over 1,000,000 wounded, a greater percentage than that of any of the allied nations.

The heroism and valor of the Italian troops and the importance of their part in the struggle entitle them to much more recognition than they have received.

The setback they received in the Battle of Caporetto was similar to that of the French when they were driven back to the Marne, but despite the overwhelming forces of the enemy and the disheartening and depressing circumstances under which they fought they stemmed the tide.

The Italian armies were rallied between the Piave and on a line from Mount Grappa across the Asiago Plateau. They were literally fighting with their back to a precipice, for when they finally stopped the Austrian drive they were on the last ridge of the plateau. Four thousand feet below them lay the Venetian plains and beyond it the most prosperous section of Italy, whose capture meant the death knell of Italy.

In 1918, when we were all in despair because month after month and day after day reports came to us of allied defeat, the first note of cheer came when the Italians in June drove the Huns back across the Piave, leaving 46,000 prisoners.

The supreme triumph for Italy and one of the crushing blows to the Central Empires was the final battle in October, 1918, when, after four days of desperate fighting, the Austrian Army surrendered to the victorious Italian Army. The Italian losses in that battle were over 70,000.

Italy paid a greater price for world democracy than any other nation. She is entitled to receive from us and from the other allied nations unstinted support of all of her just claims.

We, as Americans, should have a keen sympathy and a spirit of friendship for the aspirations of the nation that played such an important part in the world struggle—a nation so imbued with the principles of democratic civilization and to which so many of our splendid citizens are bound by the ties of homeland.

Italy asks that the principle of self-determination shall be applied to Fiume, and that her most prosperous Provinces shall hereafter be free from the ever-present menace of attack from the eastern shores of the Adriatic.

For over a century Fiume and its adjacent territory have been independent and entitled to separate representation in the Hungarian Parliament. Its population is almost entirely Italian, all of its officials are Italian, and the people have without dissenting voice expressed their desire to be united with Italy. The fact that an extension of the boundaries of Italy to include Fiume will include some of the former subjects of Austria does not present a logical objection. A somewhat similar situation exists as in the case of Alsace-Lorraine. The Italians are seeking to have returned to them territory which was taken from them by force. Some of the territory has been populated by foreign peoples, as in the case of Alsace-Lorraine the Germans populated those Provinces with Germanic immigrants after seizing them from France. No one questions the right of France to

a restoration of those Provinces. No one should question the right of Italy to seek the restoration of Fiume.

It ill becomes the President of the United States to assume to dictate to a nation that suffered as Italy has suffered that she shall not assert her just claims. For years she has been compelled to witness her own people in the Provinces taken from her by Austria subjected to oppression, indignities, and cruelties; she was compelled to submit because she was smaller and weaker than her arrogant and powerful neighbor. Now, when she has won the right to bring them back to her fold by sacrifice and indomitable courage, she should not be subjected to the arbitrary will of a person on the other side of the world who has assumed to set himself up as the arbiter of the destinies of nations and men.

Her native sons who have come to our shores have contributed much to our national advancement; they have built our railroads, great buildings, and public works; they have done the drudgery and the hard, unpleasant work on our public improvements. They and their sons are working together with all of us to make the land that was first brought to light by their countryman, Columbus, the land of fulfillment of the hope that was in their breast when they landed on our shores. They are contributing, by their intelligence, their thrift, and their industry, to its commercial and industrial greatness. They have become a part of the warp and the woof of our national life; they have given their boys to fight for our flag, and have ungrudgingly given of their earnings in answer to every appeal for support that has been made by our Government.

They have a right to expect that our Nation, that was saved a greater measure of sacrifice by the bravery and valor of their former compatriots, shall have our encouragement and moral support in the attainment of their national aspirations.

Objections to Certain Passport Clauses in Diplomatic and Consular Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 29, 1920.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization I deem it advisable to call the attention of the Members of the House to some legislation attached to the Diplomatic and Consular appropriation act, H. R. 11960. The report of the conferees will be found on pages 6707 and 6708 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for Tuesday, April 27. To the Diplomatic and Consular appropriation bill the Senate added a section providing for fees amounting to $11 for passports issued to citizens and those who have declared intention to become citizens, and so forth. Also the following provision:

From and after the 1st day of May, 1920, a fee of $9 for each visé of the passport of an alien and $1 for each application of an alien for a visé shall be collected and paid into the Treasury of the United States quarterly—

And so forth.

To these provisions the conferees have added others, notably the following:

SEC. 3. The visé of a passport of an alien may, under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of State, be refused if the applicant would be dangerous to the public safety or obviously be liable to exclusion if allowed to present himself at a port of the United States for admission: *Provided*, That such applicant, if rejected by the officer of the United States to whom the application was originally made, may appeal to the Secretary of State: *And provided further*, That the issuance of a visé to an alien by a person duly authorized to issue such visé on behalf of the United States shall not relieve said alien or the steamship company transporting him from the operation of any provision of the laws of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I do not object to any legislation that will keep anarchistic or revolutionary, or pauper, or feeble-minded aliens out of the United States, but I feel obliged to call attention to the fact that the provisions added to the Diplomatic and Consular appropriation bill in conference, superimpose on the immigration laws a plan that will make friction, cause additional and unwarranted expense, and in a way nullify many provisions of the immigration laws.

One may say that the additional expense will be covered by the $10 fee. Perhaps so, but can one imagine the distress of an honest, worthy immigrant boy or girl—say from Scotland—who has paid full fees for the American visé on his British passport; who has crossed the ocean, only to learn at Ellis Island that he must return for want of $60 in cash? That boy has mistaken Uncle Sam's "visé" for Uncle Sam's "O. K." and I for one do not desire to be a party to such proceedings. Consular advices concerning prospective immigrants are all right, but consular rejections, even in so-called "obvious" cases, may be all wrong. Consular advice to prospective immigrants should be helpful, but a proposal for consular "thumbs up or thumbs down" should not be made into law on an appropriation bill.

In my opinion, the way to do this thing is to place the whole immigration and naturalization machinery in the Department of State, where that machinery can operate in connection with the passport machinery. Having adopted a passport system as a war necessity, we are not likely to abandon it. I introduced and advocated strenuously the bill extending the passport control act in so far as it applied to incoming aliens. That extension was granted for the lifetime of this Congress. It was agreed that the Sixty-sixth Congress would perfect a plan for control of immigration and enact same into law before final adjournment, March 4, 1921. To that end your Committee on Immigration and Naturalization has been working on a plan, and has actually under consideration a plan for transfer of the immigration service to the State Department, based on the following, which is one of the recommendations recently made by a subcommittee:

First. The Bureau of Immigration should be separated from such outside influences as have been, are, and will be continually at work in its present environment under the Department of Labor. It is therefore suggested that consideration be given the idea of removing the Bureau of Immigration and the Bureau of Naturalization and perhaps the Bureau of Americanization (now under the Interior Department) to the Department of State, where they could all work in close and harmonious relation with the Consular and Passport Control Service. The advantage of having the foregoing bureaus under one head will readily be seen, as they are all national as well as international in character and service, and would the more easily function under the Department of State than any other. The first two and last branches mentioned are closely affiliated, and it is believed would work to better advantage in a common cause if all were placed under the same departmental head.

The matter of immigration is not alone a labor question; it is a social and racial question, involving our relations with foreign countries and our future. Citizenship is a matter of State if anything is.

Further, the Committee on Immigration has taken testimony on plans for inquiry abroad concerning prospective immigrants.

I shall not discuss here the addition of a $10 fee to the $8 head tax. Neither shall I do more than mention my conviction—and even knowledge—that certain countries are right now issuing passports to dependent women and children to come to the United States, and even assisting in the guise of war bonuses, widows' pensions, and the like, and that they are withholding passports from able-bodied men who have been in the United States and who returned to fight with the colors of their lands when these countries went to war against a common enemy, but who would now return to the United States if they could. Our committee has some interesting evidence on this phase of the immigration question.

I favor a restricted immigration. I favor laws that will deport, and deport quickly, all undesirables. The United States is not ready to shut out all immigrants or to place unnecessary burdens on a reasonable number coming to us.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. T. W. SIMS,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 28, 1920.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I asked the Interstate Commerce Commission to furnish me a list of all railroads that were under Federal control that sought the benefits of the gratuity provided in section 209 of the transportation act of 1920, by which the war rental or compensation that had been paid, or that was to be paid, the railroads by the Government during Federal control, commonly referred to as the "standard return," was to be continued for six months after the return of the railroads to their respective owners, provided application for such gratuity was filed with the commission by March 15, 1920.

I also asked that a list of all railroads that were under Federal control that did not file acceptances under the provisions of said section 209 of the transportation act of 1920. These lists have been furnished as requested, and under the consent given

me to extend my remarks I am including them in my remarks. I want to call special attention to the fact that the Southern Railway Co. would not accept the subsidy offered it by Congress, refusing to accept unearned money that would have to be provided by taxation from an already overtax-burdened people. The vast mileage owned or operated by the Southern is almost, if not altogether, in the Southland, the land of Dixie. It is most gratifying to the people of the South to know that the management of this greatest of all railroad systems in the South is so fully imbued with the spirit and courage of the people it serves. The Southern has said, in effect, that it will take its chances of survival by the service it renders to a generous and just people, but will accept charity from no source.

I hope and expect that the Interstate Commerce Commission and the State commissions will deal no less justly but gently with the Southern in its efforts to survive this period of readjustment and reconstruction. May I hope that many of the carriers that have filed acceptances will follow the example of the Southern and proudly refuse to receive one cent of the subsidy provided in section 209?

CARRIERS UNDER FEDERAL CONTROL WHICH DID NOT FILE ACCEPTANCES UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 209 OF THE TRANSPORTATION ACT, 1920.

Alabama Great Southern Railroad Co.
Ashland Coal & Iron Railway Co.
Atchison Union Depot & Railroad Co.
Atlantic City Railroad Co.
Augusta Southern Railroad Co.
Baltimore & Sparrows Point Railroad Co.
Beaumont Wharf & Terminal Co.
Bellingham & Northern Railway Co.
Belt Railway Co. of Chicago.
Bessemer & Lake Erie Railroad Co.
Birmingham Belt Railroad Co.
Black Mountain Railway Co.
Carolina, Clinchfield & Ohio Railway.
Carolina, Clinchfield & Ohio Railway of South Carolina.
Catasauqua & Fogelsville Railroad Co.
Central Transfer Railway & Storage Co.
Chester & Delaware River Railroad Co.
Chicago Heights Terminal Transfer Railroad Co.
Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railway Co.
Cincinnati Northern Railroad Co.
Cumberland Valley Railroad Co.
Dallas Terminal Railway & Union Depot Co.
Dayton Union Railway Co.
Des Moines Terminal Co.
Des Moines Union Railway Co.
Duluth & Iron Range Railroad Co.
Duluth, Missabe & Northern Railway Co.
Duluth Union Depot & Transfer Co.
Eastern Texas Railroad Co.
Elgin, Joliet & Eastern Railway Co.
Escanaba & Lake Superior Railroad Co.
Fairchild & Northeastern Railway Co.
Fort Street Union Depot Co.
Gallatin Valley Railway Co.
Gettysburg & Harrisburg Railway Co.
Houston Belt & Terminal Railway Co.
Illinois Terminal Railroad Co.
Joliet Union Depot Co.
Lake Superior Terminal & Transfer Railway Co.
Leavenworth Depot & Railroad Co.
Lexington Union Station Co.
Litchfield & Madison Railway Co.
Long Island Railroad Co.
Louisiana & Arkansas Railway Co.
Louisiana Southern Railway Co.
Louisville & Jeffersonville Bridge & Railroad Co.
Memphis Union Station Co.
Middletown & Humelstown Railroad Co.
Minnesota Transfer Railway Co.
Narragansett Pier Railroad Co.
New Orleans & Northeastern Railroad Co.
New Orleans Terminal Co.
New York & Long Branch Railroad Co.
New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railroad Co.
Northeast Pennsylvania Railroad Co.
Northern Pacific Terminal Co. of Oregon.
Northwestern Pacific Railroad Co.
Ogden Union Railway & Depot Co.
Ontonagon Railroad Co.
Pacific & Eastern Railway.
Pennsylvania Terminal Railway Co.
Pere Marquette Railway Co.
Perkiomen Railroad Co.
Philadelphia Belt Line Railroad Co.
Philadelphia, Newtown & New York Railroad Co.
Pickering Valley Railroad Co.
Port Reading Railroad Co.
Pullman Car Lines.
Reading & Columbia Railroad Co.
Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad Co.
Rupert & Bloomsburg Railroad Co.
St. Joseph Terminal Railroad Co.
St. Louis Southwestern Railway Co.
St. Louis Southwestern Railway Co. of Texas.
St. Paul Union Depot Co.
Sainte Marie Union Depot Co.
Salt Lake City Union Depot & Railroad Co.
Seattle, Port Angeles & Western Railway Co.
Shreveport Bridge & Terminal Co.
Sidell & Olney Railroad Co.
Southern Railway Co.
Southern Pacific Terminal Co.
Standard & Hernande Railroad Co.
Stony Creek Railroad Co.
Sunset Railway Co.
Susquehanna, Bloomsburg & Berwick Railroad Co.
Tacoma Eastern Railroad Co.
Tamaqua, Hazelton & Northern Railroad Co.
Toledo Terminal Railroad Co.
Union Railway Co. (Memphis, Tenn.).
Union Terminal Co. (Dallas, Tex.).
Union Terminal Railway Co. (St. Joseph, Mo.).
Virginia Carolina Railway Co.
Washington Southern Railway Co.
Weatherford, Mineral Wells & Northwestern Railway Co.
West Jersey & Seashore Railroad Co.
Western Maryland Railway Co.
Western Pacific Railroad Co.
Western Railway of Alabama.
Wichita Union Terminal Railway Co.
Wichita Valley Railway Co.
Williams Valley Railroad Co.

CARRIERS FILING ACCEPTANCES UNDER PROVISIONS OF SECTION 209, TRANSPORTATION ACT, 1920.

Abilene & Southern Railway Co.
Adirondack & St. Lawrence Railroad Co.
Ahnapee & Western Railway Co.
Akron & Barberton Belt Railroad Co.
Akron Union Passenger Depot Co.
Alabama & Mississippi Railroad Co.
Alabama & North Western Railroad Co.
Alabama & Vicksburg Railway Co.
Alabama Central Railroad Co.
Alabama Central Railway.
Alabama Northern Railway Co.
Alabama, Tennessee & Northern Railroad Corporation.
Albany Passenger Terminal Co.
Albemarle Steam Navigation Co.
Alexandria & Western Railway Co.
Allegheny & South Side Railway Co.
Alton & Southern Railroad Co.
American Railway Express Co.
American Refrigerator Transit Co.
Andalusia, Florida & Gulf Railway Co.
Angelina & Neches River Railroad Co.
Ann Arbor Railroad Co.
Apalachicola Northern Railroad Co.
Aransas Harbor Terminal Railway.
Arizona & New Mexico Railway Co.
Arizona Eastern Railroad Co.
Arizona Southern Railroad Co.
Arkansas & Louisiana Midland Railway Co.
Arkansas & Memphis Railway Bridge & Terminal Co.
Arkansas Central Railroad Co.
Arkansas Western Railway Co.
Asheville & Craggy Mountain Railway Co.
Asheville Southern Railway Co.
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co.
Atlanta & St. Andrews Bay Railway Co.
Atlanta, Birmingham & Atlantic Railway Co.
Atlanta Terminal Co.
Atlantic & St. Lawrence Railroad Co. (Grand Trunk Railway Co. of Canada, lessee).
Atlantic & Western Railroad Co.
Atlantic & Yadkin Railway Co.
Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Co.
Atlantic Northern Railway Co.
Atlantic, Waycross & Northern Railroad Co.
Augusta & Summerville Railroad Co.
Augusta Union Station Co.
Baltimore & Ohio Railroad.
Baltimore & Ohio Chicago Terminal Railroad Co.
Baltimore, Chesapeake & Atlantic Railway Co.
Baltimore Steam Packet Co.
Bangor & Aroostook Railroad Co.
Barnegat Railroad Co.
Barre & Chelsea Railroad Co.
Bartlett Western Railway.
Bath & Hammondsport Railroad Co.
Bauxite & Northern Railway Co.
Bay City Terminal Railway Co.
Beaumont, Sour Lake & Western Railway Co.
Beaver Dam Railroad Co.
Belington & Northern Railroad Co.
Belt Line Railway Co.
Bennettsville & Cheraw Railroad Co.
Big Fork & International Falls Railway Co.
Billings & Central Montana Railway Co.
Bingham & Garfield Railway Co.
Birmingham & Northwestern Railway Co.
Birmingham & Southeastern Railway Co.
Birmingham Terminal Co.
Black Hills & Fort Pierre Railroad Co.
Bloomsburg & Sullivan Railroad Co.
Blue Ridge Railway Co.
Boston & Maine Railroad.
Boston Terminal Co.
Bowdon Railway Co.
Boyne City, Gaylord & Alpena Railroad Co.
Bridgton & Saco River Railroad Co.
Brooklyn Eastern District Terminal.
Brownwood North & South Railway Co.
Buffalo & Susquehanna Railroad Corporation.
Buffalo Creek Railroad Co. (Erie Railroad Co. and Lehigh Valley Railroad Co., joint lessees).
Buffalo, Rochester & Pittsburgh Railway Co.
Bullfrog Goldfield Railroad Co.
Burlington South Chicago Terminal Railroad Co.
Calumet Western Railway Co.
Camas Prairie Railroad Co.
Campbells Creek Railroad Co.
Cape Girardeau Northern Railway Co.
Carolina & Northeastern Railroad Co.
Carolina & Northwestern Railway Co.
Carolina Railroad Co.
Carolina & Tennessee Southern Railway Co.

Carrollton & Worthville Railroad Co.
Carthage & Pinehurst Railroad Co.
Central California Traction Co.
Central Elevator & Warehouse Co.
Central Indiana Railway Co.
Central of Georgia Railway Co.
Central New England Railway Co.
Central New York Southern Railroad Corporation.
Central Railroad Co. of New Jersey.
Central Union Depot & Railway Co. of Cincinnati.
Central Vermont Railway Co.
Central Vermont Transportation Co.
Central West Virginia & Southern Railroad Co.
Champlain Transportation Co.
Charleston & Western Carolina Railway Co.
Charleston Terminal Co.
Charleston Union Station Co.
Charlotte, Monroe & Columbia Railroad Co.
Chartiers Southern Railway Co.
Chattahoochee Valley Railway Co.
Chattanooga Station Co.
Cherry Tree & Dixonville Railroad Co.
Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co.
Chesapeake & Ohio Northern Railway Co.
Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co. of Indiana.
Chesapeake Steamship Co.
Chesapeake Western Railway.
Chesterfield & Lancaster Railroad Co.
Chicago & Alton Railroad Co.
Chicago & Eastern Illinois Railroad Co.
Chicago & Erie Railroad Co.
Chicago & Kalamazoo Terminal Railroad Co.
Chicago & North Western Railway Co.
Chicago & Western Indiana Railroad Co.
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Co.
Chicago, Detroit & Canada Grand Trunk Junction Railroad Co.
Chicago Great Western Railroad Co.
Chicago, Indianapolis & Louisville Railway Co.
Chicago Junction Railway Co.
Chicago, Kalamazoo & Saginaw Railway Co.
Chicago, Memphis & Gulf Railroad Co.
Chicago, Milwaukee & Gary Railway Co.
Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co.
Chicago, New York & Boston Refrigerator Co.
Chicago, Peoria & St. Louis Railroad Co.
Chicago River & Indiana Railroad Co.
Chicago, Rock Island & Gulf Railway Co.
Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway Co.
Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha Railway Co.
Chicago, Terre Haute & Southeastern Railway Co.
Chicago Tunnel Co.
Chicago Union Station Co.
Chicago Warehouse & Terminal Co.
Chicago, West Pullman & Southern Railroad Co.
Cincinnati, Burnside & Cumberland River Railway Co.
Cincinnati, Indianapolis & Western Railroad Co.
Cincinnati, Lebanon & Northern Railway Co.
Cincinnati Northern Railroad Co.
Cincinnati, Saginaw & Mackinaw Railroad Co. (The Grand Trunk Railway Co. of Canada, lessee).
City of Prineville Railway.
Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis Railway Co.
Coal & Coke Railway Co.
Coal Belt Electric Railway Co.
Colorado & Southern Railway Co.
Colorado-Kansas Railway Co.
Colorado Springs & Cripple Creek District Railway Co.
Columbia Union Station Co.
Connecting Terminal Railroad Co.
Cooperstown & Charlotte Valley Railroad Co.
Copper Range Railroad Co.
Copper River & Northwestern Railway Co.
Coudersport & Port Allegany Railroad Co.
Cumberland & Manchester Railroad Co.
Cumberland & Pennsylvania Railroad Co.
Cumberland Railroad Co.
Cumberland Railway Co.
Cumberland Northern Railroad Co.
Cumberland Valley & Martinsburg Railroad Co.
Danville & Western Railway Co.
Davenport, Rock Island & Northwestern Railway Co.
Dayton & Union Railroad Co.
Dayton, Toledo & Chicago Railway Co.
Deadwood Central Railroad Co.
Deering Southwestern Railway.
Delaware & Hudson Co.
Delaware & Northern Railroad Co.
Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Co.
Delaware Valley Railway Co.
Delray Connecting Railroad Co.
Delta Southern Railway
Denison & Pacific Suburban Railway Co.
Denver & Rio Grande Railroad Co.
Denver & Salt Lake Railroad Co.
Denver Union Terminal Railway Co.
Des Chutes Railroad Co.
Detroit & Huron Railway Co.
Detroit & Mackinac Railway Co.
Detroit & Toledo Shore Line Railroad Co.
Detroit, Bay City & Western Railroad Co.
Detroit, Grand Haven & Milwaukee Railway Co.
Detroit Terminal Railroad Co.
Detroit, Toledo & Ironton Railroad Co.
Duluth & Northeastern Railroad Co.
Duluth & Superior Bridge Co.
Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic Railway Co.
Duluth Terminal Railway Co.
Dunleith & Dubuque Bridge Co.
Durham & Southern Railway Co.
Durham Union Station Co.
East & West Coast Railway.
East St. Louis Connecting Railway Co.
East Tennessee & Western North Carolina Railroad Co.
Elberton & Eastern Railroad Co.
Electric Short Line Railway Co.
Electric Short Line Terminal Co.
Elkin & Alleghany Railroad Co.
El Paso & Southwestern Co.
Emmitsburg Railroad Co.
Ensley Southern Railway Co.
Erie Railroad Co.
Erie Terminals Railroad Co.
Ettrick & Northern Railroad Co.
Evansville & Indianapolis Railroad Co.
Farmers' Grain & Shipping Co.
Fernwood & Gulf Railroad Co.
Flint River & Northeastern Railroad Co.
Florida Central & Gulf Railway.
Florida East Coast Railway Co.
Fort Dodge, Des Moines & Southern Railroad Co.
Fort Smith, Subiaco & Rock Island Railroad Co.
Fort Worth & Denver City Railway Co.
Fort Worth & Denver Terminal Railway Co.
Fort Worth & Rio Grande Railway Co.
Fort Worth Belt Railway Co.
Fourche River Valley & Indian Territory Railway Co.
Frankfort & Cincinnati Railway Co.
Franklin & Pittsylvania Railroad Co.
Fulton Chain Railway Co.
Gainesville & Northwestern Railroad Co.
Gainesville Midland Railway.
Galveston, Harrisburg & San Antonio Railway Co.
Galveston, Houston & Henderson Railroad Co.
Galveston Terminal Railway Co
Galveston Wharf Co.
Georgia Railroad (Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Co. and Louisville & Nashville Railroad Co., joint lessees).
Georgia & Florida Railway.
Georgia, Florida & Alabama Railway Co.
Georgia Northern Railway Co.
Georgia Southern & Florida Railway Co.
Gilmore & Pittsburgh Railroad Co. (Ltd.).
Glenmora & Western Railway Co.
Glenn-Pool Tank Line Co.
Goldsboro Union Station Co.
Grand Canyon Railway Co.
Grand Rapids & Indiana Railway Co.
Grand Rapids Terminal Railroad Co.
Grand Trunk Junction Railway Co.
Grand Trunk Milwaukee Car Ferry Co.
Grand Trunk Western Railway Co.
Great Falls & Teton County Railway Co.
Great Northern Equipment Co.
Great Northern Railway Co.
Great Northern Terminal Railway Co.
Green Bay & Western Railroad Co.
Green River Water Works Co.
Greenwich & Johnsonville Railway Co.
Gulf & Ship Island Railroad Co.
Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe Railway Co.
Gulf, Florida & Alabama Railway Co.
Gulf, Mobile & Northern Railroad Co.
Gulf Ports Terminal Railway Co.
Gulf Terminal Co.
Gulf, Texas & Western Railway Co.
Hamilton Belt Railway Co.
Hampton & Branchville Railroad & Lumber Co.
Hannibal Union Depot Co.
Harlem Transfer Co.
Harriman & Northeastern Railroad Co.
Hartford & New York Transportation Co.
Hartwell Railway Co.
Hawkinsville & Florida Southern Railway Co.
High Point, Randleman, Asheboro & Southern Railroad Co.
Hill City Railway Co.
Hocking Valley Railway Co.
Houston & Brazos Valley Railway Co.
Houston & Shreveport Railroad Co.
Houston & Texas Central Railroad Co.
Houston East & West Texas Railway Co.
Hudson & Manhattan Railroad Co.
Huntingdon & Broad Top Mountain Railroad & Coal Co.
Iberia & Vermilion Railroad Co.
Illinois Central Railroad Co.
Illinois Northern Railway.
Indian Creek Valley Railway Co.
Indiana Harbor Belt Railroad Co.
Indianapolis & Frankfort Railroad Co.
Indianapolis Union Railway Co.
International & Great Northern Railway Co.
Interstate Car Transfer Co.
Interstate Railroad Co.
Iowa Transfer Railway Co.
Ironton Railroad Co.
Jacksonville Terminal Co.
Jefferson & Northwestern Railway Co.
Joplin Union Depot Co.
Kanawha & Michigan Railway Co.
Kanawha & West Virginia Railroad Co.
Kane & Elk Railroad Co.
Kankakee & Seneca Railroad Co.
Kansas & Sidell Railroad Co.
Kansas City, Clinton & Springfield Railway Co.
Kansas City, Mexico & Orient Railroad Co.
Kansas City, Mexico & Orient Railway Co. of Texas.
Kansas City Northwestern Railway Co.
Kansas City, Shreveport & Gulf Terminal Co.
Kansas City Southern Railway Co.
Kansas City Terminal Railway Co.
Kansas, Oklahoma & Gulf Railway Co.
Kansas Southwestern Railway Co.
Kentucky & Indiana Terminal Railroad Co.
Kentwood & Eastern Railway Co.
Kentwood, Greensburg & Southwestern Railroad Co.
Keokuk Union Depot Co.
Kewaunee, Green Bay & Western Railroad Co.
Kinston Carolina Railroad Co.

Kishacoquillas Valley Railroad Co.
Knoxville, Sevierville & Eastern Railway Co.
Lackawanna & Montrose Railroad Co.
Lake Charles & Northern Railroad Co.
Lake Erie & Eastern Railroad Co.
Lake Erie & Pittsburgh Railway Co.
Lake Erie & Western Railroad Co.
Lake George Steamboat Co.
Lake Providence, Texarkana & Western Railroad Co.
Lake Tahoe Railway & Transportation Co.
La Salle & Bureau County Railroad Co.
Lawndale Railway & Industrial Co.
Lawrenceville Branch Railroad Co.
Leavenworth & Topeka Railroad Co.
Leavenworth Terminal Railway & Bridge Co.
Lehigh & Hudson River Railway Co.
Lehigh & New England Railroad Co.
Lehigh Valley Railroad Co.
Lewiston & Auburn Railroad Co. (the Grand Trunk Railway Co., of Canada, lessee).
Liberty White Railroad Co.
Little Kanawha Railroad Co.
Live Oak, Perry & Gulf Railroad Co.
Long Fork Railway Co.
Long Island Railroad Co. (Acceptance filed Mar. 9, 1920. Notice of desire to revoke acceptance received Mar. 15, 1920.)
Lorain & West Virginia Railway Co.
Lorain, Ashland & Southern Railroad Co.
Loranger, Louisiana & Northeastern Railroad Co.
Los Angeles & Salt Lake Railroad Co.
Louisiana & Mississippi Railroad Transfer Co.
Louisiana & Pacific Railway Co.
Louisiana Railway & Navigation Co.
Louisiana Western Railroad Co.
Louisville & Nashville Railroad Co.
Louisville & Wadley Railroad Co.
Louisville Bridge & Terminal Railway Co.
Louisville, Henderson & St. Louis Railway Co.
Lufkin, Hemphill & Gulf Railway Co.
Macomb Industry & Littleton Railway Co.
Macon, Dublin & Savannah Railroad Co.
Macon Terminal Co.
Maine Central Railroad Co.
Mammoth Cave Railroad Co.
Manchester & Oneida Railway Co.
Manistique & Lake Superior Railroad Co.
Manufacturers Railway Co.
Marion Railway Corporation.
Maryland & Pennsylvania Railroad Co.
Maryland, Delaware & Virginia Railway Co.
Marion & Eastern Railroad Co.
Marion & Rye Valley Railway Co.
Marion & Southern Railroad Co.
Massena Terminal Railroad Co.
Maxton, Alma & Southbound Railroad Co.
Memphis, Dallas & Gulf Railroad Co.
Merchants & Miners Transportation Co.
Meridian & Memphis Railway Co.
Meridian Terminal Co.
Michigan Air Line Railway.
Michigan Central Railroad Co.
Middle Tennessee Railroad Co.
Middleton & Unionville Railroad Co.
Midland Railway.
Midland & Northwestern Railway Co.
Midland Valley Railroad Co.
Millers Creek Railroad Co.
Mineral Point & Northern Railroad Co.
Mineral Range Railroad Co.
Minneapolis & St. Louis Railroad Co.
Minneapolis Belt Line Co.
Minneapolis Eastern Railway Co.
Minneapolis, Northfield & Southern Railway.
Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie Railway Co.
Minneapolis Western Railway Co.
Minnesota & International Railway Co.
Minnesota, Dakota & Western Railway Co.
Minnesota Northwestern Electric Railway Co.
Mississippi Central Railroad Co.
Mississippi Eastern Railway Co.
Mississippi River & Bonne Terre Railway.
Missouri & Illinois Bridge & Belt Railroad.
Missouri & Kansas Railway Co.
Missouri & North Arkansas Railroad Co.
Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Co.
Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Co. of Texas.
Missouri, Oklahoma & Gulf Railroad Co.
Missouri, Oklahoma & Gulf Railway Co. of Texas.
Missouri Pacific Railroad Co.
Missouri Southern Railroad Co.
Missouri Valley & Blair Railway & Bridge Co.
Mobile & Ohio Railroad Co.
Monongahela Railway Co.
Monson Railroad Co.
Montana Eastern Railway Co.
Montana Western Railway Co.
Montana, Wyoming & Southern Railroad Co.
Montpelier & Wells River Railroad.
Morenci Southern Railway Co.
Morgan's Louisiana & Texas Railroad & Steamship Co.
Morgantown & Kingwood Railroad Co.
Morristown & Erie Railroad Co.
Moshassuck Valley Railroad Co.
Motley County Railway Co.
Mount Gilead Short Line Railway Co.
Mount Hood Railroad Co.
Mount Hope Mineral Railroad Co.
Mount Jewett, Kinzua & Riterville Railroad Co.
Muncie & Western Railroad Co.
Muncie Belt Railway Co.
Muscatine, Burlington & Southern Railroad Co.
Nacogdoches & Southeastern Railroad Co.
Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway.
Natchez & Louisiana Railway Transfer Co.
Natchez & Southern Railway Co.
Natchez, Columbia & Mobile Railroad Co.
Nevada-California-Oregon Railway.
Nevada Copper Belt Railroad Co.
Nevada Northern Railway Co.
New Bedford, Marthas Vineyard & Nantucket Steamboat Co.
New England Steamship Co.
New Iberia & Northern Railroad Co.
New Jersey & New York Railroad Co.
New Orleans Great Northern Railroad Co.
New Orleans, Natalbany & Natchez Railway Co.
New Orleans, Texas & Mexico Railway Co.
New Park & Fawn Grove Railroad.
New York & Pennsylvania Railway Co.
New York Bay Railroad Co.
New York Central Railroad Co.
New York Connecting Railroad Co.
New York Dock Railway.
New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Co.
New York, Ontario & Western Railway Co.
New York, Philadelphia & Norfolk Railroad Co.
New York, Susquehanna & Western Railroad Co.
Nezperce & Idaho Railroad Co.
Norfolk & Portsmouth Belt Line Railroad Co.
Norfolk & Western Railway Co.
Norfolk Southern Railroad Co.
Norfolk Terminal Railway Co.
North Charleston Terminal Co.
North Louisiana & Gulf Railroad Co.
Northampton & Bath Railroad Co.
Northern Alabama Railway Co.
Northern Pacific Railway Co.
Northwestern Railroad Co. of South Carolina.
Northwestern Terminal Railway Co.
Norton & Northern Railway.
Norway Branch Railroad Co. (the Grand Trunk Railway Co. of Canada, lessee).
Ocala & South Western Railroad Co.
Ocean Steamship Co. of Savannah.
Ocilla Southern Railroad Co.
Ohio & Kentucky Railway Co.
Ohio River & Western Railway Co.
Oil Fields Short Line Railroad Co.
Orange & Northwestern Railroad Co.
Oregon Electric Railway Co.
Oregon Short Line Railroad Co.
Oregon Trunk Railway.
Oregon-Washington Railroad & Navigation Co.
Owasco River Railway.
Pacific Coast Railroad Co.
Pacific Coast Railway Co.
Paducah & Illinois Railroad Co.
Palatine, Lake Zurich & Wauconda Railroad Co.
Panhandle & Sante Fe Railway Co.
Paris & Great Northern Railroad Co.
Paris & Mount Pleasant Railroad Co.
Pelham & Havana Railroad Co.
Penn Yan & Lake Shore Railway.
Pennsylvania Railroad Co.
Peoria & Pekin Union Railway Co.
Peoria Railway Terminal Co.
Philadelphia & Beach Haven Railroad Co.
Philadelphia & Camden Ferry Co.
Philadelphia & Reading Railway Co.
Pickens Railroad Co.
Pierre & Port Pierre Bridge Railway Co.
Pierre, Rapid City & North-Western Railway Co.
Pittsburgh & Lake Erie Railroad Co.
Pittsburgh & Shawmut Railroad Co.
Pittsburgh & West Virginia Railway Co.
Pittsburgh, Chartiers & Youghiogheny Railway Co.
Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis Railroad Co.
Pittsburgh, Shawmut & Northern Railroad Co.
Pontiac, Oxford & Northern Railroad Co.
Port Arthur Canal & Dock Co.
Port Bolivar Iron Ore Railway Co.
Port Huron Southern Railroad Co.
Port St. Joe Dock & Terminal Railway Co.
Portland Terminal Co.
Potato Creek Railroad Co.
Poteau Valley Railroad Co.
Pueblo Union Depot & Railroad Co.
Pullman Co.
Quanah, Acme & Pacific Railway Co.
Quincy, Omaha & Kansas City Railroad Co.
Railway Transfer Co. of the City of Minneapolis.
Raleigh & Charleston Railroad Co.
Randolph & Cumberland Railway Co.
Raquette Lake Railway Co.
Rapid City, Black Hills & Western Railroad Co.
Raritan River Railroad Co.
Rattlesnake Creek Water Co.
Ray & Gila Valley Railroad Co.
Rio Grande, El Paso & Santa Fe Railroad Co.
Rio Grande Southern Railroad Co.
Rockingham Railroad Co.
Rock Island Southern Railway Co.
Rome & Northern Railroad Co.
Rosslyn Connecting Railroad Co.
Rutland Railroad Co.
Salina Northern Railroad Co.
San Antonio & Aransas Pass Railway Co.
San Antonio, Uvalde & Gulf Railroad Co.
Sandy River & Rangeley Lakes Railroad.
Sandy Valley & Elkhorn Railway Co.
San Joaquin & Eastern Railroad Co.
Santa Maria Valley Railroad Co.
Saratoga & Encampment Railroad Co.
Savannah & Southern Railway.
Savannah & Statesboro Railway Co.
Savannah River Terminal Co.

Savannah Union Station Co.
Schoharie Valley Railway Co.
Seaboard Air Line Railway Co.
Sharpsville Railroad Co.
Shearwood Railway Co.
Sievern & Knoxville Railroad Co.
Sioux City Terminal Railway Co.
South Brooklyn Railway Co.
South Manchester Railroad Co.
South San Francisco Belt Railway.
Southern Illinois & Missouri Bridge Co.
Southern Pacific Co.
Southern Railway Co. in Mississippi.
Spokane, Portland & Seattle Railway Co.
St. Johns River Terminal Co.
St. Johnsbury & Lake Champlain Railroad Co.
St. Joseph & Grand Island Railway Co.
St. Joseph Belt Railway Co.
St. Joseph Union Depot Co.
St. Louis Belt & Terminal Railway Co.
St. Louis, Brownsville & Mexico Railway Co.
St. Louis, El Reno & Western Railway Co.
St. Louis Merchants' Bridge Terminal Railway Co.
St. Louis–San Francisco Railway Co.
St. Louis, San Francisco & Texas Railway Co.
St. Louis Transfer Railway Co.
St. Paul Bridge & Terminal Railway Co.
Stanley, Merrill & Phillips Railway Co.
State University Railroad Co.
Staten Island Rapid Transit Railway Co.
Stewartstown Railroad Co.
Sullivan County Railroad.
Susquehanna & New York Railroad Co.
Susquehanna River & Western Railroad Co.
Sussex Railroad Co.
Sylvania Central Railway Co.
Tallulah Falls Railway Co.
Tampa & Gulf Coast Railroad Co.
Tampa Northern Railroad Co.
Tampa Southern Railroad Co.
Tampa Union Station Co.
Tennessee, Alabama & Georgia Railroad Co.
Tennessee & Carolina Southern Railway Co. (Carolina & Tennessee Southern Railway Co.).
Tennessee Central Railroad Co.
Terminal Railroad Association, of St. Louis.
Texarkana & Fort Smith Railway Co.
Texas & New Orleans Railroad Co.
Texas & Pacific Railway Co.
Texas Midland Railroad.
Texas Short Line Railway Co.
Texas State Railroad.
Timpson & Henderson Railway Co.
Toledo & Ohio Central Railway Co.
Toledo, Angola & Western Railway Co.
Toledo, Peoria & Western Railway Co.
Toledo, Saginaw & Muskegon Railway Co.
Toledo, St. Louis & Western Railroad Co.
Tonopah & Goldfield Railroad Co.
Trans-Mississippi Terminal Railroad Co.
Trinity & Brazos Valley Railway Co.
Trinity Valley Southern Railroad Co.
Troy Union Railroad Co.
Tug River & Kentucky Railroad Co.
Tuscarora Valley Railroad Co.
Ulster & Delaware Railroad Co.
Unadilla Valley Railway Co.
Union Depot Co. (Columbus, Ohio).
Union Freight Railroad Co.
Union Pacific Railroad Co.
Union Pacific Water Co.
Union Point & White Plains Railroad Co.
Union Railway Co.
Union Railroad Co., of Baltimore.
Union Stock Yards Co., of Omaha (Ltd.).
Ursina & North Fork Railway Co.
Valdosta, Moultrie & Western Railway Co.
Valley & Siletz Railroad Co.
Van Buren Bridge Co.
Vermont Valley Railroad.
Vicksburg, Shreveport & Pacific Railway Co.
Virginia Blue Ridge Railway Co.
Virginia Southern Railroad Co.
Virginian Railway Co.
Wabash, Chester & Western Railroad Co.
Wabash Railway Co.
Wadley Southern Railway Co.
Washington & Choctaw Railway Co.
Washington & Lincolnton Railroad Co.
Washington & Vandemere Railroad Co.
Washington, Brandywine & Point Lookout Railroad Co.
Washington Terminal Co.
Waterloo, Cedar Falls & Northern Railway Co.
Watertown & Sioux Falls Railway Co.
Waterville Railway Co.
Waupaca-Green Bay Railway.
Waycross & Southern Railroad Co.
West Side Belt Railroad Co.
West Virginia Northern Railroad Co.
Western Allegheny Railroad Co.
Western Maryland Railway Co.
Wheeling & Lake Erie Railway Co.
Wheeling Terminal Railway Co.
White Sulphur & Huntersville Railroad Co.
Wichita Falls & Northwestern Railway Co.
Wichita Northwestern Railway Co.
Wichita Valley Railway Co.
Wiggins Ferry Co.
Wilkes-Barre & Eastern Railroad Co.
Wilkes-Barre Connecting Railroad Co.
Williamson & Pond Creek Railroad Co.
Williamsport & North Branch Railroad Co.
Wilmington Railway Bridge Co.
Winfield Railroad Co.
Winona Bridge Railway Co.
Winston-Salem Southbound Railway Co.
Wisconsin & Michigan Railroad Co.
Wisconsin & Northern Railroad Co.
Wisconsin Central Railroad Co.
Wolf River Valley Railway Co.
Wood River Branch Railroad Co.
Woodstock & Blocton Railway Co.
Woodstock Railway Co.
Woodworth & Louisiana Central Railway Co.
Wrightsville & Tennille Railroad Co.
Wyoming & Northwestern Railway Co.
Yadkin Railroad Co.
Yazoo & Mississippi Valley Railroad Co.
York Harbor & Beach Railroad Co.
Yreka Railroad Co.
Zanesville & Western Railway Co.

The Paper Shortage and the Relation of Advertising Thereunto.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. THOMPSON,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 22, 1920,

Relating to H. R. 12976; the paper shortage; taxing advertising; second-class mailing privileges; and revenue raising to discharge World War extravagances.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, December 8, 1919, Mr. ANTHONY, of Kansas, introduced into the House H. R. No. 10960, to limit the size of newspapers and periodicals entitled to the second-class mail rate.

December 15, 1919, hearings on the bill were held before the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads of the House of Representatives. At the opening of the hearings Mr. ANTHONY made the following statement:

No more critical situation ever confronted any industry in this country than that which the newspaper publishers are facing to-day. I am a publisher myself, publishing a country newspaper, and the situation was forced upon me, as it has been upon every publisher in my part of the country with whom I have come in contact, and at the request of a great many publishers of the Middle West I introduced a bill which you are considering to-day, which attempts to limit the size of newspapers and periodicals to be admitted to the second-class privilege, in order to conserve the supply of newsprint paper in the country, the demand for which to-day is greater than the apparent capacity of the manufacturers to supply.

The hearings which followed developed the fact that the big advertising agencies of the country were quite hostile to Mr. ANTHONY's bill and its suggestion that the supply of newsprint paper should be conserved by a reduction in the size of all newspapers. Many of the larger publications of the country, through the testimony of their representatives, assumed a similar position. Consequently, Mr. ANTHONY's bill is sweetly sleeping in the archives of the committee, done to death by similar agencies hostile to the Thompson bill, H. R. 12976.

January 20, 1920, I received the following letter from a publisher at my home town:

THE EXPRESS,
Defiance, Ohio, January 20, 1920.

Hon. CHARLES J. THOMPSON,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: How about the newsprint situation? Is Congress going to allow the big dailies to hog the trough and do nothing about it? Is there any excuse for a shortage of print paper other than the huge consumption (so shortly after the war) by the big dailies? There was no surplus stock—strikes, shortage of coal have hindered the production of normal supply—hence the situation. With a Republican majority in Congress, no better testimony of the efficiency of their efforts could be recorded as far as newspapers are concerned than the passage of bills now before the House (or Senate) that will relieve the situation. As a Member, it may be possible for your efforts to tell mightily for relief. As a newspaper man, you realize what this may mean to the country. I trust you will do all in your power to see that matters receive the attention they deserve.

Cordially, yours, W. D. TRUMBULL.

March 8, 1920, I introduced House bill numbered 12906, "Providing additional compensation to all soldiers, sailors, marines, and others who served in the armed forces of the United States in the war against Germany and Austria and to provide the revenue therefor."

Realizing full well that Congress would have to tap new sources of revenue if the soldiers of the World War are to receive additional compensation by an act of the Congress, I introduced H. R. 12976, a second bill, to tax advertisers 10 per cent on space purchased in periodicals having second-class mailing privileges and a circulation of 5,000 or more and 15 per cent on advertising not included in the mails and using paper or card-

board. The limitation of circulation to 5,000 or more was to protect the rural press and open the way for a larger volume of remunerative "foreign" advertising to seek their columns.

Almost immediately big advertising agencies, organizations, and their trade journals hurled propaganda against the bill. It drew fire.

Printer's Ink, a splendid advertising journal of New York, sent its representative to the corridors of the Capitol; and, in its issue of March, 1920, devoted several pages to H. R. 12976, quoting freely from Members old in legislative experience, some of whom evidently did not take kindly to the purport of the bill. The bill was introduced as a suggestive measure to guide the committee as to ways and means to conserve the use of paper, cut down the deficit in second-class mail receipts, and possibly curtail extravagant investments in advertising space purchased by those who might have it in mind to use advertising as a means to avoid the payment of excess-profit taxes. Moreover, since it seems that many are grabbing money and indifferent to natural interests, there would seem to be no reason why the ex-service man who served his country should keep his hands out of the game, especially if a way could be provided to raise the money without too great a burden on the people. The purchase of advertising space is a sale, and why should it be exempted so long as it is now proposed to tax other sales throughout the length and breadth of the land? Many classes are thundering at the doors of Congress for raises in wages in the form of the $240 bonus bills, carrying $35,000,000; good-roads appropriations, carrying $78,000,000; additional pension bills for soldiers of the wars of 1861 and 1898, requiring $87,500,000; and, righteously, better salaries for school-teachers. And so it goes. The idea seems to be that the Federal Government can pick out of the air the money to do all these things. Many seem not to realize that the people support the Government and not the Government the people. The big advertiser, it is to be hoped, is not unwilling to shoulder his part of the burden. Congress constantly receives a flood of objections whenever any powerful interests find that there is a likelihood of their domain of activities being called upon to pay, and the Congress is constantly being importuned by interests that want it to do the things that if it does do the people themselves must pay for in cash.

PUBLISHING AND ADVERTISING.

Publishing and advertising now rank seventh in the country's industries, being exceeded only by iron and steel, slaughtering, foundries and machinery, lumbering, milling, and clothing. It is estimated that the revenues to publishers from advertising throughout the United States is approximately a billion dollars per annum.

Advertising may be divided as follows:

Retail advertising, embracing the announcements of merchants, large and small, in their own communities.

General advertising is found chiefly in magazines and reviews and in daily newspapers. Street cars, billboards, and bulletins are employed as accessories.

Mail-order advertising is found in the magazines, the farm and religious press, the newspapers, and in a class of cheaply printed periodicals known as "mail journals," having enormous circulation among people on farms and in villages who are not reached by more costly magazines and newspapers.

Agricultural advertising is similar to the mail-order advertising, and appears chiefly in farm periodicals, and exploits machinery, fertilizers, farm animals, stock foods, building materials, and farm supplies.

Trade-journal advertising appears in the numerous special publications devoted to manufacturing, retail and wholesale, commerce, finance, medicines and the professions, mining, transportation, and so forth.

Periodical advertising includes newspapers, magazines, reviews, trade, denominational, and farm publications, periodicals printed in foreign languages, theater and concert programs, and other publications, of which there are not less than 23,000 of all kinds. In 1914, the year prior to the World War, the output of printing and publishing in this country was valued at $810,000,000, of which it was estimated that fully $255,000,000 represented revenue from advertisements and periodicals.

Advertising in periodicals then exceeded receipts over subscriptions by $90,000,000. Advertising revenues of some of our great publications run into millions of dollars yearly.

H. R. 12976, which has attracted the hostility of big advertising, relates—

(a) To the effect of excessive advertising upon print-paper shortage.

(b) To the $72,000,000 annual loss to the Government in transportation of second-class mail.

(c) To advertising as an untapped reservoir from which the public debt and expenses of the Government might be, in part, reduced.

PAPER SHORTAGE.

Paper shortage is world wide, as evidenced by the following press dispatches, clippings, and comments scissored at random from the public press:

CONTROL OF NEWS PRINT RENOUNCED BY BOARD—ANNOUNCEMENT IN CANADA FOLLOWS COURT DECISION—SHORTAGE WARNING GIVEN BY PUBLISHER.

OTTAWA, ONTARIO, *April 8.*

The board of commerce has announced that henceforth it will not claim or exercise any control whatever over news-print paper in Canada.

The announcement follows the decision of the supreme court in the Price Bros. case, that news-print paper "was not a necessary of life" and that the powers exercised by the board of commerce as news-print controller were without jurisdiction and inoperative in law.

The board points out that the effect of the supreme court's decision is to render inoperative the order in council constituting the board of commerce.

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CLEVELAND, OHIO, *April 8.*

American newspapers will be without print paper at the end of 10 years unless there is conservation of advertising space, declared Jason Rogers, publisher of the New York Globe, at a meeting of the Cleveland Advertising Club yesterday.

"The output of print paper is dwindling rapidly," he said, "and the outlook is that all the pulp mills of the United States and Canada will not be adequate to meet the demand, even if the supply of spruce timber holds out."

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PAPER SHORTAGE ACUTE—UNCLE SAM IS ONE OF THE BIGGEST WASTERS.

More than 1,700 American newspapers and periodicals were forced out of business last year by the shortage of paper. The United States still has about 22,000 publications, but the casualty rate shows no signs of decreasing.

Five pounds of newsprint paper are now needed for every four pounds obtainable. The paper famine has produced famine prices. All over the country newspapers are suspending publication, combining with other papers, or cutting down their size.

The circulation of daily newspapers in the United States now averages 27,000,000 copies a day. Thirty-three pounds of newspaper are being printed yearly for every man, woman, and child in the country. It is an amazing increase compared with the 3 pounds of news print consumed per capita in 1880 or the 9 pounds per capita of 1894.

R. S. Kellogg, secretary of the News Print Service Bureau, says: "It takes 1½ cords of wood pulp for each ton of news print paper. Of the 6,000,000 tons of paper of kinds consumed annually, 2,000,000 tons goes into newspapers. The answer to the news print paper problem is one of forest conservation."

Senator SMOOT is leading a fight against waste of paper by the National Government, whose various departments are printing and circulating yearly about 10,000,000 copies of speeches in pamphlet form.

In three years the Treasury Department sent out 24,058,000 copies of McAdoo's speeches. Among thrilling pamphlets thus franked through the mails is one from the War Department dealing with the library of the Surgeon General.

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PAPER SHORTAGE HITS PARIS—BOOK PUBLICATION SUSPENDED AND PAPERS ARE LIMITED TO FOUR PAGES.

PARIS, *April 10.*

The American newsprint paper shortage is reacting in France, with the effect of materially reducing the publication of new books and making it almost impossible for publishers to issue new editions of either popular, classical, or educational works.

In European countries now it is rare that a person is able to buy a new French book, and when he can, in most cases he finds that the book was printed in Leipzig or in Berlin. Schools and colleges here are having difficulty finding sufficient textbooks for their students, while the price of dictionaries has quadrupled in the last year.

French newspapers, which are limited to four pages daily, are protesting against what they consider a menace to the nation's literary prestige, and call attention to the vast amount of paper used by American newspapers. Until the adverse exchange situation is remedied, however, it is admitted that it is impossible for France to import a large amount of newsprint paper from America or from Canada and efforts are being made to increase the domestic output of news and book print paper.

Members of the Southern Press Association and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and other similar organizations throughout the land have each vainly endeavored to conserve the supply of newsprint paper by mutual agreement among themselves to practice restraint by the cutting down of the size of publications; but the experience of the members of these organizations indicates that their hectic efforts were futile. Notwithstanding the efforts of these publishers to conserve their stocks of newsprint, the big advertising agencies and clubs throughout the country go merrily on boosting the advertising game.

The following news item is a tribute to as well as an example of their unceasing activities and splendid organization:

ADVERTISING CLUBS MEET—TWO-DAY CONVENTION OPENED IN CANTON—300 DELEGATES PRESENT.

CANTON, OHIO, *April 10.*

The Affiliated Advertising Clubs opened a two-day convention here last night with 300 delegates present from Rochester, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Columbus, Hamilton (Ontario), Cleveland, and Canton.

Richard H. Lee, of New York, special counsel of the vigilance committee of the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World, addressed the opening dinner on "Advertising as a business agent."

Dr. Charles A. Eaton, Brooklyn, counsellor, also spoke.

December 15, 1919, Jason Rogers, publisher of the New York Globe, appeared before the Committee on the Post Office and Post

Roads of the House of Representatives, to testify concerning the Anthony bill. I quote extracts from his testimony:

Mr. ROGERS. I have prepared a statement, an analogous report, on the print paper used as in the Federal Trade Commission report, showing that in 1913 the total production of print paper was 1,655,000 tons in the United States and Canada. The total production for 1919 was 2,100,000 tons, an increase of 26.8 per cent in tonnage. Now, in this statement you will find some figures which indicate that the use of print paper in the circulation of large metropolitan newspapers has gone up very materially. All of this detail is taken from the official reports, showing how they have profiteered in circulation and advertising since the opening of the war.

* * * * * * *

I have in this statement a summary showing the use of print paper in the New York morning, evening, and Sunday newspapers, which shows the conservation under the order of the war industries board of the leading New York newspapers. That also shows whether they complied with the law or not. The averages for the first six months of 1918, and the first six months of 1919; also the average for the month of November, 1919. We will just take for example—you have the figures before you, gentlemen. One paper in New York was ordered to use 276.76 columns. During the month of November they used 486.8 columns, and another newspaper was ordered to use 256 columns; during the month of November they used 364.5 columns. And, for the public records, the Globe was ordered to use 65.75 per cent, and during the month of November we used 65.2 per cent, so we have kept inside.

Mr. RANDALL. For November.

Mr. ROGERS. No; all of the time. We started up——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Has the war industries board ceased its activities?

Mr. ROGERS. They ran from August 12 to December 15, 1918; but we are still following their recommendations because it is good business to do so.

Mr. MADDEN. Have you had any opportunity to increase the number of columns, or are you restricting the number of columns because you can't help yourself? I think that is a fair question.

Mr. ROGERS. We can't get the paper tonnage. In 1916 we used 9,774 tons. On October 4, 1916, we told the International Paper Co. to cut our supply, and to allow us 700 tons from that time until the end of the year.

Mr. MADDEN. Let me ask you, if you could get the paper, would you increase the number of columns?

Mr. ROGERS. I would not. I believe this statement is backed up by the record. I have shown the figures. I believe it is good business to help the small publishers throughout the country. We used 7,902 tons one year, and the following year 7,942 tons; and this year we got back to 10,000 tons, which approximates what we had in 1916. I have an advertisement of the Chicago Tribune in the Nation's Business, which is mentioned here, stating that they used 670 tons of paper for one issue of the Sunday Tribune, "while the total consumption of newsprint in Canada with its hundreds of newspapers is 250 tons per day."

On the same day and date Mr. ANTHONY, a Member of Congress from Kansas, gave the following testimony to the House committee:

The CHAIRMAN. To what do you attribute the greatly increased size of the Sunday newspapers, and the greatly increased advertising?

Mr. ANTHONY. Mostly to the resumption of business activities which have been held up because of our participation in the war.

During the war a great many of our business enterprises were directly producing war material, munitions, and now they are going back into their normal commercial activities.

Mr. DUNBAR. Have you heard any suggestion that a good deal of these advertisements are the results of a desire to spend money in order to avoid excess-profits taxes?

Mr. ANTHONY. I have heard such talk, and I have also heard criticism that much of the size of the metropolitan papers was due to the advertisement of articles which could be denominated luxuries more than as necessities, and due to the fact that there is a great deal of money in the country.

Mr. MADDEN. After all, this is what you have heard, and it is not what you know, based on facts.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all?

Mr. ANTHONY. I think that the situation is analogous, exactly, to the state that would confront us if we had only so much flour for our millions of people, and some people would try to grab all of it. Now, we have just so much news print, and the big publishers are trying to grab all of that paper. If certain people should undertake to get all of the flour, we would hang them, or prevent them from obtaining the flour by some drastic penalty. Now, the same situation applies here to the news print, and the Government should protect the small publishers.

Mr. Rogers and Mr. ANTHONY are both newspaper publishers. They deal with the situation relating to the scarcity of news print paper from the viewpoint of men actually confronted by serious conditions.

Newspaper publishers seem to think that the extraordinary sale of advertising space has some bearing on the paper shortage. Some even go so far as to state that advertising is being purchased by some who would evade the payment of the Federal excess-profits tax. The testimony of J. Medill Patterson, managing editor of the Chicago Tribune, along this line is illuminating. The statements of Arthur J. Baldwin are also interesting. He represents the McGraw-Hill Co., of New York, publishers of engineering journals.

STATEMENT BY MR. J. MEDILL PATTERSON, MANAGING EDITOR FOR THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE.

Mr. PATTERSON. Since the 1st of October we have cut 2,500 columns of advertising out of our paper. Now, the result of this is, to a considerable extent, in our city, and it is the same in all towns, that the advertiser that we have refused has gone across the street and used another newspaper. The result is that the other paper, the smaller paper that has not had so much advertising, takes on more advertising, and consequently consumes more white paper, with the result that there is not very much of a saving. The advertisers are now advertising very heavily on account of the excess-profits tax.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you think that the trade generally is using that means to reduce the excess-profits tax?

Mr. PATTERSON. I think everybody is doing it, including the newspapers.

Mr. SANDERS. You would not say that they are dissipating their profits, but it is because it is good business policy.

Mr. PATTERSON. And they can get it off of their taxes.

Mr. SANDERS. You don't know the names of any of those people; they say that it is a good investment; that next year maybe the taxes will be less, and they will have good will.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you think there is a good deal of that being done to save excess-profits taxes?

Mr. PATTERSON. I think so. I think they are willing to let the Government pay their advertising bill.

Mr. HARDY. They are not doing it in order to spend the money to prevent the Government from obtaining the taxes, but they are giving the newspapers money, buying advertising from the newspaper because it is a good investment, advertising at 50 cents on the dollar.

Mr. PATTERSON. That is it, exactly.

Mr. HARDY. As a matter of fact, they are building up a business now, and they are making a lot of profit, and it will continue to roll around until the first thing they know they will have a very large amount of business.

Mr. PATTERSON. That is true. They are building up a trade-mark, or good will, for years to come. They can do it this year and do it more cheaply.

The CHAIRMAN They can do that because half of the money comes out of the Government.

STATEMENT OF MR. ARTHUR J. BALDWIN, REPRESENTING M'GRAW-HILL CO., PUBLISHERS OF ENGINEERING PUBLICATIONS.

Mr. BALDWIN. I do think that it would help a good deal if you abolished that surplus-profits tax and raised the tax in some other way.

There is another reason for that: Not only that it encourages advertisements, as I have said, but for this reason: It discourages any new enterprises. Now, ordinarily, if you want to go into business—men go into business to make money. Here is a great opportunity to make money in manufacturing newsprint paper; but it takes a couple of million dollars to do it. Not everybody has $2,000,000 to spend; the man who has that much is a man with considerable income. Now, if he takes $2,000,000, and if the taxes are so laid that he can only make a limited amount for himself in the first instance—which will be the effect of the surplus-profits tax—and then if a large part of that return to him is taken away by the income tax, so that all the enterprise will return to him is 6 per cent, then instead of going into the newsprint manufacture he will probably invest in current bonds. That is one of the respects in which great harm is being done in industry, because everything is being done to confirm existing monopolies, because it is very hard for a new man to get into business now.

Mr. MADDEN. Your idea, then, is that the effect of that is to take away the incentive to enterprise?

Mr. BALDWIN. Yes; to take away the incentive to enterprise. There is no greater field to-day for making money than in the manufacture of paper, because paper can be made from various things; it can be made from cotton; it can be made from wheat straw; it can be made from pulp wood, or from southern pine. The only thing is, when you start in a new enterprise, it takes initiative, and capital is not going into a thing unless there is going to be some return; and the incentive is cut off now by our system of taxation—unwittingly, of course—so that I believe nothing further can be done along this line.

Instead of restricting all the while, this occurs to me as a better idea: If you want to conserve sugar, for example, you would not enact a law that no hotel in Washington could accommodate more than 25 guests; and yet that is practically the effect of what this bill says to the advertiser, when you say that the periodicals shall only take so many advertisers and that the rest can shift for themselves.

Mr. MADDEN. The excess-profits tax was a feature of the war, of course?

Mr. BALDWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MADDEN. Everybody in public life realized—that is, everybody here realized—that excessive prices were being charged for everything being furnished to the Government during the war; and you could not stop them from making the excessive charge, but you could take it away from them.

Mr. BALDWIN. Well, I think that bill should be entitled "An act to confirm existing monopolies." You say, "We will not prevent his making profits, but we will take away his profits when made"; and that has a tendency to confirm monopolies, because, in the long run, the laws of economics, if you will let them operate, will work out so as to develop the industry in the proper way and to bring about new enterprises.

WOOD PULP AND THE TRUSTS.

"If the price of newsprint is to be kept at a reasonable figure," says J. H. Thickens, a chemical engineer in forest products, "more efficient methods of converting spruce into pulp must be developed or else a cheaper wood substituted for the former."

A letter addressed to me from the Bureau of Standards, Department of Commerce, gives accurate information concerning various raw materials that may be manufactured into paper, and indicates that ground wood pulp and sulphite wood pulp is being used in the manufacture of grades of paper other than newsprint. Therefore a reduction in the consumption of calendared, book, and various other papers used in magazines, books, and periodicals other than newspapers will indirectly affect the newspaper print supply by conserving the use of the raw materials from which paper in general is manufactured. The letter has a scientific bearing on this question, and reads as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
BUREAU OF STANDARDS,
Washington, April 9, 1920.

Hon. CHARLES J. THOMPSON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: 1. I have received your letter of April 7 in reference to the use of spruce wood for newsprint. I will be glad to give you information in regard to the wood used in the manufacture of newsprint.

2. It is to be noted that before the manufacture of newsprint is possible the wood must be converted into pulp. In general, newsprint is made of a mixture of two wood pulps, which are "ground-wood" pulp and "sulphite" pulp. These are used in approximately the proportion of three to one. Ground-wood pulp is the cheaper of the two, and is used to make the body of the sheet, while the sulphite pulp is strong, and gives the necessary strength to the paper.

3. In the "ground-wood" process the logs, after being barked, are placed against a rotating stone roll and the fibers or slivers of wood are ground off from the log. The fibers are then washed and screened and are ready for mixture with sulphite pulp. In the case of the "sulphite" process, the logs, after being barked, are chipped into small pieces, placed in a large vertical boiler, and cooked with an acid cooking liquor under steam pressure. After cooking, the fibers are washed, screened, and bleached, and are ready for the manufacture into paper.

4. Although the greater part of the ground wood manufactured is used in the production of newsprint, there is also a vast quantity of it used in wall paper, box board, wall board, and container board. Although quite a large proportion of sulphite pulp is used in the manufacture of newsprint, the greater part of it is used with other fibers in the manufacture of book and printing papers and similar grades of paper. It is therefore to be noted that the newsprint manufacturer is not the only consumer of ground-wood and sulphite-wood pulp.

5. In 1911, 85 per cent of the wood used in the ground-wood process was spruce However, it has been found by the Department of Agriculture that various spruces, firs, and hemlocks of the West not now being used to any very great extent can be converted into ground-wood pulp. Color is the chief consideration and some of these woods, including jack pine, are not very suitable for newsprint. However, these can be used very effectively for box boards and the like. This would relieve the demand for spruce for newsprint.

6. In 1911, 59 per cent of the wood used in the sulphite process was spruce. The remainder was hemlock balsam, white fir, and sawmill waste. These woods, other than spruce, could be used possibly to a greater degree for news print, thus permitting the spruce wood to be used for other papers.

7. It seems possible that the use of spruce for ground-wood and sulphite-wood pulp began because of the plentiful supply or availability of spruce and the ease of conversion of this wood. It has been demonstrated by the Department of Agriculture (and published in their bulletins 343 and 624), that other woods may be used. It is to be noted, however, that the woods available as a substitute for spruce are, in general, in the West, while the pulp mills are in the East and North. In the West, on the national forest, there is cheap timber and water power which would be available. At the same time it would take from one to two years to build the necessary mills in the vicinity of the national forest.

8. During the past few years a large number of grasses or fibrous materials have been suggested and tested as paper-making materials. Although most of these materials can be made into paper it is a question whether it is commercially and economically feasible. Most of the attempts in the past have failed on a commercial basis, due to the excessive cost of collecting the raw material and converting it into pulp. The yield of paper-making fibers is also quite low. The chief factor in favor of such materials is that they are fast-growing materials, and in some cases are crop wastes. This factor is generally counterbalanced by their bulkiness, low yield, and cost of conversion. These materials might possibly be used for low-grade papers, and thus relieve the demand for spruce wood.

9. It is my opinion that the use of the woods in the West would be of considerable assistance at the present time in relieving the demand for wood pulp. In addition to this, a knowledge of the cause of the decay of wood and wood pulp would be very beneficial, since there is an estimated loss of $5,000,000 a year from this cause.

10. It is hoped that this information will be of some assistance to you and that if there is any further data you desire that I can give you, that you will call upon me.

Respectfully,

A. C. BROWN,
For the Director.

Investigations concerning the newsprint-paper situation have been conducted by the Sixtieth, Sixty-first, and Sixty-fourth Congresses. The most important and thorough investigation was held during April and May, 1908, by a select committee of six Members of the House of Representatives.

Hon. JAMES R. MANN was a member and chairman. The testimony and hearings of that investigation have been handed down to posterity in the form of six volumes of approximately 600 pages each, closely printed, and in size 6 by 9 inches. Mr. MANN is a Member of the present Sixty-sixth Congress. On the floor of the House recently he spoke on the subject of the print-paper situation. He is perhaps the best posted man in Congress on the subject.

He said, in part:

The situation concerning print paper in the United States to-day is very deplorable. Whether it can be remedied by a more equitable distribution I do not undertake to say. Newsprint paper is made out of ground pulp wood. Ground pulp wood is made out of spruce wood, in the main, with some balsam fir used with the mixture.

Spruce wood is very limited in area in the eastern portion of the United States. It does not do very much good to have large quantities of spruce wood on the Pacific coast or up in Alaska, because freight rates become almost prohibitive. The great supply of spruce wood on this continent is in Canada. Immense forests of spruce wood are there, and the paper mills supplying the newsprint paper for the United States are located principally in Maine, New York, Wisconsin, and Canada. Up to a few years ago we had a tariff on print paper of $6 a ton.

When the Underwood tariff law was passed it took off the duty entirely on print paper of a value of less than $2.50 a hundred. The result of all this has been that the paper manufacturers on the one hand have been afraid to establish new manufacturing plants in the United States because their supply of pulp wood would have to come from Canada, and they were afraid they could not compete on even terms in the manufacture of newsprint paper in the United States without any tariff at all. For a time after the passage and before the passage of the Underwood tariff law large companies acquired great areas of pulp wood alone in Canada, partly with the view of supplying their mills in the United States and partly with the view of establishing newsprint paper manufacturing establishments. But no one knew what the Canadian Government might do. It might at any time, if it chose, either put an export duty on pulp wood or an export duty on print paper, or an embargo on either one.

I doubt if there is any method of relieving the situation temporarily or immediately, but I think if we could, through international relations with Canada, satisfy the men who are in a position to go into the business and who have the money to put into the business that they could have suitable relations between this country and Canada with reference to the manufacture and bringing in of print paper, so that they would put up new mills in Canada, where the print paper can be most cheaply manufactured by the side of the pulp wood, which they now have under lease or ownership, there would be a plentiful increase of print paper.

Mr. MANN says the shortage exists simply because the demand exceeds the supply. My colleague, the Hon. EDWIN D. RICKETTS, of Ohio, has also made a thorough study of the situation. He believes in licensing the corporations manufacturing paper under a Federal charter. I quote extracts from a lengthy and able speech he made on the floor of the House the 19th of March, 1920:

I have heard a number of excuses made here by Members on the floor of this House with reference to the high cost of print paper, and one of the excuses I heard that seemed to be of some force and effect was this: That there was a lack of wood pulp and other materials which are necessary elements going to make up the manufacture of newsprint paper. I investigated that matter thoroughly, and I found that there was no reason on earth for offering such an excuse as that. Before I have finished my address I will be able to show you why that excuse is not justified. I have never been in favor of licensing the corporations of this country heretofore. I have rather thought that the Government ought not to go that far in controlling these large corporations, which have a tendency to combine their interests and thereby stamp out competition and fix the price of the commodities they manufacture. But the time has come when we must in some way determine who these stockholders are and with what corporations they are connected, and how much stock they have, what their prices are, and how they manage or conduct their business; either that or we must have a strict enforcement of the law that will punish those who violate the principles laid down in the Sherman antitrust law as supplemented and amended by the Clayton Act.

The cost of print paper for the past five years has been a subject of the greatest concern to the stockholders, owners, and editors of local and country newspapers. Many editorials have been written on this important subject, in which a general complaint has been made and in which it has been openly charged that the News Print Manufacturers' Association and the International Paper Co., and other paper companies subsidiary thereto, are controlling both the quantity of paper manufactured and the sale price of the same in the market, in open violation of the Sherman antitrust law, as amended and supplemented by the Clayton Act.

In addition to this general complaint through the press of the high cost of print paper, the Federal Trade Commission made a thorough investigation of the cost of newsprint paper in the year 1916 and in the first part of the year 1917.

As a result of this investigation, two cases were made out by the Government, through the Department of Justice, against more than 50 paper manufacturers, both of the United States and Canada, and on April 12, 1917, an indictment was lodged against these various companies charging them with flagrant violation of many of the provisions of the Sherman antitrust law. This case was disposed of in the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York on pleas of nolo contendere, and the court imposed fines upon the defendants aggregating $11,000. It is needless to say that these fines were immediately paid by the defendant manufacturers. They were glad to pay them; and, while these fines are in a measure only nominal, yet they are significant, because the payment thereof is an admission of guilt on the part of the defendants. Guilty of what? Guilty of violating the provisions of the Sherman antitrust law. When? During the war period.

It is startling, indeed, to note that the paper manufacturers of this country and of Canada were in a great combine during the time that the United States and Canada were engaged in the great World War. Startling, is it not, to think of the fact that men who posed as American citizens and men who posed as Canadian citizens were making illegal and unjustifiable profits out of the newsprint-paper business at the cost of the blood of our soldiers who were fighting our battles in order to preserve our rights. War had been declared by the United States on April 6, and six days thereafter these various defendants were indicted. Indicted for what? For willfully violating a Federal statute for the sole purpose of fleecing the small newspapers in the country out of their money, in open violation of law. No doubt prior to that time they had made millions of dollars in the way of profits taken illegally from the owners and editors of small newspapers throughout the country, located in the smaller cities, towns, and villages.

At the same time the Government, through the Department of Justice, filed a suit in equity against these various defendants, praying for an injunction against further violation of the Sherman antitrust law. The civil case was disposed of by a consent entry in the form of a court decree granting the relief prayed for in the Government's petition. At the same time an agreement was entered into between the Attorney General and a number of manufacturers of newsprint paper which provided that said manufacturers would dispose of their product under certain terms and conditions during the period of the war and for three months thereafter.

Why did these various defendants consent to a court decree enjoining them from further violation of the Sherman antitrust law? It is because they were guilty, and by agreeing to the entry they admitted their guilt.

Of course, the indictment against these defendants and the institution of a civil suit for relief in equity by injunction had for a time the effect of reducing the price of newsprint paper. However, the reduction in price was short-lived. This Paper Trust combination could not forbear taking from its customers unlawful, unreasonable, and unjustifiable profits, and to-day the small newspapers of this country are forced to purchase newsprint paper at any price the Paper Trust may see fit to demand. This great combination of capital is still in the profiteering business. It is still pursuing its method of fleecing the owners and

editors of the small newspapers throughout the country out of their money. They are determined to destroy them, law or no law. The most recent price quoted is 11 cents per pound or $11 per hundredweight. Many newspapers throughout the country, on account of the high price of newsprint paper, have been forced out of business. Many of them have been compelled to combine with other papers in order to be able to meet the price demanded for newsprint paper.

Mr. RICKETTS maintains that the cause of the shortage is because there is a Paper Trust and intimates the remedy is to so amend the antitrust laws now on the statute books as to penalize with jail or penitentiary penalties rather than mere fines. If there is a paper trust might not there also be an advertising trust? If there is a trust or combination in this or any other line it might be effective to so amend the Sherman antitrust law, as amended by the Clayton Act, as to substitute for mere nominal fines jail or penitentiary sentences against offending directors, agents, and officials of these corporations, together with jobbers handling their wares.

ADVERTISERS UNWILLING TO HELP PAY OBLIGATIONS TO SOLDIERS OF ALL WARS.

Advertisers opposing the Thompson bill to tax advertising say it will not reduce space used in advertising and thus automatically conserve paper. If this is true, they must have other reasons for opposing it. Is it because they do not wish their great business to help pay the burdens of the war debt and assist the liquidation of the mighty obligations to the soldiers of all wars, which the Nation is now seeking to liquidate?

Let us for a moment pause and contemplate what our Government as a result of its wars is obligated to pay out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and how a tax on big advertising would help pay it. I will deal only with the items covering ex-service men and pensioners. The total amount estimated to be required for the fiscal year 1921 in the various appropriation bills and for the several departments of the Government for soldiers and beneficiaries of soldiers of all wars in which the United States has been engaged, including the payment of pensions, war-risk compensation, maintenance of soldiers' homes, medical and hospital treatment of soldiers, and vocational education, but exclusive of the construction of hospital buildings and the expense of maintenance in the District of Columbia of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance and the Bureau of Pensions, is as follows:

Payment of pensions by Bureau of Pensions under existing laws	$214,020,000
Additional amount for pensions under Fuller bill	65,000,000
Additional amount required for pensions under Sells bill	12,500,000
Maintenance of national soldiers' homes	5,274,000
Aid to State or Territorial soldiers' homes	1,000,000
War-risk insurance, compensation for death and disability, miscellaneous expenses	197,865,600
Public Health Service, care of war-risk patients	10,000,000
Federal Board for Vocational Education, vocational training	135,000,000
Total	635,659,600

The power to tax is the power to dissipate and even the power to destroy. A mild tax on advertising, say 10 per cent, would have a tendency to teach advertisers to tell their stories in less space and thus conserve the use of paper and curtail the enormous waste now quite evident and admitted. Why should not the Government use its taxing power to endeavor to prevent needless waste of precious raw materials? Are we not the most wasteful and extravagant nation on the face of the earth? And should we not have some of the millions in revenue that such a tax would produce directly and save the people's money indirectly by cutting down the enormous losses sustained by the Post Office Department in carrying advertising through the mails at second-class rates?

ADVERTISING LARGE FACTOR IN TREMENDOUS LOSSES TO POSTAL REVENUES OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The Hughes commission estimated the loss to the Post Office Department by the transportation of second-class matter through the mails at $72,000,000 per annum. I will give you one concrete example to illustrate the point. The Saturday Evening Post, published by the Curtis Publishing Co., at Philadelphia, has a circulation, weekly, of 2,020,930 copies. Each copy weighs 20 ounces—a pound and a quarter. Seventy-five per cent of each issue is dispatched through the postal zones at an average of 2¾ cents per pound—second-class rates. And 2,020,930 copies weigh 2,526,162½ pounds, 75 per cent of which weigh 1,894,622 pounds, which are mailed to various points throughout the land at a cost of $52,132 per week to the publisher. It costs the Post Office Department 8 cents per pound to transport these mailings, for which it receives but 2¾ cents per pound for its services. Eight cents a pound means $151,569.76. The difference between that figure and $52,132, which the publisher of the Post pays the post office, is $99,437.76, which the Government is losing each week; or, the great sum of $5,170,765.52 per year. I think the Saturday Evening Post weighs more than 20 ounces to the issue now. If so the loss to the Post Office Department is still greater.

A copy of the Saturday Evening Post of March 27, 1920, contained 77 pages of reading matter and 113 pages of advertising pure and simple. Its reading-matter pages weighed ½ pound and its advertising pages ¾ pound to the issue. That is to say, that issue of March 27, 1920, approximated 1,010,465 pounds of reading matter and 1,515,697½ pounds of advertising carried through the mails at second-class rates at a tremendous loss to the Government. Do you not think a tax on advertising would curtail the number of advertising pages in the Saturday Evening Post and thus conserve paper, produce revenue to help pay the Nation's heavy obligations, and curtail the loss of money by reason of less weight for the Government to transport through the mails? Why is it wrong to tax advertising—an untapped source of revenue?

BUSINESS MEN OF THE LAND AGGRIEVED AT THE SITUATION.

The business men of the country feel aggrieved at the situation as is evidenced by the following letter reproduced from the hearings recently held before the Post Office and Post Roads Committee of the House:

FULTON, MO., *May 1, 1919.*

Postmaster General BURLESON,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am sending you herewith copy of the Saturday Evening Post by first-class mail. You will see by the stamps attached how much the Government charges the business men of the country for carrying the same weight through the mails. If you will have one of your clerks look through this magazine you will find that it contains 182 pages, 112 pages of which are advertising, 70 pages of reading matter, some of which is worth reading, but very little of which is educational.

It is very hard for the business men of the country to understand why they are so grossly discriminated against in the matter of postal rates. Why the Government should subsidize such publications as this and hundreds of others which are even less worthy is past finding out.

Is it any wonder that the business interests of the country are finding fault with the administration for permitting such unjust and unbusinesslike methods to continue?

Why should the Government run delivery wagons all over the country carrying such publications as this at such an enormous loss? The advertising contained therein will probably assist in selling millions of dollars worth of goods. A large part of these goods will in turn go out through the mails by parcel post, thus imposing an additional loss on the Government which is passed on to the long-suffering business men of the country.

Is this because the business men have no way of protecting themselves, or because the magazines and other publications "put up a bluff" and "sandbag" the Government into acceding to their demands?

Mr. Burleson, this system is not businesslike or just. Can it not be corrected?

Yours, very truly,

THE CALLAWAY BANK,
W. C. HARRIS, *President.*

In this connection the testimony of the First Assistant Postmaster General, John C. Koons, is confirmatory and interesting. Appearing before the House Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads recently, he was questioned and testified under oath as follows:

Mr. RANDALL. You stated that a copy of the Saturday Evening Post had 112 pages of advertising. They get $7,000 a page for that?

Mr. KOONS. My understanding is that the rate is $10,000.

Mr. RANDALL. We will take the old figures, and on that basis they get $784,000 for the advertising in that issue of the Saturday Evening Post, and if they have a million subscribers—and they have got more—but I will say if they have 1,000,000 subscribers, probably that publication weighing a pound, at 10 cents a pound, instead of paying what they are now paying, would only pay out $20,000 in postage as compared with $784,000 revenue in advertising.

Mr. KOONS. I think you have made an error, Mr. Congressman, in the computation of the postage. You said $20,000; it should be $200,000?

Mr. RANDALL. That should be $200,000.

Mr. KOONS. The Saturday Evening Post is running from 180 to 185 pages in each issue. My understanding is that that is the maximum number they can run, that is, that they have facilities to print. I can not say that that is correct, but that is my understanding. It runs 100 to 105 pages of advertising. Their rates were formerly $7,500 a page, and my understanding is now that their rate is $10,000 a page. So that on a single issue of their magazine they receive more than $1,000,000 for the advertising, and on the number of pounds mailed we would lose about $150,000 each issue in carrying it through the mails.

Mr. PAIGE. A year?

Mr. KOONS. No; for one issue. I do not mean that the amount received for advertising is all profit—they receive $1,000,000 for the advertising, and the Government loses about $150,000 in carrying the issue.

Mr. GRIEST. Do you have any information as to the actual profit on such a number?

Mr. KOONS. We have never been able to get that.

Mr. PAIGE. They are perfectly solvent, however, so far as you know?

Mr. KOONS. As far as I know, they are in very good condition financially.

The CHAIRMAN. It seems to me Mr. Curtis testified several years ago before the committee that their profit was $500,000 a year net.

Mr. HARDY. Before the income tax was put on, but since then their profits have increased.

Mr. KOONS. I think at the time this bill was under consideration, in 1917, their advertising rate at that time was $5,000 a page, and now it is $10,000, an increase of 100 per cent, and they are doing, I presume, twice as much advertising as they did then. So that it has evidently increased.

Mr. GRIEST. Of course, their operations are very much more costly.

Mr. KOONS. Yes; their operations are much more costly; there is no question about that.

The CHAIRMAN. But the cost of paper has not increased so much?

Mr. KOONS. No. I was surprised at their testimony before your committee on that.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the news print hearings?

Mr. KOONS. Yes, sir; the news print hearings, where I think they testified they paid less than 7 cents for their paper—perhaps it was 6¾ cents.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it not 5¾ cents?

Mr. KOONS. But on the basis of $150,000 a week loss to the Government on that one publication, the Government would lose approximately 52 times that, or $7,000,000 a year, in handling that one publication.

The Saturday Evening Post was simply used as an illustration of the advertising situation in the United States. I have received many letters from big advertisers and manufacturers condemning my bill, but it is quite evident they do not fully understand the situation in all its ramifications. Many of the letters received, in fact, nearly all from such sources, indicate they have been prompted to flood Members of Congress with "protests" at the behest or promptings of the big advertising agencies whose clients they are.

Letters to me are not all "protests," however. I submit one, which has an entirely different ring to it, as follows:

98 TRACEY AVENUE, NEWARK, N. J.

The Hon. C. J. THOMPSON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

SIR: Please accept my appreciation of your bill to raise revenue through taxing advertising.

In New York City, in the trade publication field alone, there are trade papers running from 150 to 300 pages of advertising and only 30 to 50 pages of editorial. Their sole purpose is evidently to fill the pockets of the publisher, for it is not humanly possible to read 200 pages of advertising each week. Papers like Iron Age, Power, Machinery, and American Machinist are so full of advertising that one has difficulty in finding the reading matter.

Ask your secretary to secure a copy of Iron Age and consider this immense weekly paper with advertising pages five to ten times the amount of reading matter.

Advertisers would certainly prefer this tax to a tax on surplus or individual incomes, and it could be collected more economically and without evasion.

There is too much waste in advertising, too much large space, too much money spent to evade income tax. Trade papers, almost without exception, do not give advertising agencies any commission, so that they could easily afford to pay 15 per cent. Other advertisers would simply use less space and get as good results.

You deserve the approval of all fair-thinking men.

Yours, truly.

MARCH 18, 1920.

REMOVAL OF TARIFF FOR TWO YEARS.

The Ways and Means Committee of the House recently recommended the Hull bill to remove the tariff on paper for two years. The bill passed the House, but it will avail nothing. Who is going to spend $2,000,000 to put up a paper mill and then have only one year to operate? It takes a year to erect a paper mill. What the Ways and Means Committee ought to have done long ago was to revise the taxation system, or attempt to revise it. There is a crying need for such legislation, but, of course, the next Congress and the next administration will have that all to do. March 24, 1920, the Business Men's National Tax Committee held a meeting in New York and passed the following resolution, and cut out some real work for the Ways and Means Committee:

Resolved, That we urge upon Congress to promptly repeal the excess-profits tax, the surtax, and all excise, special, and stamp taxes of the revenue act of 1918, and to substitute for those war taxes a gross sales, or turn-over tax, and a graduated income tax on personal incomes, with an increase of "specific exemptions" on personal incomes;

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

Congress is being criticized for not taking care of this, that, or the other wrong, including the scarcity of paper. The people are even cursing and damning members and departments of the Government for presuming to use print paper in disseminating knowledge, while the advertiser profiteers and howls when it is suggested that he be taxed for good and sufficient reasons. The country is upside down and beside itself. There is a tremenduous state of unrest. Everybody is against that which is and wish to set up that which is not. Big advertising continues to profiteer with impudence and imprudence while there is a tendency to mobocracy and revolution throughout the land.

My bill to tax advertising, introduced as a suggestive measure, may or may not be just the thing to correct the paper shortage; but it is the best thing I have yet seen introduced in Congress by any Member. It is constructive. It is an effort to do something and it is better to do something once in a while, though critics may say you are worng, than to sit idly down to do nothing for fear you may make a mistake or prove to be ridiculous in the eyes of meticulous meddlers.

I have sought to point out that advertising as now conducted in America is wasteful, extravagant, and an indirect loss to the Government from several angles. Why not tax it for the revenue it will produce rather than tax the necessaries of life—the clothes you wear, the food you eat, the refreshments your wife and children take? It is a pitiless and pusillanimous sight, a great Government taking pennies from little children at the ice-cream parlors and soda fountains throughout the land while big advertisers and big interests are in some instances escaping excess-profits taxes through advertising investments. Advertising is profiteering and glutting itself with a consumption of paper. The supply of spruce wood for paper pulp stands to be exhausted in less than 17 years at the rate it is being riotously and greedily wasted. A mild tax on advertising, such as is proposed in the Thompson bill (H. R. 12976) would have a tendency to put on the brakes. A mild tax such as proposed in H. R. 12976 would have a tendency to nurture, protect, and conserve the country press of the land and prevent it from being driven out of business. And advertising would be made to pay its share toward the maintenance of the Government and the discharge of the expenses of the World War which will probably aggregate, when all deficiencies are finally reported in to Congress, the tremendously enormous sum of approximately $61,500,000,000, which includes $10,000,000,000 with accrued interest loaned to our allies.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM D. McKEOWN,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 26, 1920.

Mr. McKEOWN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to see that the bill providing for the allotment of the lands of the Crow Tribe of Indians contains a provision for the sale of the land of deceased Indians to discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines of the late war who will actually settle on said lands on annual payments covering a period not to exceed 20 years, and in this connection I beg to call attention to the fact that on May 23, 1919, during the consideration of the Indian appropriation bill, I offered an amendment to that bill of similar import for the Five Civilized Tribes, to which amendment a point of order was sustained. The amendment offered at that time was as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Oklahoma offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Amendment offered by Mr. McKEOWN: On page 56, after the period in line 6, insert new paragraph, to read as follows:

"'Whenever requested by any restricted allottee of the Five Civilized Tribes or his legal guardian, the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized and directed to offer for sale to the highest bidder at public auction, after due advertisement of the same, such parcels of land described in said request, under such rules and regulations as he may promulgate: *Provided*, That there shall be retained not less than 40 acres of the best tillable land, to be designated by said allottees or their legal guardians and approved by the Secretary of the Interior as a permanent homestead, which shall be inalienable and nontaxable in perpetuity so long as the same is retained as a homestead by said allottee or his descendants: *Provided*, That soldiers of the war of 1917 and persons who become bona fide residents of said lands may purchase the same upon installments of interest and principal, payable annually, for a period not less than 5 years nor to exceed 20 years: *Provided*, That the money accruing from the sale of said lands of the said restricted Indians be paid to and be under the control of the Secretary of the Interior, to be disbursed in his discretion in making permanent improvements upon the homestead and equipping the same for occupancy and cultivation, and for such other use and benefit of such restricted Indians as the Secretary of the Interior may deem best: *Provided further*, That said moneys when paid to said restricted Indians or their heirs shall be exempted from any lien for attorneys' fee or other debt contracted prior to the disbursing of the same.'"

At that time I called the attention of the Members of the House to the great necessity for some legislation of that character. Believing that the Bureau of Indian Affairs could grant relief in this matter by rules and regulations I addressed a letter on August 2, 1919, to the honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs, which letter is as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., August 2, 1919.

The honorable COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SELLS: Pursuant to my recent conversation with you in reference to a plan by which the restricted Indians who have large holdings of lands in Oklahoma may be permitted to dispose of a portion of their lands in order to better improve their remaining tracts for farming purposes, I wish to submit the following observations:

There are many cases where owing to their large acreage of agricultural lands held by restricted Indians, that the Indian is not encouraged to engage in farming himself but is content to rent or lease his lands for agricultural purposes, which results in encouraging the Indian in indolence and causes his lands to be worn out, and will ultimately result in a very great deterioration in the character and value of his

holdings. A man who can only rent or lease lands in the natural course of events will endeavor to secure as large a crop production as possible during the time he is permitted to occupy the farm without regard to the results upon the land. On the other hand, there are in my district in Oklahoma many tenant farmers who will actually live on the lands and are engaged in farming and stock raising, who do not own homes, because they do not have an equal opportunity to purchase the same. They are not able to raise their families and accumulate sufficient money to buy outright a piece of land when the same is put on the market for cash or very short terms. Many of these men have lived in that country for a long time and have been hoping each year that they will have an opportunity to buy the lands they live on for a home. Of course, not all of them can be cared for, because some of them no doubt till lands that the Indian citizen would not want to dispose of.

I recognize the fact that there is no law at the present time by which the restricted Indian citizen could be compelled to dispose of any of his acreage, and I would not desire to ask for any such legislation, but in my judgment there are a sufficient number of them who do desire to dispose of some of their acreage in order to improve and make real homes out of the remaining portion of their allotments, where they themselves can engage in actual farming, and begin to teach and train their children in the business of actual farming and stock raising.

Heretofore the prime reason for the removal of restrictions and the selling of any portion of the acreage of restricted Indians has been the need of cash money to improve his home or to maintain himself during his lifetime, and for that reason there might be some reluctance in adopting the system I propose, but in view of the broad powers of discretion vested in your department in such matters I feel sure that in all cases where the ready cash is needed the same could be forthcoming from the purchase of these first-lien vendor notes by other restricted Indians who have large funds of individual money in the care of your department, and this would result in the returns of larger interest rates and upon security which I would denominate as gilt edge.

The method that I urge is that the restricted lands when sold should be sold to the highest bidder at public auction, with a provision that where the purchaser is a returned soldier, sailor, or marine, desiring the land as a home, or any bona fide farmer could purchase the same upon at least a 10-year term at a reasonable rate of interest. This method would result, in my judgment, in bringing to the Indian a large increase in the purchase price of his land, and at the same time give the actual farmer an opportunity to buy himself a home.

Where the lands would be sold for cash or on short time, the only way that the tenant farmer with small means can buy is to arrange with some person who has sufficient money to buy in the land and then resell it to him upon terms, and in these cases the man who furnishes the money buys the land for a less sum than the Indian could obtain if sold on time, and the tenant farmer oftentimes is compelled to pay a much larger price for the lands than he would if buying in the first instance at auction.

The passing of the title to the purchaser with mortgage or deed of trust as security would place the land on the tax roll of the States, thereby increasing the taxable property and assist in the material and rapid development of the community, and thus enhance in value the security. A liberal policy encouraging restricted Indian holders in getting good homes built, with good machinery, stock, and cattle at an early date, would tend to put them in a position to better take care of themselves and their children against the time that must ultimately come when all tribal connections must be severed and wound up and there will be no more per capita payments to look forward to in the future. Owing to the high prices of real estate now prevailing due to the demands of the products of the farms, it would appear to me to be an opportune time to inaugurate this system. In view of the fact that the returned soldier in Oklahoma, in many cases, would prefer to own a home in the vicinity of his own or his wife's kin people, this system would result in offering to him special inducement to embark upon the career of agriculture and stock raising.

One of the perplexing problems that confronts us as a Nation is the abandonment of farms and the overcrowding of the city, and any system instituted by the Government through any of its departments that would tend to turn the tide from the large cities to the rural communities will pay many thousandfold in final results. Believing as I do that home ownership in the United States is one of the crying needs of the day, I urge upon you, Mr. Commissioner, the importance of this suggestion, in the hope that it will have your favorable consideration.

With much respect, I am,
Cordially and sincerely, TOM D. MCKEOWN.

Failing to secure any action on the part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs touching this matter, I have introduced the following bill:

SECTION 1. That the Secretary of the Interior, with the consent of the Indian allottee, be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to offer for sale to the highest bidder at public auction, after due advertisement of the same, any part of the allotment of such restricted allottee of the Five Civilized Tribes: *Provided*, That there shall be retained not less than 40 acres of the allotment to be designated by said allottee and approved by the Secretary of the Interior as a permanent homestead, which shall be inalienable and nontaxable in perpetuity so long as the same is retained as a homestead by said allottee or his descendants: *Provided further*, That any person who will actually settle on said land and become a bona fide occupant thereon may purchase said land upon annual payments at a rate of interest not to exceed 6 per cent for a period not to exceed 20 years, as may be agreed upon under such rules, regulations, and conditions as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe: *And provided further*, That no sale be approved to any person who owns at the time more than 160 acres of tillable land: *And provided further*, That the moneys derived from said sale, when paid to said restricted Indians or their heirs, shall be exempt from any lien for attorney's fee or other debt contracted prior to the disbursement of same.

This bill has been referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, where I hope the same, in view of the provisions in this bill, will receive favorable consideration.

Mr. Speaker, the enactment of this legislation will afford the man who is tilling the soil and actually farming an opportunity to buy a home, and in view of the restriction against the approval of sales to any person who owns in excess of 160 acres of tillable land will mean that it will be sold to the small landowner, who will actually till the land. I can not urge too strongly that the bill be favorably reported and enacted into law.

The complaint that is lodged against the present method of disposing of these Indian lands is that the land speculator is enabled to procure the lands long before the actual farmer residing on the same is aware that the land is for sale. For that reason no piece of Indian land ought to be sold by the Government without due notice of the sale having been made to the occupant of the land and such occupant given an opportunity to buy the land for a permanent home.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, April 29, 1920.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, for many years the people of the United States have protested most emphatically against the enactment into law of legislation which had never received full and proper consideration, either upon the floor of the Senate or upon the floor of the House, but which is added when bills go into conference.

Amendment 15 of the conference report contained in the bill making appropriations for the Diplomatic and Consular Service and reported in pages 6707 and 6708 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 27, 1920, contain provisos which practically reverse the immigration policy of the United States, and instead of having immigrants examined when they arrive here it places the power to exclude them in the hands of the American consular officials abroad. In addition thereto, it raises the fee for a visé of a passport to $10. The alien when he arrives here pays $8 under the immigration law, and although $10,000,000 of profit above all appropriations have been made from immigration, this additional burden is to be placed upon immigrants coming here when the country is demanding and needing more labor. Exemptions are made for Canada, Mexico, Cuba, and other adjacent territories. In addition thereto, the attempt is made to repeal that part of the act of March 2, 1907, relating to citizenship.

The House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization has been holding hearings and giving the matter very thorough and close attention. This is entirely new legislation, and the attempt is made to establish once again a very bad precedent. From the beginning of this Republic up to date American citizens have always been permitted to leave the United States with or without a passport, in their own discretion. Now every American citizen desiring to go abroad will be compelled to obtain a passport and pay $10 for it. When the attempt was made to raise passport fees to $5 in the House it was ruled out of order by the Chair, both in the Committee of the Whole and in the House, yet this new legislation making it $10, which the House has not had the opportunity to either consider or discuss, is about to be enacted into law unless contrary action is taken by the House when the conference report comes up for consideration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MASON
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, April 20, 1920.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, after listening to the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee tell why we should appropriate three hundred million for the railroads and should not appropriate a billion for the relief of our soldier boys, I feel I can not be silent and must protest against some of his conclusions. He says, "Do you want to reduce the high cost of living?" I answer, "Yes; and I want the soldiers who fought for us to live while we are reducing the high cost of living." We took these boys away from their work and kept them away while those at home were making the highest possible wages. We bring them back and set them going in the race for life handicapped. They ask no charity; they ask to be

treated as well as you treat the railroads in this bill. He tells about the badge of service being greater than the badge of bonus. True, they have the badge of service; they earned it; we can not take it away. We should wear the badge of gratitude. The people believe in it. The gentleman from Iowa would place our boys on a "pinnacle of glory" on account of their sacrifice. Bread and meat do not grow on "pinnacles of glory." Why not let the railroad owners make some sacrifice and live on pinnacles?

You took over the railroads, gave them full pay, and now pay for all losses. No sacrifice there. You passed a bill here the other day turning back their property and changed the law under whip and spur and guaranteed 6 per cent on the value of their property. The value of their stocks has been gradually increasing. No sacrifice there.

Now, it so happens they both appear before us, the railroads and the soldier. Neither one of them beggars, but both asking for justice. You say to the railroads, "Here is three hundred millions on account," and to the boy who asks simply to be made partially even for his losses, "Hop up on a pinnacle." The railroads say, "Thank you, Mr. Congress," and the boy says, "Thank you, I prefer potatoes to pinnacles."

In conclusion, when you made admirals and generals at the close of the war you spent thousands of dollars in increased pay. You put them on a pinnacle, but there were potatoes and bacon and eggs on their pinnacle. We did right. Why stop now? We began at the top and stopped; now I am told we are to begin at the bottom and stop, leaving out the officers. I can not and will not support such a proposition. That would be class legislation of the worst sort. I do not know a single officer who did not make a financial sacrifice. I know a major—I see no objection to giving his name; it is Maj. Ridgway, of the One hundred and thirty-second and part of the time One hundred and thirty-first United States Infantry. He was decorated by our Government and by France for bravery, for actual service in action. He is still seeking employment to support his family. He is not alone; he is one of many.

I know many officers who came back poorer than they went away. They ask no charity. Treat them just as you treat the railroads and make them at least partially even. I am told that it is intended to make a rule which will prevent even a vote on an amendment which I shall offer including officers. I hope I am misinformed, for I feel it my duty to oppose such a rule.

The adoption of such a rule means that by a majority of one or two our committee fix a bill and refuse a majority in the House a chance to amend it so it will include all. This is Wilsonian democracy. I am not for it.

I hold here a letter from President Sperry, of the Private Soldiers and Sailors' Legion. He takes fair ground of an equal lump sum "to all privates, officers, and nurses alike." He pleads for the bonus bill to stand alone, and "treat all alike," and says truly "any attempt to divide the men into classes is bound to have a bad effect." I agree with him. He may be "only a private," but I recommend you to read his statement before the committee for common-sense statement. To include the officers will cost more, you say. Yes; of course. When you declared war you taxed our people billions upon billions in money, you filled over 70,000 graves in France with American youth, you broke the hearts of American women—mothers and wives. If anyone dared to suggest honest and careful expenditure of money, your favorite answer was, "Win the war and damn the cost." Now that the war is won by our soldiers, with the Government pocketbook open to save the railroads from loss, and we ask the same treatment for the soldiers, the patriotic economist says: "We have won the war, and that will cost too much."

Gentlemen talk about liberal treatment given to our soldiers. I am familiar with pension legislation for 40 years. We have not been liberal, either to the Civil War, Spanish War, nor to the World War veterans. Laws are still on our books which discriminate against the enlisted man in favor of the Regular Army. I do not believe we do too much for the Regular Army, but we have done too little for the National Guard, the volunteer, and the drafted man. Please do not tell me we are "catering to the soldier vote." We are appealing to the American conscience. I do not believe in waiting for Decoration Day to glorify our dead soldiers. We can show a greater honor for the memory of our dead by dealing justly with their living comrades. Gentlemen say, "They will spend it for luxuries," and so forth. Well, Mr. Speaker, we trusted them to defend the honor of our country in battle; we ought to trust them to spend the money we owe them.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WHITMELL P. MARTIN,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 20, 1920.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I am most pleased to see that both House and Senate have retained in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill the item increasing the appropriation for the sugar work being conducted by the Bureau of Standards from $20,000 to $30,000.

The initial appropriation for this work was made in 1918, and was inserted in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill by Senator SMOOT, of Utah, and I joined in urging the conferees of the two Houses to retain this appropriation. Subsequent developments have shown that this has been a splendid investment on the part of the Government.

The appropriation for 1918 and 1919 was $20,000, but the development of this work proved of such far-reaching importance to the sugar industry, and the demands made upon the Bureau of Standards were so great and insistent, that an increase of this appropriation became imperative, and the Appropriations Committee of this House, when the matter was presented to them, agreed to raise the appropriation to $30,000.

I have followed this work with deep interest, and at my request the Bureau of Standards has kept me informed on both the scope and progress of this work.

Believing that the country should know of the splendid work that has been done by this bureau with this small appropriation and should be informed of its far-reaching importance to an industry the importance of which is now being realized by the world, I shall give some facts and figures which I feel will prove of general interest.

MEMORANDUM ON THE SUGAR WORK OF THE BUREAU OF STANDARDS.

Perhaps no single world industry has been so completely disorganized and disrupted since 1914 as the sugar industry. About one-half of the world's output of sugar came from beets grown in Europe. With the opening of the great conflict 50 per cent of the available supply was practically eliminated, and the European output is to-day practically no greater than at any time during the war. It is thus not to be wondered at that the domestic sugar industry in the United States was suddenly called upon to increase its output in every conceivable way. The same applied to Cuba and the remainder of the West Indies and other North and South American countries. As a result of this inevitable and necessary expansion, the sugar organization of the Bureau of Standards has had most unusual and unexpected vital demands made upon it for service to the public and to the industry.

STANDARDIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF APPARATUS.

All sugar the world over is bought and sold on the basis of tests on a complicated optical instrument known as the saccharimeter. It permits of quick, easy, and accurate testing of sugars as to their sucrose content. For many years Germany, due to the superiority of her product, has had a practical monopoly on the production of saccharimeters and accessory apparatus. No instruments of this character have ever been successfully constructed in the United States. The making of the difficult optical parts has never been understood in this country. There has thus been since 1914, in spite of the enormous expansion of the sugar industry, no new saccharimeters available. To meet this desperate situation the Bureau of Standards during the war began investigation of the problems incidental to the manufacture of the saccharimeter, such as cutting and polishing quartz, Iceland spar, and other optical materials, and of locating sources of supply for these materials. From what appeared to be a hopeless situation, the bureau was able to successfully solve, one after another, the many problems incidental to the construction of the modern saccharimeter. As soon as this was accomplished the bureau began to readjust and restandardize discarded instruments for the industry, with the result that during the past few months alone saccharimeters, with a market value as instruments of more than $100,000, have been adjusted and standardized and returned to the industry. The value of these instruments to the public and to the industry can scarcely be estimated. At the same time, the bureau has taken up this problem with the various American manufacturers and rendered to them the assistance necessary to enable them to get a start in the manufacture of this class of apparatus. An

American saccharimeter industry will therefore soon become an accomplished fact. So great have been the demands on the bureau for work of this character, and especially for the standardization of saccharimeters, which are vitally necessary to our enormously increased production of sugar, that the small appropriation of $20,000 available this year has been wholly inadequate.

COLLECTION OF REVENUE ON SUGARS.

The Bureau of Standards supervises the scientific work of the customs laboratories of the Treasury Department in the collection of the revenue on sugar, amounting this year to about $90,000,000. In this work it is vitally necessary to constantly maintain the work of the different laboratories on a parity in order that imported sugar will pay the same rate of duty, no matter at what port it may arrive. Such a delectable condition has been brought about, and practically all expensive litigation and possibility of fraud eliminated by maintaining at the Bureau of Standards a check laboratory, where each 24 hours, with every facility known to science, a sample of sugar is tested from each of the customs laboratories. The local tests at the ports on the same sample are required to check with the results of the tests made at the bureau. Ever since 1914 the amount of imported sugar and molasses has been steadily increasing, and the funds available for carrying on this work at the bureau have become wholly inadequate. An increase is imperative or the work must suffer.

SPECIFICATIONS AND DEFINITIONS OF REFINED SUGARS.

The sugar industry is the world's oldest scientifically conducted industry, but in spite of this fact there has never been a set of standard specifications and definitions for the various grades of refined sugar. As a result both the consuming public and the honest manufacturer have suffered. The dishonest manufacturer has taken advantage whenever he saw fit to substitute an inferior product for that which the purchaser would like to have obtained. With a portion of the small appropriation which Congress made available for sugar work last year the bureau set about the difficult task of preparing scientific standards and specifications for refined sugars. At the present time there are more than 40 such sugars on the market in this country alone. The amount of work involved in this task is very great, and a number of difficult research problems in connection therewith require solution. In spite of these facts the progress of the work has been very satisfactory, but it will be impossible to carry the work through to a successful conclusion unless additional funds are available. The establishment of these specifications and definitions seems to be about the only way that the purchaser of sugar can succeed in getting what his contract calls for. The term "refined sugars," covering as it does all of the 40 sugars previously mentioned, is so broad and elastic that the seller is able to make substitutions at will.

STANDARDIZATION OF QUARTZ-CONTROL PLATES.

In order to insure the results obtained in the daily use of the saccharimeter being reliable, the instruments are standardized locally several times a day by the use of standard quartz-control plates. These control plates have a fixed and unchangeable value in terms of sugar and permit of the user obtaining the daily correction for the reading of his saccharimeter. The Bureau of Standards has become the recognized authority for the standardization of quartz-control plates to such an extent that foreign manufacturers send their plates to the bureau to obtain their international value. As a result of the expansion of the sugar industry, the demands on the bureau for standardizing the quartz-control plates of the domestic industry have greatly increased, and additional funds are necessary to carry on this work.

STANDARDS FOR THE ARMY MEDICAL SERVICE.

During the war the use of a number of the so-called rare sugars has enormously increased for bacteriological and medical purposes. These sugars are exceedingly costly and difficult to obtain, the principal reason being the lack of standard specifications and knowledge of their physical constants. It is therefore necessary, in order to standardize these sugars for this work, to measure their physical constants. Once this data is available the manufacturers in this country, who are anxious to develop the rare-sugar industry, will have definite standards to work with, and these costly materials, for which we have been dependent on Germany, will be supplied by a domestic product. This work is so important to the general health of the Nation, and particularly to the Army hospital work, that funds should at once be available to permit of the necessary research.

SCIENTIFIC CONSTANTS OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY.

The fundamental constants upon which the testing of sugar is necessarily predicated, as well as the analytical laboratory work and factory control, have been investigated by the Bureau of Standards as rapidly as funds would permit. The amount available for this work has been growing less and less, owing to the demands for emergency work as a result of changed conditions due to the war. The most elaborate, careful research work is necessary in the determination of these constants. The bureau should have a fund of not less than $10,000 annually for work on sugar constants alone. As a result of the determination of the value of one constant, namely, the 100° point of the saccharimeter, an error of more than one-tenth of 1 per cent was discovered. As a result of this error, the Government has for many years been losing more than $70,000 annually in revenue, and the producers of sugar have lost many millions of dollars. The bureau has restandardized all of the instruments in the United States Customs Service and corrected this error, with the result that the revenues are now increased annually from this one fact alone by two and one-half times the small sum which has been available for the bureau's entire sugar work. All instruments and apparatus coming to the bureau for test and standardization are also now standardized on the new and correct value, with the result that the producers of sugar are obtaining for the first time just compensation for their product.

STANDARD TABLES.

The standard tables used throughout the sugar industry and in analytical laboratories have not been revised in many years. The demands for this work are most pressing, and during the past year an attempt was made to start this work. Lack of funds has prevented its being carried to a successful conclusion.

WORK DOES NOT CONFLICT WITH BUREAU OF CHEMISTRY.

The sugar work at the Bureau of Standards is confined to such physical and chemical work as is incidental to and necessary for the preparation of standards for the Government, the public, and the industry. There is no other known Government activity whose work could conflict with this work. The only other Government bureau which is even interested in the subject of sugar is the Bureau of Chemistry of the Department of Agriculture, which has under its jurisdiction the enforcement of the pure-food law. The Bureau of Standards necessarily does not touch upon any of the problems incidental to the use of sugar as a food, such as the food value of sugar, the effects of adulteration, and so forth. The bureau's work is largely physical, and pertains naturally in a great degree to the determination of the physical constants of the sugars. It is perhaps unnecessary to state that the bureau is not interested in the agriculture of sugar.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. McKINLEY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 1, 1920.

Mr. McKINLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have noticed that the Senate is about to consider the budget bill which passed the House some weeks ago. This leads me to the hope that within the very near future we shall have on the statutes an adequate law for the control of our Government's fiscal operations, a law which will bring income and outgo into a relationship with one another. In connection with the pressing need for such a law I have been very much interested during the last few weeks in a series of articles on budgetary reform printed by the Washington Herald. These articles, eight in number, were written by Mr. Elisha Hanson, formerly assistant Washington correspondent of the Chicago Tribune and now clerk to the Senate's special committee on the budget. They are filled with information which should be of value not only to Congress but the country as well. Although written impassionately and without political bias, they disclose some startling facts relative to the financial history of our country. One of these which struck my attention is that we have never had an administration of either or any party which seriously has given its attention to economy. Congress, although criticized in the press and by many public speakers, is the only branch of our Government, as Mr. Hanson points out, which in the past has effected savings in Government expenditures. Mr. Hanson further indicates

that in the future, as in the past, the people must look mainly to Congress for protection against improper demands of the Government.

THE NEED FOR A NATIONAL BUDGET.

(By Elisha Hanson.)

Article No. 1.

With practically the rest of the world bankrupt or on the verge of bankruptcy, the United States Government will have to take a more drastic hold on its financial resources in the near future if it desires to avoid the same predicament. This does not mean that President Wilson or Mr. Houston, the new Secretary of the Treasury, will have to mend their ways any more than it means that Congress will have to change its ways.

If America is to avoid national bankruptcy, Congress and the Executive must get together on a real program of fiscal administration. The Executive must see to it that its demands for money are cut down to the lowest point commensurate with proper service. Every loose end of governmental spending must be tied up and every source of wastage stopped. Some moves in these general directions have been made but as yet neither Congress nor the executive branch of the Government has grappled with the situation as it should.

BIG INCREASE ASKED.

The war ended, so far as fighting was concerned, on November 11, 1918. Yet the executive branches of the Government which are largely concerned with peace-time work, such as the Department of Agriculture, and which seized upon the war to spread themselves all over the map, have asked Congress to grant them an increase in appropriations over the last year of the war amounting to the enormous sum of $665,568,606.41—a sum almost equal to the total cost of the Government 15 years ago.

Only two departments of the Government—the Navy Department and the Post Office Department—are seeking smaller appropriations for the ensuing fiscal year than they had last year.

Congress is not going to grant this enormous increase in appropriations. That much is certain. According to Mr. MONDELL, the leader of the House, Congress will chop at least $1,000,000,000 off the amount sought by the departments.

NO MACHINERY FOR "CHOPPING."

But in chopping it off Congress will hack here, there, and elsewhere without any scientific consideration of the whole amount of money needed for the operation of the Government and without any consideration, say, as to the greater desirability of an appropriation for the Department of Agriculture as compared with an appropriation for the Department of Labor. Congress has no machinery now for the consideration of such problems and as yet it has not indicated an intention of setting up such machinery.

Congress will proceed to chop appropriations just as it has chopped them in the past. Each committee which considers appropriations will cut down items or eliminate items in the bills before it. But these committees will not confer with other committees, and there are between 25 and 30 of them, all told, which are handling other appropriations.

NINE BILLIONS NEEDED.

Mr. MONDELL, in a speech before the House several weeks ago, graphically illustrated the problem before Congress. He informed the House that for the ensuing fiscal year the United States is facing the necessity of raising the stupendous sum of $9,086,358,574.62.

As against this, the Secretary of the Treasury, in his annual report, estimates the receipts of the Government from all sources at $6,035,850,000.

If Mr. MONDELL'S figures are correct—and it is not unlikely that they may be enhanced still further—and if the Secretary's figures are correct—and it is probable that they are optimistic—the United States on June 30, 1921—16 months away—will have a hang-over deficit for one fiscal year of $3,050,508,774.62.

This deficit is greater than the entire public debt at any time in the history of the country prior to April 6, 1917, when we entered the World War. The interest on it alone will be greater than the amount of money needed to run any one of several of the Government departments prior to our entrance into the World War.

ALLIES UNABLE TO PAY INTEREST.

At the time Mr. MONDELL made his speech it was rumored but it was not certain that our allies and associates in the World War would default on the interest on the money which we advanced them during the conflict and following the armistice. Since then their inability to pay has been made known, and the Secretary of the Treasury has asked authority from Congress to fund over these interest payments for several years, adding them to their total indebtedness.

This means that approximately $500,000,000 in interest due the United States will not be paid during the time of funding, and that the American Government will have to raise just that much additional money by taxation during each of the funding years. The loans to the Allies were made through an exchange of credit. We loaned them our bonds and took their bonds as security. They are unable to meet the interest payments on their bonds, which our Government holds as security, but the United States must pay the interest due to the American people who bought the Liberty bonds which were loaned to foreign Governments.

BURDEN ON AMERICAN PEOPLE.

The longer the Allies default in their interest, just that much greater will be the postwar burden of taxation on the people, and just that much higher will be the cost of living in this country. Historically it has been proved that proportionately as taxes increase the cost of living goes up, no matter how the taxes are levied, and that, conversely, when taxes go down the cost of living will go down.

Loaning to foreign Governments now has been brought virtually to a stop. Except for the food loan to Austria and Poland, it will not be renewed, whatever the demands upon us may be, for the people and Congress have expressed their opposition to further foreign loans.

From the above brief outline it can be seen that the Government faces a tremendous problem. It must bring its outgo within its income. It must make provision for the retirement of the tremendous war-time debt. It must provide for a real control by the Executive of outgo as well as income, such control to be supervised by Congress.

And, in addition to this, it must, as it has had to do following all prior wars or crises in the country, make plans for the funding of the enormous war-time debt at lower interest rates just as soon as business and industrial conditions warrant such a step.

For the first time in the history of the country its financial condition is such that the people are thoroughly awake to the dangers confronting it. The people are willing to help. Congress is willing to help. The President is willing to aid. The problem is for all three to get together. That problem will not be solved in a day or a week or a month. It may not be solved in a year; but it will be solved or we shall go bankrupt, just as other countries virtually have done.

Article No. 2.

Financially the United States to-day occupies with respect to Europe the same position which Europe occupied with respect to us at the close of the Civil War. We have a tremendously favorable trade balance; so favorable, in fact, that it is dangerous. We are a great creditor nation and we do not care to assimilate any more European loans.

At the close of the Civil War the trade balance was against us and in favor of Europe. We owed Europe some money—not so much as some of our financiers would have had and more than others desired. The Government would not have objected to raising additional funds in Europe, but European Governments and European financial experts were skeptical as to the future.

COST OF WORLD WAR.

Thus far and only thus far, however, will the comparison hold good. Bad as the situation seemed then, there are elements in it to-day which make it far worse, notwithstanding the fact that we are a creditor nation and that we have a tremendous balance of trade in our favor.

According to the last annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury, the total cost of the World War to the United States, including foreign loans, was $32,830,000,000.

Foreign loans on October 31 last amounted to $9,406,000,000. If these are subtracted from the aggregate cost, as set forth by the Secretary, the net cost would be $23,424,000,000. But this is a cost which is figured only for the months of actual fighting—that is, from April, 1917, to November, 1918.

Inasmuch as the foreign loans have not been paid and this country must carry not only the loans themselves but the interest due upon them for several years, it is but proper therefore to figure the cost of war at the figure set out by Secretary, now Senator, GLASS at $32,830,000,000.

STATISTICS ON EARLY WARS.

The Revolution, through which we won our independence, cost, in round figures, $80,000,000—less than we spent in any one week of the World War following July, 1917.

The War of 1812 cost, in approximate figures, $128,000,000, or just about one-tenth of what it cost the United States to wage war against Germany during the one month of June, 1918.

The Mexican War cost was only $63,605,621. In fact, during the period of May 1918, to November, 1918, our Mexican War expenditures would have been eaten up in about 36 hours.

The Civil War, raging more than four years, was about as expensive in money as two months of the World War, the aggregate cost of the conflict to the Union side being $3,500,000,000.

No accurate data are available as to the exact cost of the Spanish-American War, but it is safe to say that it was well under $500,000,000.

DEBT TENFOLD GREATER.

These figures serve to show how enormously expensive it was for America to enter the World War to preserve itself against aggression from Germany. They further show that the national debt which has been piled up as a result of the conflict is far greater, proportionately, than at any time in our history.

In other words, while our population now is slightly more than three times that of the country at the close of the Civil War, our debt is more than ten times greater than the debt then.

The annual interest charge on the public debt, as it stood on June 30, last, was $1,052,333,621.15—a sum greater than the total expense of our entire Government for any single year of its history up to 1916. Add to this approximately $500,000,000 interest due from the Allies each year which they can not pay, and our interest obligations alone are half again as much as our entire expense of government before we entered the World War. We must meet these before we provide for our normal expenses.

PEOPLE AWAKENING TO PROBLEMS.

Up until the date of our declaration of war against Germany the average man and woman in this country had never been brought into direct financial touch with the Federal Government. Their pocketbooks had never been pinched. We got along easily by raising several hundred millions from customs, an equal number of millions from internal revenue, and a little later additional millions from rich people who came within the provisions of the first income-tax laws.

The situation is vastly different to-day. There is hardly a man, woman, or child who has not been brought into direct financial touch with government.

NONE ESCAPED TAXES.

There was not a man, woman, or child in the country, who lived one day during the last year, who didn't pay an indirect tax of one kind or another to the Government.

The demand is coming from all sides now for a change in policy, for a reduction in taxation, for a reduction in the high cost of living, and for a more efficient financial administration of our affairs.

The per capita receipts of the Government from taxes and the per capita disbursements of Government funds increased steadily from 1860 to 1917—out of proportion, in fact, to the increase either in wealth or in population, but still not enough to awaken any wide interest in the trend of affairs. In 1860, the year before the Civil War broke out, the per capita receipts were $1.78 and the per capita disbursements $2.01.

GREAT DEFICIT CREATED.

In 1916, the year before the World War broke out, the per capita receipts were $7.62 and the per capita disbursements $7.08.

In 1918 and 1919, however, the receipts far exceeded anything ever dreamed of by American public financiers before, but at the same time the disbursements completely ran away from the receipts and piled up a tremendous deficit, which had to be met by the creation of our gigantic national debt.

During the last 20 years State and municipal taxes have been increasing out of proportion to the increase in population and wealth, and also out of proportion to the increase in Federal taxation and disbursements.

Men who have given study to the problem believe the time is near at hand when there must be some action relating to a division of tax fields, so as to assure the States and municipalities of adequate revenues while the Federal Government is working at the problem of reducing its outgo to a point lower than its income.

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Article No. 3.

The urgent need not only for a more careful but a more scientific handling of Government moneys was demonstrated in the years immediately preceding the World War. During the war, while the whole country was engaged in an orgy of spending, this need was lost sight of. It is more urgent now than ever, and unless a change in policy is effected, national bankruptcy will be the alternative. We can not go along throwing money about carelessly in the future as we have done in the past.

President Taft saw the way the wind was blowing and appointed a Commission on Efficiency and Economy to make suggestions for a change. This commission reported, but Congress, never in a mood to listen to reform unless it has to, needed no urging to ignore the report.

The Democratic Party at its convention in 1912 pledged itself not only to tariff reform but to fiscal economy. And after winning the election the Democrats proceeded to forget their economy pledge just as any party would have done, and as every party has done in the past, when it is to party interest to forget.

FROM ONE TO TWENTY BILLIONS.

Back in McKinley's time we had our first billion-dollar Congress. The country was amazed. In Wilson's first term we had our first billion-dollar year, and we proceeded from that during the war to a twenty-billion year. It will be impossible to revert now, either to a billion-dollar Congress, which appropriated for two years, or to a billion-dollar year, for the interest on our war debt alone is greater than a billion annually.

An idea as to the steady increase in appropriations can be gained from a table showing those made for the Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson administrations, up to and including the year 1919. This table follows:

Theodore Roosevelt:	
1905	$755, 350, 207. 00
1906	752, 163, 780. 00
1907	766, 424, 575. 00
1908	850, 880, 415. 00
William H. Taft:	
1909	905, 132, 383. 00
1910	911, 025, 594. 00
1911	913, 098, 258. 00
1912	925, 695, 713. 00
Woodrow Wilson:	
1913	867, 737, 255. 00
1914	1, 006, 662, 216. 00
1915	1, 052, 848, 682. 00
1916	1, 072, 894, 093. 23
1917	3, 046, 183, 746. 19
1918	21, 813, 356, 508. 39
1919	18, 514, 000, 000. 00

There are many avenues for economy open both to Congress and the administration. Neither the administration nor Congress can effect a complete cure of present bad practices, however, without the help of the other. And it is not unlikely that the people, through the press, will have to come forward from time to time to brace up one or the other in a program of saving.

MILLIONS FOR "PORK."

For many years past there have been annual protests against pork-barrel legislation. The two greatest pork-carrying vehicles in normal times are the omnibus rivers and harbors appropriation bill and the omnibus public buildings appropriation measure. Both ought to be abolished. Until they are, the people stand likely to contribute millions a year for pork, which otherwise might represent a saving in taxes.

Rivers and harbors appropriations during the last seven years were as follows:

Year:	Amount.
1913	$41, 073, 094
1914	20, 000, 000
1915	25, 000, 000
1916	40, 598, 135
1917	27, 726, 150
1918	23, 771, 900
1919	33, 378, 364

This table represents a total of $211,547,643. Whether or not all of these appropriations were needed will always be a mooted question.

HOW MONEY IS WASTED.

No one, of course, claims that the entire rivers and harbors work of the country should be abandoned. Neither will anyone with common sense say the Government should abandon public buildings construction, where such buildings are economically more advantageous to the Government than rented quarters; but everyone who has studied both the public buildings and rivers and harbors measures of the past, unless he be biased by personal interest, admits that some change in the manner of considering projects and appropriating for them should be effected. Money has been voted by Congress to make navigable many streams which would make better roadways than waterways. Had the road-building movement started a few years earlier, it is not at all unlikely, according to some of the critics of rivers and harbors bills, that the advocates of some of these dry navigation projects would have urged Congress to vote money for paving the beds of the dry creeks instead of dredging them. Be that as it may, it is interesting to trace the ramifications of some of the pork grabs which finally, in one way or another, have got through Congress.

THE MUSCLE SHOALS CASE.

The greatest grab of all time, according to Representative FREAR, of Wisconsin, was the haul made by southern Senators and Representatives for the development of the now notorious Muscle Shoals in the Tennessee River. The special House Committee on War Expenditures has been investigating this and has developed the astounding fact that up to the present time the sum of $70,188,187.73 has been spent on this project. According to members of the committee, there is grave question as to its future value.

Muscle Shoals is typical of some of the great grabs. Among the little ones—dry creeks snagged out, or wet ones straightened out—were the Big Sandy, where it cost the Government $350 per ton for every ton of commerce carried on it in 1913; the Scuppernong, Kissimmee Creek, Absecon Inlet, Raccoon Creek, the Big and Little Pedee, the Santee, and so on. Fine-sounding names all of them—names which drew down thousands of dollars—but projects which commercially never will amount to anything, according to Mr. Frear.

Had the public not aroused itself, the tremendous appropriations which were authorized during the last six years would have been doubled or trebled.

EIGHTY MILLIONS SAVED.

Four omnibus bills during the Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth Congresses, aggregating $170,000,000, were either defeated or reduced with a final saving to the Federal Treasury of $86,000,000. But for the attacks made on these measures by courageous Senators and Representatives, and an enlightened press, all of them would have gone through as introduced.

Up to 1917, nearly $1,000,000,000 had been spent on rivers and harbors in the country, and that with a constantly decreasing inland waterway traffic.

Turning from one form of pork to another, it is well to take up the public buildings appropriations.

Former Secretary McAdoo, while he was in the Cabinet, started a vigorous battle on this particular species of waste. In his annual reports to Congress for 1915 and 1916 he pointed out that within two decades the sum of $180,000,000 had been spent on public buildings' construction; that much of it had been wasted; and that the time had come to stop forever omnibus public buildings bills.

The former Secretary pointed out that at that time (1916) there were more than a thousand Government buildings being maintained, with a new building added at the rate of one every four days. In the small towns, he said, the Government was suffering a loss from operating expensive buildings which were not needed, while in the cities it was losing money by being compelled to rent quarters where the Government's business had outgrown its old structures.

INSTANCES OF GREAT WASTE.

Mr. McAdoo then advised Congress that the Government had purchased a site in Pittsburgh, which at the time of purchase was entirely unsuited for its business. The sum of $1,000,000 was appropriated for this. Later he was ordered to sell the same site for not less than $750,000, and there were no bidders at those terms.

In Williamson, W. Va., a site was purchased in 1911 which was so far below street grade it later had to be abandoned.

In Seattle, Wash., a site was purchased on the "tide flats" for $160,500. Later an appropriation of $300,000 was put through for a building, and then when plans for the building were taken up for discussion it was discovered that the site not only was submerged but so far from the railroad station it would cost the Government an additional $19,000 a year to haul mail back and forth.

These are only particular items from an omnibus bill. Not one of them could have stood on its own legs. All of them got in because the other fellow didn't want his pet item attacked and wouldn't attack that of anyone else. It is no wonder Mr. McAdoo spoke out against the system. It is no wonder Mr. FREAR, former Senator Burton, Senator SHERMAN, Senator KENYON, and others have derided it. But it is a wonder that the people still permit it to operate. They do, and until they voice their disapproval it will continue indefinitely.

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Article No. 4.

The United States entered the World War without a carefully prepared fiscal policy. It went through the war without such a policy. It came out without one. And it is still without one. The development of such a policy unquestionably is the greatest single problem which confronts our Government to-day—greater, even, than the railroad question, the condition of unrest, and the high cost of living—for contingent upon its solution is the solution of all of the other interrelated difficulties of domestic reconstruction.

ALL ASKED FOR MORE MONEY.

Every department of the Government seized upon the war to get money out of the Treasury for this activity or that.

Of the various departments, the War Department unquestionably was the greatest spender. But now that the war is over it is well to ask ourselves why the expenditures of the Department of Commerce, with a steadily decreasing normal commerce, should have increased 40 per cent, and why those of the Department of Labor should have jumped 400?

It is impossible to analyze all of the expenditures of all of the departments at this time. It is a fact, however, that none of these departments had a carefully worked out fiscal program; that the administration had no such program for all of them; and that the spending of money was entirely unrelated to the method of raising it.

We now have some very definite information concerning the expenditures by the War Department.

MILLIONS WERE WASTED.

Leaving out the political bias of the latter, it is an unquestioned fact that millions, probably billions, were wasted by the War Department by reason of its fiscal unpreparedness. What was lost by reason of our military unpreparedness is another matter still.

Brig. Gen. H. M. Lord is the director of finance in the War Department. Only a few weeks ago he appeared before the select budget committee of the House of Representatives and made an argument in favor of a reform in our methods of carrying on the Government's financial activities. Gen. Lord supervised the expenditure of more money during the war than any other man in the world. Here is what he had to say of his task:

"The War Department, since April 6, 1917, has had appropriated for its use $24,304,388,343.97.

"The War Department entered this war without any fixed and determined or carefully digested and prepared financial system. It was impossible under the statutory organization existing to have such a system.

BUREAUS IN COMPETITION.

"There were at the beginning five statutory bureaus, each independent of the other, each making its own contracts, doing its own purchasing, and making its own disbursements—doing its own accounting, with as many different methods as there were bureaus. As a result, they were competing with each other in a field, in a market, where the supplies in many cases for which they were competing were restricted in amount. Later on, under the Overman Act, these 5 independent bureaus were increased to 12, each proceeding in the same way."

Imagine it! Think of any great financial organization, the United States Steel Corporation, for instance, dividing itself up into five independent concerns, each one of them going out into the open market and competing with all the others.

True, during 1918, some sort of a reform was achieved, but at the present time the reorganization bill which is pending in Congress, and which has the approval of the department, according to Gen. Lord's statement, provides for a number of independent supply divisions within the department.

UNPREPARED FOR WAR.

The War Department was chiefly engaged in spending money, not in raising it at all. The Treasury Department was not only a great spender during the war but was responsible for raising the billions which all of the departments spent. We had been an onlooker of the World War for nearly three years before we went into it. Yet when we went in the Treasury Department had not formulated, the administration had not computed any responsible estimates as to the cost to this country, the amount to be raised from taxation and the amount to be raised from issuing bonds.

For more than a year after we got in, with a wretchedly poor revenue measure on the statutes, a measure which all who possessed proper information knew to be inadequate, inequitable, and insufficient, the Treasury Department had no plans for amending that act, or of establishing a proper relationship between taxation and bond issues, between receipts and expenditures.

NO FIXED FINANCE SYSTEM.

As the departments called for money Congress appropriated the sums asked. But when congressional leaders, cognizant of the defects in the revenue law, sought advice from the Treasury Department as to methods of raising the funds appropriated, they were turned away without any satisfaction. The War Department, as Gen. Lord said, had no "fixed and determined or carefully digested and prepared financial system." Neither had the Treasury Department.

On December 5, 1917—eight months after we entered the war—Mr. KITCHIN, the Democratic leader of the House, frankly admitted that the administration had no financial program ready for the consideration of Congress.

During January, 1918, Mr. KITCHIN conferred with Treasury Department officials, called their attention to the need for a revenue program, and asked for suggestions.

"Finding that it was not the policy of the Treasury or of the administration to undertake the passage of a revenue measure at this session of Congress," he said later, "and knowing, too, that a large majority of the House and Senate was opposed to such an undertaking, I ceased further insistence upon its consideration."

FISCAL PROGRAM URGED.

Mr. KITCHIN, however, took the precaution of issuing a statement to the public declaring his belief that the war-revenue act should be amended and that the administration should formulate a fiscal program.

But it was not until May 10, 1918, that the Treasury Department submitted suggestions for legislation to provide additional revenues to meet increasing war expenditures. By that time the Treasury wanted more money and wanted it at once.

From May until October the issue was fought out between administration and Congress, with the result that in the fall we had thrust upon us the present inequitable and unjust tax law.

To-day the whole country is demanding the repeal of certain provisions of this law, particularly the excess-profits sections, which economists assert to be more responsible than any other one cause for the high cost of living. The failure of the administration properly to plan a fiscal program before we entered the war, its failure to work out one during the war, and its inability to do so since have put the country into a position where it must continue for months, at least, to contribute billions in taxation and additional billions to the profiteers, who take advantage of the existing revenue measure to avoid their own financial responsibilities and pass them on to the people.

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Article No. 5.

It is a peculiar fact that governments, after their enormous expenditures during war times, usually enter upon a postwar period of financial extravagance. Somehow or other they do not seem able to readjust themselves to an economical basis after the strain of a great war, but continue to expend money almost as madly as during the stress of conflict. Our own Government is no exception to this rule.

Following the Civil War the average annual expenditures of the United States jumped several hundred per cent over the average for the years immediately prior to the war. Not all of this increase was due to the enormous debt piled up during the war. Expenditures jumped again after the war with Spain, but not so much as they did following the War of the Rebellion.

If the figures of Mr. MONDELL, the majority leader in the House, are accurate, our present administration is seeking nearly eight times as much money to conduct our Government during the ensuing year as was appropriated for it to spend during the year 1916, immediately prior to our entrance into the World War.

HUGE EXPENDITURES PLANNED.

If the administration's own estimates are to be considered correct—and, as Mr. MONDELL points out, they neglect to include such items as the Railroad Administration deficit and the huge deficiencies of the other departments—Mr. Wilson and his Cabinet administrators are seeking more than four times as much money for governmental operations next year as was given them for the year immediately prior to the war.

Mr. MONDELL'S estimate of expenditures totals $9,086,358,574. The administration's estimate aggregates $4,865,410,031.62, but this does not include the deficit in the general fund, continuing appropriations authorized but not actually made, the railroad deficiency, or the contemplated increase in compensation for various Government employees, civil as well as military.

As against these two estimates there stands the total expense of the Government in 1916 of $1,072,894,093.23.

Eliminating the interest on the war debt, approximately $1,017,000,000, and eliminating the normal increase in the cost of government, say, of $200,000,000, there remains to be accounted for the sum of $2,289,894,093.23.

Is all of this necessary?

The Republican leaders in the House, apparently thinking the contrary, decided that without awaiting explanations from the departments, they would make a 25 per cent cut in all estimates of appropriations sought by the departments and declared by the administration to be necessary.

Looking into the larger appropriations sought this year, it will be seen that the State Department wants more than twice what it got in 1916. In the latter year it got from Congress $6,444,594.11. It is asking of the present Congress $12,920,600.91.

BIG INCREASES SOUGHT.

The Department of Agriculture is not so modest as the State Department. It got $28,031,540.33 in 1918, and is seeking this year $72,568,102.

The Department of Commerce is asking a 300 per cent increase, the Department of Labor almost a 300 per cent advance, and Department of Justice a 75 per cent increase, and the Department of Interior a modest one of 50 per cent.

As pointed out in an earlier article, only two of the departments of the Government are seeking smaller appropriations from this Congress than those they got from the last. These two, be it noted, are the Navy and Post Office Departments. The amounts they seek, however, are far in excess of what they got in 1916.

Certainly with the war over it would seem that many of the departments should curtail their expenditures. Or, if as a result of the ending of the war it is but proper that they should broaden out the scope of their peace-time work, it is equally fitting to ask why then they seized upon the war to obtain very large increases in appropriations from Congress during the period of the struggle?

SOMETHING WRONG IN FISCAL PLAN.

Something is wrong somewhere in the financial planning of each of the departments, for it is a fact that all of them used the war to obtain larger appropriations from Congress, and now that the war is over they are attempting to get still greater amounts of money on Capitol Hill.

The Navy Department and the Post Office Department virtually established a precedent when they sought reduced appropriations from the present Congress. As Mr. Fitzgerald, the able former chairman of the House Appropriations Committee; as Mr. KITCHIN, the former Democratic leader; and as Senator SMOOT have often pointed out, the executive branch of the Government has never made any effort to reduce expenses up to date. All the reducing that has been done has been done by Congress, despite its pork-barrel rivers and harbors and public buildings bills. Even the most notorious items in these measures, upon investigation, will be found to have some sort of Executive approval attached to them.

Within the last few months two select committees of Congress, those of the House and Senate, considering the problem of reform in our fiscal system, have developed much information which should not only be of the greatest value but of the most vital interest to the entire public.

NO VETOES FOR ECONOMY.

During the House committee hearings Mr. KITCHIN made this remarkable statement:

"I have never known a President to veto a bill because it was appropriating too much or because it had this or that amount of an appropriation in it. The administrations, all that I have served under, and I have served under Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Taft, and the present President, have asked for many millions more than Congress has been willing to give."

Mr. KITCHIN referred to statements made by former President Taft and by President Wilson, to the effect that they wanted a budget system put into effect to keep Congress from appropriating extravagantly.

"What we need in this country," he said, "is a budget system for the administrations, to keep them from demanding so much. We ought to have some man in the administration looking at the problem from the standpoint of economy, and how to get the maximum service at the minimum cost. Under our system now, from the President down to the least little bureau, they are spenders; they are taught to spend, and not to save."

ESTIMATES MADE HASTILY.

There is no man in the Government to-day whose chief business is to investigate the reasonableness, the necessity of appropriations sought by bureaus and departments. Congress, through its committees, is not in position to make such investigations. At best, it can only give the estimates sent it the hastiest sort of a survey. Consequently, large congressional cuts usually fall into the class of horizontal decreases, rather than decrease based upon a consideration of the whole contemplated outlay for Government during one year, and the proportionate value of each particular service therein.

The Republican majority in Congress hopes to go before the country in the approaching campaign with a record of having lopped off at least $1,000,000,000 from the total amount of appropriations sought by the administration. Such a record unquestionably will be worthy of consideration and to a certain extent it should win the approval of the voters.

EFFICIENT SYSTEM NEEDED.

They will perform a more noteworthy feat, however, if, in addition to slicing expenditures, they create a system whereby in the future there will be an established relationship between income and outgo, wherein the President will be more responsible to the country than he is now for the money expended by his administration assistants, and in which Congress itself will function more scientifically and with better advice in the matter of reducing the appropriations actually voted below the amount of the appropriations sought.

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Article No. 6.

The future handling of our Government's finances is certain to be one of the major issues, if not the paramount one, in the approaching presidential campaign. Something must be done to get away from the present chaotic system to which there is no head or tail, but in which there are innumerable leaks, from which wastage springs almost at all times.

Both of the greater political parties are almost certain to promise reform. In fact, both promised it in 1912 and repeated the promise in 1916. The one in control of the executive department since 1912 has shown no indication of keeping either of its promises. The other, in control of Congress since the 1918 elections, is between the devil and the deep blue sea in its effort to keep its pledge of economy.

NO REAL FISCAL PROGRAM.

The Wilson administration, according to admissions of its own executives, has been without a real fiscal program from the very beginning. In that respect it is not vastly different from other administrations which have preceded it, but in 1902 it was pledged to a return to Democratic simplicity in the matter of governmental expenditures and Federal taxation. In 1916, practically admitting its failure

to make that return, it promised to do so if given another chance. Then the war engulfed it and it is still suffering from the financial intoxication of the war period.

A BILLION-DOLLAR PROMISE.

It is important to remember that with all of its wastefulness, with all of its haphazard methods of handling appropriation measures, Congress has been the real economizing force in our Government ever since the first days of the Government. There probably never has been a session of Congress in which Congress did not appropriate less money than was sought by the executive branch. But, likewise, there has seldom been a session when Congress has not appropriated money which was not even sought by the executive branch.

MAKING HORIZONTAL CUTS.

During the last few weeks Congress has proceeded manfully to the task of making its horizontal cut in appropriations sought by the departments. During those same weeks, however, it has been grappling with great financial demands, which have not the support of the administration, and to some of which inevitably it must yield.

The administration did not suggest to Congress either the necessity or the desirability of passing a soldiers' bonus law. But Congress unquestionably will enact such a law. In all probability it will not call for an immediate outlay of cash, but rather for the distribution of bonds, either in fixed or varying amounts, bearing interest, to the soldiers who served in the World War. Even though the face value of the bonds will not have to be paid for 30 or 40 years, the interest on them will have to be met.

This interest will mean an additional burden for the Federal Treasury, but it will be a much lighter burden than a direct appropriation for the immediate distribution of cash.

UNITED STATES CAN NOT AFFORD BONUS.

Congress' attitude toward the bonus bond issue is not difficult to analyze. There is hardly a Member but who will admit the Government can not afford to give the soldiers an additional cash bonus. It will be remembered, they point out—though the public may have forgotten it—that Congress voted a cash bonus of $60 for every man in the military and naval service during the period of the war upon his honorable discharge. Furthermore, the strain on the Public Treasury is such that another cash bonus is impossible. So far as the bonds are concerned, they will mean little to the men who do not need the money, and they are sure to disappoint those who do, for the reason that it is a moral certainty they will not bring face value if put up for sale or offered as security for loans. Liberty bonds have fallen off in value since issued, and while it is the general expectation that they will regain par at some time, many expert financiers expect them to fall still lower. But Congress, and by Congress I mean the two great parties in Congress, feels a debt of gratitude to the men who served in the war, and beyond that they want to put the veterans under some obligation to themselves.

100 BONUS BILLS.

Therefore the Ways and Means Committee is proceeding to the consideration of the hundred or more bonus bills which have been introduced. At an appropriate time before the next election a bonus bill will be passed, and after it becomes law each party will vie with the other for the credit due.

While Congress is planning to care for the soldiers of the World War it is also facing demands from the old soldiers who served in the Civil War and from men who were in the Spanish-American War.

VETERANS' LAST DEMAND.

The Fuller bill, increasing materially Civil War pensions, has passed the House and is now before the Senate Pensions Committee. This measure in some form or other very likely will be put on the statutes before the election. The old men are demanding it and are frankly stating it will be their last demand. It will add a number of millions to the annual outlay for the next few years.

The Spanish-American War veterans haven't been so precise in their demands as the Civil War veterans, but congressional correspondence shows an increasing insistence that they shall not be forgotten. The allowance given them will not greatly increase the sum total, but if given it will mean an increase in governmental expenditures.

During the last two years civil employees of the Government have drawn a bonus, on account of the high cost of living, ranging from $120 to $240 per annum. Now they are seeking an additional bonus so as to give them more than they earned before the war. They support their request with statistics on the increased cost of living.

The reclassification commission recently made public its program for the overhauling of the Government civil service, with a rerating of clerks, stenographers, typists, and other employees.

THE UNIVERSAL TRAINING PROBLEM.

Congress is still wrestling with the problem of universal training. No one knows just what universal training will cost, if it is ordered. Mr. MONDELL, the Republican leader of the House, is opposed to it on the ground that the country can't afford an almost certain outlay of upwards of $500,000,000 annually. Senator Wadsworth, one of its advocates, places the cost at less than $150,000,000. The Democrats of the House in caucus recently voted against it.

The great majority of farmers unquestionably are opposed to universal training, though there may be exceptions here and there in favor of the program.

Universal training is the one issue on which labor and the farmers appear to have a common meeting ground at the present time. Labor has spoken out against it almost as emphatically as the farmers.

In effecting various savings in each of the appropriation bills Congress is piling up additional trouble for itself. The strength of bureau chiefs in the past has rested largely on their ability to have particular groups stand back of them in their demands for money.

REDUCTIONS STRONGLY OPPOSED.

The Army Engineers, for instance, in recommending a rivers and harbors program of upward of $40,000,000 this year, have had the support of all rivers and harbors enthusiasts throughout the country. Congress in reducing those estimates to $12,000,000 has stirred up tremendous opposition in certain sections—particularly along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers—notwithstanding the fact that there is still unexpended in the Treasury upward of $50,000,000 previously appropriated for rivers and harbors work.

The House chopped the Agricultural appropriation bill right and left. Some of the bureaus were reduced below their prewar level, although they sought no more money than they had then. Others were sent back to their prewar level. The affected groups have already begun to make themselves heard.

At the present time, while the economizing is in process, another demand is being made, and it is daily growing more and more insistent. It is for a revision of the existing revenue law.

Merchants affected by the luxury tax want it struck out. Corporations affected by the excess-profits tax want it repealed. Individuals who realize the suffering they have been put to through these taxes, and others, want them changed. The children want the tax on ice-cream cones taken off.

GOVERNMENT NEEDS MONEY.

But the Government needs money, and Congress realizes it, and Congress can't change the present revenue law until it finds new methods of raising money to take the place of the money to be lost through the revision.

Thus it can be clearly seen that Congress is spending money with one hand and saving it with the other. It hopes to save a little more than it spends. The administration is spending it with both fists and dislikes the economizing of Congress. Meanwhile, earnest-minded citizens of both parties are looking to the day when the old processes are abandoned and the Government is put on a sound financial basis, with a real fiscal program.

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Article No. 7.

The success of any program for the rehabilitation of our governmental fiscal system is dependent largely upon the disposition of the loans which we made to our allies and associates during the World War.

When Congress first authorized the loans of money to allied nations there was a general rush from all over the world on the United States Treasury. A limit of $10,000,000,000 was fixed by Congress on the total amount to be loaned, and before the loaning stopped this limit very nearly was reached. During the war the Allies offered every promise of repayment if we would help them out. We had their admissions then that without our help they could not finance the conflict further. We have had similar admissions since. But immediately after the cessation of hostilities, when it became certain that within a few months the United States' money bags no longer would be open to the world, the allied nations began a drive, first, for a delay in the payment of the interest, and then for the wiping out of their entire debt to us.

WANT LOANS CANCELED.

At the present time there is a very insidious propaganda afoot in this country for the cancellation of all of the allied loans and for the extension of new credits for reconstruction purposes. Informal spokesmen of European countries have come forward with the flat statement that the United States should assume these debts as a proper portion of its war cost. Not satisfied with this, they would have us extend Europe additional credits for commercial purposes. In other words, they come to us as a man would go to his banker and say:

"I can't pay the money I owe you. Won't you wipe it off your books? Then, after you do that, won't you loan me more money so I can start all over again?"

Of course, any sane banker would reject such a proposition instanter, but there is the possibility that a government might not have the sagacity of a banker.

According to the last annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury, credits to the amount of $9,647,419,494.84 were established for the Allies, and there was advanced in actual cash the sum of $9,416,371,888.55.

CONGRESS CHECKED LOANS.

The United States not only advanced money to its allies during the war, but after the armistice was signed it loaned them $2,329,257,138.55. We would still be loaning them money if Congress had not set a high limit and former Secretary Glass had not put his foot down on further advances.

Mr. Glass had hardly uttered his opposition to further loans before the Allies began to protest their inability to pay the interest due on the amounts already loaned them, and the Secretary was forced by their representatives to go to Congress for authority to allow them to apply to the total indebtedness the interest which will fall due in the next few years, as well as that already overdue.

Up to the present time our Government, in all of its calculations, has looked upon the allied indebtedness as a "good loan" in banking terms. In other words, it is carrying the advances on the books of the Treasury at 100 per cent face value. Included in this is the $187,000,000 loaned to Russia, which probably never will be paid back.

BRITISH OUR LARGEST DEBTORS.

The British, who are our largest debtors, are second to us in the creditor position. They carry their loans to the other allies at a 50 per cent valuation and have doubt as to their ability to collect that. They would willingly wipe their whole slate clean if we would do the same thing. In other words, if the United States, which owes no nation, would cancel all obligations due it, Great Britain, which owes us $4,500,000,000, would cancel the amounts due her from other nations.

Financially the United States would be the only loser by such a procedure, but that fact does not deter the other Governments one bit in their efforts to persuade us to proceed. According to J. M. Keynes, one of the British advocates of this plan of eliminating the interallied indebtedness, this is what would happen:

The United States would wipe out the loans of approximately $10,000,000,000 which it has made to its allies.

WOULD RETURN TO PREWAR BASIS.

Great Britain would wipe out the loans of approximately $8,700,000,000, which it has made to the Allies.

France would wipe out the loans which she made to Russia and the other allied nations, approximating $1,800,000,000.

All of the other allied countries would have their indebtedness to the United States, Great Britain, and France wiped out. They could eliminate future interest cost on this indebtedness, and fiscally they would be back about to their prewar basis.

But—and let us pause over this—while ostensibly Great Britain and France would be wiping out loans, practically they would be putting money in their pockets.

Great Britain, having loaned more than $8,000,000,000, also borrowed of the United States $4,200,000,000 in round figures. Of her loans that to Russia, in the amount of $2,840,000,000, is practically a dead letter. So as far as she is concerned she would be gaining just the amount we wiped off our slate. It would reduce her liability one-half, while we would be increasing our war cost about 40 per cent.

FRANCE AND ITALY WOULD GAIN.

France would gain about $3,500 000,000, Italy about $4,000,000,000, and the other countries according to their share of the total indebtedness.

As Mr. Keynes said in his book, which apparently was written chiefly for American and not for British consumption, "Controversies as to relative sacrifice are very barren and very foolish." Yet it is not foolish to take account of the fact that the United States raised through taxes and bond issues a greater portion of its war expenditures than any other country in the world. It is not foolish to take account of the fact that the tax rate in France to-day is but little higher than it was prior to the war, as France raised large portions of her war money through loans from her allies. It is not foolish to take account of the fact that Italy, militant before the war, militant now, would be put in a much stronger financial position in case she wished to wage war against the Jugo-Slavs or any other country.

COMPARISONS BY FITZGERALD.

It is not foolish, although Mr. Keynes might contend it is, to recall a paragraph from an address made by former Chairman Fitzgerald, of the House Appropriations Committee, in 1918.

"Including loans," said Mr. Fitzgerald, "the United States in the first year proposes to expend as much as Great Britain, more than France, more than Russia, probably as much as Germany, and one-third more than Austria-Hungary has expended during the entire three years of the war. * * * Even if the amount of the loans to our allies be excluded, the figures are still sufficiently startling."

It is not foolish to recall that when we first went into the war it was said that our financial assistance was the principal thing required; that before we even worked out a plan of assisting financially we were called upon for men, and that before the war closed we had more men on the front than any of our allies.

It is utterly ridiculous for the European Governments to come forward with their proposal to have the United States cancel their indebtedness to us. There is even grave question as to the wisdom of the administration in consenting to the funding of the interest due us without putting up a stiffer fight to get it.

BURDEN ON AMERICAN PEOPLE.

When the administration consented to let the interest go over, it virtually issued an edict to the American people to contribute in taxes $500,000,000 this year, more than $500,000,000 next year, and so on, until the European interest payments commence, in addition to the amounts they must contribute for the other expenses of our Government. If the Allies fall down on principal as well as interest, it means that the American people will have to assume an additional obligation of $10,000,000,000. In the present condition of our national finances this is impossible.

It is almost useless to discuss the desire of the older nations for additional loans from the United States. In the first place, our Government won't make them. In the second, it couldn't if it would.

Mr. Hoover, Secretary Glass, Mr. Vanderlip, Senator McCORMICK, and other men who know and understand Europe and Europe's problems, said months ago that the solution of those problems will be attained, not through further loans from the United States but through the settling down of the European mind to the cold fact that Europe must go back to work. Europe can work out of its present indebtedness if it will go to work. If we should be so foolish, however, as to cancel that indebtedness, then loan Europe more money, without any control over its expenditure, we would be prolonging by just the time taken for its expenditure the period that will ensue before Europe goes back to work, and hard at work.

Article No. 8.

How is the Government to work out of the financial maze into which it has been thrown by carelessness and inefficiency on the part of both the administration and Congress during the past years?

The method is clear, but the adoption of that method is difficult.

We must change completely our ways of doing business, both in the executive and the legislative branches of the Government. We must impart a new efficiency and a new energy to both. And we must educate the people not only to the necessity for immediate reform, but to the necessity for permanent reform and continued efforts for economy.

The first step in the procedure must come through the enactment of a law giving us a national budget system.

The next step must come through a reform of the congressional committee system.

The third step is the application of the budget system in the executive departments and its handling in Congress.

BUDGET SYSTEM EXPLAINED.

Much has been written lately on the budget by persons interested in fiscal reform, but there is still a very vague understanding of that term in the minds of the people generally. Just what is it? Briefly stated, a budget is a program prepared by the Executive, setting forth the actual condition of the Treasury, the financial needs of the Government for the ensuing year, together with a statement suggesting the methods of meeting those needs through tax levies or bond issues.

Congress is just about to enact a budget law, but there is still doubt as to whether it will be a real budget or a fictitious one, not any better than the present hodge-podge system which has been in force for years past. The movement in Congress for a national budget system was started several years ago by Representative Fitzgerald, of New York, when he was chairman of the House Appropriations Committee. Mr. Fitzgerald lived so close to his job, however, while he was in Congress that his colleagues affectionately described him as a "bug" on economy and the need for a budget.

SHERLEY TOOK UP FIGHT.

When he resigned his successor in the chairmanship, Mr. Sherley, took up the fight for a budget, but made litttle progress. A real impetus was given it when Senator MEDILL McCORMICK, fresh from his experience in the Illinois State Legislature, where he had been successful in the fight for fiscal reform, which has given Illinois the best system of any State in the country, entered the lower House of Congress in 1917. Senator McCORMICK, unabashed by the counsel of his elders, put a staff of experts to work, studying the fiscal system of the United States, the systems of the various States, and the financial methods of the other countries of first-rate importance. Then in the spring of 1918 he introduced a series of measures in the House providing for the creation of a national-budget system; for the installation of an independent auditing and accounting system, the head of which would be responsible to Congress and not to the President; for the coordination of the loose ends of departmental work; for the elimination of conflicting bureaus; for the transfer of certain bureaus from one department to another in which they more properly belonged; and for a complete reform of the congressional committee system.

WANTED DISCUSSION STARTED.

No one but a new Member of Congress could have proposed such a scheme and gotten away with it without unmerciful hazing by his elder statesmen. Senator McCORMICK frankly stated that he did not regard his program, or any of the particular measures in it, as perfect, but rather that he had submitted it in order to start a discussion which might lead to the adoption of a permanent and beneficial reform. The country was engaged in the war at the time; it was giving practically its whole thought to the prosecution of the war to victory, with little thought to the cost of the war.

Since the war has ended, however, and the tremendous cost has become known to the people, and they have been brought to a realization of the enormous burden which they must carry this year, next year, and for many years thereafter, not only the people but Congress itself has taken a very vital interest in Senator McCORMICK'S suggestions of 1918. Since those suggestions were made Mr. McCORMICK has been graduated from the House into the Senate, where in September he was made chairman of the Special Committee for Consideration of a National Budget.

EARLY REPORT EXPECTED.

This committee expects to report to the Senate at an early date a comprehensive measure for the creation of a national budget and independent audit system for the executive departments. The House, under the leadership of Representative GOOD, already has passed a bill providing for the possible creation of a budget at some time in the future and for an immediate change in the plan of submitting the estimates and auditing the expenditures of the Government, but in the opinion of real advocates of budget reform the House measure, while a great step in advance, falls short of the actual accomplishment needed.

FAITH IN PRESENT SYSTEM.

At present every bureau chief furnishes his superior officer or departmental head with estimates as to the financial needs of his bureau for the ensuing year. After the head of the department has received the estimates of all his bureaus he transmits them to the Secretary of the Treasury. And when the Secretary of the Treasury gets all of the departmental estimates in hand he prints and binds them in a volume and sends them to Congress. Frequently the bureau chiefs underestimate their needs and supplemental estimates are required. More often, however, they proceed on the theory that Congress will cut them down anyway, so they ask for more than they need in the expectation of getting about what they actually require. The weakness of the system lies in the fact that there is not within any of the departments any official whose chief business is to review the estimates of the bureaus for the purpose of eliminating unnecessary items before they are submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury and by him to Congress, and in the additional and more important fact that the Secretary of the Treasury, who has to go out and get the moneys to meet the expenditure, has nothing whatsoever to say about the manner in which those moneys are to be expended. There is no one in the departments themselves to economize and there is no official in the administration to coordinate the estimates of the various departments.

COMMITTEES WORK INDEPENDENTLY.

There is the additional weakness that Congress, when it receives the estimates of the departments, does not consider them as a whole, but splits them up among 20 or 30 appropriating committees, each one of which proceeds with its work independently of all the others.

The McCormick budget plan is very simple and very clear. In so far as the departments are concerned, it sets up in the Treasury Department a budget bureau, the business of which is to collect, revise, and coordinate the estimates of the various departments. It provides that each department shall have a budget official who shall collect the estimates from his various bureaus and trim them of waste before submitting them to the Secretary of the Treasury. And it provides further that after the Secretary of the Treasury has completed his work he shall submit it to the President, who must send it to Congress with his approval. In case of a dispute between the Secretary of the Treasury and any other departmental chief, the President shall act as arbiter.

WOULD REORGANIZE TREASURY.

To avoid unnecessary disputes, the Treasury under the McCormick bill would be divested of all its present nonfiscal functions and confined wholly to financial administration. Further than this, the McCormick program provides that when the Secretary of the Treasury submits his estimates of expenditures he shall submit with them a statement as to the anticipated revenues of the Government. If the revenues are expected to exceed the expenditures, he shall submit suggestions for a revision downward in taxes or for the purchase of outstanding bonds. If the revenues appear to be inadequate, the Secretary must submit suggestions for new tax measures or bond issues to meet the Government's needs.

Could anything be more businesslike? It hardly seems so. All the Senator proposes to do is to have the business of the Government handled as any successful private business enterprise is handled.

PEOPLE WOULD DECIDE.

In case of a vital difference between Congress and the Executive the people would decide the differences at the first election, so that the case could be fought out very quickly indeed and one side or the other supported in its contention.

One step further, and the plan for controlling and keeping down expenditures would be complete. That is the creation of an auditing system responsible to Congress instead of the Executive. What would a stockholder think of a company in which one official not only spent all the money but audited his own accounts? Such, practically, is the plan on which our Government now operates. The Executive spends the money and officials in the executive department audit the expenditures; there would always be a check on their administration and Congress could always have the benefit of his advice as to the necessity for this item or that in the light of actual results accomplished.

ESTIMATES SAVING OF A BILLION.

With such a system in effect, Senator McCORMICK estimates the Government can make a real saving of at least $1,000,000,000 a year in the immediate future and still handle all of its operations in such a way as to give the public the greatest good from the money spent. The saving might exceed a billion. It would not fall short of that amount, in his opinion.

Through the establishment of such a system the country can work out of its present predicament, where it is facing expenditures of from one to four billion in excess of its revenues, to a situation where it would always have a firm control of its finances, and could meet any emergency which might arise in the most scientific and businesslike fashion.

Those Members of Congress, those public-spirited citizens in private life who have realized the failure of the Government to function fiscally, can not accomplish the whole reform alone. They must have the enlightened assistance of the people. With it there is no question as to the result.

The Retirement Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OSCAR E. KELLER,
OF MINNESOTA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, May 1, 1920.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, in considering the welfare of the superannuated employee, whether in the Government service or in the commercial world, there are three plans which will effectively dispose of their proper retirement when they have outlived their usefulness in the intricate meshes of the business world without transforming them into subjects of charity: First, by the payment of salaries sufficient to adequately provide for everyday wants and permit the saving of an amount sufficient to care for the employee in his or her declining years; second, by a system of Government endowment insurance; third, by a retirement system such as we are considering now. I have for a number of years advocated such a system; it is progressive legislation; it is humane legislation; it is efficient legislation. Its redeeming features are manifold, and its effectiveness has been satisfactorily substantiated in foreign countries and by the progressive private institutions of our own country that have adopted pension systems for their faithful employees.

The saving in dollars and cents alone speaks well for its immediate adoption. The cry has gone forth that we must economize. The opportunity here presents itself to economize in Government expenditures, besides increasing the efficiency of all the activities of our Government. The Government actuaries have authoritatively estimated that a net saving of $1,821,150 will result in the retirement of superannuated employees now on the Government rolls; that there are 5,202 employees at the present time who are 100 per cent inefficient, but whom the department heads can not conscientiously dismiss in view of their long and faithful service to their Government; there are varying percentages of other employees whose efficiency has deteriorated, due to their declining years, but are retained for the same reason. In the interest of humanity, in the interest of efficiency, in the interest of economy, it is the duty of this Congress to enact this legislation.

There are, no doubt, many employees who have served their Government faithfully and well during most of their lives, who have long felt that they would like to retire from active work but have not been able to amass enough of this world's wealth to properly provide for the comforts and the necessities to which they are entitled and for which they yearn in their declining years, who are eagerly awaiting the enactment of this legislation. To them it will be a godsend. There are others who have served equally as faithfully and equally as well, who have passed the age limit specified in this measure but who still consider themselves able to perform the duties devolving upon them. This measure, I believe, properly provides for their retention as long as their efficiency is maintained at a certain level. To the younger employee, who still has the greater portion of his life to live, and who is looking forward to advancement and to the betterment of his position in the Government service, there is opened an avenue for more prompt recognition of his efficient service through promotion. He can feel that he is not being held back, in many cases doing the work for which an older employee is receiving remuneration simply because the older employee can not be retired under a pension system.

It is the duty of the Government to assume the initiative in this progressive system of retiring faithful employees. True, many of our business institutions have already adopted pension systems, but no concerted action has been taken by business as a whole to provide such retirement for the great mass of the laboring people of the country. With wages at their present level and the cost of the necessities of life mounting higher and higher, it is absolutely impossible for the average man to lay aside any of his earnings for that much-dreaded period—his declining years. With the Government setting an example, it is sincerely hoped that this humane spirit will imbue the leaders of industry, commerce, and finance through the length and breadth of our prosperous land with the thought and the desire to do something similar for those masses who toil that this country might be maintained at the pinnacle of happiness, of prosperity, of contentment which so animated the framers of our Constitution and the founders of our Republic.

"Our country is in debt nearly $30,000,000,000. This bill excludes certain common laborers in the employment of the Government and gives a pension to thousands of persons who have good homes with plenty of money, and some persons who are worth more than $50,000, and have had a 'political pull' for the last 15 to 30 years."

"This bill requires an unfavored class to provide the taxes to give a pension to a favored class. I can not vote for it in this form."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. ROBSION,
OF KENTUCKY,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, April 30, 1920.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, this bill provides for the retirement with a pension of certain classified civil-service employees of the Government. I can not vote for this bill. I desire to set forth briefly my reasons.

In the first place, this bill excludes certain "common laborers," certain workmen employed by the Government. It will grant a pension to one or more persons who are worth more than $100,000. It will grant a pension to persons who are worth more than $50,000. It will grant a pension to a great many persons worth more than $10,000. It will grant a pension to thousands of persons who are worth more than $5,000 each. It provides for the retirement and granting of a pension to all of the classified civil-service employees of the Government, "except certain common laborers," who have reached the age of 65 years and have been in the service of the Government as much as 15 years, except letter carriers, rural mail carriers, and certain post-office clerks may be retired at the age of 62 years and postal clerks at the age of 60 years. These pensions will range from $180 to $720 per year. I should like to give any relief I could to the mail carriers and the railway postal clerks, but this can not be done under this bill without providing for the retirement and granting pensions to more than 100,000 Government employees in the city of Washington and the District of Columbia and granting a pension to thousands who need no pension.

It is claimed that there are about 600,000 men and women under the so-called classified civil service who will be the beneficiaries of this act. Their salaries range and have ranged for years from about $1,200 to $4,000 per year. More than 100,000 of these are employed in Washington and the District of Columbia. Most of these got their jobs through Senators, Congressmen, and other political influences.

THIS BILL PROVIDES A PENSION FOR THE FAVORED CLASS.

Many of these employees have had these good jobs ranging from 1 year to 30 years. In fact, you must have served for at least 15 years before you can secure a pension. This legislation has been largely promoted, urged, and boosted by a very active organization of more than 100,000 Government employees in the city of Washington and the District of Columbia. There will not be many of the civil-service employees out of Washington and the District of Columbia who will hold their jobs 15 years and more, and therefore the beneficiaries of this legislation will in a great measure be the civil-service employees of the Government in the city of Washington and the District of Columbia. Many of these are now receiving from two to four thousand dollars per year, with splendid homes, stocks and bonds, and money in the bank. They have been considered the favored class. They have had the "political pull." They have been getting better pay, have had shorter hours, and better working conditions than the men and women who were left back home to work in the mines, in the shops, on the section, the railroads, on the farm, in the mills, and in the stores. For the last 15 to 30 years the folks who were left back home were fortunate if they had positions paying as much as $50 per month. These Government employees were the first to be granted the eight-

hour day. Their workday is now seven hours or less. These Government employees can be sick for at least 30 days and have another 30 days' leave of absence and get off Saturday at noon and still draw full pay. It has been shown that they do not average five hours per day for each workday in the year. This bill also reaches out and takes in a great many persons who have left the Government service and who have been out of the Government service since the 1st of last September and grants to them a pension of $720 per year. Many of the persons who remained at home and did not have the "political pull" have worn themselves out with long hours of service and with poor pay and are now old and without means of support. The question arises, if the Congress is going to grant civil pensions, should we grant it to this favored class and require those who are less favored and did not have the political pull to pay the taxes and provide the money for these pensions?

SHOULD THE LESS-FAVORED CLASS PROVIDE PENSIONS FOR THE FAVORED CLASS?

Our Government now owes $26,000,000,000, and under our present high taxes we will face a deficit of $3,000,000,000 and more at the end of this fiscal year. We have found out that everybody who buys food and clothing must help pay his part of these heavy taxes. This bill excludes certain "common laborers" and all of the fourth-class postmasters. These fourth-class postmasters are under civil service and do five times as much work for the money they receive as the persons do who are the beneficiaries under this bill. The national Government and States should always see to it that the old, infirm, and needy are provided for. The miners, railroad workers, shop, mill, and farm laborers wear themselves out as producers for the Nation, but there is no provision of law to pension them when they get old and are without means of support. It has been argued on the floor of this House in defense of this bill that a bill granting pensions to such would be unconstitutional. The sons and daughters of these laborers and producers must take care of their parents when they get old and are poor. Is it fair and right to tax these sons and daughters who toil and labor in order to provide a pension for many thousand rich Government employees who have had good-paying jobs here in Washington and the District of Columbia for the last 15 to 30 years? If we are going to grant civil pensions, let us begin with those who have worn themselves out as producers for the Nation and are in need and who did not have a "political pull" for the last 15 to 30 years. A civil pension should never be granted to those who do not need it. We must always stand ready to take care of the destitute, the aged, and needy.

GOOD WAGES, PROPER WORKING HOURS AND CONDITIONS.

I used to work at manual labor by the day, the job, and the month. I have no lack of sympathy for the men and women who do work for the Government. I have secured a great many positions for many splendid young men and women from my district and have many applications from others who want jobs here. These young men and women feel they are greatly favored in getting these positions with the Government. None of them, so far as I know, are in favor of me voting a tax on their less-favored neighbors back home in order to pay them a pension. In fact, many of them are opposed to this bill.

There is a fine bunch of men and women in the employment of the Government here and throughout the Nation. I believe in good wages, reasonable hours of service, and good working conditions. The wages should not only be sufficient to provide a good living for a man and his family, but enough so that he can by reasonable economy provide for that "rainy day," and many of the employees of the Government have saved their money, invested it wisely, and are now worth much more than I am, and are living in much better homes than I have. I wish to commend them for their thrift and economy and congratulate them on their good fortune, but I do not feel that it is right for me to vote a tax upon the poor workingman at home to provide a pension for this class that has been favored by "Uncle Sam" for the last 15 to 30 years. I certainly have the kindest feeling for the splendid army of men and women who are working for the Government, but until we grant a pension to the aged and needy throughout the Nation I do not feel justified in voting for a bill that cuts out any "common laborer," the fourth-class postmasters, and many others and gives to many well-to-do people a pension of $720 per year, and which will be paid by the Government to them for more than 20 years in some cases. I shall always stand for a square deal for all and special privileges for none, and if we must favor any class let it be those who have worn themselves out at small wages and short hours producing for the country and who are aged and poor and did not have the "political pull."

Suggests World-War Medal.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN K. FOCHT,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 7, 1920.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the following letter:

LEWISBURG, PA., *November 30, 1918.*

B. K. FOCHT, *Congressman.*

DEAR SIR: You might see merit in this idea: As a medal was struck in the Philadelphia United States Mint to commemorate the freeing of the slave and the Lincoln administration, and as the big screw press and material are at the United States Mint, Philadelphia, and the engraver employed on Government dies for making coin money, the engraver can be used to make a stamp to strike up a memorial medal to commemorate the aid of the United States to France during the late war. I have come across the most beautiful female face and profile right here in Lewisburg. She is in the high school and is a farmer's daughter. I saw her at Fry's mill, Brown Street, and as quick as I saw her profile, slightly Roman nose and oval face and firm chin, I immediately saw a model for a medal. Her profile was just fine. I was going to ask the opinion of the manager of the United States Philadelphia Mint, but as congressional action would be necessary, I consult you. A photograph can be got at any time of this humble young woman, as she brings milk over to the condensary. Now, what do you think of the idea of a medal to be struck to commemorate this great national event? There is not a word said so far about it. Now, can't you see merit in the idea? Can't you consult some Member of culture who can see the merit of this idea and so get expression on it? I most surely think that you can see the great importance of this medal as a national binder of these two nations. France aided us in the revolution for independence, and we aided France with treasure and men in 1918.

Kindly read this over more than once.

Yours, kindly,

CHARLES SMITH,
124 St. Charles Street, Lewisburg, Pa.

Liberty Bonds.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN K. FOCHT,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 7, 1920.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Speaker, it can by no means be amiss to have suggestions from intelligent and experienced sources at this time relative to the depreciation in Liberty bonds and means of restoring their market value to that which originally prevailed. Mr. William H. Gelbach, a well-known banker, resident of Waynesboro, Pa., has submitted a plan which has attracted the attention of bankers, financial writers, and owners of Liberty bonds throughout the country. The method proposed by Mr. Gelbach was recently published somewhat in detail in the business and financial section of the Philadelphia Public Ledger, and is as follows:

William H. Gelbach, cashier of the Citizens' National Bank, of Waynesboro, Pa., suggests that if the privilege were granted by Congress to national banks to use Liberty bonds as a basis for currency it not only would be of great profit to the Government but would immediately bring the bonds to par and at the same time relieve the credit or money stringency, which has done much to check sorely needed improvements, such as the rehabilitation of the railroads.

The idea is not altogether new. Some persons think the effect would be to promote inflation; others believe to the contrary. Mr. Gelbach has put the whole case in plain form, and certainly in a way that is appealing to the vast number of holders of Liberty bonds. Here is what he says:

"That a $100 United States bond should sell at $86, a depreciation of $14 in less than two years, is an indication that our Government is alarmingly in the control of the worst kind of financiering.

"Two years ago bankers were urged to induce their patrons to buy bonds, 'the best security in the world,' and to 'buy until it hurts'; and to-day it does hurt those who are forced to sell at sacrifice prices or pay high rates of interest to carry them.

"Bankers believed that they were safe to say that after the war United States bonds would sell at par plus premium.

"Many bankers were pleased to relate their experience in the purchase of 3 per cent United States bonds during the Spanish-American War, which soon went to par, and within a year sold at a high premium.

"A conscientious banker is tortured with the thought that he has recommended a bond that proves a loss to his patrons, and he will leave no ground unturned until he gets to the root of the evil that causes the unwarranted loss.

"That a Nation having $250,000,000,000 of assets, against which there is indebtedness of $18,000,000,000 to $20,000,000,000, should have floating a depreciated security is a very sad reflection, and a remedy must be applied.

"We believe if Congress to-day should grant the privilege to national banks to use their Liberty bonds as a basis for circulation that next week Liberty bonds could be sold at par plus premium.

"Why are the present outstanding United States 2 per cent bonds selling for 101 while the same bond during the panic of 1907 sold for 109?

"Before the war Congress enacted a law allowing the banks to issue currency to the extent of their capital stock, based upon the holding of Government bonds to secure the currency.

"When the issue of our present Liberty loan bonds was authorized Congress debarred the new issue from the circulation privilege.

"To explain the circulation basis to such as are not informed, we will use for illustration the present law as working under the limited outstanding circulation.

"A bank with a capital of $100,000 goes into the market and buys $100,000 face value of United States 2 per cent bonds, and the law allows the bank to deposit its $100,000 of bonds with the Treasurer of the United States. For such collateral deposit $100,000 of bank notes of the bank are printed and used by the bank as its currency. Should the bank fail, there are the collateral United States bonds to make the currency full value, and every bank note now outstanding is as good as the Government itself.

"Therefore our opinion is that Congress should grant the circulation privilege to national banks to use Liberty bonds as a basis for currency, starting with such ratio of circulation to its bond holdings as might be necessary to relieve the money stringency for commercial and industrial needs. Under such conditions the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. would not be under the obligation to pay 7 per cent interest for a period of 10 years on $50,000,000 of its recent requirements.

"Under this system a national bank could absorb all the offerings of Liberty bonds from its patrons at par and, furthermore, pay to the Government a 2 per cent tax on its circulation, which would pay nearly one-half of the interest on the public debt.

"When a bank now increases its capital stock and desires to avail itself of its entitled circulation privilege, which is even now profitable with the 2 per cent United States bonds selling at 101, why would it not be more profitable to the bank and its patrons to buy the Liberty bonds at par, and thereby relieve money stringency and prevent the further decline of Liberty bonds?

"Every dollar of currency thus issued would not be an inflation, but based on full value.

"The national-banking system, with its circulation privileges, has sustained the 2s, 3s, and 4s Government bonds of the Civil War and kept them above par. Why should not the same good laws of the past be extended to our Liberty bonds?"

The Fuller Pension Law.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. M. C. SMITH,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 8, 1920.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the privilege granted to me to extend my remarks, I wish to say that I am pleased at the enactment into law of the Fuller pension bill, granting increased pensions to the veteran soldiers of the Civil War, their widows, and dependents. It is a just recognition of their valuable services to the country. It is especially fitting at the age in life when they can not perform active manual labor to suitably maintain their existence and when the necessities in life have doubled and in some instances trebled in value. It is a high recognition of their services by the country they fought to save. It is the payment of a debt of honor that will be appreciated by them in their declining years. It will lighten the heart and brighten the home of many a worthy veteran who is compelled to fight the battle of life in a time when the strong and stalwart feel the pinch of present conditions.

This bill makes no distinction of rank, age, or service. It treats all alike who served for a period of at least 90 days and received an honorable discharge. All soldiers now on the pension roll will, without making a new application, automatically receive $50 a month from the date of the approval of the bill, May 4, 1920.

Those who are entitled to an increase of pension or higher rate for disability will be required to make a written application, have a medical examination, and submit proof of his permanent or total disability. If a soldier is so disabled as to require the regular personal aid of an attendant, he is entitled to a pension of $72 a month for total disability. The Pension Department has prepared proper blanks under the law for applying for a total disability pension. Widows' pensions are increased to $30 a month.

While the pension under this bill will not equal the increase in the high cost of living, it will help to smooth the pathway of their declining years and be some reward for the sacrifices made by them when their country called.

I herewith incorporate a copy of the law embodying the Fuller bill. It supersedes all other general pension laws:

An act to revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War and the War with Mexico, to certain widows, including widows of the War of 1812, former widows, dependent parents, and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pension and increase of pension in certain cases.

Be it enacted, etc., That every person who served 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War, and who has been honorably discharged therefrom, or who, having so served less than 90 days, was discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, or is now upon the pension rolls as a Civil War veteran, and every person who served 60 days or more in the War with Mexico, or on the coasts or frontier thereof, or en route thereto, during the war with that nation, and was honorably discharged therefrom, and who is now in receipt of, or entitled to receive under existing law, a pension of less than $50 per month, shall, from and after the passage of this act, be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $50 per month.

SEC. 2. That every person who served 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War, and who has been honorably discharged therefrom, or who, having so served less than 90 days, was discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, or is now upon the pension rolls as a Civil War veteran, and every person who served 60 days or more in the War with Mexico, or on the coasts or frontier thereof, or en route thereto, during the war with that nation, and was honorably discharged therefrom, and who is now, or hereafter may become, by reason of age and physical or mental disabilities, helpless or blind, or so nearly helpless or blind as to require the regular personal aid and attendance of another person, shall be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $72 per month.

SEC. 3. That from and after the approval of this act all persons whose names are on the pension roll, and who, while in the service of the United States in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps during the Civil War, and in the line of duty, shall have lost one hand or one foot or been totally disabled in the same, shall receive a pension at the rate of $60 per month; that all persons who, in such service and in like manner, shall have lost an arm at or above the elbow, or a leg at or above the knee, or been totally disabled in the same, shall receive a pension at the rate of $65 per month; that all persons who, in such service and in like manner, shall have lost an arm at the shoulder joint or a leg at the hip joint, or so near the shoulder or hip joint, or where the same is in such condition as to prevent the use of an artificial limb, shall receive a pension at the rate of $72 per month; and that all persons who, in such service and in like manner, shall have lost one hand and one foot, or been totally disabled in the same, shall receive a pension at the rate of $90 per month.

SEC. 4. That the widow of any person who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War for 90 days or more, and was honorably discharged from such service, or regardless of the length of service was discharged for or died in service of a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, such widow having been married to such soldier, sailor, or marine prior to the 27th day of June, A. D. 1905, shall be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month. And this section shall apply to a former widow of any person who served for 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War and was honorably discharged from such service, or who, having so served for less than 90 days was discharged for or died in service of a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, such widow having remarried, either once or more than once after the death of the soldier, sailor, or marine, if it be shown that such subsequent or successive marriage has, or have been dissolved, either by the death of the husband or husbands, or by divorce without fault on the part of the wife; and any such former widow shall be entitled to and be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month; and any widow as mentioned in this section shall also be paid $6 per month for each child of such officer or enlisted man under the age of 16 years, and in case of the death or remarriage of the widow leaving a child or children of such officer or enlisted man under the age of 16 years, such pension shall be paid such child or children until the age of 16 years: *Provided,* That in case a minor child is insane, idiotic, or otherwise mentally or physically helpless, the pension shall continue during the life of such child, or during the period of such disability, and this proviso shall apply to all pensions heretofore granted or hereafter to be granted under this or any former statute: *And provided further,* That in case of any widow whose name has been dropped from the pension roll because of her remarriage, if the pension has been granted to an insane, idiotic, or otherwise helpless child, or to a child or children under the age of 16 years, she shall not be entitled to renewal of pension under this act until that pension to such child or children terminates, unless such child or children be a member or members of her family and cared for by her, and upon the renewal of pension to such widow, payment of pension to such child or children shall cease: *And provided further,* That the rate of pension for the widow of any person who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States in the War of 1812, or for 60 days or more in the War with Mexico, on the coasts or frontier thereof, or en route thereto during the war with that nation, and was honorably discharged therefrom, shall be $30 per month.

SEC. 5. That all Army nurses of the Civil War and all dependent parents of any officer or enlisted man who served in the Civil War whose names are now on the pension roll, or who are now entitled to pension under any existing law, shall be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

SEC. 6. That the pension or increase of pension herein provided for, as to all persons whose names are now on the pension roll, or who are now in receipt of a pension under existing law, shall commence at the rates herein provided, from the date of the approval of this act, or under section 2 hereof, when the requisite condition is shown to exist after the approval of this act; and as to persons whose names are not now on the pension roll, or who are not now in receipt of a pension under existing law, but who may be entitled to pension under the provisions of this act, such pensions shall commence from the date of filing application therefor in the Bureau of Pensions in such form as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior: *Provided,* That as to any former widow as mentioned in section 4 hereof, who since

the death of her soldier, sailor, or marine husband has remarried either once or more than once, and such subsequent or successive marriage has been dissolved, either by the death of the husband or husbands, or by divorce without fault on the part of the wife, and who filed her application for pension under the act of September 8, 1916, her pension shall commence from the date when her original application was filed under that act in the Bureau of Pensions and shall be at the rate in that act provided, with increase at the rate or rates subsequently provided for the widows of Civil War soldiers, sailors, and marines, and by this act from the date or dates when any such subsequent act or acts took effect or may hereafter take effect, it being the intent and purpose to give to any such widow the same status as other widows of Civil War soldiers, sailors, and marines who have not remarried, and from the date of said act of September 8, 1916.

SEC. 7. That nothing in this act contained shall be held to affect or diminish the additional pension to those on the roll designated as "The Army and Navy Medal of Honor Roll," as provided in the act of April 27, 1916, but any increase herein provided for shall be in addition thereto; and no pension heretofore granted under any act, public or private, shall be reduced by anything contained in this act.

SEC. 8. That no claim agent or attorney or other person shall be recognized in the adjustment of claims under this act, except in claims for original pension, and in such cases no more than the sum of $10 shall be allowed for services in preparing, presenting, or prosecuting any such claim, which sum shall be payable only on the order of the Commissioner of Pensions; and any person who shall violate any of the provisions of this section, or shall wrongfully withhold from the pensioner or claimant the whole or any part of a pension allowed or due to such pensioner or claimant under this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall, for each and every offense, be fined not exceeding $500 or be imprisoned not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court.

Approved, May 1, 1920.

Personal Rural Credit.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADDISON T. SMITH,

OF IDAHO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 29, 1920.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I regard the personal rural credit bill (H. R. 12678), introduced by my colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. MCFADDEN], as one of the most important measures presented in this Congress. In most of the European countries two systems of farm credit are in vogue; one based on land security and the other on personal security. The first enables a farmer to buy a home and the other enables him to make that home a profitable investment. Through the personal rural-credit system in Europe, honesty, energy, and frugality of the tenant farmer have been capitalized, and the actual tiller of the soil, regardless of whether he owns land or not, has a chance to develop. Unless we open the door of opportunity to our honest, energetic, and frugal, though poor, young men, we can not hope to induce them to go upon the farm, and in consequence our agriculture is bound to languish, the very thing which happened in Europe before the personal rural-credit systems were established there.

The McFadden bill is sound beyond question. Its basic principle is self-help. It trusts the farmer along sane lines to do a business necessary to the production of agriculture. It will dignify agriculture as it should be dignified by making it independent financially. The following is a summary of the bill, briefly stating its salient features:

SUMMARY OF THE MCFADDEN RURAL CREDIT BILL (H. R. 12678).

This bill creates a rural-credit society and general insurance league by two separate charters.

Three commissioners are provided for, whose duties are:

To arrange with a well-established life insurance company, having $400,000,000 assets, to accept the insurance charter created by the bill.

To establish the rural-credit society by organizing at least 20 local associations or communes in at least 6 States.

To choose three censors for the insurance league, who must be public certified accountants for five years.

To choose 10 temporary censors' electors for insurance league, who must be policyholders of insurance company in amounts not less than $10,000.

To designate the number of directors of league for first 10 years, which number shall be from 9 to 25.

To select first board of directors for insurance league.

To execute articles of agreement with officials of insurance company accepting such charter and file same with Secretary of Commerce.

I. RURAL-CREDIT SOCIETY.

To act as financial and fiscal agent of the Government, under regulations prescribed by Secretary of Agriculture and approved by the society's board of directors.

To conduct a general banking and credit business through its executive (national), branch (State), and commune (local) offices, but the communes shall not receive deposits nor the system issue currency.

CAPITAL.

Capital of central bank to be $25,000,000, to be furnished by Government without interest; but provision is made for raising sinking fund to discharge this loan.

Capital of each branch $50,000, to be furnished by insurance league in return for similar amount of 6 per cent stock of branch.

Capital of communes consists of $5 shares held by members, each of whom must own at least one share, and may own any number of shares. Rates of dividends on commune stock, determined by advisory council of State branch, not to exceed lowest rate at which loans were made in the State during the past year. Stock transferable only after its owner ceases to be a member.

Society makes such reports to Secretary of Agriculture as he may require.

Money obtained for loans to commune members by sale of bills of exchange called "grangers"; no one else allowed to use this term in a similar sense. (This is the principle of the British system of bills of exchange, which has enabled Great Britain, with a nominal capital, to become the bankers of the world.)

Penalty for embezzlement by any officer or agent of society, its branches, or communes, imprisonment for 1 to 10 years.

DIRECTORS (NATIONAL).

Board of directors of the society: One chosen from each State, term four years, by vote of chairmen of communes casting as many votes as his commune has members. Directors must be members of communes of first or second class. Directors have one vote each on board of directors. Terms of one-fourth of the directors expire each year. Salary of a director, $1,000 a year, provided he attends the annual meeting. Absence from two annual meetings during his term of office leads to removal of a director. Traveling expenses allowed for attendance at annual meetings. Directors may not, during their tenure of office, become a candidate for or hold any office under any government or with any political party. Directors may be recalled at any "confidence" election by a vote of the members of the communes of his district (State). Confidence elections are called by censors and auditor as occasion may require.

Officers of the national board of directors: President, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, one to three censors, executive committee, and such inspectors as may be required; chosen by the board of directors.

Duties other than those usual to such officers: President appoints managers of the State branches, selects depositaries for the funds of the society, and the fiscal and other agents of the society.

Censors: Entitled to attend all meetings of the board and the executive committee; audit the accounts and inspect the books of the society, its branches, and communes; have one of the keys to the securities vault; approve schedule of salaries of auditors and deputy auditors; jointly with the auditors call and supervise confidence elections; make annual report to the Secretary of Agriculture; must be certified public accountants of five years' standing; ineligible for reelection; salary $12,000, with expenses while traveling on duty.

Executive committee: Seven members, chosen by the board of directors; have such powers as board of directors delegate to them.

Auditors and deputy auditors: One auditor and as many deputy auditors as may be required (one for each branch); appointed for term of one year by president of the insurance league; salaries fixed by president of league, subject to approval of censors, and paid by the rural credit society; duties similar to those of the censors; they are a check on the censors.

BRANCHES (STATE).

One in each State (director's district); under direction and management of a manager, appointed by president of the society; deputy auditor, appointed by president of the league; advisory council, elected by supervisors of communes (see below); such other forces as the by-laws require.

Manager: Executive officer of the branch.

Deputy auditor: Under direction of national auditor.

Advisory council: Consists of five members; members must be members of first or second class communes; enact by-laws,

rules, etc., governing State branch and local communes; elected for term of four years by supervisors of communes voting as a unit, casting as many votes as their respective communes have members; compensation, $5 a day and traveling expenses while attending meetings of council, the total compensation and expenses per year not to exceed $100 per individual; elects its own chairman, who calls and presides at meetings of the council.

COMMUNES (LOCAL).

Local voluntary organizations of farmers.

Officers, elected by vote of members, for term of one year: Visor (chairman), scribe (secretary), three or more supervisors (executive committee), and such inspection committees as may be required; each member must own stock in his commune; to become a voting member requires unanimous vote of the voting members; member may be expelled by majority vote; member may resign at any time, but his liability as a member does not cease till end of year in which he resigns.

Three classes of communes:

First class: Those in States permitting waiver of homestead and execution exemptions, and whose members make such waivers and agree to become jointly liable for loans made to members of their commune. Members may borrow up to twenty times their holdings of commune stock.

Second class. Those in States not permitting waivers of kinds above mentioned, but whose members agree to become jointly liable for loans made to members of their commune. Members may borrow up to ten times their holdings of commune stock.

Third class. Those whose members become liable only for what they borrow individually except to the extent of their unpaid subscriptions to commune stock. Their members may borrow up to five times their stock holdings.

Borrowers must state the purpose or purposes for which money borrowed through the commune is to be used.

Expenses of communes are to be paid by the members. These expenses are nominal.

Order of liability for loans made by communes:

1. The borrower himself.
2. Those who go security for the borrower, if any.
3. The borrower's commune stock.
4. Members of borrower's commune, if commune is of first or second class.
5. Surplus of State branch.
6. Stock of all the communes in the State.
7. Stock of the State branch.
8. The guaranty fund of the society.

Rates on loans are left to the communes. (It is presumed that they will not overcharge their members, for each of them may want to borrow himself. In general, these rates will be as low as the money can be obtained for through commercial channels, with the sound credit behind the rural credit society and its various subdivisions.)

Term of loans and manner of repayment determined by commune.

Funds for loans are raised by sale of bills of exchange:

To life insurance companies to meet their banking obligations.

To fire insurance companies to meet their conflagration losses.

To wage earners in industrial centers and other private investors.

Society given franking privilege to investigate credit status of members and of farmers wishing to become members.

II. GENERAL INSURANCE LEAGUE.

To act as the fiscal and financial agent of the Government under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Commerce and approved by the league's board of directors.

To do and transact a general insurance business and sell indemnity against any and every contingency; but required to maintain a separate department for each class of business; but assets, capital, surplus, and funds of one department not liable for the debts, obligations, or defaults of another department, except its guaranty fund shall be a common fund of all departments, and 25 per cent of its general old-age pension fund may be used to protect the guaranty fund. (This general insurance charter conforms to the charters of the British insurance companies.)

Each department must have a fully paid capital of $100,000 and be represented by stock which shall earn a 7 per cent dividend.

SINKING FUND.

Each department shall maintain a sinking fund, which shall consist of the proceeds from the sale of the capital stock and 1 per cent of the premium receipts thereof until the capital is retired.

Object of sinking fund is to retire capital stock, raise guaranty fund of $1,000,000, and better protect stock and policy holders and cure any impairment in the safety fund of each department.

Stock of each department to be retired on basis voted by majority of stockholders, but no stock can be retired which would leave sinking fund with less than $1,000,000 of approved assets.

Guaranty fund: Remainder of sinking fund of each department not used to retire capital stock to become part of guaranty fund and be under the management of the life department.

Preliminary control: To be exercised by the three commissioners, whose duties are already enumerated.

Temporary control: To be exercised by the board of directors.

Permanent control: Ten years after the execution of articles of agreement by commissioners the league's directors must meet for the purpose of mutualizing the league by electing its first board of trustees. One trustee shall be elected from each of the 48 States and the District of Columbia having an eligible person residing therein to hold such office, and their successors shall be elected for a term of five years each by the positive electors of their respective States.

Positive elector is defined to be a citizen of the United States who has been insured with the league (or company reinsured by the league) for 10 years with a reserve value of not less than $5,000. Any State having 20 positive electors resident thereof shall be entitled to elect a trustee of the league by the ballots of its positive electors.

Negative elector is a citizen who has been insured 10 years under a policy with a reserve value of $500 to $5,000, and each county (and city having no county government) is denominated a confidence election district, and the negative electors of each confidence election district have the right to call confidence elections therein to disqualify any positive elector residing in the same, and any positive elector who fails to receive a vote of confidence at such election shall be rendered ineligible from holding the office of trustee or voting at an election for trustee. Twenty-five per cent of the negative electors, the president of the league, a majority of the censors or temporary censors, as the case may be, or 20 per cent of the trustees may call a confidence election.

Board of trustees shall meet annually to elect a president, secretary, seven members of the advisory council, and such other officers as the by-laws may prescribe, who shall hold office for one year each. Members of advisory council shall be positive electors, who shall exercise such power and authority as shall be delegated to them by the board of trustees.

Censors: The charter authorizes the league to negotiate with either the United Commercial Travelers or the Travelers' Protective Association for the purpose of inducing one of them to make the league its official life insurance organization and elect its permanent censors. This conforms with the practice of one of the old British companies which induced the United Commercial Travelers of the United Kingdom of Great Britain to make it their official life insurance company. Before that it had done no business to amount to anything, as its assets were less than $1,000,000, but 30 years later its assets exceeded $80,000,000, and, with one exception, it was doing twice as much ordinary business as any other British company.

The censors possess the same qualifications and are to be paid the same salaries as the temporary censors, and they each possess the same powers and authority, viz: To supervise all elections, audit the accounts, verify the statements, and inspect the books, papers, transactions, and properties of the league, become the custodians of one of the keys to the securities' vault, and approve each by-law, contract, and agreement in which a director, trustee, or officer making the same is to acquire a direct personal interest. (This system of inspection conforms to those of some of the greatest public-service corporations in Europe, which are free from such scandals as so frequently occur among our Government-inspected corporations.)

Members of board of trustees and advisory council shall not hold an elective office under any government or with any political party.

The agreement of league with such commercial travelers' order must be approved by the Secretary of Commerce. The league is authorized to raise a special old-age pension fund for such order, making the league its official life insurance company, but no person holding an office or other position with the league shall become a beneficiary of such fund.

General old-age pension fund is provided for, the objects being to encourage our youth to capitalize their future income and protect themselves against want in old age and to better protect the policyholders of all the departments. Authority is given for the voluntary endowment of such fund, and anyone endowing it in the sum of $1,000,000 shall have the right to select the name of a benefactor, which name shall be printed

on all checks remitting the available portion of such fund to the beneficiaries thereof.

Penalty for embezzlement by any director, trustee, officer, or agent of league imprisonment for 2 to 10 years, and same penalty to be imposed on any director, trustee, or officer who knowingly, without first obtaining the written approval of the censors, makes a contract or enacts a by-law for the league through which he is to acquire a direct personal interest.

The league accepts the trust toward the rural credit society imposed under the two charters, viz:

To invest $50,000 in the stock of each of the 48 branches of rural credit society, on which the league is to be paid a dividend of 6 per cent per annum, which stock is nonassignable.

To invest $100,000 in the credit paper of rural credit society.

To select one auditor and as many deputy auditors for the rural credit society as president of the league deems necessary, and prepare a schedule of compensation for them and submit same to censors of rural credit society for their approval.

To act as trustee for the acceptance and investment of the guaranty fund of rural credit society, for the risk and expense of which trust the league is to be paid one-half of 1 per cent per annum.

Personal Rural Credit Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS T. McFADDEN,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 30, 1920.

Mr. McFADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a letter from Dr. W. J. Spillman indorsing my bill (H. R. 12678) to establish a personal rural credit system, which I ask to be incorporated in my remarks. Dr. Spillman was for 16 years head of the Bureau of Farm Organizations of the Department of Agriculture, and is now the Washington correspondent and associate editor of the Farm Journal, of Philadelphia, the biggest farm journal in the world. He is also a member of the committee appointed by the Agricultural Editors' Association, which met in Chicago recently, to study my rural credit bill and report to the association. This letter was written after he had given that bill his very careful study.

Some evil-minded persons are circulating the false report that I am opposed to the Capper-Hersman bill legalizing collective marketing. Nothing could be further from the truth than such report. The principle embodied in that bill is economically sound, because every dollar wasted in marketing any commodity is an added burden imposed on the consumer. Instead of opposing this measure, I have most diligently worked for its enactment into law. On yesterday I received a letter from Mr. Charles A. Layman, secretary National Board of Farm Organizations, of this city, which fully states my position. He wrote:

DEAR MR. MCFADDEN: I have your letter of April 26 addressed to the three farm organizations who wrote you a few days ago with reference to the Capper-Hersman bill legalizing collective bargaining.

I am indeed glad to know that you are heartily in favor of this measure.

Yours, truly, CHAS. A. LAYMAN.

I have frequently discussed the merits of this bill with Mr. John D. Miller, attorney of the Dairymen's League, and in company with him visited the Hon. A. J. VOLSTEAD, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, which has it under consideration, where we presented the merits of the bill. I have cooperated with grange and other leaders of farmers organizations for the enactment of this bill into law. In this connection I wish to quote a letter I recently received from Mr. VOLSTEAD. He wrote:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 22, 1920.*

Hon. L. T. MCFADDEN,
House of Representatives, United States.

DEAR MR. MCFADDEN: I have your note asking the status of the Capper-Hersman bill. Since you called in regard to this legislation I have been trying to get the views of different persons in regard to the tentative draft I made of the new bill. I am especially anxious to get the opinion of Mr. J. D. Miller. I wrote him some time ago, but he has probably been too busy or he is perhaps taking time to consult with others interested in this legislation. Possibly you might reach him. However, I expect to hear from him in a day or two. If I remember correctly, you told me when you and he called in regard to this matter that he is a constituent of yours.

I hope to be able to get this legislation in shape in the near future so that we can get it reported to the House in a form satisfactory to those interested in it. I wish that friends of this measure would take as much real interest in it as you have. If they would, we should have but little trouble.

Very truly, yours, A. J. VOLSTEAD.

I have always worked for legislation which would benefit the farming interests. I voted for the Federal farm-loan bill, and have worked to have it amended so as to prevent inflation, just as the author of the bill has done, the Hon. CARTER GLASS.

The letter of Dr. Spillman is as follows:

[The Farm Journal, Washington Square, Philadelphia.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 28, 1920.*

Hon. LOUIS T. MCFADDEN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MCFADDEN: The need for a comprehensive scheme of personal short-time credit for farmers is just as urgent as was formerly the need for long-time credit. Agricultural production lags for want of sufficient fluid capital for financing short-time operations on the farm. City business men are supplied with credit of this kind suited to their needs. But the ordinary commercial banks do not meet the needs of farmers. We therefore need comprehensive legislation that will make money for short-time loans of personal security available generally to farmers.

During the past month I have made a careful study of the bill introduced by you, H. R. 12678, providing a means whereby farmers can secure such credit. The more I study your bill the more firmly I am convinced that it is constructed on right principles, and that it will accomplish the purpose in view. This bill is in no way inimical to any business interest, and will greatly stimulate agricultural production by providing an abundance of capital for farm needs at the lowest commercial rates on absolutely sound security. I do not see how any security, even Government bonds, can form a sounder basis for credit than would the bills of exchange provided in your bill. This should make every idle dollar in this country available for farm loans at low rates of interest.

One of the most important features of this bill is the autonomy it gives the local organizations of farmers in determining the rate of interest on loans, as well as the length of time loans shall run and the manner of repayment, whether monthly, annually, etc. The entire rural-credit system provided in the bill is actually under the control of its members, all of whom must be farmers. The bill provides checks and controls that make misconduct on the part of the officers of the organization practically impossible. At the same time it gives the officers the services of the best financial experts in the country.

The insurance feature of the bill is a distinct advantage. Credit on the basis of destructible property requires insurance. Mortgage loans made by the Federal farm land banks require it on farm improvements. The entire plan of insurance in your bill is carefully thought out, and would tend to make the system work smoothly and efficiently.

I am so impressed with the value of this particular bill that I am urging my friends amongst the editors of agricultural papers to come to its support. I sincerely hope that the bill may be enacted into law.

Yours, very truly, W. J. SPILLMAN,
Associate Editor.

Multiplying Millionaires—Shall We Limit Incomes?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. EVANS,

OF MONTANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 11, 1920.

Mr. EVANS of Montana. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, in the few minutes allotted me I want to talk about taxation and the method adopted and to be adopted to raise the necessary revenue to meet the obligations of the Government. For some weeks the great Ways and Means Committee of this House has been considering what is commonly called the "soldiers' bonus bill," and a few days ago tentatively agreed to report to this House such a measure. This proposed bill carried a provision for the purpose of financing the measure, commonly called a "sales tax." This sales tax is designed to raise about a billion and a half dollars by placing a tax on all sales of commodities that enter into our everyday affairs. This provision met with such instant and emphatic protest from the Members of this House and the people of the country generally that the whole bill was withdrawn and now awaits further consideration of the committee.

Mr. Speaker, the great mass of the American people can not stand any additional burden of taxation, and they can not and will not approve any form of taxation that compels the consumer under the guise of taxation to pay into the hands of the profiteer a sum oftentimes much larger than the tax itself. This so-called sales tax will be used as a pretext for enhancing the price of every article that enters into our daily needs many times more than the amount of the tax. This has been clearly

demonstrated by such taxes in the past materially increasing the cost of articles.

It is a return to the methods of the feudal ages, it is unjust and iniquitous. It should not be, and will not be, quietly submitted to by the people. The people have almost reached the limit of endurance. The high cost of living is the specter that sits at every table in every home in the land. With wages higher than ever before in our history, the clerk, the bookkeeper, the teacher, the mechanic, the farmer, and the laborer all alike feel the presence of an unseen but all-pervading oppression. In their bitterness they blame one another. The farmer blames the middleman. The mechanic blames the butcher, the baker, and the grocer, and these shift the blame back to the farmer, the stock raiser, and the dairyman. When the pinch first came we were in the midst of war, and conditions which were believed to be the result of war were borne with patriotic spirit—with patience and submission.

The war is over now and still the burdens increase and their taxes multiply. While the war lasted the people, patriotic to the core, expected and were willing to bear the sacrifice; but, with the war over, they find conditions aggravated without apparent reason; the wage earners are disappointed and discontented. And while the condition of the masses is in this intolerable plight they see vast fortunes accumulated and still accumulating in almost every branch of industry. They note that over 4,000 millionaires were created by the war. They note that the big corporations were declaring dividends of 100 per cent out of those very things in which the prices have mounted highest and which make the largest draft upon their earnings.

With the amassing of the big fortunes goes an era of waste, extravagance, and self-indulgence on the part of the owners that is breaking down the moral fiber of our people and tending to obliterate all sense of integrity and fair play. As naturally as the night follows the day a sense of resentment grows in the hearts of the great masses. It is time for discerning men everywhere to try to interpret the signs of the times.

TAXATION NECESSARY.

Taxation is necessary, of course, Mr. Speaker—additional taxation is probably necessary—but to lay a heavier burden upon the backs and stomachs of that class of our people who now struggle for a bare existence is monstrous. There is wealth enough in this country to bear all necessary taxes, and it must not and shall not be laid on bare backs and empty bellies.

BILL 13786.

A few days ago I introduced bill No. 13786, designed to increase the excess profits and income tax and to limit the size of any man's or corporation's annual income to $250,000. I realize, Mr. Speaker, that men will hold up their hands in holy horror at such a proposition. They will characterize me as a destructionist and an anarchist, but I am neither.

I am no more an anarchist than the man who advocates the repeal of the excess-profits tax. Already there is a propaganda being carried on to abolish this tax. Every mail brings to our desk heartrending appeals showing how iniquitous the excess-profits tax is; how it is added directly to the cost of their production and is paid, in the long run, by the consumer. Influential papers, big bankers, and chambers of commerce, controlled by the financial and industrial leaders in their respective communities, all join in the chorus. They all sing the same song. Their interest in the common people is marvelously strong as well as pathetic. And, then, to appeal to the Government side of the question, they tell us how intricate and irritable these taxes are, how difficult they are to compute, and how expensive they are to the Government to collect. From what sources do they expect the taxes to come? They are men of affairs, who ought to be interested in the welfare of their country; they know the taxes must be raised; they know these taxes at least are only a part of the profits they make in excess of what they would or even did make in normal times or under normal conditions of the country and the world. The attitude of the propagandist may well be illustrated by the following quotation from a recent issue of the bulletin published by the New York Chamber of Commerce:

> The detrimental and deadening effect of the heavy taxes on incomes and the profit taxes is now generally recognized. Such exactions from the larger incomes, both individual and corporate, result in the absorption by Government of that portion of the income of the country's industry which would naturally be annually added to capital.

Solicitous, indeed, are these gentlemen about capital, but they say nothing about the needs of their Government; they give no thought or heed to the ever-mounting price of necessities of life that must be purchased by the poor. We know, of course, what the corporations will do with the margin of excess profits left to them after the repeal of the excess-profits tax. We know they will add this margin to their capital, because that is what they have been doing right along. For instance, the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana has just increased its capital from $1,000,000 to $30,000,000. Many of the branches of the Standard Oil Co. throughout the United States have surpluses far in excess of their permitted capital waiting for the opportunity—the propitious moment—to increase their capitalization. The Atlantic Refining Co. has increased its capital from $5,000,000 to $50,000,000. The Continental Oil Co. has raised its capital from $3,000,000 to $18,000,000.

Of course, all these increases in capital simply mean turning the surplus and excess profits into the capitalization, followed by a general distribution of the increased stock among the stockholders.

For instance, the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey has a capital of $98,338,382 and a surplus of about $500,000,000.

If, as many men now believe, the amassing of these great fortunes is a menace to the country, obviously there is but one thing to do, and that is to fix a point beyond which men and corporations can not go.

In the last published report of the Internal Revenue Bureau of the Treasury Department, that of 1917—the figures for 1918 and 1919 are not yet tabulated—we find this startling situation:

MULTIPLYING MILLIONAIRES.

In 1914 there were 2,348 millionaires in the United States. In 1917, the last date for which the figures are collected and summarized, there were 6,664, or an increase of 4,316 in three years. Dividing them into classes, according to occupation, there were of manufacturers 920 new millionaires made during the war. There were of farmers and stock raisers, 120; of corporation officials, 716. There were lawyers and judges to the number of 206. There were 27 doctors. There were 452 women in the list. There was one man whose net income, after paying his income tax, was $34,936,604. There was another whose net income was $5,794,559. There were 8 whose net incomes were $4,000,000 and their aggregate net income was $7,000,000; there were 5 whose net incomes were over $3,000,000 and their aggregate net income was over $16,000,000; there were 24 whose net income was over $2,000,000 and whose aggregate net income was $58,000,000; there were 33 whose net incomes were between $1,500,000 and $2,000,000; and there were 67 people in the United States whose aggregate net income was $80,413,549, who had net incomes between $1,000,000 and $1,500,000 each. Those having net incomes between $500,000 and $1,000,000 were 315 and their aggregate net income was $214,000,000. In other words, there were 460 persons, less than a battalion of fighting men, in the United States whose aggregate net income was $520,835,914.

I hope I may not be misunderstood. I am not attacking capital or capitalists. I am attacking the conditions and the laws that permit a few men to accumulate these immense fortunes. I am not asking that a dollar of invested capital be taken from anyone. I am asking that the laws be so changed that it will be impossible in the future for any individual to so corner the wealth of the country as to become a menace.

Only yesterday the dispatches in the daily press carried the news item that a large department house in New York announced that beginning with that day $20,000,000 worth of goods would be sold at a reduction of 20 per cent in the sale price. This institution should not be condemned—perhaps it should be applauded—but to the average mind it seems apparent that if this institution can at one stroke of a pen cut its selling price of $20,000,000 worth of goods 20 per cent that it must have been making an abnormal profit before the cut.

My aim is to lessen the tyranny of money. We can not hope to destroy the insatiable appetite for accumulation, but we can fix a point beyond which men can not retain when they have accumulated, and then the incentive and desire to amass menacing fortunes will disappear.

THE REMEDY.

What is our remedy? Simply discourage profiteering enterprises by increasing the rate of taxation on annual net incomes in excess of $100,000 by graduated steps, making the tax 100 per cent on all incomes in excess of $250,000. This is the plan I propose in H. R. 13786, for which I respectfully ask your careful study and consideration.

On net incomes between $100,000 and $125,000 I would increase the rate of taxation to 55 per cent; between $125,000 and $150,000 I would make the tax 60 per cent; between $150,000 and $175,000, 70 per cent; between $175,000 and $200,000, 80 per cent; between $200,000 and $225,000, 90 per cent; and on all net annual incomes above $250,000 I would place the tax at 100 per cent.

I do not believe that the Government should collect any taxes on incomes of individuals of over $250,000. There should be no such incomes.

AS TO CORPORATIONS.

This bill likewise limits the income of corporations to a similar amount. It allows its normal exemption, its running expenses, depreciation, and so forth, and allows it 8 per cent on invested capital for the year, and then make a profit of $250,000.

In my judgment that is enough money for any individual or company to make in any one year, and when the incentive for profiteering is removed profiteering will cease and it will all redound to the good of the Nation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. BABKA,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 6, 1920.

Mr. BABKA. Mr. Speaker, on April 22 I introduced the following bill in the House:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 1 of title 2 of the national prohibition act is hereby amended by adding at the end of said section the following: "*Provided, however*, That the above construction of the word 'liquor' or the phrase 'intoxicating liquor,' so far as it relates to beer, ale, porter, and wine, shall not apply in those States which through a referendum vote shall adopt a different construction for the word 'liquor' or the phrase 'intoxicating liquor,' and any State may through a referendum vote of the people place such construction upon the word 'liquor' or the phrase 'intoxicating liquor' as shall not include within the operation of this act beer, ale, and porter up to 4 per cent alcoholic content by volume and wine up to 10 per cent alcoholic content by volume, and the Federal Government hereby concurs in such construction under the concurrent provision of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, said referendum to be placed upon the ballot at any special election for that purpose called by the governor of any State, or at any State or national election, whenever the governor of such State, in his discretion, may so direct or whenever 15 per cent of the voters of such State shall so petition the secretary of state of such State at least 30 days before the said election."

I wish to thank the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNES] for kindly yielding me this time so that I might discuss this measure. Mr. Speaker, the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution of the United States provides that the several States and the Federal Government shall have concurrent jurisdiction in its enforcement.

This bill would so amend the Volstead Act as to enable the States to take advantage of this provision. Why should they not have it? Why should they be deprived of the sovereignty which is guaranteed every State by the Constitution? Can there be any valid objection to allowing the people of each State to settle the question as to what is and what is not to be considered criminal within its own borders? No one has ever questioned the right of a State to declare what shall be a crime within its border. No one has ever before been heard to say that the Federal Government could write a criminal code for a State or define as a crime an act committed wholly within its boundary. Everyone knows that the fixing of the alcoholic contents in beverages at one-half of 1 per cent is purely arbitrary and not based on any scientific proof. Experts disagree as to the exact percentage of alcoholic contents at which a beverage becomes intoxicating, but most of them admit that it is higher than that fixed by the Volstead Act. After all is said and done, it depends upon the amount of the beverage consumed. I can imagine that there are those who will consume even enough of the one-half of 1 per cent stuff to saturate their system with alcohol; but that ought not to make it impossible for a man desiring to partake of a beverage fit for a human being to have it if he wants it. Let some of these advocates of the Volstead Act go into the mills and factories, do a real man's work, and then try to invigorate themselves by a drink of this one-half of 1 per cent. If they did I am sure they would soon change their tune. Mr. Speaker, my bill will permit the citizens of each State to decide for themselves what shall or what shall not be considered intoxicating within its jurisdiction. If the people of Georgia or some other State wish to drink Coca-Cola or rain water, that is their privilege. But why should they have the right to prescribe what my good people of the great State of Ohio shall drink? I insist that the people of Ohio shall decide for themselves their mode of living. My bill does not interfere with the desires of the people of any other State. It will permit the people of each State to decide for themselves.

Mr. Speaker, not only has the Volstead Act done away with an income of $444,000,000, but it has added an expenditure to the cost of the administration of $50,000,000, according to the best estimates. In addition, the Anti-Saloon League is asking the American people for contributions of $27,920,300 to enable it to assist the Government in enforcing this law. In all the cost of enforcement of this law is to be something like $88,000,000, as against an income prior to its enactment of $444,000,000. Therefore the total cost of this pernicious legislation is about $532,000,000. What an awful price to pay for this hobby of a minority.

We have just come out of the World War. Four millions and a half of our young men who were taken from their employment and placed in training camps and in the trenches and on the battle line have returned. They find that their enforced absence was taken advantage of by the enemies of personal liberty; that their victory, which they believed made the world safe for democracy, has made their own country intolerant; that their lives are to be hemmed in by this repressive law. Is it any wonder that they are dissatisfied and that grumbling sounds are heard everywhere? Mr. Speaker, Congress is now considering a measure intended to partly compensate those brave boys for their suffering. Appreciating that they were compelled to endure the tortures of hell in bringing the laurel wreath of victory to our arms, while those of us who stayed at home were enabled, by reason of the conditions which brought only suffering to them, to earn double and sometimes treble the wages that we earned before, we are about to enact the so-called soldiers' bonus law.

This meritorious law has been delayed because of the difficulty of raising money by reason of our depleted Treasury. This question has taxed the brains of our experienced legislators. It will cost about $2,500,000,000 if the plan advocated by the American Legion is adopted. The only way this can be done now is to impose additional taxes of one kind or another on the already overburdened and overtaxed American people. Mr. Speaker, I believe that if the Volstead Act be amended by the enactment of this measure a very large majority of the States will avail themselves of the opportunity to liberalize the enforcement of the prohibition amendment. This will reestablish the income of about $444,000,000 which is now lost to the Treasury, and wipe out the expenditure necessary in the enforcement of prohibition of $88,000,000. In this way about $532,000,000 can be raised yearly without the necessity of raising the taxes. Every penny asked for by the brave boys who sacrificed so much for their country in its hour of need could be raised within the short period of four years without imposing any additional burdens upon the people.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON LEE,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 13, 1920.

Mr. LEE of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, it is not my purpose to discuss the tariff question, but to mention it as leading up to conditions that have caused great changes in the distribution of the population of the country. The artificially high prices of manufactured products enabled the manufacturers to pay their labor good wages. They could do it, and they did it to an extent that made wages in the manufacturing industries higher than wages on the farms. Life in the cities became more remunerative than life in the country, and as a result the farms suffered. The movement from the country to the cities has been in progress for many years, and it is attributable in part to the fact that the class of work that was done in the cities was more profitable than the work that was done in the country. Young men were tempted from the farms by the more lucrative work they could obtain in the cities. In 1880 the urban population of the country was only 14,772,438, but it had grown to 42,623,383 by 1910, practically a threefold increase, while the population of the rural districts was 35,383,345 in 1880 and had grown to 49,343,883 by 1910, a gain of little more than 50 per cent in 30 years. If the rural districts had made no gains from immigration, but had relied only on the increase from births, their population would have been fully 60,000,000 by 1910. Fully 11,000,000 men had gone from the country to the cities in 30 years to help make up their gain of 28,000,000 made during that period.

Two and a half times as many people lived in the rural as in the urban parts of the country in 1880, while in 1910 there were

fewer than one-sixth more in the country than in the cities. The census of 1920 will be published in a few months, and while no one knows definitely what it will show, it is certain to show that the urban population of the country now exceeds the rural population, for the last four years has been a period of depletion of the farms and the upbuilding of the cities such as has never been known before.

Our economic system drew the population from the farms because it made farming comparatively unprofitable, and with the flow of population from the country to the cities farm production declined. It did not decline actually and absolutely, but it declined relatively. The number of consumers increased so much more than the number of producers of farm products that the surplus for export declined and in some cases disappeared. The law of supply and demand increased the price paid for farm products when the demand for them in this country had increased so much more than the supply of them. The result has been a return of prosperity to the farms. When war shook the world with its convulsions and the plowshare was turned into the sword and the pruning hook into the spear the hope of Western Europe was centered on the farmers of the United States. Whole nations had changed from the work of production to the work of destruction. Fields lay idle, and streams turned machinery for little except making material for war. But food had to be supplied, and the farmers of the United States were called on to supply it. If they had slighted their tasks the western world would have starved. They were working at a disadvantage, but they toiled on early and late. A great part of their help had gone to the cities to engage in the more remunerative war work, for the combatants needed arms and ammunition as badly as they needed food. With their labor depleted and disorganized by the war, the farmers bent to the task, and they accomplished it to a degree that was little short of miraculous. They did not strike; they did not loiter on their jobs; they prospered, but contented themselves with less than others demanded and received. They changed from nonessential to essential crops; they did the full duty of men, and their labors saved the situation. But increased production with fewer workers would not have been possible if the Government had not waked up to the necessity of doing something for the men who lived on the farms. Other classes had been the recipients of Government favors, while the farmers had been left to take care of themselves. But men began to see from the drift that if something were not done and done quickly this country would in a few more years have to rely on others for its food.

The war was not necessary to bring out this fact, but it was necessary to emphasize it. Before the outbreak of the war in Europe Congress began to show by its acts that it appreciated the need of encouraging agriculture, which up to that time had been permitted to take care of itself and had also been burdened by the measures provided for taking care of other lines of production. It did not tax other industries to assist the farmers. It did not care for them by levying high import duties to prevent the competition of agricultural workers in other countries. It could not have helped them in this way if it would, for agricultural production in most lines was still in excess of the needs of the country, and home competition would have made it impossible for a tariff to increase the price of agricultural products. The encouragement given the farmers had to be given in other ways.

While during the last six or seven years Congress has done a great deal for the development of agriculture, it can not properly be said that it has enacted class legislation. Everything that has been done for the farmers has also benefited those who use farm products, and that means all the people of the United States. The consumer gets the benefit in lower prices of increased production or distribution. The prices of agricultural products are high, but not as high as would have been the case if agricultural development had not been encouraged by law.

The object was to increase production and secure economies in production and in distribution, and while the farmer has gained by the efforts made in this line he has not gained more than the consumer. It can not be said that Congress has given the farmer anything—it has simply gotten things out of his way.

One of the greatest hindrances of agricultural production has been found in the fact that the farmer has not been able to borrow money easily or at reasonable rates. He has been compelled to pay higher interest than others paid in order to get credit to carry on his business. To remedy this the Federal reserve act authorizes national banks to lend money on farm mortgages.

The farm loan act creates a banking system for the use of the agricultural classes and it is so operated as to meet the farmers' needs. It is attracting capital to the farms and is reducing the interest the farmers are required to pay. The farmer can now get money as easily as the merchant or the manufacturer. These acts have not placed him at an advantage, but have placed him on terms of equality with business men of other classes. Cheaper money easier to borrow brings about an economy in production.

Congress has also given its attention to economies in distribution. Bad roads have been a source of great waste to the farmers and to those who have bought their products. Those who have given the road question the greatest attention say that the cost of getting products to and from the railroad stations has been greater than that of getting them from the stations to the great markets. Bad roads have cost the people more than freight rates, and that is billions of dollars a year.

The Federal aid road act made available $285,000,000 for cooperation between the Federal and State Governments in the construction of roads. The sum named, large as it is, is only a starter, for the States have to contribute equally with the Federal Government, and this spreads the good-roads fever to the counties. It is safe to say that the sum appropriated by the Federal Government is quadrupled in the building of roads by the influence it exerts on States and counties. This saving by enabling the farmers to haul heavier loads, and haul them quicker, is incalculable, and its benefits are shared by the producer and consumer.

Another advantage of good roads is found in the fact that they give easy access to the towns and the diversions that may be found in them. It makes life on the farms more pleasant and tends to check the movement from the country to the cities. With good roads the country and the city are brought so close together that the people of each may enjoy the pleasures of the other.

The extension of the parcel post has put the farmers and their city customers in touch, enabling the former to get more for their products, and the latter to get more for their money. To the extent that this is used, the middleman is eliminated, the farmer dealing directly with his customer.

In times past the farmer marketed his crops when gathered. The demand for his products extended throughout the year, but he needed to sell at once. As a result, at the time when the farmers were selling the supply of products was vastly greater than the demand for them and at that period of the year the price was lower than at any other time. The warehouse act enables the Department of Agriculture to license bonded warehouses, and this makes possible the issuance of reliable and easily negotiable warehouse receipts, enabling the farmer to store his products until he can get a legitimate price for them—a price not fixed by temporary oversupply but one that is fixed by the average supply and demand for the entire year. The farmer is thus enabled to get a higher price for his products while the consumer does not pay a higher price. The arrangement merely tends to eliminate the speculator and divide the profits he made between the producer and the consumer.

Within the last few years Congress has provided standards for cotton and for grain, and the tendency of these is to enable the farmer to get a better price for his products. It is impossible in the time at my disposal to even enumerate the thousand and one things that have been done to help the farmers help the consumers. Every appropriation made to the Department of Agriculture would come in this list.

This department is without a rival on earth. No other country has any agency for the encouragement of agricultural work that compares with it at all. It is in a class by itself.

In the Department of Agriculture we have the largest and most efficient collection of specialists that can be found under the sun. Each man is a scientist and an enthusiast and each feels that his work is the most pleasant, the most useful, the most important that man can do.

The department is combating diseases of animals and of plants. It is fighting every pest that interferes with production. Its activities are limited only by the amount of money that can be spared for its use.

The inauguration of a Bureau of Markets was an important step toward the elimination of waste, and waste is a dead loss. The information this bureau is circulating is already of inestimable value, and it is of growing value. To say nothing of the probability of a more extended support of this bureau by Federal legislation, it is growing because the men it serves are learning more and more of the advantages its information offers and more and more they will be guided by it to their profit and to the profit of the people at large. The question of distribution is a most important one, and this bureau will exert a very great influence on its proper solution in the future.

We have been trying to get obstacles out of the farmers' way, and we have provided for more than the mere removal of hindrances. The Smith-Lever Act provides a nation-wide sys-

tem of instruction for farmers in their home counties. Agricultural and home demonstration agents in the several counties carry instruction in agriculture into the homes of the people. They are ready with advice that is both scientific and practical and their advice is at the service of any who call for it. Their assistance is worth much even to the experienced farmers, who are not always up on the latest and best methods, and it is absolutely of priceless benefit to men who are starting in agriculture or are beginning work of this kind under environments with which they are not familiar. Through the organization of boys' and girls' clubs, these men are extending their instruction and their encouragement to the youth of the land, and many of the youngsters working on a small scale are making phenomenal yields. The emulation that is incited calls forth the best efforts of the boys and girls who enter the contests of production, and the foundation is being laid for a scientific agriculture that will before many years entirely supplant the haphazard methods that have been too much in evidence in the past.

Other things may be more striking now than this agricultural educational work; but it is building for the future, and we believe that it will mean in another generation that agriculture will be conducted in this country on a wiser plane than any other business in which Americans are engaged. The next generation of farmers will apply to their work the best information that is both scientific and practical, and the result will be better returns from the cultivation of the soil than any nation has ever known.

No nation can attain the maximum of development that does not possess the power of sustaining itself so far as the larger division of activities is concerned. I do not mean to say that each nation should grow or manufacture products that it could buy from others to greater advantage. What I mean is that its agricultural, its manufacturing, its transportation, its mining production should be sufficient to supply its people with necessities if they were cut off from the balance of the world, and it should not depend on other nations for ships to handle its commerce.

Of course, the first industry to develop is agriculture, and our country was not the first to leave this industry to take care of itself and build on it foundations for the establishment of other industries. But other industries have been established and have grown in volume of investments and in value of products beyond the development of this industry on which every man, woman, and child in the world must lean for support. Agriculturally our country is the greatest among the nations of the earth, but it is also the greatest manufacturing country, and its lead in manufacturing is greater than its lead in agriculture.

It behooves us as guides in the progress of this great Nation to turn our attention in greater measure than ever before to upbuilding of the rural districts. It is our road of least resistance and therefore our road to the greatest accomplishments. We are enjoying a manufacturing prosperity such as no nation has ever enjoyed before, and are producing a larger volume of manufactured commodities than has ever been produced by any nation in the world's history; but this development will not continue its gains and it is not best for us that it should continue. The country is now paying for its manufacturing development in the high cost of living. It is taxing men in the cities and towns and calling forth complaints from all parts of the land.

In manufacturing we will do well to hold our own. We have gained our unquestioned supremacy through artificial conditions. Our competitors have been compelled to drop out of the contest. They have been destroying instead of building. Before the outbreak of the war the United States was the greatest of all manufacturing countries, but it was not so far in the lead as it is now and would not have been so far in the lead if the industries of other countries had not been compelled to cease to compete. Soon they will resume, and we will face the rivalry of a Europe nerved to greater energies by the war and accustomed by it to greater economies. We should hold our own; we must hold our own; we will hold our own.

But we need to bring agriculture to the front rank again. By doing this we will bless all classes and lay more solidly and more enduringly the foundation on which all industries stand.

When we build up the country we build up the cities. The wonderful growth of the last century has been directly or indirectly due to our vast area. Men came to till our land or they came to do in the cities the work that would not have been profitable if there had not been a large rural population to support the cities.

But we have taken a long look ahead. The movement now is from the country to the cities and the evil results to the country as a whole are already felt. We need to turn the tide back by increasing the attractiveness of farm life, by the campaign of education that is now being waged throughout the Nation—a campaign that resulting in better methods will secure increased production from the men who are now on the farms—and by removing all hindrances to successful farming that can be removed by legislation. We have done a great deal but it is only a start, and when we continue and enlarge our efforts we will understand, and the people will understand, that what we are doing for the farmers we are doing for the people of the United States.

The farmers are now prosperous in all parts of the country though they are not combined to extort higher wages or higher prices. They do not demand a six or seven or eight hour day. They work while they can see, and they produce all they can.

They plant hoping that the seasons may be propitious but knowing they may lose the fruit of their labors by flood or drought or pest. If they lose they take it as their share and try again, and in the long run nature evens up things and rewards them for their toil.

Agriculture is not sectional. It distributes its rewards throughout all parts of the country. On the slopes whose waters flow into the Atlantic, among the mountains that divide the streams flowing into the Gulf from those seeking the oceans, in the valleys and on the plains of the great Mississippi Basin, and on the lands that look across the Pacific, the farmers are at work, the earth yields its harvest of food and fruit and of material for clothing, and plenty reigns.

Mr. Speaker, our agricultural legislation has been filled with progressive proposals in the interest of the American farmer, and I think it can be said without a doubt that more has been done for agriculture within the last 6 years through Federal laws and appropriations than during any period of 50 years combined in the history of this country, and I am proud to have had my humble part in this great work.

SPEECH

OF

HON. RUFUS HARDY,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 14, 1920.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 13587) making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.

Mr. HARDY of Texas. Mr. Chairman, when the so-called peace resolution that was adopted last Friday was before the House I could get no opportunity to discuss it. I am going to use this 10 minutes to discuss that resolution, and in the meantime I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. HARDY of Texas. I shall read some of the observations which were made in a speech upon the subject of the peace treaty and the relation of our country to our allies before the treaty was concluded and while it was being discussed and presented at the peace table. This speech was by a great leader, in fact, I might say the great leader, of the Republican Party in its fight upon the League of Nations and the treaty generally which was negotiated by the President at Versailles. It was delivered on December 21, 1918, and at that time nobody knew what form the treaty would take. In my humble judgment, this leader at that time laid down a program for the President at the peace council which he did not believe Mr. Wilson could put through. I think he thought that at the peace table there would be a great deal of discord, and that our President's ideals, which were the ideals of this great leader himself, if we may judge by his previous speeches, could never win the support of our associates in the war. It was known that Lloyd-George and Clemenceau then favored the old systems of international alliances for the maintenance of a balance of power as against a League of Nations to enforce the peace of the world. It was believed that the President's ideals of a just peace, without any indemnities beyond actual reparations for injuries sustained, a peace securing the rights and safety of small nations and the right of self-determination for such small nations, would not be accepted by our associates. I think that I can show that nearly everything urged by this leader as proper and desirable was actually secured by the President and incorporated into the treaty, but it utterly

failed to satisfy this leader, and he has fought its ratification with an unparalleled bitterness. He and his party associates have fought this treaty, and in so doing brought discord and bitterness between us and our associates in the war.

This great leader then said:

If peace with Germany is to be durable, terms must be exacted which will make it, so far as human foresight goes, impossible for Germany to break out again upon the world with a war of conquest. At this juncture of affairs Germany would sign anything, and her pledge would be as worthless as the guaranties she gave to Belgium. The deep-rooted ambitions, the evil principles carefully instilled for half a century, the barbarous methods and doctrines all remain unaltered. Physical guaranties can alone assure a durable peace with Germany. They include the restoration of Belgium, the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, of Italy irredenta to Italy, the establishment of a Jugo-Slav State, and of an independent State formed by the Czecho-Slovaks. They include also the security of Greece, the settlement of Albania and Montenegro, the restoration of Roumania, as well as the neutralization of the straits, the putting of Constantinople under international protection, with Greece perhaps as the mandatory of the powers to administer the affairs of the city; the independence of Armenia; protection of Syria and Palestine from the Turks, etc. These physical guaranties which I have thus far suggested all have one object, and that is to so hem Germany in that she can not attempt conquest in Russia or the East, and that the Slavic populations, which she had mercilessly used in her wars, can never be so used by her again.

He then goes on to advocate very heavy indemnities against Germany and the nonreturn of her colonies to her as a means of preventing her extending her commerce and building up military outposts in all parts of the world. He declares:

It is the duty of the Allies and the United States to meet and determine what terms they will impose on Germany, and then, and not until then, call in the representatives of Germany and impose the terms upon her. When this is done the first great step will be taken toward the establishment of world peace. If we eliminate Germany from the opportunity to make war, the only source from which a great war is likely to come would be closed for generations.

I have read this much to show that when this great leader talked then he was not hunting for German votes. He was harder on the Germans than ever the President was. He wanted to utterly crush Germany, and that was only to be the first step toward world peace. The whole speech made it clear that he then thought united action of America and her associates was essential to maintain peace and that such a treaty as he suggested would preserve peace. We got the kind of treaty he urged, and now the Republicans are declaring it will produce instant and continuous war, and offering a separate peace to Germany.

Let me add that nearly everything advised by him as to the establishment and protection of small nations, even to provisions for mandatories for those nations unprepared to run their own Governments and defend themselves against enemies, was done in the treaty. The treaty made at Versailles, including the covenant of the League of Nations, squares with every ideal and policy then outlined by this great leader, save that it is not so severe on Germany. He continued:

The peace must not only be made and agreed to but it must be effective, and to render it effective there is much more to be done than can be done by ink and paper. Nothing can be accomplished unless we work in complete harmony with those who are associated with us in the war against the Central Powers.

No treaty of alliance could have caused greater unity of action than was established between us and the nations with whom we joined in the war against Germany. Our Navy worked in close alliance with those of Great Britain, France, and Italy. Our troops served under the command of a French marshal; all these things were vitally necessary, and these relations must continue if "we are not to lose at the peace table what we won in the field."

I pause in my reading to wonder if it might not have been in the mind of this great Republican leader that Mr. Wilson, who was going over to the council, might fail to get along harmoniously with the statesmen of England and France and Italy, and his critics would have the pleasure of attacking him for such failure. Fortunately, there was no failure of harmony between the President and the statesmen assembled at the peace table; but the great leader aforesaid is out of harmony with all of them and assailing from every angle the work of their hands.

The great leader proceeds:

To attempt in any way to separate us from our Allies now or to prevent perfect unity of action is as harmful as such efforts were when we were fighting in northern France and on the plains of Flanders.

There is much more of the same tenor. He warns us that the German propaganda, seeking to separate us from our allies, "is as active and poisonous to-day as it ever has been"; that the people here and in the allied countries who were favorable to Germany are again "busy in the effort to part the Allies and the United States from each other." He warns us that "unity between us and the Allies is the first essential condition for a successful peace." Certainly, the President maintained and strengthened and cemented that unity; but how about this great leader and the Republican Party?

This leader continued:

We went to war to save civilization. For this mighty purpose we have sacrificed thousands of American lives and spent millions of American treasure. We can not therefore leave the work half done. We are as much bound, not merely by interest and every consideration for a safe future but by honor and self-respect to see that the terms of peace are carried out as we were to fulfill our great determination that the armies of Germany should be defeated in the field. We can not escape doing our part in aiding the people to whom we have helped to give freedom and independence, in establishing themselves with ordered governments. We can not leave the Jugo-Slavs, the Czecho-Slovaks, and the Poles, the Lithuanians, and the other States which we hope to see formed and marching upon the path of progress and development, unaided and alone.

To all of this when it was uttered the President would have said "Amen." By his work at Versailles he did say "Amen." But now the Republicans are shouting, "Leave Europe alone; come out! Quit!" The great leader made a great speech and covered a wide range; but his great fear about the peace treaty, the only great fear that seemed to haunt him was the fear of discord between us and the Allies, particularly between us and England.

I read these parts of a great speech in order to recall it to the minds of many who for these many months have listened to carping and bitter criticisms of the peace treaty, of the President, and of our associates in the Great War; and I want to say that on the peace resolution that was passed on Friday I never heard one single advocate of it say a word against Germany, but I have heard, time and again, a great many of its advocates speak against France or against England, and somehow the evil that was feared by the great leader on December 21, 1918, the evil of discord between us and the Allies, is here. We find less criticism to-day, by Republican leaders and Democratic enemies of the President, of Germany than we do of England, France, and Italy.

I want to say a few words with respect to the effect of this discord between us and our associates in the war; this long, protracted criticism of everything done at the peace table, and of nearly everything done by our President since the armistice. Had the Allies and the United States just after the signing of the treaty of peace ratified it, to-day we would have been far advanced to the restoration of normal conditions. Every utterance that has been made in Congress opposing the peace treaty has been an utterance of discord. It has been an utterance that has delayed the return of the normal. And now we have crowned our course of discord and enmity to our allies by adopting a separate peace resolution or treaty making a separate peace with Germany, call it what you will.

What has the majority party done for now nearly a year but talk discord, pour out the vials of wrath upon our President and our allies, in this end and the other end of the Capitol? One Member of this House wrote an article of over a column denouncing France. Other Members have denounced England, and we have not an ally that we have not said more unkind words about in the last months than we have about Germany. What does it mean? That resolution adopted Friday means simply this: That we sever ourselves from England, France, and Italy and take our stand by the side of Germany, and with Germany in the future we will treat. Oh, our conduct of the war, the magnificent fight of our soldiers, the miraculous achievements of our administration in supplying the soldiers with the means of warfare and in carrying them and our ammunition and supplies over yonder! What tongue can praise it enough? On the battle field our boys covered America with honor and glory; their fighting, the whole war, was a crown of glory to America; but our action here Friday adopting that resolution was a crown of shame. I wonder what will become of that so-called peace resolution when it reaches the Senate, and the great leader who preached unity of action between us and the Allies so eloquently in 1918 gets hold of it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. HARDY of Texas. Yes; if I have the time.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Just a short question. What does the gentleman think of the note written by the President of the United States stating that Great Britain and France had both yielded to the militaristic control in those countries?

Mr. HARDY of Texas. Oh, the gentleman can not hear any kind of argument unless he tries to stick a pin into the President of the United States. Your party held up the peace treaty, and somebody, it may have been the President, asked France why she was increasing her army, making it a bigger army than it was before the war, and her reply was a just one—that America had abandoned her by refusing to agree to or ratify either the separate treaty between England, France, and America, or the general treaty of all the Allies for the preservation of peace, and seeing herself abandoned by America, seeing

America under the inspiration of Republican leadership going over to Germany, it became necessary for France to be militaristic, or at least to prepare to defend herself in the future; and let me say to you this: Your crown of shame will perhaps win you the German vote for which you are playing in the coming elections, but if it does, you will take the vote and swallow with it such a dose of shame and ignominy as ought to make you hang your heads forever. Yes, you are going out for the German vote. You passed that resolution for the German vote. You know that in America there are more German votes than there are British or French, and you tried also to catch Italy. In one breath you pat her on the back by talking about Fiume, and in another you pat the Germans on the back by talking about a separate peace. When Italy grew boisterous about the disposition made of Fiume by the treaty, you burned the wires to East Side New York, denouncing that part of the treaty, to catch the Italian vote there. You cared nothing for the rights of the Czecho-Slavs. You wanted those Italian votes, and so you denounced the President for that part of the treaty—and yet the Italians and Slavs have now agreed and settled their controversy on the basis suggested by the President.

It seems to me that the German people as a nation when they were still at war and the German sympathizers in the United States during and since the war have been blind to every conception of their highest self-interest. Had Germany as a nation dealt squarely with the United States and honestly and honorably abstained from sinking our merchant ships in a murderous way upon the high seas, as she promised Mr. Wilson, America would never have entered the war. What the war's ending would have been no man knows. Had the German-American voters in 1918 cast their votes solidly for the party of Mr. Wilson, an overwhelmingly Democratic majority would now sit in both the Senate and the House, and the peace treaty would have long ago been ratified, and the just and conservative counsel of Mr. Wilson would be guiding the conduct of the nations who were victors in the war in paths of justice and moderation in peace. Here to-day we have the strange spectacle of the very statesmen and political partisans who were in December, 1918, urging and insisting on far harsher terms for Germany than were imposed upon her now appealing, and seemingly successfully, to the German voters of America to help them in their fight on Mr. Wilson. If by abandoning the Allies and making a separate peace with Germany the Republicans win all the German votes in the United States, it is good politics for them, but in keeping the United States out of the League of Nations and out of the councils that will reestablish Europe there is and can be only evil to Germany and the rest of the world. Mr. Wilson is just and has not sought to use Germany or the Germans simply as a political asset. He appeals to no nationality here by any unjust favor or false pretense. He has not pretended to be the savior of Ireland. He knows that no party in power here would or could ever lead the United States as a nation to intervene between Ireland and England, and he will not lie about it. Other persons are not so punctilious.

The whole treatment by the Republican Party of all the issues and questions which called for solution at the peace table has been governed by politics of the basest character. They seek now only to condemn and discredit Mr. Wilson. Before we got into the war they were loudest in their denunciations of Germany, and whenever the exigencies of politics demand it they will denounce her again.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. HARDY of Texas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield me one more minute?

Mr. DENT. I yield one more minute to the gentleman.

Mr. HARDY of Texas. It may be, gentlemen, that you will win. You have played the pander for every separate kind and class of nationality of votes in the United States. You have played for the Irish, you have played for the Italians, you have played for the Germans, and you know that they hold the balance of power in a great many districts, but I would rather dig my political grave than so prostitute the position I hold as an American Member of Congress. [Applause on Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks, I print my own analysis of and views upon the covenant of the League of Nations, which ought to have been ratified by the Senate of the United States, instead of this misbegotten, so-called peace resolution in the House.

ANALYSIS AND DEFENSE OF THE PROPOSED COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, BEING PART I OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES.

Before attempting to analyze I make these general observations:

First. Every criticism and objection now made against the covenant of the league was urged with more justice and reason against the Constitution of the United States when it was framed by the fathers and submitted to the sovereign States for ratification in 1787.

Second. Each State that ratified the Constitution was at the time absolutely sovereign and independent, and surrendered every sovereign power which was delegated to the Union or denied to the States by the Constitution.

Third. The purpose in the one case was to form a more perfect Union, to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; in the other it is to promote international cooperation and achieve international peace and security. Both purposes involve the highest and best interests of the States or Nations concerned.

Fourth. Under the Constitution there was granted to the Federal Government powers not granted to the league, as follows:

1. Legislative powers to affect all the States and the rights, privileges, and interests of every citizen of any State.

2. Executive or administrative powers for the direct enforcement of all laws passed by its Congress, and of all the provisions of the Constitution itself.

3. Judicial powers, extending to all cases in law or equity arising under the Constitution, or laws or treaties of the United States; to controversies between two or more of the States; between citizens of different States, and so forth.

4. The power to require oaths of allegiance of legislative representatives and of all executive and judicial officers of the Federal Government and to impeach or punish or compensate them.

5. The power to levy and collect taxes, to make and to pay debts.

6. To regulate commerce among the States and with foreign nations.

7. To make uniform naturalization laws and bankruptcy laws for all the States.

8. To coin money and fix standards of weights and measures.

9. To establish post offices and post roads.

10. To raise and support armies, provide and sustain a Navy, suppress insurrection, and to govern directly the district where its seat of government should be located and all its possessions and Territories.

11. To tax, regulate, restrict, or prohibit immigration into the States.

12. There were also restrictions put upon the States. They were forbidden to make any treaty, to coin money, or make anything but coin a legal tender, to pass bills of attainder or ex post facto law or laws impairing the obligation of contracts, to levy export or import duties, to have any army or navy, or to engage in war unless invaded. I have not enumerated all the powers granted to the Federal Government or all the restrictions imposed on the States by the Constitution which are not granted to the league or imposed on its members by the covenant. But I have named enough to show that the grants and restrictions of the Constitution might well have raised, as they did raise, the jealous fears of many honest and unselfish patriots.

The ends to be gained, however, were so great and glorious and wise and beneficial that our fathers sank their fears and ratified the Constitution, which has till now been perhaps the greatest gift of government to man in all the annals of time.

Mankind was fortunate in 1787 in that the greatest man of the century, the man who had commanded our armies and won our freedom, George Washington, presided over the convention that framed the Constitution and urged its adoption, and in that such men as Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Franklin, and a host of others fought for its adoption with all their strength; fortunate in that the Constitution did not have to pass before the moss-grown vanity and megalomania of a Senate long fed on thoughts of its own dignity and wisdom, or the petty parsings and pleadings, and criticisms of endless debate; and supremely fortunate in that no political exigency then demanded that George Washington and all his colaborers in making the Constitution should be discredited.

There was then no strong united political party whose interest could be served by the defeat of the Constitution as a work of their political opponents.

What, by comparison, are we and all other members of the league asked to do? What part of our sovereignty are we all alike asked to surrender? What menace to our sovereignty and independence is there in the league?

Broadly and comprehensively speaking, every nation ratifying the covenant agrees, first, to surrender its own sovereign power to make war upon any other member of the league without first submitting its cause to arbitration or to the council; and, second, to join all the other members of the league in protecting

any member against a war made in violation of the first agreement.

Not another substantial right or power is surrendered, not another substantial obligation is assumed.

The league we establish has no power of taxation, no source of revenue, no power of legislation, no army, no navy, and no means of direct action affecting the rights or liberties of any citizen of any member nation. The pretended fear of the loss of our national sovereignty or independence is pure hypocrisy.

There are 26 articles in the covenant, but they all center around and in the two agreements I have expressed. Is the peace of the world, is our own safety as a Nation, worth the sacrifice or burden involved in those two agreements?

The covenant is not complex. Its simplicity is its strength. But long and earnest study is required to master and hold its details. If I can so present it as to place it clearly in the minds of my readers, I will have performed a great service, because a vast majority of our people do not know just what the covenant is. I do not disparage the intelligence of our people in saying this, for, if called on, not many of them could give the details of our Constitution, though we live under it and witness its workings every day of our lives.

I shall not deal in generalities. I shall present the very covenant itself, only condensing where the accurate meaning may be expressed in fewer words and without technical terms.

THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The high contracting parties,
in order to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security
by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,
by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations,
by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and
by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another,
agree to this covenant of the League of Nations.

The States adopted our Constitution for the blessings enumerated in its preamble. This preamble to the covenant presents the whole purpose of the league and the blessings it would give.

Article 1. Gives the nations and self-governing dominions that are or may become members of the league and provides that "any member of the league may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the league, provided that all its international obligations under this covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal."

Much has been said against this provision because it does not expressly stipulate that any State withdrawing shall itself be the sole judge of what its obligations are, and when they have been met. This objection is met by the claim that necessarily each State is and must be its own judge in these matters, since no body or tribunal under the covenant is given that power. Every lawyer knows that this is true, still the President does not object, nobody objects, to a reservation clause that would affirm this right, to the State withdrawing, in the plainest words that can be found. That reservation will not defeat the covenant or harm it.

Articles 2 to 7, inclusive, simply give in detail the organism of the league and the means and manner of its action.

Briefly, there are just three bodies: First, the assembly, having a representative or representatives of every member of the league. Second, the council, having a representative from the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan permanently, and from four other nations selected by the assembly from time to time. At present Belgium, Brazil, Spain, and Greece are the four selected nations. Third, the secretariat, having a secretary general and such secretaries and staff as needed, to perform the clerical work, keep the offices, and do routine work for the council and the assembly. This is the whole organization.

These articles 2 to 7 provide for the time and place of meetings of the council and assembly. They provide that each nation represented in council or assembly shall have but one vote, and that, except where otherwise expressly provided, decisions in either body require unanimous vote. There has been great criticism because little nations have the same vote in the assembly that the United States has. The same situation exists in the United States Senate. Little States have the same number of votes in that body that large States have. They were given this equality in one branch of the Government for their self-protection. Practically it has never worked badly. Small States have never united against large States or vice versa, notwithstanding the varied interests of big and little States affected by the multiplied activities of our Federal Government. Far less likely is any combination of small States in the league to work injury to any of the big States, since the whole purpose of the league is to prevent aggression, usually by the strong, yet one great Senator had a nightmare because Hedjaz and some other little States, perhaps of Africa or Asia or the islands of the sea, had a vote in the assembly. These little States have no vote at all in the council, the really important body of the league, but the gentleman had to have his fit just the same.

As we go along with this analysis it will appear that there are more ways of effecting a veto against affirmative action by the league as a whole than were ever incorporated in any other like document. If there is any strong criticism of the league fairly justified, it is that it will be too difficult to secure any such action by the league as a body. But that fault was not an accident.

The purpose of the framers of the covenant was to so hedge about the use of force that it would be the last resort; and that any use of force at all by the league would be so difficult that every other means and device for preserving peace would be first exhausted; and yet it was necessary that force should lie in the background to hold in check the lawless ambitions of such nations as Germany was. I earnestly hope that Germany herself will abandon her dreams of conquest if she has not already done so, and when she has become a peace-loving republic, join England, France, and the United States and all the other members of the league for the peace and security of the world.

Articles 8 and 9 of the league have been loudly denounced by critics who have not told the people very clearly what they are. I give them in full:

ARTICLE 8.

The members of the league recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common motion of international obligations.

The council, taking into account the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for consideration and action of the several Governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every 10 years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments the limits of armaments fixed therein shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the council.

Members agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions of war is open to grave objections. The council shall advise how the evil effects can be prevented.

Members undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armament, their programs, and of their industries adaptable to warlike purposes.

ARTICLE 9.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the council on the execution of the provisions of articles 1 and 8, relating to military and naval questions.

No public man can afford to attack the purpose of these articles, to lessen the burden of maintaining a whole world in arms. Constructive criticism honestly offered with a view to improvement is always welcome, but the only suggestion, other than flat rejection of them, has been the resolution of Senator LODGE, signed by thirty-odd Republican Senators which in one word means only, "Wait." He says that after peace has been made a new convention of nations can be called and a reduction of national armaments be agreed on, after debating and maturing plans and methods. In answer I say that excluding the United States, over 30 nations have agreed to the plan and method proposed in these articles, and even Mr. LODGE after a weary year and more of study can not suggest a better one.

What evil may come by waiting? What good by not waiting?

If armament is a burden to the world and if it menaces the peace of the world, every good is accomplished by disarming now. By waiting we may smooth the ruffled pride of Senators and let them talk another session or two of Congress away before they consent to authorize the appointment of delegates to a disarmament convention. Their profound wisdom which can not, after days and weeks and months of debate and denunciation, suggest a plan, might discover one by which every big nation could have its own way and constitute in itself a majority of the league, and sacrifice no element of independent action and yet all disarm. I do not believe it.

One Senator earnestly objects because around the council table which shall formulate plans for reduction of armaments we will have only one representative out of the total of nine. He forgets that every other big nation is in the same fix. He fears, so he says, that the eight other representatives may combine to give us the worst of it. Why should we, more than any other nation, have such a fear? Who fears aggression from us? What nation has more fear of us than of any other nation? If England expressed such a fear, I would understand it, because she has many interests that may conflict with those of other nations sitting at the council, and has always claimed that she ought to have the biggest navy in the world. She is

an island and might starve if cut off from the world for one month; yet England agrees to having only one vote at the council table.

For the sake of peace and relief from war burdens, all the other great nations accept articles 8 and 9, but we; we alone refuse, and we refuse on the hypocritical pretext that we are afraid.

But, gentlemen, what evils come from waiting? First we, and following us England, France, and the other nations, must prepare to meet the future. In fact, France and we, at least, are already doing it, with bigger armies and navies than ever before. Postpone disarmament to some future congress of nations which may meet in 1 year, or 10 years, or never, and we must all go back to competitive preparedness for war; and the private builders of navies, battleships, submarines, destroyers, and fortifications and manufacturers of munitions and war machinery will reap a harvest of profits incomparably greater than they ever have before. Before the late war over 72 per cent of the total expenditures of our Federal Government, raised from taxation, grew out of wars and preparations for war. We maintained our Army and Navy and fortifications in peace and in war. The rest was in pensions and bounties and interest on war debts. Yet we, bearing this great war burden, were comparatively blessed among nations. Our war burdens were lighter than those of any other great nation. Now, we have piled up an additional war debt of twenty-five billions, and coming bounties and pension will next year approximate half a billion, while a bonus to soldiers, already proposed, will reach $2,000,000,000, and all this, swelling the national debt, gives us a burden hard to bear, even with our incomparable resources.

With all these burdens on us, the Army and Navy bills of this session are deliberately proposing plans that will call for more than a billion of dollars per annum by quadrupling the Army and Navy and war preparedness generally. By a universal reduction of armaments we can cut this item of our expenses three-quarters of a billion annually. Yet men say, "Wait; not yet. Let us build our great Navy and organize our great Army and provide universal military training first." When we have done this, and great military organizations have become necessary perhaps to hold in check the turbulent toilers of the world, who must bear the burden, who can say that the armies and navies and private interests dependent and fattening on them will ever let the world disarm?

The short-sighted smug, owl-wise statesmen of to-day have seen the close of the Great War and refuse to see that the continuance of the same policies in the future as in the past will produce the same results—that competitive war preparations and war training will produce war. When I was a boy the great War between the States ended. My people were war weary; our whole country seemed absolutely free from any foreign danger. In my innocence I thought to see no more war. But, alas, after alarming symptoms of war at one time with France, and at another with Great Britain, ere 40 years had passed we were fighting Spain—in a short war, thank God; and at the end of 50 years we were in a death struggle in the greatest of all wars. I have spoken of the money cost of that war; let me give you its blood cost.

LONDON, *May 6.*

The total cost of the World War in lives has reached the appalling figure of 35,380,000, according to final estimates made by the Copenhagen Society for the study of the consequences of the war and made public to-day.

These figures were reached after an exhaustive study of the decrease in the birth rates of the countries involved, as well as increase in deaths from causes directly attributed to the war.

Actual military deaths in killed totaled 9,829,000, according to the report. Each European nation involved lost the equivalent of 8.8 per cent of its population from all causes. Each nation's actual killed equaled 2.5 per cent of its population.

Serbia was the heaviest sufferer of all the belligerents. She lost 35 per cent of her total population, while her actual killed equaled 14.8 per cent.

What man who fears God or loves his fellow man would fail to try to end all wars? By the covenant of the League of Nations England, France, Italy, Japan, and many other nations are trying. Would to God that we might join with them. We can but try, and if we fail we can but fail. I am ready to sacrifice something if need be for a great cause, but I believe with all my mind the covenant of the league, even from an economic and self-interest viewpoint, is the best business venture civilization ever entered upon.

I take no stock in the argument that there is nothing binding about articles 8 and 9. If all the great nations obligate themselves to reduce their armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the joint enforcement of international obligations, they will find a way, but every nation will have to make concessions for the welfare of all. It is simply a question whether as a Nation we are willing to yield somewhat of our pride, our separate sovereignty, if you will, for our own ultimate welfare. It is the old question that individuals answered when they first formed civil government, that States have answered whenever they have formed a federation or treaty. It is the same question earnestly asked by our fathers when they formed the Union.

Articles 10 and 11 are the first definite articles looking to the restraint by force of any nation infringing upon the peace or security of any member of the league, and they draw the full fire of that class of statesmen who would not abate one jot or tittle of our separate, independent, isolated sovereignty fraught with wars, tax burdens, and desolation for a thousand years of ordered harmony and united safety of our own and other nations. Here are these articles:

ARTICLE 10.

The members of the league undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the league. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE 11.

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the league or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole league, and the league shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the secretary general shall, on the request of any member of the league, forthwith summon a meeting of the council.

It is also declared to be the friendly right of each member of the league to bring to the attention of the assembly or of the council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

They are what Mr. Taft, Mr. Roosevelt, Chancellor Lowell, and nearly every other leading Republican in the United States thought America wanted until Mr. Wilson incorporated them in the peace treaty of Versailles and brought them to the Senate for ratification. They are what Mr. Wilson publicly proclaimed he would seek to secure when he went to the peace council, and there was then no protest from any citizen of prominence in America.

They were approved by the sentiment of 80 per cent of the reading and thinking men and women of America until the exigencies of politics made it seem to great leaders of the Republican Party that it was necessary to repudiate them in order to discredit Mr. Wilson and defeat the Democratic Party.

Mr. Colby, in New York, on May 1, made this statement, every word of which is true:

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that there is not an aspect of the post-war situation that is not approached, discussed, and treated primarily in its bearing upon somebody's candidacy.

Of one thing evidence abounds on every side, and that is the utter failure of the envenomed and impassioned attack upon the President. For months this attack has been pushed with every device known to malice and with all the resources of scurrility and hatred. Long, sad, and dreary months they have been to the great and lonely man in the White House, who has been struggling back to health and the service of his people from beneath the weight of a grievous affliction.

No word of protest has come from him—no sign that he winced or that he suffered. His envious detractors, like ravening wolves, have hounded him incessantly by day and by night, but they have done nothing else. They have not affected the American people and they have not cowed or bent the valiant spirit of the American President.

Mr. Colby said this country believes in a League of Nations, and that it has so declared in unmistakable terms over and over again. "It insists," he said, "that there shall be some effort made, even if it be only an experiment, to inaugurate a system in the world which shall preclude a recurrence of the devastating war from which we have just emerged.

"The United States is vitally concerned in controversies that may arise between other nations," said Mr. Colby, "and it is fatuity to pretend that we are not interested in such controversies so long as they may issue in a conflagration that can swiftly envelop this country."

I do not know what the great body of our people now think, but I do know that a score or more of audiences of average men and women of America to whom I have presented the covenant of the league in full seemed almost without dissent to earnestly favor it. They want relief from wars and war burdens. Articles 10 and 11 are, in fact, the heart of the covenant. Without them there is nothing to restrain the conscienceless and lawless nation from ambitious schemes and plottings. All the other articles express the obligations which each nation voluntarily assumes by entering the league. These two articles express the joint obligation of all the nations to enforce, whenever necessary, the compliance by each nation with its individual obligations.

We can adopt only one of three policies: First, isolation, by which we stand aloof and reserve our right to wage offensive or

defensive war alone, while other nations make alliances; by which we would hope to have no enemies and would assuredly have no friends; and by which we would hope, vainly I am sure, to escape all wars beginning in Europe, Asia, or Africa. We have tried this policy. It brought us to the verge of war with France and actual war with England in the early part of the nineteenth century, to war with Spain in 1898, and with Germany and her allies in 1917. By it we were not at all involved in lesser wars of short duration or between minor nations of Europe and Asia, and by it we may reasonably hope to escape such wars in future, or at least such of them as may be fought out in the interior of Europe or Asia, but the nations over there are seeking safety and will form alliances. War in the future will be industrial and financial as well as military; its weapons starvation, exhaustion, frightfulness, as well as armies and navies. Food supplies, transportation, and munitions and destructive inventions may decide them. We may prefer to stay out of all agreements and reserve our rights as neutrals, to supply these to all belligerents and grow fat if we can out of their calamities rather than bear some part of a burden to prevent them. If so, we are false to all the high ideals we loudly proclaimed when we entered the Great War. Not only so, but in a letter written by the President to G. E. Hamaker, chairman of a Democratic committee at Portland, Oreg., dated the 9th of this month, he states a well-known fact briefly as follows:

> As a basis for the armistice I was authorized by all the great fighting nations to say to the enemy that it was our object in proposing peace to establish a general association of nations under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike, and the covenant of the League of Nations is the deliberate embodiment of that purpose in the treaty of peace.

I might add that articles 10 and 11 are the soul of that embodied purpose. These are the chief articles which the Lodge reservations reject. By their rejection we would not only be faithless to our allies, but false to Germany herself, who laid down her arms on this statement of the President.

We were not drawn into the Russo-Japanese War, nor were other nations drawn into our Spanish War, because, fortunately, they were one-sided and brief.

Besides this, neither of them would, in my judgment, have occurred had the nations that went to war been at that time members of a League of Nations just like the one I am discussing.

No war in the future can be so one-sided, perhaps, because of the airplane and submarine. No great war of the future fought largely on the sea can long leave us untouched. The march of science lessens distances and isolations and joins and entangles the interests of all nations and intensifies and spreads the horrors of wars. The one war we have just been drawn into, in spite of our isolation, while we got in late and it was not relatively costly to us in lives, has cost us in expenditures thirty billions of dollars and put a burden of debt on us which our great-grandchildren will pay interest on.

Our second possible policy is to make treaties with one or more great nations for our mutual defense, if and when we see other great nations combining.

This is the balance-of-power idea, the system tried so long by Europe with such fatal effect.

Our third possible policy is that of a league of all the great nations of the earth mutually bound solely to protect each other against external aggression and so preserve the peace of the world. In this league each member must bear its small share of the whole burden.

Such a league, hedged about with all possible provisions against injustice, living in the very atmosphere of its lofty purpose, must constitute the hope of the world.

The provisions so hedging the league are contained in articles 12, 13, 14, and 15. They provide, as briefly as I can state it:

Article 12: Members agree that they will submit any dispute likely to lead to rupture (a) to arbitration, or (b) to inquiry by the council, and will in no case resort to war until three months after the award by arbitrators or report by the council. Award of arbitrators shall be made in reasonable time. Report of the council shall be made in six months after submission.

Article 13: Defines the class of cases deemed proper for arbitration, and all members agree to submit such cases to arbitration, and to carry out all awards in good faith, and not to go to war against a member who does so. It provides that when any member fails to carry out an award the council shall propose what steps should be taken to give it effect.

This article is surely guarded and cautious and seeks, first at least, to engage the honor of all the members in the faithful observance of their agreement.

Article 14: "The council shall formulate and submit to members of the league for adoption plans for a permanent court of international justice."

This, of course, is merely a suggestion which may or may not hereafter be acted on for further promotion of international harmony. It is an extension of the policy of arbitration.

Article 15: Members agree to submit all causes which can not be arbitrated or settled by diplomacy to the council. It provides for a full hearing by the council and a report, unanimous or otherwise. If it is unanimous by all members of the council except parties to the dispute, then all members agree not to go to war with any party complying with the findings of the council. If the report is not so unanimous, then all members are left free to act as they see proper. This article provides for full publication of the statements and evidence of the parties and of all reports by the council or any member thereof, so that the questions and facts involved have complete publicity. The world, the whole world, will know all of the controversy. Had this agreement been in force, is it not sure that delay would have prevented the great World War?

Any question may be referred by the council to the assembly and shall be so referred if requested by either party to the dispute in 14 days after submission to the council. In case of such reference any decision to be binding must be unanimous in the council and be concurred in by a majority of the assembly.

Again, every precaution is taken against the possibility of a binding, unjust decision. This is the only case in which the action of the assembly might be vitally important and its power is in the nature of a veto on the unanimous report of the council.

Before any member of the league, a party to a dispute, can be wronged by the league all the disinterested members of the council and a majority of the assembly must unite in the unjust decision, and certainly the United States can never be required to aid in enforcing such decision unless our own representative in the council shall have helped by his vote in making the unjust decision. All these improbabilities may occur. No human contrivance can be free from possible failure.

Courts, juries, all tribunals sometimes err; but shall we, therefore, abandon all civil government? Shall we revert to uncontrolled individual action to preserve human justice?

I have completed the articles that try to preserve peace without resort to force by the league.

These articles are denounced by great Senators as a surrender of our national sovereignty, as taking away from Congress the sovereign right to declare war, justly or unjustly, and without waiting on or submitting our cause to any tribunal on earth. They are not a surrender of such right, because Congress might or could proceed to declare war anyhow; but I am frank to say that it is a solemn pledge, which will bind us as long as we have honor not to exercise that right. All the other members of the league make the same solemn pledge, and I for one thank God for it. I would thank God for such a surrender of sovereignty if it were possible, so that the tongues of all the rulers of all the nations of earth might be palsied whenever they undertook to declare war without first presenting their cause to some tribunal before which it might be heard.

In the absence of some court, tribunal, or power to enforce justice the right to declare and make war is the only means of self-preservation for a man or a nation, and therefore when we renounce that right we must create a power able and ready to afford protection and justice. This is the body and substance of what the League of Nations proposes to do for and between all its members, great and small.

This completes my discussion of the articles intended to secure justice and peace without resort to force, and brings us to the provisions to enforce peace and justice.

Article 16: Should any member resort to war in disregard of its covenants under articles 12, 13, and 15, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the league, which hereby undertake to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State.

It shall be the duty of the council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval, or air force the members shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League of Nations.

Members of the league agree further mutually to support one another in financial and economic measures in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting and that they will afford passage of troops through their territories.

Any member of the league which has violated any covenant may be declared no longer a member by unanimous vote of the council, excluding the vote of the member in disfavor.

Under article 16, if an unscrupulous, ambitious nation violates all its pledges in going to war with any one of the members, the other members do not at once go to war, but first and at once sever all trade relations and prohibit all intercourse with the covenant-breaking nation. Then the council recommends the forces to be contributed by each nation to aid in protecting the covenants of the league.

War is the last resort. The business boycott would deter any but the hardiest as well as most unscrupulous nation. If all the members of the league do but believe fully that all the other members of the league will rigidly apply this boycott, that belief alone will be a sure guaranty of peace; but if the United States stays out of the league and is known to be ready to trade and traffic with and furnish war materials and finances to the war-making nation, the rest of the world, though in the league, would not benefit greatly by the boycott. If the boycott fails, then the league is a treaty of mutual defense, which if lived up to will stay the hand of the hardiest and bloodiest-minded nation on earth. Nevertheless, the league leaves every individual nation, while morally bound to participate, so that it actually does participate only by its own separate, voluntary act. No airplane, no submarine, no ship, no soldier will or can be sent from the United States except by act of Congress and the President. The United States will, as every other nation, decide what it will do when the occasion comes. It was the obligation of all the States to protect each of the States against attack that made our fathers form our Union. The same selfish as well as wise purpose underlies the league. Surely if the interest and welfare of the States justified the very many and very great surrenders of sovereignty made by them in forming the Union, the future peace and welfare of the world justifies such surrender of sovereignty as is involved in the covenant of the league.

Article 17 has to do with nations not members of the league, and is not material to this discussion.

Articles 18, 19, 20, and 21 relate to treaties, which are to be filed in the archives of the league, and all secret treaties to be abrogated. No critic has ever attacked these.

Article 22 relates to the selection and acceptance of mandatories for weak nations. Much has been said about the burdens we would bear if we assumed any such position. But since our joining the league or ratifying the treaty leaves us absolutely free to decline to act as mandatory it is not necessary to discuss it. It attempts to settle wisely and humanely the colonial and territorial questions growing directly out of the war and to preserve the freedom of weak peoples surrounded by foes. No substitute for it has been proposed. For one I think we should bear our part of the burden of sustaining in freedom those little nations which we have boasted of giving freedom to, and I have thought that since ancient Armenia asks us to protect her with our name and power we ought to do it.

Article 23 pledges the members of the league to try to better the conditions of labor, to prevent unjust exploitation of natives of backward countries, and criminal traffic in women and children, and in opium and other dangerous drugs, and to a number of other just and wise and humane policies.

Article 24 places existing international bureaus under direction of the league.

Article 25 agrees to encourage Red Cross organizations.

Article 26 provides for amendments to the covenant only by unanimous action of members of the council, together with a majority of the assembly, and provides that no amendment shall bind any nation which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case such nation shall cease to be a member of the league.

I have now fairly presented the covenant in its whole scope and meaning.

When his critics are denouncing and seeking to crucify the President for presenting and defending this covenant, I feel like asking, not, I trust, irreverently, but earnestly, what evil is there in it? "What evil hath he done?"

As I began so will I conclude this extension of remarks with some general observations.

First. Besides attempting to secure the peace of the world, the covenant marks the first time in history when the heads of great nations, in council after a great war, gave special thought to the welfare of the toiling masses of the world. It is the beginning of a new era, in which the good of the unnumbered burden bearers of all countries shall rank high, if not highest, among questions for international discussion and treatment.

Second. His enemies try hard to shift the blame for failure to ratify the treaty to the President by claiming that he stands stubbornly for ratification without crossing a "t" or dotting an "i" of the treaty. That is not true. They know it is not true. He has never objected to any reservations intended to properly construe and clarify the treaty, or to any reservation of any kind which did not in effect nullify the covenant of the league so far as we are concerned and make it as to us a spineless, useless, and nonbinding scrap of paper not intended to function at all in the prevention of future wars. The issue is clear. If this country favors a league, it ought to favor the kind of league President Wilson wants, and not a fake league with its teeth pulled and its claws cut.

Third. They attack the league because we might possibly under it be called on to furnish troops or ships to protect some foreign land against invasion. These same critics ratified the treaty with Panama which binds us to protect that country, and they shout loudly for the Monroe doctrine, which promises and professes to be ready to furnish troops and ships to protect any parts of South or Central America against invasion.

Why should we protect Chile or Peru or Argentina more than France or England or Spain? The real difference between the covenant and our Monroe doctrine is that the former is mutual—we do not bear its burdens alone—while the latter and its burden is ours alone. We alone have proclaimed that we will protect any or all of the Republics south of us, without any promise on their part to aid us if we are attacked. It may seem strange, but it is true, that every Latin Republic of the Western Hemisphere prefers the covenant of the league to our boasted Monroe doctrine, and our Monroe doctrine has never won us the friendship of one of them, because they resent the assumption of superiority and supremacy contained in our many assertions and interpretations of that doctrine, and there is no such offensive assumption in the league covenant.

Lastly, Messrs. LODGE, REED, BORAH, and others say they are for nationalism against internationalism; that they have no interest in Europe or its problems, or in the little nations of the Balkans or Asia Minor; that charity begins at home; and that if we join the league we may be called on to act as mandatory for some one of the weak nations we have helped to set up, and that would cost us treasure if not men.

Well, the world moves. Only a little while ago, in December, 1918, even Senator LODGE thought we ought to accept such a place. Other nations are doing it.

It is well known that ancient Armenia would ask us to act as mandatory for her, and give her the protection of our name against her surrounding enemies who have for ages and centuries oppressed and tortured and murdered and outraged her men and women. If the league will save us by the reduction of armaments one battleship a year, it will save us many times the cost of our acting as mandatory for Armenia, but I scorn to argue the economic phase of the question.

Are we dead to the cry of humanity? Armenia in the days of the apostles received the Gospel. Her people have kept the fires of Christianity burning for nearly 2,000 years and helped to hand its blessings down to our fathers, whose ancestors were heathen when Armenia was Christian. For nearly a thousand years she has been tortured for Christ's sake, but she has kept the faith. Christian nations more happily situated have not helped her. Now, there is a chance to help her. On bended knees, with outstretched arms, she pleads with America to help her. She is like the man the Savior speaks of who fell among thieves. I will read the story:

> And Jesus answering said, a certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him and departed, leaving him half dead.
>
> And by chance there came down a certain priest that way, and when he saw him he passed by on the other side; and likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side.
>
> But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was, and when he saw him, he had compassion on him, and went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him, and on the morrow when he departed, he took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said unto him, "Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again I will repay thee."
>
> Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbor unto him that fell among thieves?
>
> And he said, he that showed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go and do thou likewise.

We may play the part of the priest and Levite and be numbered with the nations that forget God, or we may be the good Samaritan. I would like to see my country play the better part. I would like to know that in all the years of the centuries to come the children of this old Christian world in a new Armenia, happy, free, and still Christian, will always when they pray bless the name of the United States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROYAL C. JOHNSON,

OF SOUTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 18, 1920.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, just exactly what enlisted men think of their officers in the present war is a mooted question, depending on the particular association the individual man had with his own officers. Wherever you find a marine, however, you may be certain that he is proud of and glad to discuss the Second Division and the Fifth and Sixth Marines, and he usually is fair enough to give an equal share of the credit to the Ninth and Twenty-third Infantry, which were a part of the Second Division. Ask him what he thinks of his commanding officer and he will say, "Old Gen. John A. Lejeune? Why, he was a good sport; he was one of us," and if you can get a higher compliment than that from a doughboy, you have achieved something. Gen. Lejeune took command of the Second Division during the Soissons offensive and conducted the operations in every great battle in which from that time on it was engaged.

Again, when you discover a soldier or marine who happened to be in Brest in the fall of 1918, when the grand clean-up was effected and the place made habitable for human beings, it is probable that you will find a booster of Gen. Smedley D. Butler, who was responsible for the work done. When it was impossible to secure a boardwalk or duckboard in the camp at Brest, Gen. Butler led his men to the place where a duckboard could be secured, picked up a section himself, and followed by some few thousand men carried it to the camp at Pontanezon. Of all the processions in the American Army, Butler's duckboard parade is perhaps the most unique.

All these complimentary remarks concerning said generals would not be apropos if it were not for the fact that they have done something since the war to justify the estimation in which they are held. It will be a surprise to the average doughboy to know that those two gentlemen, imbued with the spirit of the new Army, have violated the regular, hard-boiled traditions of discipline and opened up a school at Quantico, Va., where any young American citizen can secure military training and an education without expense. Before the Army of the present war was demobilized, it was pitiful to go to any of the camps and see the natural unrest, lack of discipline, and morale. Every man wanted to get out of the Army and get out at once. Never again did they ever desire to hear of it. Often, if not usually, placed in charge of officers who had not seen service abroad, did not realize the long gruelling months after the armistice, when for a time men had been unnecessarily required to drill and subjected to a discipline that in some cases was Prussian, the men were sullen and resentful. In the great Army lottery these two veteran generals drew Quantico, and conditions there were far from ideal—no recreation, little effective discipline, and general debility. Everyone was cursing the Army. Instead of loafing on the job or indulging in social activity, the officers at that camp held a council of war and decided to form a happy, contented Army for the future. There are two ways to get action in the Army—one is to appoint a board or commission and conduct numberless investigations; the other is to cut the red tape and move. In passing, it should be said, however, that the latter method is advocated only for those of high rank. In the Army itself a board was appointed to investigate morale, and, so far as anyone knows, it is still investigating and determining the kind of curriculum that should be installed. Gens. Lejeune and Butler, of the marines, however, called in their personnel and selected emissaries to one of the leading correspondence schools in the country, one that specializes in affording an opportunity for workingmen to learn of things that they should and desire to study. The condition of the marines and the Army was presented to the officers in charge of that school and like good American citizens they determined to assist. They came to Quantico, looked over the situation, and, in conjunction with the authorities there, outlined a course of study that anyone in the United States could well afford to take. As planned and conducted, it is nothing more nor less than an immense military university. The whole idea of the old Army was to see that men learned to fight. The ideal that these men developed was that men could learn to fight and could still learn that which, after they have served their time in the Army, is necessary for them as American citizens.

They divided the day into three parts. Gen. Lejeune well knew that a few hours a day in military exercises is, in a period of six months, sufficient to make any man a good Infantry soldier, and it was decided that the day should be divided into three parts and each period made of service.

They decided that the forenoon should be devoted to military exercises, the afternoon to vocational training, and in the evening every recreational facility should be given to the men. Strange to relate, the plan is not only on paper but is in actual operation.

The correspondence school has given the Marine Corps every advantage it has gained through years of experience, not only in conducting the course of study but in securing positions for men who complete it, and any man can secure any course that he desires. As an illustration, it is only necessary to call attention to the daily report at Quantico, dated April 16, 1920. It speaks for itself:

School:	Enrolled.
Agriculture	13
Architecture	10
Chemistry	14
Civil engineering	7
Civil service	3
Commerce	211
Commercial law	25
Domestic arts and sciences	33
Electrical engineering	32
English	40
Illustration and design	10
Language	59
Mechanical drawing	21
Mechanical engineering	142
Mining engineering	1
Navigation	5
Plumbing, heating, and ventilating	12
Poultry husbandry	2
Publicity	9
Steam engineering	6
Selected course	1
Band music	16
Shoe and leather trade	5
Forestry	8
Total	685

In addition to the regular courses, there have also been conducted a few classes in chemistry, motor-boat construction and operation, mine surveying, practical telephony, surveying, and mapping. Each man selects the course that he desires and secures the regular instruction books of one of the greatest schools in the world. Every afternoon he can elect whether he desires to go on kitchen, police, or fatigue duty, or study. He is not forced to attend school, but he must do something that will be useful to himself or to the post. The men are divided into classes with competent instructors. In the classrooms, which are the Regular Army barracks, with which every soldier is familiar, will be found every type of men in the world or the Army. One who would step into the A B C class would find 20 grown men, many of them with wound and service strips showing active service at the front, studying primary work and studying because they desire to better themselves. In that class can be found an Italian boy who on the day that war was declared enlisted in the Marine Corps and returned home that evening to find that his father had taken out naturalization papers—a case of family patriotism. From his experience in the Army he learned that an education was necessary and enlisted under Gen. Lejeune to secure it. His great ambition was to be able to write an intelligible letter to his mother in English, so that she could take it to the priest and have it interpreted. He did write the letter and his progress would astound one who did not know of the enthusiastic, helpful assistance that has been given by so-called "hard-boiled" Regular Army officers. One man in the primary class has a wonderful war record, decorated for gallantry in action, was discharged from the Army, but on reentering civil life found that he was handicapped by his lack of education and reenlisted to secure it. In three years he will have not only a diploma but an education. Each week every man must take the stipulated examination taken by hundreds of thousands of men in the United States who have entered the correspondence school. His paper is written in the presence of his officers; it is corrected by a competent force at headquarters or the general headquarters of the school. If he secures an average of 90, the papers are forwarded to the office of the correspondence school and rated there. Any man who completes the course must have learned that which they have tried to teach and receives the same diploma through Army channels that he would receive had he taken the regular course with the correspondence school.

The average price of these courses, as charged to the civilian, is $110, and $100 of this as it comes to the Army is donated by the correspondence school in the interest of Americanization. One of the instructors in the school is a graduate of the Boston Institute of Technology, a practical engineer with the Westing-

house people, and is as competent an instructor as one could desire. He conducts the electrical school, where electric wiring, motor installation, and eight courses in mathematics are taught. He has two competent assistants, and as each student becomes proficient he ex officio becomes an instructor. Over in the automobile department, which is the popular one, more than a hundred men are becoming competent and efficient. The lieutenant in charge of that department would be an asset to any educational institution in the country teaching his branches. A certain part of each day is given to the technical study of automobile construction, and as each lesson is finished the men are taken to an automobile shop, where, thanks to the profligacy of the Government during the war, can be found all of the machinery, trucks, and automobiles for practical work. A man who has studied timing is given an opportunity to time a car and his work is checked. A man who has studied the engine is given an opportunity to take one apart and put it together. He not only has every opportunity given by the finest of correspondence schools but has the practical supervision of a competent and enthusiastic instructor. Several of the men have, through the courtesy of the correspondence school and certain large corporations, been already promised good positions as soon as they receive their diplomas. Two who served in Nicaragua and learned a smattering of Spanish are in the Spanish class, which consists of about 10 men, and on completing their course will be discharged from the Marine Corps, furloughed to the reserve, and take up their work in Nicaragua. Two who learned some French in France and are in the French class have contracted with one of the great harvesting machinery firms of the world to take lucrative positions in France when the course is completed. Every man who completes a course has his name go on the list with the graduate students of the correspondence school and it is submitted to the leading firms of the United States who are seeking competent men.

If higher authority permits, and with the present Secretary of the Navy it may be certain that higher authority will permit, men who graduate from their courses and have learned that which is necessary to become good soldiers will be assured of a discharge and a future in civil life.

The recreational features given remind one of war time. Once a week there is a dancing class for enlisted men and every two weeks a dance to which they can bring their wives, sweethearts, or friends. The officers in charge of this camp know them, and know them because they fought with them, lived with them, and are men themselves. Perhaps at no other Army post in the United States have officers and enlisted men gone to the same dance at the same time with class distinction abolished. It is done in the Marine Corps, however, and will be done in the Army if we are to have an Army.

No man in the United States has any right from now on to say that he does not have an opportunity to advance in the world. He can enlist in the Marine Corps and secure, first, his Army pay; second, the clothes that many of us find so difficult to purchase in civil life. He will secure living quarters that can not be excelled; medical and dental attention of unknown value; the books, course of study, and instruction that sell on the open market for an average of $110 for the course. He will secure military training that will not only make him of value to his country but will fit him for military life if we are ever again engaged in war. Until the declaration of peace—and from present indications it may be long before we secure that much-coveted declaration—he has every advantage of war-risk insurance and allotment that were given to every man during the war.

Everyone realizes that it is difficult for a workingman to pursue a correspondence course because he has no one with whom to compete, and if he is really working is too tired to study at night. A man who takes one of these courses is placed in competition with other men and has the time and opportunity to study. He has a study hall throughout the day and one that is heated and lighted, with good ventilation, in which he can study, if he has the ambition to do so, until 10 o'clock at night. If the weather conditions are such that it is difficult to perform military duty he has the entire day in which to better himself mentally. He has every opportunity for recreation that can be given—moving pictures, dancing, competitive baseball with other institutions and organizations, and an opportunity to become an expert with the rifle on the range. Rifle shooting is a part of his military duty and the marines are noted for their proficiency with it. This summer the Olympic trials will be held at Quantico and the great rifle shots of the Marine Corps will be gathered there to determine who shall represent the Marine Corps in the greatest sports contest of the world.

What more could a man desire? The spirit of the new Army pervades the Marine Corps from the top to the bottom, and its pure, unadulterated Americanism should appeal to every man.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETTE B. HOWARD,
OF OKLAHOMA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 5, 1920,

On the bill H. R. 13890, being a bill to regulate the dealing in and distributing, importing, or manufacturing of sugar.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, on May 1 I introduced into Congress H. R. 13890, which in my opinion and the opinion of others who have given study to the matter would give relief to the people of this country in the matter of the distribution of and the price of sugar.

In connection with this effort, I herewith call attention to the following extracts from an article published in the Christian Science Monitor of May 3, 1920, which may be of interest to those giving consideration to the measure referred to. This article is as follows:

Of course the price which people of the United States are now being asked to pay for sugar is an economic absurdity. It never ought to be. It would not be if the people of the country rightly understood what the business practices now accepted as permissible are really doing to the consumer classes. Any intelligent person has but to read the newspapers of the large cities from day to day to discover the essentially artificial factor in the sugar situation that is operating to push the price higher and higher, even in the very presence of Government investigators questioning the sugar handlers in the effort to find means of stopping the extortion.

More sugar is coming into the country in the current fiscal year than has ever been brought here before in the same length of time. The experts figure that the year's total, culminating in June, will be 9,000,000,000 of pounds, as against 7,750,000,000 in 1919, the record year heretofore. This year's sugar is costing about $700,000,000, however, as against only $433,000,000 for the sugar of 1919. And this high cost, in the face of constantly increasing amounts, is due very largely to the fact that sugar that could be bought in sugar-producing countries in the year before the war at 2 cents per pound is now costing practically five times as much in those countries.

All the business groups that have always dealt in sugar, and a myriad new groups and individuals who have had their business interest newly stimulated in that commodity, have been bidding against one another for the mere possession of what there is of it. The sugar market is little better than a vast auction, in which an increasing number of bidders are not those who seek sugar for their own use, but are merely those who find it possible under the accepted business practices of the times to interpose themselves between the sugar produced and the actual sugar consumer in such a manner as to take a heavy toll for themselves as the sugar passes through their hands. On a large scale the phenomena are similar to those of the fish market, where a group of receivers controlling practically the entire receipts of fresh fish from the fishermen bid against one another to determine which dealers shall actually dole out the separate lots, thus forcing up prices artificially. There is no limit on this sort of price-fixing except the ultimate willingness of the consumers to get along without fish. And the tendency of this artificial bidding up of prices by the middlemen is always to compel increasing numbers of consumers to go without the commodity affected. It is so now with sugar. The costs are out of all proportion to the legitimate expense of raising, transporting, and delivering a supply sufficient to meet the world's needs. These costs are abnormal because of the drones in the sugar hive. There are too many middle factors; too many handlers inserting themselves needlessly into the business of providing sugar for those who really need to use it; too many people passing sugar from one warehouse to another, not because such rehandling is a part of the necessary work of supply, but because that particular handling of it constitutes an excuse to make an added charge.

The Bonus Question.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES H. SINCLAIR,
OF NORTH DAKOTA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 7, 1920.

Mr. SINCLAIR. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, in the consideration of the bonus question there are two points to be decided: First, does the Nation feel that it owes a bonus to the soldiers? Second, if it does, how shall the funds for it be raised? Laying aside any feeling of sentiment or gratitude to the boys for a service which neither words nor money will repay, and regarding it from the standpoint of business and economic justice, I believe that the people of this country do owe a debt to the soldiers, and that it should be paid. Rather than a "bonus," however, it might more rightly be called "additional" or "adjusted" compensation for a work well done.

The young men who made up our Army were taken from every vocation in life. No one will deny that there were few,

if any, who before the war were earning less than the $30 per month and board paid by the Government. The $1.25 per day for time in the service, which is now proposed, will, to most of them, be but a portion of the amount they would have earned in their regular lines of work. In other words, the Government took some four millions of our young men and arbitrarily put them to work at a wage at least half of what they could have earned in civil life. And while I have no criticism to make upon those who were unable to pass the examination for active service or who were necessarily engaged in industry at home, it is true that the ex-service men and women suffered financial loss, and it is inevitable that comparisons should be made by them. It has been said that, for the most part, these young people are able-bodied and capable of taking care of themselves, but that is beside the point. No reputable business firm would ask or expect its employees to work for half of what they could get elsewhere, and the Government should be as fair in its dealings. It is, therefore, the duty of the Government and of this Congress to equalize the wage paid during the war.

HOW IS THE MONEY TO BE RAISED?

Having established the obligation of the Government, we come to the question of how the funds for this additional compensation are to be found. The acknowledgment of the debt will amount to nothing if the means with which to pay it are not provided. Several plans have been suggested, and one of them, which has been receiving a good deal of consideration, is that of placing a tax on all sales. It does not require any second sight to see that under this plan the cost will be borne, for the most part, by the great mass of the people, whose pockets are now nearly empty from the purchase of Liberty bonds, contributions to the Red Cross, and other organizations, drives of one kind or another, and the ever-increasing cost in living. Every article of necessity, comfort, or luxury would be hit by this tax, and many of them several times over. Indeed, the ex-service men and women would help to pay their own bonus. I do not believe that there is one of them who would want additional compensation if he could get it only by adding to the already too heavy burden of expense on the shoulders of his neighbors. I do not believe that he cares to place himself in the position where, upon meeting those neighbors, he knows they are thinking, "That is one of the fellows we have to raise $4,000,000,000 for." It will make him less popular with the everyday folk of the country if they have to pay this in the added price of food, clothing, and so forth, and he should not, in order to collect the debt due him, be compelled to lose in the friendship and esteem of his fellows.

A second suggestion has been that of levying a direct tax to meet the situation, but this, while less cumbersome in operation, would be no easier to bear.

Discarding, then, both these propositions, there remains that of placing a tax upon those who reaped a harvest from the war and the industries necessary to its prosecution. That is where it belongs. Everyone knows that these huge profits are out of all proportion to the returns of legitimate business. It is not necessary to go into detail as to the enormous sums that have been made by individuals, firms, and corporations in the last few years. The number of the very wealthy has increased by leaps and bounds.

One has only to turn to the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to substantiate this. If, as we see there, the number of millionaires increased from 2,348 in 1914 to 6,664 in 1917, in which year this country had barely gotten under way with its war industries and the profiteer was not yet in full swing, it is safe to assume that in the two years and more since the number has grown to at least 15,000. No Government compilation is yet available for these years, but I am sure this figure is not exaggerated. Of course, big business is already protesting against the adoption of any measure that will require it to yield up any appreciable part of its huge gains. Its representatives state that it is unlikely that the profits made during the war have been "hoarded," and that it would not be possible to raise the amount necessary for the bonus payment without borrowing it, if, indeed, it could be borrowed. While I have no personal knowledge of the use these firms and individuals have made of their profits, I think no one will dispute me in saying that these astute gentlemen have not been in business merely for fun or for purely philanthropic motives. I do not doubt but that if this Congress has the courage to pass legislation calling for a tax of from 35 per cent to 80 per cent upon war-time profits, these profiteers will find a way to dig up the funds and not have to go out of business either.

STATE LEGISLATION FOR EX-SERVICE MEN AND WOMEN.

I would go even further and say that after they have unwillingly parted with this amount they will still show a greater profit than that of the farmers of the Northwest during the same period. I speak of the Northwest because I come from North Dakota and am familiar with conditions there. I want to take just a moment to speak of the record of that State during and since the war. As you all know, it is an agricultural section, and the twenty-five thousand and odd men furnished came largely from our farms, making more difficult the production of those foodstuffs so essential not only to ourselves but to our allies. Not only did the farmers struggle on short-handed, but doing their best to produce the largest possible crops, but they and the people of our towns responded nobly to the calls for funds. The Red Cross informs me that the war collections for the State of North Dakota for the two years ending June 30, 1919, were:

First Red Cross war drive	$139,287.28
Second Red Cross war drive	631,775.47
Chapter receipts other than war drives and membership	1,370,974.35
Membership dues	336,396.00
Total collections	2,478,433.10

The purchase of Liberty and Victory loan bonds was as follows:

	Subscription.
First Liberty loan	$3,534,000
Second Liberty loan	10,230,550
Third Liberty loan	12,100,400
Fourth Liberty loan	21,657,450
Fifth Victory loan	18,890,700
Total	66,413,100

The people of North Dakota, both in the towns and on the farms, gave in money, production, and men, and while all other States did likewise, few, if any, labored under the handicap of climatic conditions, the like of which had not been experienced in 30 years until the last three. Successive droughts during the seasons immediately past have brought many of the farmers to their last resource; but, despite the most disheartening conditions and hardships which those at a distance can little realize, they bent every energy to the assistance of their country. In this connection I do not deem it amiss for me to state that in their extremity, calling upon the Federal Government for aid in the shape of a loan with which to purchase seed for this spring's planting, the country has repaid their sacrifices by turning a deaf ear to their plea. This may seem a digression from the question at issue, but it is pertinent, as I will show you, for hard pressed as many of these citizens are, they were the first in the Nation to come to the aid of the returned soldiers by the passage of a bill in the State legislature providing for the payment of $25 per month for each month of service, this money to be used to assist them in obtaining an education, farming, business, and so forth. This legislation was approved March 6, 1919, and not only was it the first recognition accorded by any of the States but it was the most generous.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SLOW TO ACT.

With this example of what one State can do, why should the Government delay? A tardy recognition, reluctantly given, offends the recipient and does no credit to the giver. The time for prompt action has gone by, but it is not too late to pay the bill, even though past due. If we are going to act at all, let it be now; otherwise, let us stop talking about it. The old saying, "Words not backed by deeds are idle," is just as good now as it ever was, and it is high time that the Government backed its encomiums of praise for the service men and women with something more substantial than words.

All of you are acquainted with the fivefold plan indorsed by the American Legion, which was recently reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, which permits the veterans to make a choice as to the form of compensation desired. It is safe to say that no plan can be devised which will meet the approval of all, but no matter what proposition is adopted it is going to cost money, and a lot of it. The place to get it is not from the pockets of the poor or the moderately well to do, as would be the case in a sales tax, but from those who have amassed great fortunes by reason of the war. I for one am in favor of the payment of the wages due and the raising of the funds therefor by levying an excess-profits and income tax.

EFFORT TO DELAY ACTION.

Within the last few days there has been a remarkable change of front on this bonus proposition on the part of certain Members of the House, a change which is causing a good deal of comment throughout the country. These Members who have been telling us that the soldiers want the bonus and that they should have it have, almost in a night, taken an entirely different view of the matter. They now state that the soldiers themselves have decided that the bonus is not for their own best interests at this time; that payment would result in a "wild

orgy of spending," which would tie up labor; that they would not know what to do with the money if they should get it; that this legislation should not be hastily put through—we have already had over a year in which to consider it—and that at the proper time suitable action will be taken. It is easy enough to see the handwriting on the wall. As long as the sales tax was the approved method of raising the funds, well and good, but when the excess-profits and income plan was developed—and more especially when it began to make headway—presto!—it was time to back pedal. As far as the question is concerned of the boys not knowing how to handle their money, in the event that the majority of them should prefer cash—which may or may not be the case—I give these young men credit for wanting to get ahead in the world, and believe that the greater number of them will use their funds as wisely as they can for their own betterment. But whether they do or not, it is certainly not within the province of the employer to dictate as to how the employee shall spend his wage, nor has America yet reached the point where it is the privilege of only the very wealthy to decide how and when they may dispose of their own money. This sudden solicitude for the boys, along this line, would be amusing were not the real intention behind it of such serious moment. This intention, I am convinced, is to shield still further the profiteer, and as a matter of political expediency postpone action until after election.

Max H. Houser Vindicated.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFTON N. McARTHUR,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 22, 1920.

Mr. McARTHUR. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted me this day I wish to print in the RECORD the report of Hon. Lester W. Humphreys, United States attorney for the district of Oregon, in the matter of the investigation of the charges against Max H. Houser, of Portland, Oreg., who was accused by the Federal grand jury of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Washington (northern division), at the September term, 1919, of misusing his official position as second vice president of the United States Grain Corporation. The full text of the report, which is a complete vindication of Mr. Houser, is as follows:

MAX H. HOUSER, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT UNITED STATES GRAIN CORPORATION, AND HIS GRAIN AND MILLING CONNECTIONS, PORTLAND FLOURING MILLS SYSTEM AND PACIFIC GRAIN CO., ACCUSED BY FEDERAL GRAND JURY OF MISUSING HIS OFFICIAL POSITION, THEREBY MAKING IMMENSE PROFITS FOR HIMSELF AND ASSOCIATES.

On February 18, 1920, the following telegram was received:

WASHINGTON, D. C.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY,
Portland, Oreg.:

Have received following wire from M. H. Houser:

"According to press reports a Federal grand jury at Spokane, Wash., who have been investigating the subject of the high cost of living, have included in their report statements reflecting upon the fairness and integrity of the operations of the United States Grain Corporation in this zone and charging me with having profited in grain dealings here because of my official connection with it. I can not permit the statements to go unchallenged, and I respectfully request that you instruct the United States attorney here to make a full and thorough investigation of the charges made against me, with authority to give equal publicity to his findings as were given to the insinuation in the report of the Spokane body. I would also appreciate it if you would give publicity now to my request and your compliance therewith.

"Thanking you very much."

Have replied as follows:

"Pursuant to your request, I am directing the United States attorney at Portland to make a full and thorough investigation of the charges made against you by the grand jury at Spokane and to give publicity to his findings."

Please govern yourself accordingly and investigate by grand jury or otherwise whether there is involved any violation of the food-control act or other act of Congress. Am wiring Garresht to send you copy of report of grand jury.

PALMER.

The report of the grand jury at Spokane was as follows:

[United States of America, eastern district of Washington, northern division, United States district court, September term, 1919.]

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATION OF THE GRAND JURY.

When the Government appropriated $1,000,000,000 to buy the 1919 wheat crop, wheat receipts became as good as Government bonds. Banks were glad to loan money in any quantity to purchase wheat, for the money paid the farmers was immediately redeposited in the banks.

The minimum price of wheat was fixed in the Northwest at $2.20 for soft wheat and $2.22 for hard wheat, coast points, and the prices paid the farmers were these sums less freight to coast points, averaging about 13 cents per bushel, and certain other charges, which amounted to from 4 to 6 cents per bushel. In some cases a small premium was paid for hard wheat.

The majority of the mills in the Northwest are owned by a half dozen concerns, and each in turn has a grain company, which is officered and operated by the men who own the milling concerns.

From a great mass of testimony presented before the grand jury, we believe that 85 per cent of the 1919 wheat crop of this State, estimated at 42,000,000 bushels, went into the hands of these half dozen grain companies and was purchased prior to October 15, before any material advance in price.

The banks of this State are honeycombed with warehouse receipts. Spokans banks at one time were carrying $9,000,000 worth of warehouse receipts, and it is not unusual to find that a small country bank has loaned $1,000,000 on wheat receipts.

Having bought practically all of the wheat in the States of Oregon and Washington, these grain companies have been able to advance the price by sales to each other, and through manipulations of the grain market centered at Minneapolis and by other methods. Although the greater part of the wheat was purchased around $2.07, the grain companies are selling the wheat to their own milling concerns at the prevailing market price, which at present is from $3 to $3.20 per bushel for hard wheat. Their own mills are asserting the right to manufacture flour on the basis of the price paid for the wheat—a price which is the result of their own acts of manipulation.

The by-products of flour, bran, and shorts are a necessary food for dairy cattle, and the prices now demanded for these by-products mean destruction of the dairy industry. Under regulations existing in 1918, millers were prohibited from making more than 50 cents a ton on mill feeds, and a "fair" price on carload lots was fixed by the United States Food Administrator at $28.75 per ton, while to-day mill feeds are selling in Spokane at $43 per ton, carload lots, and $50 at coast points.

The Pacific Grain Co., the successor of the M. H. Houser Grain Co., the Pacific Coast Elevator Co., and the Puget Sound Warehouse & Elevator Co. are owned and operated in connection with the Portland Flour Mills concern, with headquarters at Portland, Oreg. These corporations were owned by M. H. Houser, vice president of the United States Grain Corporation for the northwestern district. At the time he became vice president he made some kind of a transfer of his interests in these concerns, and does not at this time appear as the owner. The offices of the United States Grain Corporation for the northwestern district and the offices of the above-named companies are all located in a building owned by M. H. Houser in Portland, Oreg., and it is the belief of the grand jurors that he, Houser, is the real party in interest in the milling and grain concerns above named, and that by reason of his connection with the United States Grain Corporation he has been able to manipulate and operate them to an immense profit to himslf and associates. The Pacific Grain Co. admits having bought 11,000,000 bushels of the 1919 wheat crop.

It is impossible for this district to obtain relief, for the grain companies threaten, in case action is taken, to force them to sell the grain to the mills at the price paid by them, plus a reasonable carrying charge, to close the mills and ship the grain to eastern points. To frustrate any concerted plan of evasion, we would urge that the Department of Justice take simultaneous action in all wheat and flour centers of the United States.

Lately the press reported that Julius Barnes, president of the United States Grain Corporation, had joined with Mr. Herbert Hoover in the purchase of one of the large newspapers of Washington, D. C. We now note daily newspaper articles which seem to indicate a propaganda is being carried on through the newspapers by Mr. Hoover urging the financing on a huge scale of flour and wheat to foreign countries. According to press reports, former Secretary of the Treasury GLASS recommended the appropriation of $150,000,000 to purchase flour and wheat. It is our belief that this wheat is now owned largely by speculators and, in some cases, by interests directly and indirectly connected with some of the officers of the United States Grain Corporation. Sales to Europe will benefit only the purse of individuals and the consumer will pay the bill.

We believe the credit of this Government, through the national and Federal reserve banks, has been used by wheat speculators to carry the great bulk of the 1919 wheat crop, and that it is within the power of the Government to reduce the price of flour and related necessities whenever it chooses to act.

Under section 5 of the act approved March 4, 1919, commonly known as the wheat-guaranty act, the President of the United States is given the power by proclamation to find what is a fair, just, or reasonable practice, device, rate, commission, charge, profit, or price. And we would recommend that a proclamation be issued under said act fixing a selling price of all wheat now held in the United States at the price paid the farmers, plus a reasonable carrying charge, said fixed price not to apply to the producer, and that a similar price be fixed on flour and mill feeds.

We further recommend that no appropriation be made by Congress to finance the sales of wheat, flour, or mill products to foreign countries until such time as the American people are relieved from paying the extortionate prices now required of them by reason of the grain manipulation as herein stated.

Dated this 7th day of February, 1920.

L. ROY SLATER, *Foreman.*

GEORGE W. PULLER, *Secretary.*

A copy of the grand jury's report was sent me by mail by Mr. Garrecht. I then telegraphed for authority to go to Spokane and to employ a stenographer to take the statements of witnesses and to have his notes transcribed, and for the assistance of a special accountant. These requests were granted, and I employed Mr. A. W. Person, a court reporter, who reported the inquiries and made a transcript of the testimony which accompanies this report. Mr. George R. Mayo, special bank accountant, was sent by the department and has given valuable assistance and thorough cooperation.

I went to Spokane, arriving there February 23, 1920, where I interviewed United States Attorney Garrecht, Assistant United States Attorney Charles H. Leavey, Mr. L. Roy Slater, foreman of the grand jury, and Mr. Newberry, who was a member of the grand jury. I was told by these gentlemen that they had no evidence sufficient to warrant an indictment. An explanation of Mr. Houser's milling and grain interests is made here as an aid to understanding what follows:

Until the United States Grain Corporation was formed Mr. Houser was a grain dealer, operating in his own name. On being chosen as second vice president of the Grain Corporation he organized the Pacific

Grain Co. for the purpose of carrying on his grain business. Public announcement of this fact was made through the press, and Mr. Houser pledged the earnings of the Pacific Grain Co. to war charities. No effort was made to conceal Mr. Houser's ownership of the Pacific Grain Co. In the summer of 1918 Mr. Houser purchased the controlling interest in the Portland Flouring Mill Co., which included the Pacific Coast Elevator Co., the Puget Sound Milling Co., and some smaller affiliated companies. This purchase also was given wide publicity. No evidence has been found of any effort to conceal Mr. Houser's ownership of these interests, and the fact that he does own them has been generally known in grain and milling circles.

On my visit to Spokane above mentioned, at the interviews with United States Attorney Garrecht and his assistant and Mr. Slater and Mr. Newberry, certain facts were then stated as being the basis of the statements made in the grand jury's report concerning Mr. Houser, the substance of which is as follows:

I. That on August 9, 1919, there appeared in the Spokane newspapers, as a dispatch from Portland, Oreg., an article purporting to be a quotation from Mr. Houser to the effect that growers of wheat who held their wheat and did not sell it were liable to prosecution as profiteers; that this article has been inspired by Mr. Houser for the purpose of influencing growers to sell.

II. That the competitors of the Pacific Grain Co. in the grain business were afraid to buy grain until they knew what the Pacific Grain Co. was doing, and that they had instructed their grain buyers to do whatever the Pacific Grain Co.'s men were found doing.

III. That the premium above Government basic price which developed on wheat was the result of manipulation between the grain companies and that there were no shipments of wheat from the Northwest to points east thereof in excess of two hundred (200) carloads.

IV. That three million dollars ($3,000,000) of money of the United States Grain Corporation was withdrawn from Spokane banks because of the grand jury's report.

V. That Mr. Houser, through the Grain Corporation, had information in advance of the grain trade generally as to the condition of the wheat crop and that the activities of the Pacific Grain Co. indicated that the company was receiving the benefit from Mr. Houser of information which the Grain Corporation had.

As to the first of these assertions, viz, the newspaper article, it was found that this matter had been telegraphed to Spokane to the Spokesman-Review by its Portland correspondent, a reporter employed by the Morning Oregonian, named George Prichard. The article in question is as follows:

"Grain growers are warned against holding for rise; wheat growers to get no premiums. Sellings must result. Grain Corporation says that basic price is all that producers can secure unless terminals are congested with offerings of grain. Wheat growers of the Pacific Northwest are warned not to hold their grain for higher prices, for not only will the Government not pay any premium whatever over the established price until supplies become too great and terminals are congested, but holders are likely to run afoul of the Federal authorities for profiteering."

Prichard was examined and stated that he clipped his article from the market page of the Oregon Daily Journal. In the course of his statement he said:

"Yes; it is verbatim. I remember I clipped it out and sent it. I naturally assumed that it was correct. It was on their market page; of course, I suppose I should have called up Mr. Houser on the proposition, but afterwards I found out.

"Q. Did you make any attempt to verify from Mr. Houser?—A. No; I did not.

"Q. The accuracy of this statement?—A. No; I didn't. I assumed it was all right.

"Q. Did you have any information about this situation from any source other than this clipping in the Journal?—A. No. I had no information outside of that until later when Mr. Houser called on me.

"Q. Did you ever, Mr. Prichard, as a newspaper man, discussing this thing with other newspaper men, have any reason to believe or suspect that this particular article written by Mr. Cohen had been inspired by Mr. Houser?—A. No; I never heard anything like that at all. In fact, I did not think it was, from the way Mr. Houser felt about it; he was very indignant, I might say.

"Q. Did you have any reason to question the sincerity of Mr. Houser's indignation?—A. I did not."

Hyman Cohen, market editor of the Oregon Daily Journal, who was interviewed, stated that he had written the article in question; that it was based on bulletin No. 7, issued by Mr. Houser as vice president of the Grain Corporation; and that the objectionable article was his interpretation of the bulletin sent him. In the course of his statement Cohen stated as follows:

"Q. Did Mr. Houser ever suggest to you that it was the duty of the growers to release their wheat at the basic price?—A. No.

"Q. Did Mr. Houser in any way inspire or influence or cause the writing of the paragraph—your first paragraph of the interpretation?—A. No; he did not.

Mr. Don Sterling, managing editor of the Oregon Daily Journal, was interviewed concerning the article in question and the possibility of Mr. Houser's having been responsible for its publication in the Journal. He said:

"I have unbounded faith in Cohen, and I can give him a clean bill of health as to this story. I do not believe that Cohen ever allowed the newspaper to be used in any such way as is suggested, and, in fact, sometimes there has been friction because Cohen is inclined to lean backward when he suspects that anyone is trying to use the paper for an ulterior purpose."

Bulletin No. 7 is found at page 86 of the transcript, and is as follows:

UNITED STATES GRAIN CORPORATION,
510 Board of Trade Building,
Portland, Oreg., August 7, 1919.

General bulletin No. 7.

The United States Grain Corporation announces that there will be no storage premiums added to the basic prices in its buying scale, for the present, nor until there accumulates in the Grain Corporation's hands a sufficient reserve of wheat to assure a measure of protection for future home requirements.

In accordance with this policy the wheat director is refusing proffered contracts which foreign buyers are desirous of making at the Grain Corporation price level, these buyers being apparently anxious to cover their requirements for some months in advance. Apparently their inability to secure supplies in other sources of wheat makes them especially urgent in proposing contracts with the United States, but these contracts can not be entered into until a sufficient accomulation of wheat in the hands of the Grain Corporation furnishes assurance of reasonable prices to our own people.

UNITED STATES GRAIN CORPORATION,
By M. H. HOUSER, *Second Vice President.*

The foregoing bulletin was based on a telegram from New York, dated August 6, 1919, which is set out at page 100 of the transcript and is as follows:

1919 AUG 6 PM 5 03

B291CH 180 1/69 GOVT
HW NEW YORK NY 5P 6
MAX HOUSER 1656
PORTLAND ORG

We are releasing for morning papers August 7, and please bulletin your territory:

"The Grain Corporation announces that there will be no storage premiums added to the basic prices in its buying scale, for the present, nor until there accumulates in the Grain Corporation's hands a sufficient reserve of wheat to assure a measure of protection for future home requirements.

"In accordance with this policy the Wheat Director is refusing proffered contracts which foreign buyers are desirous of making at the Grain Corporation price level, these buyers being apparently anxious to cover their requirements for some months in advance. Apparently their inability to secure supplies in other sources of wheat makes them especially urgent in proposing contracts with the United States, but these contracts can not be entered into until a sufficient accumulation of wheat in the hands of the Grain Corporation furnishes assurance of reasonable prices to our own people."

Also be all right to bulletin your zone regarding extensions of time on trade contracts.

GRAIN CORPN
MOORE

I am convinced from the investigation that I made that Mr. Houser had nothing to do with the publication of this article. Collateral circumstances were investigated, and inquiry was made to determine whether at or near the date of the article Cohen had deposited any money, or otherwise given indications of having received any sum out of the ordinary. Inquiry was made as to the owners of stock in the Journal and possible friendly relations with Mr. Houser and as to possible friendly relations between Houser and C. S. Jackson, who is the principal owner of the Journal; between Mr. Houser and Mr. George Trowbridge, who is now deceased (Mr. Trowbridge was managing editor of the Journal), and also as to friendly relations between Mr. Houser and Don Sterling, who succeeded Mr. Trowbridge as managing editor of the Journal. No evidence was found anywhere indicating that Mr. Houser was in any way, either directly or indirectly, responsible.

II. As to the assertion that competitors of the Pacific Grain Co. were afraid to buy grain except by following the lead of the Pacific Grain Co., no evidence was found anywhere substantiating this statement. Particular inquiry was made of all the principal competitors and many of the smaller competitors.

When this assertion was made by the gentlemen in Spokane, I asked them to name any competitors of the Pacific Grain Co. who would substantiate the statement. The only name I was given was that of L. C. Lens, and I was told that he had instructed his grain buyers to follow the lead of the buyers of the Pacific Grain Co. Mr. Lens's statement is in the transcript of evidence. Among other things, he was asked this question:

"Did you give any instructions to your wheat buyers to the effect that they must first inquire what the Pacific Grain men were doing before they took action with reference to buying wheat?—No; I did not."

The following extract from Mr. Lens's statement is interesting:

"Q. Mr. Lens, can you, yourself, make any suggestion as to where I should go to inquire in this connection?—A. No; I don't know.

"Q. If you, as a competitor, had been unfairly or unjustly treated, then you ought to assist me in whatever way you can by making suggestions as to where I can get facts which will be the basis of giving you relief from that unjust treatment.—A. Well, I would gladly give them to you, but I don't know where I could send you to. All that we would like to know is that the Portland Flouring Mills raise their local prices on flour so that we can make a small profit on our investment.

"Q. Do you feel that you have been unjustly treated as a competitor?—A. That is a pretty hard question. I believe that the Portland Flouring Mills ought to have put their local flour up a little higher than what they have.

"Q. Aside from the price of flour being kept down, have you any cause for complaint?—A. No; I have no cause for complaint."

III. The assertion that premiums on wheat were the result of manipulation between the grain companies is largely a matter of opinion. I could find no evidence of manipulation between the grain companies, and particularly as to the mill and grain companies owned by Mr. Houser I can state positively that there was none. I did not devote so much attention to the other grain companies because the grand jury did not see fit to name them in its report.

What caused the premium on wheat is certainly a debatable question. There is no doubt that there was a shortage of the hard wheat crop in Montana, the Dakotas, and other territory tributary to Minneapolis. Minneapolis grain buyers did buy in the Pacific Northwest. There is reason to believe that when the Northwest millers, who need the hard wheat grown in the Northwest for their own purposes, found the Minneapolis people bidding for their wheat some fear developed in their minds that the supply for local milling would be short and this resulted in some degree in Northwest grain dealers and millers bidding against Minneapolis.

It was asserted at Spokane that not more than 200 carloads of wheat were shipped out of the Pacific Northwest, and some reliance was placed on a newspaper statement, purporting to come from a Mr. Pillsbury at Minneapolis, saying that Minneapolis had received no Pacific Northwest wheat. In order to determine what the facts were concerning the influence of Minneapolis on the market I asked the auditors of the Spokane, Portland & Seattle Railway, the Oregon-Washington Railroad & Navigation Co., the Great Northern Railway Co., Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, and Northern Pacific Railway to give me information as to the number of carloads of wheat actually shipped from zone 10 to eastern distinations. These reports show that 873 carloads of wheat of the 1919 crop were shipped from zone 10. Of this number 418 carloads were shipped to Minneapolis.

I would not attempt to say that if grain dealers, as a class, could be eliminated from the marketing of wheat, the ultimate price of flour would not be based more nearly on the price received by the grower of wheat. This, however, presents questions which I consider to be outside the scope of this investigation.

IV. The statement that $3,000,000 of money of the United States Grain Corporation was withdrawn from Spokane banks because of the grand jury's report is wholly without foundation. The facts are—keeping in mind that the grand jury's report was made February 7, 1920—as follows:

In the early part of October, 1919, at the urgent request of Spokane bankers, an arrangement was made whereby the Grain Corporation should increase its deposits in Portland banks to the extent of $3,000,000, and that the Portland depositaries should redeposit these $3,000,000 in Spokane banks. This was done. About November 12, 1919, the Grain Corporation, through Mr. Houser, notified the Portland banks of the intention of the Grain Corporation to begin on January 1, 1920, to reduce its deposits at the rate of 10 per cent a week. Portland banks, about the 14th of November, 1919, transmitted copies of this letter of advice to Spokane banks. In accordance with this announcement reduction in deposits was made throughout January. The deposits in Portland and in Spokane were reduced at the same time and in the same proportion.

It was later asserted at Spokane that this arrangement for putting Grain Corporation money into Spokane was part of an agreement by which the Spokane banks were to extend credit to the Pacific Grain Co. The facts were found to be that Mr. Houser, personally, did not arrange for the lines of credit at Spokane used by the Pacific Grain Co.; that these lines of credit were arranged in July; that all the advances arranged for were made prior to the deposit of any Grain Corporation money in Spokane. Subsequent to the deposit of Grain Corporation money in Spokane the lines of credit to the Pacific Grain Co. were not enlarged and that Mr. Houser's individual credit was not used for anything like its limit; that Mr. Houser's individual credit is so extensive that it was absolutely unnecessary for him to use any such method to finance his grain operations.

V. There is no foundation for the statement that Mr. Houser, through the Grain Corporation, had information in advance of the grain trade generally as to the condition of the wheat crop. The Grain Corporation received no crop reports. The reports which were made to the Grain Corporation were from grain dealers and millers and indicated, from week to week, the amount of grain received, milled, and shipped, and other details.

It is my opinion that the reports which were in the possession of the Grain Corporation would have been useful to a man directing a grain or milling business; in other words, I believe that an opportunity existed for Mr. Houser to be dishonest or to use these reports to the advantage of his grain and milling interests. I am also convinced that Mr. Houser did not take any advantage of any information in the possession of the Grain Corporation. The reports in question did not go to Mr. Houser personally. They were received and tabulated by a clerk and the copies were transmitted to the head office of the Grain Corporation without receiving any personal attention from Mr. Houser. The clerk in charge of these reports told me that Mr. Houser never had asked him anything about the reports and never had seen them until the day when I went to the Grain Corporation's office and examined the reports, on which occasion Mr. Houser accompanied me to the clerk and directed him to give me whatever information I wished.

The second part of No. "V"—that the activities of the Pacific Grain Co. indicated that the company was receiving information from Mr. Houser—is not borne out by the facts. Prior to the time when he became vice president of the Grain Corporation Mr. Houser, as a grain dealer, had bought more than twice as much grain as the Pacific Grain Co. has handled since that time. During the season of 1916–17 Mr. Houser personally handled 31,000,000 bushels of wheat. During the season 1917–18 the Pacific Grain Co. handled 12,000,000 bushels of wheat. During the season 1918–19 the Pacific Grain Co. handled 9,000,000 bushels of wheat. During the season 1919–20 the Pacific Grain Co. handled 12,000,000 bushels of wheat. The Portland Flouring Mill Co.'s annual milling requirements are approximately 10,000,000 bushels of wheat. In July, 1919, a letter was written by the Portland Flouring Mill Co. to the Pacific Grain Co. stating that it would need about 10,000,000 bushels of wheat. The influence of the Portland Flouring Mill Co. on the flour market in the Pacific Northwest was unquestionably to keep the price down. Different millers testified that they had complained to Mr. Houser personally and to the heads of the Portland Flouring Mill Co. that the price of flour was too low, but that Mr. Houser refused to consent to an advance in price and insisted that the price of flour should be fixed on the basis of what the millers had actually paid for the wheat and not on the basis of what it would cost to replace the wheat in the open market.

Throughout the course of this investigation there was confirmation of the statement hereinafter quoted, made by Hyman Cohen, who has been for 18 years market editor of the Oregon Daily Journal, and who makes a special study of the grain situation in the Pacific Northwest. I refer to the statement at page 176, et seq., of the transcript, and particularly to the following:

"I frankly tell you that from what I know of Mr. Houser and his dealings that he has sacrificed not only his time but his money and his health in doing this work. I know that Mr. Houser could have made hundreds of thousands of dollars by putting up the price of flour, which he refused to do simply because he says that his duty is to the Grain Corporation."

CONCLUSION.

The result of my investigation is that I have found absolutely nothing to indicate that Mr. Houser should be censured. I do not pass on the question whether he may have made errors of judgment. He is regarded as a man of great ability, particularly in the grain trade. That a grain man of high ability should have been chosen for the United States Grain Corporation's work in this zone seems to me proper. My opinion, after a careful inquiry covering two months' time, is that Mr. Houser gave the Grain Corporation work the very best he had; that his only motive has been the proper performance of that work, and that he has not shaped his conduct therein to any selfish, sordid, or improper end.

For the details of this investigation, reference is made to the transcript of testimony, to the report of Special Bank Accountant George R. Mayo and supporting schedules.

Dated at Portland, Oreg., May 1, 1920.

LESTER W. HUMPHREYS,
United States Attorney.

Army Reorganization.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. THOMPSON,
OF OHIO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 19, 1920.

On the conference report on the bill (H. R. 12775) proposing to instruct the House conferees to agree to a compromise proposed by the Senate involving the reorganization of the National Guard, whereby law should be enacted leaving it optional with the legislatures of the several States whether or not the National Guard should be organized under the military clause of the Constitution or under the continental army system in each State as the legislature might direct.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, in 1914 Congress passed what was known as the Hay volunteer bill, later known as the Army reorganization bill. This took from the governors of the States the power to issue commissions, either recruiting or in the volunteer service of the United States, as had been the law and had been in force since the beginning of the Government. This entirely eliminated the governors of the States in raising a volunteer army. In 1916 an attempt was made to pass the continental army bill, which was intended to displace the National Guard of the States and further eliminate the State as a factor in raising a volunteer force. This measure was defeated, however, which resulted in the passage of what is now known as the national-defense act. The Senate bill, as passed recently, and the proposed compromise, would place the National Guard of the States under the Army clause of the Constitution instead of the militia clause, thus entirely destroying the National Guard as a State institution, and might make it impossible to organize or maintain an organization anywhere. The Wadsworth bill is simply the continental army bill in new clothes and a new name. The Wadsworth bill contains a provision authorizing the governor of a State to use the National Guard of the United States quartered or located within the State for local purposes, under such regulations as the President may prescribe. This is exactly the German Army system, which provided that the princes of the States might use the troops quartered in their Provinces, under such regulations as the Kaiser might provide. Now, the whole aim and purpose of this legislation, beginning with the Hay bill in 1914, the National Army proposition in 1916, and the provisions of this conference report in the present Congress, never were intended to work. Anyone who knows anything about maintaining a National Guard or volunteer organization must certainly know that it will not work. The object sought is quite apparent. It is to destroy all volunteer organizations for the purpose of compelling universal military service.

There has been since 1916, and perhaps longer, a warfare within the Army. It has been a war of the Regular Establishment against the National Guard organizations. Men who are educated at West Point at the expense of the Government and retired on three-quarters pay for life, if incapacitated, have become "chesty" against the volunteer service known as the National Guard system of the several States. At the outbreak of this war I knew of splendid National Guard officers in my own State who had each spent 20 years or more—the best years of their lives—building up a strong and efficient volunteer service under the National Guard system. These officers, when their troops were called into the war, were separated from the service for trivial reasons. They had no prospect of retirement on three-quarters pay for life; they had been faithful, loyal, patriotic, efficient; yet when the time came for service and high honors they were not permitted to serve their country because of the whims or prejudice of that mysterious General Staff here at Washington—some 85 in number—which seems to dominate the War Department and, indirectly, congressional military legislation.

This proposed instruction to the conferees, brought before the House of Representatives under the guise of a so-called compromise, does not fool me. I can only speak for myself. I hope it fools none of my colleagues. For many reasons which I have not the time now to point out I am opposed to leaving the question open to the legislatures of the several States to enact laws as to whether or not their several State National Guard organizations shall become a part of the Regular Army and its officers be only Regular Army officers and the enlisted personnel be subject to the commands of the President of the United States or whether the National Guard shall continue the militia

clause of the Federal Constitution, which means that the governors of the several States may have something to say about the movements of their troops in case of riots or lawbreaking within their own borders.

Why should I vote to complete the discomfiture of the National Guard? Why not let well enough alone, so far as the National Guard is concerned? Is there not already too much autocracy here at Washington? All along the Atlantic seaboard, especially at New York, there is a tendency, through its Representatives in Congress, to commit the country to intense militarism. The object of the Wadsworth bill as originally presented in the Senate was compulsory military training of the youth of America. So radical were the proposals that it was intended to use the drafting organizations of the late World War to induct the youth into the service throughout the land. Once so inducted, so far as I know, no provisions were made for discharge of the youths from the control of the General Staff here at Washington. It was the last word in proposed radical compulsory military training legislation. I say that is going too far, and I am against such a radical proposal. I have observed also that there is exerted by the military or War Department branch of the Federal Government—dominated by the Army—a strong influence over the congressional Military Committees of the Congress, many members of which appear to be subconsciously or unconsciously obsessed with a General Staff spirit. I for one am not in favor of being presented with bills in the capacity of a Congressman which are apparently suggested, written, or tinctured by Army officers high up in authority in the Regular Establishment. Such measures, such as this and the Wadsworth bill, come up on the floor of Congress, reaching the great mass of Representatives through the regular Military Committees of Congress with the recommendation that "the bill do pass." There are 435 Members of Congress, and it is a mental impossibility for them to keep track of all the measures presented for consideration. That is the reason why many Members in voting follow implicitly the recommendations of the committee which has investigated and reported any particular bill; and that is how Congress is sometimes fooled into passing vicious legislation. We have had too much "hard-boiled" experience within the Army during the war. The war is over and laws relating to military reorganization should be carefully scrutinized. I am not satisfied with the instructions proposed to the conferees of the House and shall vote to kill the proposal in its present form. It smacks of autocracy pure and simple, and I am against it and will smite such a proposition with a heavy hand.

The Army reorganization bill as it passed the House of Representatives was a fairly good bill, but when it reached the Senate it was amended and sent back to the House practically substituting the Wadsworth bill as it passed the Senate.

Salaries of Postal Employees.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE MacGREGOR,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 25, 1920.

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, the subject of an increase in the pay of letter carriers and other postal employees is not a new one. It has been brought up in every Congress for the past decade. In 1919 they received an increase of 40 per cent, which, however, was only to be a temporary one.

During the period from 1913 to 1919, which was the period when the cost of living began to soar and when they received their increase of 40 per cent, the cost of living had increased at least 80 per cent, or double the increase in the wages of these employees.

During the same period the wages of workers in various industries had increased by percentages varying from 121 per cent for iron and steel workers to about 52 per cent for cigar makers.

It should also be remembered that the increase in the wages of outside industries followed the rise in prices in more or less prompt fashion, while the postal employees were obliged to meet the rise in the prices of all commodities all during the war period and received no relief until November, 1919.

In connection with the reclassification of Federal employees a definite budget as to the standard of income for a living wage has been prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The summary is for an average family of five.

1. Food		$773.93
2. Clothing:		
Husband	$121.18	
Wife	166.46	
Boy (11 years)	96.80	
Girl (5 years)	82.50	
Boy (2 years)	47.00	
		513.72
3. Housing, fuel, and light		428.00
4. Miscellaneous		546.00
Total at market prices		2,282.47

In making this budget, the bureau stated that a family of extreme thrift and high intelligence might reduce this by $236.91, making a total budget of $2,045.56.

That this budget is extremely conservative can be readily seen when one examines the detailed statements, a few extracts from which will suffice. For instance a winter hat for the wife costing $10 is presumed to last two years for the wife and the husband's hat at $4 is also supposed to last for two years. Evidently these figures were based upon the assumption that the hats of to-day are of the same quality as they formerly were, but anyone who buys wearing apparel for himself or his family knows that any hat, coat, or pair of shoes that will last over a year is an extremely difficult piece of clothing to pick up at the prices mentioned.

If one examines the items for children the conservative estimate of the bureau is still more apparent, both as to the prices paid and the amount of wear expected from the various items.

No family can live on much less and keep up the standard of living that American citizens have set up as the American standard.

The present salary scale for letter carriers is from $1,200 to $1,650 per annum. Accepting the Bureau of Labor budget as conservative, we find that the letter carriers' salaries show a deficiency as follows:

Rate:	Deficit below a living wage.
$1,200	$1,062
$1,300	962
$1,400	862
$1,450	812
$1,550	712
$1,650	612

Mr. Speaker, if these employees are living under a deficit such as is here indicated, one of two things must happen to each man with a family. He is either going heavily into debt or he is lowering the standard of living for himself and his family to a degree very close to the danger mark of physical and mental deterioration.

This is little short of a national calamity, for the Postal Service is the nerve system of the country's industrial, economic, and social life.

A letter carrier, besides being a man who must have the best kind of a reputation to get into the service, with perfect health and examplary habits, is required to have a mental equipment that is not readily found and can not be maintained under a low standard of living.

He must be at all times mentally alert; he must have an accurate, retentive memory, and he must be able to use with dispatch at any moment the postal rules and regulations, which are contained in a book of 800 pages. He must be familiar with all kinds of mail, its rates, and the characteristics peculiar to different sorts of mail. He is expected to answer questions of all kinds from all sorts of people, and he must be withal patient and diplomatic.

To arrange his mail and route it properly he must be an efficient and practical clerk, and in order to deliver mail as quickly and accurately as the service expects him to he must memorize the names of patrons living on his route and also of those who have left the route.

He is called upon by the Government for all sorts of information as to the classes of people living on his route and is expected to be observant and alert. If he is in charge of a motor vehicle, he must be a chauffeur and mechanic. If he is a rural carrier, he must be a competent driver and be fully able to care for a horse, and, above all, he must be above all suspicion as to honesty and integrity and must keep himself physically strong and mentally efficient at all times and under the heaviest strain.

We can all recall how much of extra work he accomplished during the war. He was the general collector for all sorts of war funds and charities; he sold thrift stamps and Liberty bonds; he was the adviser of many who knew no other officer of the Federal Government; and he was expected to keep his

place at the low salary as a patriotic duty while friends and neighbors were reveling in the high wages and easy work that came with war-time activities.

What has been said as to a living wage for the letter carrier also applies to the Railway Mail Service men, the postal clerks, and other employees connected with the mail service.

There is no question but that the postal system is breaking down. Men are leaving the service for employment in which a living wage can be had. New men are not coming in in any numbers. I note that in New York City in 1916 there were 1,200 applicants; in 1917, 900; and in 1918, only 100.

It is necessary, if we are to have any postal system, that there be a new scale, and it is but fair to those who have spent their lives in the service and remained faithful that they be given a square deal.

These honest, faithful men who have not deserted the ship but have stuck faithfully to their posts come to Congress with the modest request that they be given a fair and adequate raise in salary, so that they may support their families, clothe them decently, feed them properly, and keep themselves keyed up mentally and physically to perform their tasks.

So far the Government's answer to this request has been the appointment of a commission to investigate the matter. While they have been investigating, the letter carrier and the postal clerk have been patiently doing their bit, doing it under the heavy handicap of a deficient salary, living at a lower standard than they should live, or staggering under a wearisome burden of debt. I think it is time that something be done for these employees of Uncle Sam. I think the commission has investigated what everybody knows long enough and should make a report at once. I think that Congress should enact a law immediately and grant to its postal employees a liberal increase, and I know that no matter what objections all over the country in praise of the Congress that took care of the postal employees.

In every walk of life, in every phase of human activity, the postman, whether carrier or clerk, is in direct contact with the people of the country. Industry depends upon him to carry its message. Business in its entirety depends upon him; the currents of trade and commerce would not flow without him.

Humanity depends upon him to keep alive the ties of friendship and the closer ties of family and kinship. He carries our thoughts of love to and from the home. He brings to us messages of joy and happiness and with ever-ready devotion is the messenger of comfort and sympathy. In our work, in our play, he is an important part, and it is little less than a disgrace that a servant of the people so vital to all of our needs, so intimately connected with the daily throbbing life of the Nation, should have been neglected so long.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID J. O'CONNELL,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 20, 1920.

Mr. O'CONNELL. Mr. Speaker, the acute situation now existing in the Post Office Service of the United States prompts me to ask the unanimous consent of the House to print this editorial from that great weekly, the Literary Digest, issue of May 22, 1920. I am sure it will prove of interest not alone to my colleagues, but to the country at large. There are no more faithful or loyal public servants than the men and women who are responsible for the handling of our mail, and they are entitled to consideration at this time:

ARE POST-OFFICE EMPLOYEES HUMAN BEINGS?

An American boy went to work one day in the United States Post Office. He was wide-awake and ambitious, and so he chose the biggest business and the biggest employer in the country. Step by step he rose to be supervisor, and then superintendent of an important department. He made a record of "supreme industry, faithfulness, and loyalty." Age came on, but his zeal did not diminish. Postal officials pointed to him with pride and said he upheld "the very highest traditions of the service," and was "ever ready to sacrifice his personal interests for the public good." Seventy years without a break he served his big employer, the American people, a shining example for all who would hear that crowning tribute, "Well done, good and faithful servant!" Last winter at his post of duty he was stricken with a chill. Pneumonia followed. Even then he begged that he might dress and return to his duties. And his big employer—the American people—what generous provision and tender care did it give to this oldest employee who had always "sacrificed his personal interest for the public"? The man had not yet taken his annual vacation of 15 days. His absence now from his post of duty was charged against his vacation. In 15 days all his "vacation" was gone and his salary stopped. For three days, as he lay on his deathbed, his pay was deducted. Then death came, and he went to receive the "well done" from One whose words are backed with eternal reward. But on earth, where he had toiled so long, the praise given him was empty. No allowance for sickness; no allowance for burial; nothing for his family; his meager salary docked after 70 years of faithful service. What an employer!

You can hardly believe it? You think it must have been an accident, quite unusual in the service of the United States Post Office? You say such a thing could not be tolerated by the American people? It is not unusual, except for the man's extreme age. It is tolerated by the American people—by you and by us—to our shame. Our postal laws, until we change them, treat all employees, high and low, letter carrier, porter, clerk, and superintendent, in the most niggardly way. They work night and day, often in unwholesome quarters and under severe strain. Their minds are crowded with the endless details of an exacting system. Their bodies are racked and worn by harsh conditions and cruel burdens, and they are the lowest-paid free workers in the United States. It is time for us all to know the facts and to see that quick justice is done.

Congress has been looking into these facts, but Congress is not the "big employer" against whom the prophet Malachi thunders when he threatens swift judgment for "those that oppress the hireling in his wages." The bitter protests poured out to the committee of Congress must ring in our ears and rouse us to action. Crowding the experience of thousands into a single sentence, a letter carrier from Camden, N. J., exclaimed: "If you men really knew the want, and distress, and sorrow, and trouble that reach into the life of the poor letter carrier, you would be up at night trying to find a remedy."

From every city and village of this great rich country and from every branch of the Postal Service have come these protests and appeals for fair play: "We are not able to provide our families with the necessities of life." * * * "Our wives and our children have to go to work in order to exist." * * * "If you compel men to be ill-fed and undernourished because of insufficient salary, it will have a far-reaching effect on the coming generation." * * * "We bought Liberty bonds to help the Government and had to sell them at a loss to buy food." * * *

Can we hear such things from the men who are working for us and not tingle with shame and indignation? Can we rest easily and take our own pleasure and comfort until we have first done all in our power for quick relief?

Consider the kind of man our post office demands as clerk. His work is highly specialized and complex; he must be skilled by long and intensive training and study, memorizing thousands of facts, intricate systems of classifications, and many methods used in banking, insurance, and commercial business. He must be familiar with the postal laws and regulations filling a volume of 1,700 sections. All this study and preparation must be in his own time and at his own expense. And when he stands in his hard-earned place, a full-equipped postal expert in the employ of the American people, he is paid less than the common, unskilled day laborer on the streets. One of these experts, who after 24 years of postal service had acquired special knowledge and experience invaluable to the Government, testified, "I could go out as a milk-wagon driver and get $50 a week, yet the Government pays me an average of about $4 a day." The steadfast loyalty of such a man through long years of pinching penury may be a splendid example of American patriotism, but not one of us can claim a like virtue if we fail to raise our voice against the continuance of such shameful parsimony.

But that isn't all. These meager salaries are constantly shrinking throughout the year. Any absence for sickness or other causes is penalized by forfeiture of pay. If death occurs in the family of the employee, whether wife, child, or parent, not a day nor an hour of absence with pay is allowed. Even the solemn hours of funeral rites can be taken only at the expense of the employee.

Letter carriers are converted into pack animals and loaded down with burdens often weighing 60 to 80 pounds or more. Through driving rain or blizzard, in burning heat or stinging cold, they must cover their routes on schedule time. The stoutest often succumb to the inhuman strain; yet the highest salary they can earn, after years of smaller pay, is less than $32 a week.

New York is the biggest post office in the world. It does the biggest business and turns in millions of dollars profit. It is one of the most highly specialized and responsible organizations in modern industry, the center of innumerable activities on which the progress and prosperity of the entire Nation depend. Its banking and financial transactions last year alone totaled more than $672,000,000. The management of this vast business concern, with its great central office covering two city blocks, its 50 branch offices, its 250 substations, and 14,000 employees, requires supreme managerial abilities on the part of its department chiefs. They would be receiving salaries of $25,000 to $75,000 for such official services in big commercial organizations. Yet the highest salary paid to the "big four", superintendents at the head of the four main departments of the great New York post office is only $3,360 a year, or less than $65 a week, and not one of these men attained his position in less than 27 years' service. The superintendents of the great railway terminal postal stations receive less than $46 to $56 a week after serving an average of 35 years each. And we pay more than that to longshoremen and window cleaners and drivers of milk wagons.

We are doing more than this act of cruel injustice to the 280,000 postal employees of the country. We are bringing a serious menace to our own interests. The Postal Service is being crippled by wholesale resignations. It is becoming impossible to induce competent men or women to fill the vacancies. In the New York post office alone more than 500 resignations have occurred within five months. False economy is destroying all efficiency and threatening a collapse of the service. Time and energy that ought to be given to handling the mail is diverted to instructing and managing a shifting, dissatisfied organization. The same thing is true in all parts of the country. Our indifference and neglect as the "big employer" of the post-office workers is recoiling on our own heads.

The Literary Digest has made thorough investigation of the facts and is making this brief, urgent statement to its more than 2,000,000 readers because many times they have responded nobly to appeals for worthy action as Americans, and now is a time for such action. Congress is not to blame for the existing conditions. The men now sitting in the Capitol at Washington are human beings like the rest of us. They have warm hearts and ready sympathy and as keen a sense of justice as any

American citizen can have. The blame and the shame for this pitiful injustice to the Nation's postal employees are ours as a people. It is yours who read this page. It is ours who write and publish it. The change of policy from a brutal stinginess or careless indifference to a fair and liberal American policy must be wrought by us, the Americans who always love fair play.

Write to your Congressman and both of your Senators, every one of you men and women who has a heart and an active sense of human injustice. Don't put it off; the time before Congress will adjourn is short. Urge them to give their most ardent support to the bill putting into immediate effect a substantial increase of salaries throughout the entire Postal Service of the United States. Congress will gladly and quickly pass this bill when the American people rally to its support. If you don't know the names of your Congressman and Senators, ask your letter carrier, or postmaster, or banker. Let all business houses be heard from, and all civic societies and fraternal orders. Rescue these postal toilers from penury and narrow lives and set them on their feet as American citizens who need not suffer nor be ashamed in their service of us all.

Let the Record Speak.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS L. BLANTON,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 27, 1920.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I rarely ever discuss politics. But such is my subject to-day.

Samuel Gompers, the American Federation of Labor, the Plumb Plan League, and many affiliated locals of Government employees' unions in concerted action have threatened with defeat all who voted to return the railroads and who have otherwise disobeyed Mr. Gompers. I head their list for slaughter. They assert that I am to be defeated regardless of cost, even if they expend $100,000. Three new publications have just been launched here to grind out each week vicious campaign attacks for reproduction in our district papers. The Olden Advance, execution proof, whose disgruntled editor years ago in a three page letter eloquently urged me to run for Congress, and the Sweetwater Reporter, likewise execution proof, whose editor is a stranger lately moved into my district and a paid subordinate of other nonresidents, both weekly reproduce these vicious misrepresentations. Some of you colleagues receive copies. An ex-sheriff, T. C. Weir, in a malicious letter just received, threatens me with annihilation. Yet I am calm and have no fears. I know my people. They are absolutely dependable. This enormous slush fund will be spent but it will not accomplish my defeat. These enemies have tried before and failed. We who saved this Government from bankruptcy by returning the railroads need not be alarmed. Voters have decernment. Possibly the following may be of at least passing interest to my colleagues similarly situated. I will explain this animus now in my district.

I had to override obstacles other than defeating Congressman Smith in coming to Washington. He lived in El Paso, I in Abilene, opposite ends of the old "Jumbo"—sixteenth—district, 556 miles across it. He had been Congressman 14 years, with active friends in every county.

I was unknown in half the counties. Numerous cases vigorously fought while I was an active practitioner for 11 years in various courthouses produced enemies. As the losing side frequently blames the trial court, the hundreds of civil and criminal cases tried during the eight years I was a district judge produced more enemies. Strictly enforcing the law, expediting business to keep the dockets clear, treating everybody alike, forcing the rich as well as the poor to serve on juries, entering fines against rich witnesses and jurors who did not appear promptly, and forcing their attendance by bench warrant produced more enemies. When in Abilene I gave said sheriff, T. C. Weir—who now threatens me—a warrant for the arrest of a prominent county judge who embezzled a fortune from county funds, and said sheriff witnessed said county judge flag the midnight train at Elmdale and board it only 6 miles east of Abilene, and then rode with him through Clyde, through Baird—a county seat with jail—through Putnam, through Dothan, through Cisco, through Eastland—another county seat with jail—through Ranger, through Strawn, through Mingus—at each of which towns said train stopped—and down to Gordon about 100 miles east of Abilene, and there took said county judge off the train, and from the Gordon Depot said county judge ran off and escaped from said sheriff in the Palo Pinto Mountains, and, unharmed, is still a fugitive from justice; and, admitting the above, said sheriff offered as excuse only that he went to Gordon to meet the westbound train for return back to Abilene. I naturally had a grand jury to investigate it. Could I have done otherwise? Yet I gathered another lifelong enemy. To retaliate, this sheriff gave Congressman Smith a signed statement that the Abilene vote would be against me in the proportion of 529 for Smith to 94 for me, and though absolutely unfounded Smith advertised this false prophecy over the Jumbo district.

And to get started, I first had to defeat in a preferential primary Judge J. M. Wagstaff, an honored citizen of Abilene, who had lived in Taylor County 35 years, and was then State representative. As a further complication R. N. Grisham, of Sweetwater, Nolan County, entered the race, Kent County having been his old home, and he having been a former district attorney. He was backed by the politicians and leading political citizens of Sweetwater, and his astute campaign manager, Judge John B. Littler, of Howard County, was a seasoned politician of west Texas. But after the election, thanks to my loyal friends and incomparable campaign managers, the aspiring Mr. Grisham was hardly able to realize what had happened to him, as his wily campaign manager of Howard County was not able even to carry Howard County for him, and of the 59 counties in the Jumbo district Mr. Grisham carried only 2, Reeves and Nolan Counties, his home and that of the Sweetwater business men who backed him, and despite their money spent, and tremendous efforts exerted in his behalf, they were able to give him only 621 votes in Nolan County to my 464 votes there. Mr. Grisham is still bewildered, and deserves mention here only because he has been specially selected to defeat me in the coming July primary. If Mr. Gompers and his radical associates of union leaders exhibit in other districts the same want of political sagacity and acumen as they have in my own, all of my threatened colleagues will be safe. On April 9, 1920, the Sweetwater Reporter devoted nearly a whole column on its front page to a fake interview with an alleged farmer to the effect that the farmers of Nolan County would be for Grisham. I immediately demanded the name and address of this farmer, and the Reporter has not yet been able to give it, as the Grisham farmers and Gompers farmers are as scarce as hens' teeth in Nolan County. Notwithstanding that the Sweetwater Reporter devoted most of two columns on its front page of March 26, 1920—gratis—to Mr. Grisham, again in its issue of April 12, 1920, it permitted him—gratis—to use part of three columns, wherein he alleged that he was being supported by the county and district and city officers, bankers, business men, laborers, and practically all of the ladies of Sweetwater, who had poll-tax receipts. My humble card in this same paper had to be marked "political advertisement." Such antics are being cut in my district during my enforced absence. I warn my colleagues that similar stunts may be pulled off in their districts. Loving a fair fight, and not wanting to take advantage of Mr. Gompers, for his information and to give him an opportunity to discover a worthier antagonist for me, I regret that I am forced to humiliate Mr. Grisham and his former 621 Nolan County supporters by now inserting the 1916 vote, as certified in the secretary of state's office, in Austin, to wit:

Official vote for Representative, sixteenth congressional district of Texas, in Democratic primary election held July 22, 1916, as certified by the chairman and secretary of the Democratic executive committee (with Smith vote omitted).

County.	Thomas L. Blanton.	R. N. Grisham.
Andrews	61	6
Borden	100	18
Brewster	209	21
Callahan	923	68
Coke	461	38
Concho	369	33
Crockett	89	11
Crosby	293	85
Culberson	45	5
Dawson	239	65
Eastland	1,579	86
Ector	44	9
Edwards	73	1
El Paso	704	561
Fisher	666	133
Gaines	75	13
Garza	246	51
Glasscock	68	9
Haskell	198	108
Howard	370	244
Irion	130	7
Jeff Davis	45	3
Jones	1,367	191
Kent	205	40
Kimble	350	8
King	71	7
Lubbock	494	63

Official vote for Representative, sixteenth congressional district of Texas, in Democratic primary election held July 22, 1916, as certified by the chairman and secretary of the Democratic executive committee (with Smith vote omitted)—Continued.

County.	Thomas L. Blanton.	R. N. Grisham.
Lynn	294	28
Martin	124	33
Menard	197	17
Midland	188	33
Mitchell	399	75
Nolan	464	621
Pala Pinto	1,105	122
Pecos	60	6
Presidio	19	3
Reagan	53	.....
Real	65	5
Reeves	119	148
Runnels	1,187	140
Schleicher	174	4
Scurry	713	154
Shackelford	451	24
Stephens	464	44
Sterling	137	7
Stonewall	377	36
Sutton	134	11
Taylor	2,185	118
Terry	129	9
Tom Green	729	106
Upton	47	1
Ward	82	15
Winkler	16	1
Yoakum	63	11
Total	20,249	3,656

SWEETWATER, TEX., *August 25, 1916.*

We, the executive committee of the sixteenth congressional district of Texas, hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and correct tabulation of the vote for Democratic nomination for Congressman in the July primary election, as reported by the several county chairmen, to wit: That THOMAS L. BLANTON received 20,249 votes; that W. R. Smith received 18,262 votes; and that R. N. Grisham received 3,656 votes.

Respectfully submitted.

H. C. HORD, *Chairman.*

Attest:

R. H. MCCARTY, *Secretary.*

You will note that my home county of Taylor gave me 2,185 votes and gave Grisham only 118; that my old home of Shackelford County gave Grisham only 24 votes, while it gave me 451 votes; and you will further note that in Grisham's old home county of Kent he received only 40 votes to my 205 votes, and in his present home county of Eastland Mr. Grisham received only 86 votes to my 1,579 votes. The five counties in my old forty-second judicial district, where I was judge eight years, gave Grisham only 340 votes to my 5,602 votes. Yet in the hopes of defeating me with this snail pacer, Mr. Gompers and his radical labor leaders are to waste thousands of dollars in useless effort. I have urged the loyal newspapers in my district to accept these Gompers page advertisements, charge full rate for same, collect the cash, and circulate it in the district.

My 1916 platform, upon which I was elected, had the following plank:

LABOR AND CAPITAL.

Capital is thoroughly organized, and I therefore believe in legitimate labor organizations, and where lawfully conducted they will find in me a friend and protector. The safety, health, comfort, and legal rights of all laborers should be safeguarded by adequate legislation, and, likewise, legitimate business enterprises should be encouraged and fully protected by law. Every laborer should be enabled by thrift and economy to acquire his own home and to be able to devote some of his time to the pleasure and enjoyment of his family.

I have faithfully kept said pledge. But because I said I would be their friend and protector only when their unions were lawfully conducted, and that "legitimate business enterprises should be encouraged and fully protected by law," union leaders then denominated me as an enemy, and on the night before the election R. E. Rankin went to Telegrapher J. B. Latham and had sent from Abilene numerous telegrams to labor unions all over the district stating that I was an enemy to union labor. The loyal Americans who are members of unions in my district believe in law and do not want me to be for them unless their organizations are lawfully conducted. I have been for all proper labor demands when lawfully made and have fought against only the unlawful, and have also protected legitimate business.

Among its numerous misrepresentations the Olden Advance has asserted that the Government has paid for the paper and printing of records and speeches I have distributed, and also paid clerks for addressing same, in refutation of which I insert the following:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 24, 1920.*

I hereby certify that Representative THOMAS L. BLANTON, of Texas, has paid to me for the Public Printer the total sum of $4,025.37 covering cost to Government of paper and reprinting from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD various speeches made by him, which reprinted speeches under the law are entitled to distribution under the frank of any Congressman or Senator.

Representative BLANTON from time to time has also purchased from me extra copies of the DAILY CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, which varies from 3 to 18 cents each according to size, he having paid me as much as $8 for extra copies of one issue, such RECORD being entitled to distribution under any Congressman's frank.

W. A. SMITH,
Congressional Record Clerk, Capitol.

—

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 12, 1920.*

The ADVANCE,
Olden, Tex.:

Among your many other past misrepresentations, in your issue of April 3 you assert that the stenographer addressing Congressman BLANTON'S speeches was paid by the Government.

I have had charge of the addressing of these speeches, and out of his own pocket Congressman BLANTON has paid me $200 per month for same, and he has likewise paid my assistant.

Mrs. C. BENTON.

Mr. Speaker, until lately I have not been in favor of the law permitting the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD or any part thereof to be franked. But through no other possible way could the people of this Nation learn the facts about their own business. While I am here now, working day and night for my people and country, these enemies in my district are viciously and maliciously misrepresenting my record in a thousand ways. Have not the people the right to know the facts? During the past year I have sent more RECORDS to other States than to my own, and have thus expended most of my salary in trying to acquaint the people of the United States with their own business, so that some of its defects may possibly be remedied.

My enemies far away in Texas even question my record on prohibition and woman suffrage. Name me a colleague who has worked harder for these two measures than I have? The gentleman from California [Mr. RANDALL] is our only colleague elected strictly on a national prohibition platform. Kindly permit me to show my constituents what he says:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 15, 1918.*

MY DEAR MR. BLANTON: Just a word to express to you my admiration of the great and effective work that you have done for prohibition in the House of Representatives ever since you have been here. You are one to be counted on at any and all junctures for action in this cause, and I have found that you have not let parliamentary camouflage obscure the main issue.

Very cordially, C. H. RANDALL.

—

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,
CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE HEADQUARTERS,
Washington, D. C., May 24, 1919.

Hon. THOMAS L. BLANTON,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. BLANTON: We have great pleasure in thanking you once more, in behalf of our association, for your help in bringing about the overwhelming victory for woman suffrage in the House of Representatives on May 21, as well as for your cordial and sympathetic aid at many other times and in many other ways.

We know that you share our hope that the suffrage amendment will soon be on its way to the States for ratification, and that you rejoice with us because the end of our long struggle is in sight.

With grateful appreciation for all that you have done, we are,

Sincerely, yours,

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
President.
ANNA HOWARD SHAW,
Honorary President.
HELEN H. GARDENER,
Fifth Vice President.
MAUD WOOD PARK,
Chairman Congressional Committee.

It is well known that during the three years I have been in Congress no post-office building bill has been passed. Yet Mayor C. A. Engle, of Sweetwater, condemns me and favors Mr. Gompers's Grisham because I have not built a post-office building in Sweetwater.

Shortly before I went off the bench I incurred the animosity of D. J. Neill, of Gorman, by deciding a case not to his liking. Now he fights me and favors Mr. Gompers's Grisham, but in 1912 he wrote me:

GORMAN, TEX., *July 8, 1912.*

Judge THOMAS L. BLANTON,
Eastland, Tex.

DEAR SIR AND FRIEND: I am glad to see the people standing by you. I love true men, and you have proven to me that you are a true man and ready at any time to brave the powers that be in defense of the rights of the people. The people are with you and will be with you to the end. You have proven to the people that you want good government, and sometime I hope to see the people make you governor. God bless you.

Yours, truly, D. J. NEILL.

D. J. Neill does not represent our farmers now. From one of the men who knows the farmer's friend from his foe here is the following:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 26, 1920.*

Hon. THOMAS L. BLANTON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BLANTON: As director, representing agriculture, in the Mississippi Valley Association, embracing about 26 States, I wish to say that if the farmers of our Nation had a few more men in Congress who understand their needs as you do and who would serve their interests as you have done, normal prosperity would return more rapidly, for when our farmers are prosperous all other interests in our Nation prosper accordingly.

Not only are the farmers of Texas indebted to you for your defense of agriculture, but the farmers of the Nation as well owe you a debt of gratitude, and I believe not only the farmers, but those engaged in banking, industrial, and mercantile pursuits in your district, will thoroughly appreciate the services you have rendered.

With kindest regards, I am,

Yours, very truly, R. D. BOWEN (*Paris, Tex.*).

The firm of Gompers & Grisham must cease camouflaging. The Grisham fake "landslide" telegrams he had sent from El Paso on the day before the 1916 primary fooled very few people. Present misrepresentations are fooling few now. My people are wise and decerning. Following redistricting in the last election I became the Representative of the new seventeenth district, embracing 19 counties. I will have represented it one term. Its people advise me that in July they are going to elect me to represent this new seventeenth district for a second term, this foreign Hebrew, Mr. Samuel Gompers, to the contrary notwithstanding. For their joint pondering I submit to Gompers & Grisham the official vote in the last primary:

The correct official vote by counties is given below:

Vote for Congressman in the seventeenth congressional district of Texas in Democratic primary July 27, 1918.

County.	Thomas L. Blanton.	Oscar Callaway.	Joe Adkins.	William G. Blackmon.
Taylor	3,992	177	297	199
Comanche	2,585	1,394	285	117
Runnels	2,242	140	360	107
Coleman	1,979	251	615	254
Brown	1,857	546	1,582	194
Concho	646	30	278	75
Nolan	1,468	0	296	207
Jones	2,697	0	370	818
Shackelford	882	37	79	45
Callahan	1,707	0	426	234
Stephens	968	190	87	124
Eastland	2,854	0	452	384
Palo Pinto	2,032	282	132	319
McCulloch	551	42	1,315	54
San Saba	1,313	56	877	80
Lampasas	855	92	839	155
Mills	1,113	291	340	100
Llano	770	45	547	121
Burnet	1,573	82	639	64
Total	32,034	3,355	9,816	3,651

THOMAS L. BLANTON'S majority over all three opponents, 15,212.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion let me state that I have over 5,000 strong letters from substantial business men of this Nation, some from every congressional district in the United States, indorsing my work in Congress. Likewise the farmers generally have indorsed my efforts to keep their departments of agriculture from being dominated by radical labor leaders and, both in Texas and other States, have approved the following letter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 18, 1920.*

Hon. FRED W. DAVIS,
Commissioner of Agriculture, Austin, Tex.

MY DEAR SIR: Your three-page letter of 14th received, wherein you oppose the farmers' memorial asking Congress to prevent strikes, and you defend strikes by organized labor, and you specially defend the position taken by railroad employees, who have threatened a nation-wide tie-up unless their wage demands are granted, and you conclude by stating that if Congress should act favorably on the memorial sent by the farmers' four organizations regret would follow.

You sent this propaganda letter not only to my Texas colleagues, but Congressman MCARTHUR, of Oregon, and others tell me they likewise received one; hence I take it that you mailed one to each Congressman and Senator.

Not a single posted farmer in Texas will approve of your action. Does the State of Texas pay you a salary to thus waste your time and its stationery and postage in sending such Gompers propaganda to Senators and Congressmen? Have you let the farmers of Texas know the contents of your letter? Don't you know that the farmers bear more heavily than anyone else the burden of all labor strikes? Don't you know that the farmers of Texas favor proper arbitration of all industrial disputes to prevent strikes? Are you trying to hedge on Mr. Gompers's recent pronunciamento by thus assuring him that you are a dependable friend and want to be reelected?

I had hoped that the department of agriculture in my State was administered in the interests of Texas farmers and had other use for its time and money than wasting it in vicious propaganda. I know the farmers of Texas. Every posted, intelligent one of them will condemn your action.

Very sincerely, yours, THOMAS L. BLANTON.

REMARKS

OF

HON. ERNEST R. ACKERMAN,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 11, 1920.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, having visited the western battle fronts and traveled along them for a thousand miles from the North Sea to Metz, and having seen the dugouts within whispering distance of each other on the "Yser," the devastation in Flanders, the plugging of the submarine bases at Ostend and Zeebrugge, the destruction that exists at Ypres, the waste and desolation of the fields of northern France, the acres of annihilation around Ramscappelle and the effects of the poison gases on the surrounding forests, the inextricably locked barbed-wire fences guarding "No Man's Land," the slimy trenches and damp and gloomy habitations in the hillsides, the shell-swept fortresses near Verdun, the German prisoners working to repair in part the damage they had created, the white crosses by the thousands in the cemeteries of Ploisy-Aine, Romagne, and Belleau Woods, I can not fail to fully appreciate the great sacrifices that our gallant soldiers, sailors, and others underwent while in the American Army overseas.

These steel-nerved men were the "spearhead" of the javelin that drove the enemy to cover while those at home working in shop, shipyard, and factories constituted the shaft, and the citizenry as a whole the morale, whereby the victory was assured.

These millions of survivors who worked overseas and in the training camps at home are a class to be envied. To the thousands denied the privilege of participating in the honors to our heroes must be a great and increasing regret that they were not on the field of triumph. To attempt to measure appreciation in monetary terms for valorous service and sacrifice would almost be descending "from the sublime to the ridiculous."

No dollar token could possibly equalize the acme of appreciation we owe! For the loved ones of those who sleep in France the most considerate care will be taken, for theirs is a grief that it is almost impossible to assuage, and our debt of gratitude to those who poured out their life blood on the field of battle is immeasurable.

For those crippled, maimed, broken in health by the noxious gases, or the incapacitated from whatever cause, the most generous and continued care must evermore be extended. There are from official reports many veterans of the World War, according to Dr. Rucker of the War Risk Insurance Bureau, who were disabled when they were discharged from the United States forces. No question exists but what it is the country's obligation and duty to take care of this number, and Congress has appropriated at this session $325,000,000 for their relief, and I for one am willing to vote larger amounts if necessary. However, to extend additional bounty at the present time to those who are enjoying the blessings of health, who an All-Wise Providence permitted to escape unscathed, and who are now obtaining remunerative employment, would be violating the fundamentals of economics which would work havoc in the South as well as in the North.

With the vast expenditures bearing heavily on the backs of all classes of people at present, with unsettled conditions prevailing because of the reaction from the great conflict, consideration is proper and must be given to the 20,000,000 holders of Liberty bonds, the taxpayers, and the common people generally who supplied the sinews whereby the victory was achieved.

Our heroes fought that stable conditions might prevail, and they readily perceived that to attempt to go back in an endeavor to resolve into "income" that which has become "capital" is an unscrambling which is impossible if any further stability is to be attributed to the financial structure of the country. Whatever income was reinvested during the war has been already absorbed into the "warp and woof" of the country's industries, and is now in the form of bricks and mortar, lumber and rubber, iron and steel, engines and cars, and is serving all mankind, not sufficiently or adequately, perhaps, but giving good service to the extent of its employment. Do we not need more of this kind of productive investment?

If we choke it off or fail to produce in excess of what we are now doing, how can prices recede? They will go higher beyond peradventure! The ex-service men are as anxious as any that prices should fall and that can only be accomplished by producing more. It is as certain as the sun rises and sets that the authorization of a cash bonus at the present time would not cause prices to fall but would have exactly the contrary effect.

If, as has been suggested, we take funds made in the past as a basis for distribution, we can not do so without appropriating capital, for the income of the past has become fixed; it is no longer fluid, and to appropriate capital would be to make of industrial enterprises a thing of "shreds and patches."

It is true that the Ways and Means Committee has again constructed a revenue producer which, while exhibiting ingenious features, pleases but few. Some crippled ex-service men lying on beds of pain protest most earnestly against adjusted compensation being paid at present, realizing the staggering burden that the finances of the Government are bearing. Other ex-service men, holding their participation in our country's defense above price, have resigned from organizations which have been pressing for immediate plans to provide cash compensation to all. I know also of those eligible for maximum amounts, and who performed exceedingly hazardous aviation and sea service, who do not wish to be recipients of national consideration at the present time, although what they might be entitled to they could effectually utilize.

If there are those who have suffered financial hardships and if homes have been taken away from selective-service men, undoubtedly legislation can be framed to take care of these exceptions which will relieve whatever distress exists without further disturbing the economic situation.

The approach of a presidential election does not tend to promote the calm consideration of a situation which should be undertaken when the atmosphere of "politics are adjourned" exists rather than when "politics are inflamed," as at present, and my feelings on this point are shared by many ex-service men as well as by others in various walks of life.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not cumber the RECORD with the original evidences of approval of my stand in this matter, but I am sure that upon further reflection it will be apparent that the present is not the time, much as we might like so to do, to press for further adjusted cash compensation for our honored ex-service men who are sound in health, in limb, and are occupied in productive, remunerative employment.

Gardens, Flower Yards, and Home Production.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. UPSHAW,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 10, 1920.

On the bill (H. R. 12272) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921.

Mr. UPSHAW. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, the Department of Agriculture, of course, was organized to encourage every phase of agricultural effort. And it is as clear as a cloudless sunrise that its organization and development have meant, indeed, not merely the sunrise but the sunburst of a new day in the rural life of America.

Having traveled rather widely in platform-lecture work before coming to Congress, I have had opportunity to see much of the farm-demonstration work going on, and I never meet these enterprising evangels of agricultural education and inspiration but that I feel something of the same thrill that stirs me when I go among the departments here in Washington and see this great Government with all of its symmetrical ramifications of wonder-working activity—it makes me a truer American and a better patriot.

The Department of Agriculture is doing a wonderful work under its financial limitations—mark my words, financial limitations—for it is a startling cause for contemplation that, with an annual governmental expense account of over $3,000,000,000, this Agricultural bill carries only about $30,000,000, and one-third of this amount, bless you, goes to other objects than agriculture—forestry, roads, and so forth—causes highly necessary in themselves and tremendously worthy, but not an actual part of agricultural activities. In other words, only $20,000,000 a year to encourage, to lead, and develop the most important industry—the foundation industry of all America.

And yet in face of this fact we find it necessary to vote for the Langley amendment to get the same amount for the distribution of seeds that we had last year, for the committee appropriation under the lash of the cry of retrenchment has been cut to only $39,416 for the gardens and flower yards all over the Nation.

I recognize the fact that we must buckle on our armor, put our hands in our pockets like a brave, grateful people, and pay our war debt, and that therefore retrenchment is necessary in certain directions, but let us not begin at the gardens and even the very tables of the people. [Applause.]

I confess with the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BLAND] that before I came to Congress I used to laugh at the sending of garden and flower seeds as a part of a Congressman's duty. "Send me some garden seeds," said some of my supporting friends as I started away to Washington. And it was said as a laughing joke. But since I came here and began to feel the pulse of the people—call it a desire to please the "dear people" and come back, if you will—my mail reveals the fact that there is a widespread interest among the masses in this garden and flower seed business.

I am still laughing away down inside of me about that remark of my witty and brilliant friend, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOCHT], when he declared that "our constituents are more anxious for these seeds than they are for our speeches." I have a confession to make. It punctures my pride, but here goes: Since I crawled off of bed where I stayed about seven years as the result of an accident while I was hauling wood as a farmer boy, I have been selling "hot air" for a living [laughter], and to tell the truth about it, I enjoy my speeches even if nobody else does. [Laughter and applause.] But I make here the distressing confession that I have received a hundred times more requests for garden and flower seeds than I have for my speeches. [Laughter and applause.]

Only a few days ago I sent 50 packages of seeds to one man, a superintendent of a factory, who said he wanted to encourage his employees to plant gardens in the burnt district of Atlanta and to make their homes more attractive by beautifying their yards with flowers.

This, gentlemen, is not politics, as has been suggested; it is patriotism; it is common sense; it is production; it is a part cure for the high cost of housekeeping; it is personal and national economy; it is encouragement to the people at the very foundation of things.

BEECHER AND GRADY ON FLOWERS AND HOMES.

Henry Ward Beecher used to say that if he were traveling through a strange country and were looking for a place to stay all night he would keep on going until he found a house with flowers in the yard, for he knew that refinement and love must reign in the home where beautiful flowers smiled outside.

God smiled and the flowers bloomed,
Some poet grandly said,
And woman was the fairest flower
That raised her sun-crowned head.

Henry Grady declared in his great speech at the University of Virginia: "Teach a man that his sovereignty lies beneath his hat; link him to a spot of earth, and his loyalty will save the Republic when the drum tap is futile and the barracks are forever deserted."

And I love to think of the happy home of the plain, everyday citizen, the home that is his haven of rest and love and hope, surrounded by flowers of beauty and fragrance, all the more beautiful to him because of the deft and delicate touch of the noble little woman who is the wife of his bosom and the mother of his children—I love to think of him, I say, loyal defender of the flag that lifts its protecting folds above that happy home, coming home at nightfall and finding his wife standing with their laughing children amid the flowers that bloom about their home like the very smile of God, ready to give him the kiss of welcome that drives away "the cares that infest the day," and making him feel that for such a home he is ready to work and to live, and if need be to die. [Applause.]

Gentlemen of the House, I want this Government to do everything possible to link itself to the faith and the affections of that home. And if the flowers in that yard and the vegetables in that garden came largely from governmental help and encouragement, it serves to make better patriots out of the boys and girls who planted them and feast upon them, and likewise of the father and mother who enjoy their beauty and their bounty. Every time a school boy or girl writes me for seed for the yard or the garden I send a letter seeking to encourage them in their worthy efforts. I thank God that I was reared by a father who taught me the wholesome doctrine that "every boy ought to know how a tired man feels"; and I know of nothing except the holy inspiration of a family altar that is more needed for the building of a steady stamina among the boys and girls of to-day than to encourage them to work—to work some every day—to beautify their home, to fructify their gardens, and to

look with eager pride upon everything that brings happiness and prosperity to their parents, their home, their community, and their country.

HOME INDEPENDENCE A FOUNDATION NECESSITY.

And this thought is close akin to that other thought which is a foundation necessity in every home, and more especially in every farmer's home. I can never get over the feeling produced in my boyish heart by the incongruous picture of seeing some of our neighbors hauling hay and corn and meat by my father's home, which they had bought from some merchant in Marietta, Powder Springs, or Atlanta, who had agreed to "run" them with supplies to make their crop. And while farm demonstration and the farm-loan bank have done a great deal to help change this condition of dependence among the farmers, I still feel constrained, for the sake of those who have not yet become emancipated, to call all the farmers in the land before me, especially those in my own district, and issue to them this one ringing injunction: "Live at home! Live at home! Live at home! Tax your genius and your industry to raise everything that the family needs at home, and your surplus will spell your financial independence!" Such a course will go a long way toward helping to solve many of the problems that confront and confound this Nation to-day. And as an encouragement to this good end I believe that the Department of Agriculture ought to be voted by this Congress a hundred millions instead of twenty millions a year. This Government can no longer afford to be "small" in its handclasp of encouragement to the man who feeds and clothes the world. [Applause.]

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIMEON D. FESS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 22, 1920.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address on the significance of the three hundredth anniversary of the House of Burgesses and the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers.

The address is as follows:

PROMOTING THE NATIONAL CELEBRATION OF THE THREE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FIRST LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, THE PILGRIM FATHERS' COMPACT AND LANDING, AND THE BEGINNING OF FREE INSTITUTIONS IN AMERICA.

[The Sulgrave Institution in association with Alumni Association of American Rhodes Scholars, American Automobile Association, American Civic Association, American Federation of Labor, American Mayflower Council, American Political Science Association, American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, American Seamen's Friend Society, American Unitarian Association, Archaeological Institute of America, Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, Baptist Young People's Union of America, Better America Movement, Brotherhood of St. Andrew in the United States, City History Club of New York, Colonial Dames of America, Community Service (Inc.), Daughters of the Cincinnati, Federal Council Churches of Christ in America, General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, Huguenot Society of America, Knights of King Arthur, Methodist Federation for Social Service, Military Order of Foreign Wars, National Council Congregational Churches, National Council Junior Order of United American Mechanics, National Institute of Social Sciences, National Rifle Association, National Society Colonial Dames of America, National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, National Society Sons of American Revolution, National Society United States Daughters of 1812, New Jersey Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, New York Historical Society, New York State Historical Association, Old Guard Veteran Battalion of New York, Presbyterian Church in the United States, St. Andrew's Society, St. David's Society, St. George's Society, Salvation Army, Society of Mayflower Descendants, Sons of Confederate Veterans, The People's Institute, United Spanish War Veterans, United States Junior Naval Reserve. Temporary headquarters, suite 3903 Woolworth Building, New York. Vice President of the United States, Mr. Thomas R. Marshall, honorary chairman; honorary vice chairmen: Theodore Roosevelt (in memoriam), William Howard Taft, his excellency the British ambassador, his excellency the minister for the Netherlands, Bainbridge Colby, Joshua W. Alexander, Newton D. Baker, Rear Admiral William S. Benson, Right Rev. Charles Sumner Burch, Albert S. Burleson, Josephus Daniels, Simeon D. Fess, his eminence Cardinal Gibbons, Myron T. Herrick, Herbert C. Hoover, Charles Evans Hughes, Franklin K. Lane, Robert Lansing, A. Mitchell Palmer, Gen. John J. Pershing, Frank L. Polk, Leslie M. Shaw, Rear Admiral William S. Sims, Alfred E. Smith, Oscar S. Straus, Dr. C. van Vollenhoven, George W. Wickersham, Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood; chairman, Alton B. Parker; chairman finance committee, Martin Vogel; depository, J. P. Morgan & Co.; chairman executive committee, John A. Stewart; secretary, Andrew B. Humphrey.]

To the American People:

War's reaction, universal absorption in business, and work of reconstruction seem to have made Americans less regardful of primary things—things of principle, tradition, and heritage—which relate to the foundation upon which the United States of America rests.

It so happens that the year 1920 is doubly significant historically, in that 300 years ago beginning the 30th of last July there was being held in Jamestown, Virginia Colony, the first American legislative assembly, called by free men, of lawful age, and of full understanding.

And while these first Americans were instituting self-government on the American Continent a little group of English humble folk who during a 12-year sojourn in Holland, to which they had fled from Britain to be free to worship God in the manner of which their conscience approved, was already making ready to go to America and establish in the New World a home of religious freedom.

So one year after the Virginians had met in assembly—July 30, 1620—these men and women and children of the Pilgrim band left Leyden for Delfshaven, from which they were to sail for America by way of Southampton and Plymouth in the mother country.

By one of those strange coincidences which sometimes seems to set aside certain days and endow them with traditional significance, July 30 and November 11 take on such an endowment, for July 30 joins Cavalier and Pilgrim together as twin sources of that high inspiration which met in the convention of the great Constitution, and November 11 is not only the anniversary day of the Mayflower compact, the second assumption by English colonists in America of an inalienable right of self-government, but is also the memorable day of the beginning of that armistice which closed the Great War, in which the descendants of Pilgrim and Cavalier and their kin across seas fought and won together.

Therefore the year 1920 being an historic anniversary year—as well as the fifth year of overmuch dangerous propaganda, false counsel, and loose statement by public characters—it would seem to be vitally essential that there should be brought to the consciousness of the American people in a great national celebration the meaning and the priceless worth of our free institutions, and that Americans everywhere should challenge with these free institutions of the English-speaking world the false principles and vicious practices of the extreme radical and all those who would conspire against orderly self-government and American national well-being.

Therefore, we, the undersigned (representing organizations having a membership of many millions of men and women) urge and invite the people of the United States of America to join, as free born, free bred, and self-governed citizens may do, and always have done, in celebrating, each locality in the way it deems best, beginning June 4, 1920, their own free institutions; and to give grateful recognition to the great fact that these institutions were esablished in America by the fathers; that from generation to generation they have been transmitted, strengthened and unimpaired, down to this the sixth generation since 1776, which must, in its own turn, hand over to a succeeding generation these same institutions so laboriously and painfully conceived and with so much sacrifice maintained.

We offer as suggestion for a program public meetings, special instruction in the public schools, universal church service, local pageants relating to life North, South, East, and West from earliest times, etc.

Holland, Great Britain, and Canada will also celebrate through people's committees and will send representative delegations to take part in carrying out a popular American program.

Let inquiry as to further particulars be made to Andrew B. Humphrey, secretary of the Sulgrave Institution, 233 Broadway, New York City (named for the ancestral home of George Washington in England and owned and maintained by a Sulgrave board of trustees as a place of pilgrimage for all who live together in law-abiding good will in the Republic which Washington set up on the Western Continent).

Alton B. Parker, chancellor, the Sulgrave Institution; William Howard Taft, Sulgrave Institution board; Charles Evans Hughes, Sulgrave Institution board; John A. Stewart, chairman board of governors, Sulgrave Institution; Andrew B. Humphrey, secretary, Sulgrave Institution; James Cardinal Gibbons; JAMES W. WADSWORTH, Jr., United States Senate; WILLIAM M. CALDER, United States Senate; John H. Finley, commission of education, State of New York; James M. Beck, Sulgrave Institution board, New Jersey; William A. Clarke, ex-United States Senator; George Sutherland, ex-United States Senator; A. C. Humphreys, New York, St. Andrew's Society; R. Fulton Cutting, New York, Sulgrave Institution; George Haven Putnam, New York, Sulgrave Institution; Rev. S. Parkes Cadman, New York, Sulgrave Institution; George F. Kunz, New York, American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, Sulgrave Institution board; W. Lanier Washington, New York, Sulgrave Institution board; Louis Annin Ames, New York, National Society of Sons of American Revolution; Mrs. Clarence F. R. Jenne, Connecticut, president National Society United States Daughters of 1812; Robert C. Morris, New York, Sulgrave Institution board; Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Rev. Marshall Owens, New Jersey Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church; James E. Heath, chairman Norfolk Tercentenary Committee; Eugene Tanke, chairman Buffalo Tercentenary Committee; Frank B. Steel, secretary Buffalo Tercentenary Committee; John Castree Williams, vice president St. David's Society, New York; Mrs. T. M. Cheesman, New York, president Colonial Dames of America; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Pennsylvania; American Civic Association; Rev. W. H. Roberts, Pennsylvania, General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America; Mrs. William Ruffin Cox, Virginia, Sulgrave Institution board; Miss Constance D'Arcy Mackay, New York, Community Service (Inc.); Mrs. J. Malcolm Forbes, Massachusetts, Sulgrave Institution board; James Sullivan, New York, secretary Tercentenary committee on education; Charles Stewart Davison, New York, Sulgrave Institution; Mrs. Hamilton R. Fairfax, New York, Colonial Dames, State of New York; Matthew Woll, Illinois, American Federation of Labor, Sulgrave Institution; Louis Livingston Seaman, Sulgrave Institution board; G. Frank Shelby,

Brotherhood of St. Andrew in the United States; George E. Vincent, Sulgrave Institution board; Hugh James Fleming, California, Sulgrave Institution; George William Burleigh, New York, Sulgrave Institution; Martin Vogel, treasurer Tercentenary committee, sub-Treasurer of the United States; Rev. Charles L. Thompson, New York, American Mayflower Council of Churches; Rt. Rev. James H. Darlington, Pennsylvania, Sulgrave Institution, Huguenot Society of America; W. O. Hart, Louisiana, Sulgrave Institution board; Edward W. Hatch, New York, Sulgrave Institution board; Alba B. Johnson, Pennsylvania, Sulgrave Institution board; W. Douglas Mackenzie, Connecticut, National Council of Congregational Churches; Bliss Forbush, New Hampshire, Knights of King Arthur; Rev. Worth M. Tippy, New York, Methodist Federation for Social Service; John H. Noyes, New Hampshire, National Council of Junior Order of United American Mechanics; Emory R. 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Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General; Gen. John J. Pershing; Herbert Hoover, California; Franklin K. Lane, ex-Secretary of the Interior; WILLIAM S. KENYON, United States Senate; ARTHUR CAPPER, United States Senate; John Grier Hibben, Princeton University; E. A. Alderman, University of Virginia; James B. Forgan, Sulgrave Institution; Rear Admiral William S. Sims; E. B. Bryan, Colgate University; Charles Phelps Taft, Ohio, Sulgrave Institution board; Joseph G. Butler, jr., Ohio, Sulgrave Institution board; Bennehan Cameron, North Carolina, Sulgrave Institution board; John H. Bartlett, governor of New Hampshire; Samuel Gompers, American Federation of Labor, Sulgrave Institution board; Lee M. Russell, governor of Mississippi; Marcus H. Holcomb, governor of Connecticut; John J. Cornwell, governor of West Virginia; Albert C. Ritchie, governor of Maryland; A. H. Roberts, governor of Tennessee; Percival W. Clement, governor of Vermont; James P. Goodrich, governor of Indiana; W. L. 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Eliot, Massachusetts, American Unitarian Association; James C. Egbert, New York, Archaeological Institute of America; Rev. Newell Dwight Hillis, New York; Mrs. A. Barton Hepburn, New York City History Club; Miss Ruth Lawrence, New York, Daughters of the Cincinnati; Rev. Charles H. Beck, Pennsylvania, General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church; Roland G. Usher, chairman education committee, Missouri; Harry Pratt Judson, University of Chicago; Albert Shaw, Sulgrave Institution; Thomas E. Kilby, governor of Alabama; D. W. Davis, governor of Idaho; S. V. Stewart, governor of Montana; Alfred E. Smith, governor of New York; Lynn J. Frazier, governor of North Dakota; James M. Cox, governor of Ohio; Mrs. T. Harrison Garrett, Sulgrave Institution board, Maryland; Mrs. Peter W. Meldrim, Sulgrave Institution board, Georgia; J. Horace McFarland, American Civic Association, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Eva Follett Warner, Sulgrave Com., Connecticut; E. F. 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Lowden, governor of Illinois; George Trumbull Ladd, Connecticut, Sulgrave Institution; Chase S. Osborn, Michigan, Sulgrave Institution; A. P. Hannum, chairman Provincetown, Mass., committee; George Harvey, New York, North American Review; William Allen White, Kansas, Sulgrave Institution; Frank Morrison, secretary American Federation of Labor; John Donlin, treasurer building trades department, American Federation of Labor; Wm. J. Spencer, secretary-treasurer building trades department, American Federation of Labor; A. J. Barres, secretary-treasurer metal trades department, American Federation of Labor; James O'Connell, president metal trades department, American Federation of Labor; Matthew Nall, vice president American Federation of Labor.

Excess of Governmental Printed Matter—President's Veto of Attempt to Check Waste.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 14, 1920.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Joint Committee on Printing, I desire to make a brief statement. In enacting those provisions of the legislative appropriation bill limiting the publication of magazines and periodicals and the issuance of mimeographed press-agency matter Congress proceeded in what is evident is the only practical manner to check an evil and to safeguard the Public Treasury. That the President has seen fit to veto the bill because it contains those provisions is unfortunate.

For years, as all students of the situation realize, the tendency in all branches of this Government, not excepting Congress itself, has been toward excessive printing. That tendency burst all bounds during the war, during the period of which also the governmental press-agent system was increased beyond reason. It is a poor bureau, commission, or department that does not now maintain its own press agency, and it is a poor Government press agent that does not work night and day in producing matter to glorify the works of his immediate chief and of the administration.

Every newspaper editor in the country knows, if the public does not, of the tremendous waste of paper and effort that results, for every day a great bundle of the outpourings of Government press agents comes through the mails to the editorial desk, adding their weight to the already overburdened postal system.

Congress for several years has been endeavoring to check this evil. Time and again it has written into the law limitations that have sought to prevent personal press agenting of the character I have outlined and to confine Government printing to legitimate and necessary purposes.

Every one of these have failed. The ingenious department heads and bureau chiefs have found methods to get around the law. To-day the total volume of printing and press agenting is greater than ever before. It is observed that Cabinet members and others in the Government are, more and more frequently, emitting in great editions mimeographed copies of their speeches, frequently of a partisan character, and sending them through the mails. Newspaper correspondents inform me that during the five days Secretary Daniels has been on the stand before the Senate committee this week, his own Government press agent has been furnishing to the newspapers at Government expense daily from 64 to 70 mimeographed pages of matter defending the administration and assailing Admiral Sims. Secretary Daniels is not the only offender in this regard.

But, quite aside from the partisan aspect of the press agent and Government publishing evil, the great outstanding fact is that extravagance and waste exist in Government printing, and that the executive department has shown that it will not practice economy. The cost, and the waste of paper, of which there is a national shortage, are factors in the situation that must be considered. Congress itself is cutting down its own printing; it insists that the executive departments do likewise. Since Congress alone holds the power of the purse in our form of

government, the duty is upon Congress to compel the needed economy.

There is a quaint humor in the argument of the President's veto message to the effect that Congress, in establishing restraints, has invaded the jurisdiction of the executive department and is imposing a censorship on Government publications. Even a superficial study of the character of matter produced by Government press agents shows clearly that if there has been any invasion of jurisdiction it has been by the executive arms of the Government themselves, while all newspaper men are familiar with the rigidity of the censorship that the Wilson administration maintains over all executive activities. The Government press agent system in itself is a censorship, for it limits the source of information in the particular department or bureau to the press agent's office, and that office gives out nothing that is not favorable to the official chief. It ill becomes the President to charge Congress with attempting to establish a censorship.

With no partisan motives, with a knowledge of the facts and with a sincere and earnest desire to achieve economy in expenditures where there has been gross waste and where the Chief Executive himself has not concerned himself to hold his subordinates in check, Congress has enacted this wholesome law. It is to be regretted that the President distorts the facts and opposes the efforts of Congress in order that he may preserve a wasteful and vicious system.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN M. BAER,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 11, 1920.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12775) to amend an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.

Mr. BAER. Mr. Chairman, while we have under consideration the Construction Division which is related to the Engineering Corps of the Army, I want to call the attention of the Members of the House to the various engineering bureaus of the Government. I desire to speak with special reference to the experiences the people of my district have had in obtaining engineering services from the Government on flood-control and drainage projects in the Red River Valley of the North.

There is a duplication and lack of coordination among the various departments which have engineering branches. There is a commission for farm engineering and drainage in the Agricultural Department which has done some work in the Red River Valley. The engineers of the War Department also have done considerable work in conjunction with the States. The Interior Department also has an engineering corps which has dabbled in the Red River flood-control projects.

What we need is one department of engineering and public works consolidated under one head in order to eliminate this waste and extravagance caused by the overlapping duties and duplicating surveys made by these various branches of our Government. Millions of dollars have been wasted on surveys and plans for various projects in the United States.

Mr. HICKS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BAER. I will.

Mr. HICKS. Is not the proposed establishment of a separate corps of construction in the Army similar to the Bureau of Yards and Docks in the Navy?

Mr. BAER. I am very glad the gentleman from New York, a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs, has called that to my attention. My proposition is the same service that we have in the Navy now. No one can say that the Navy is not efficient in this special branch. We must coordinate the different branches of the engineering department of this Government and get our bureaus, commissions, and other departments systematized. To-day we have no comprehensive plan to drain the Red River Valley of the North, and the older Members of Congress can remember the appropriations of thousands of dollars for this purpose.

In order to obtain definite and immediate action for one comprehensive plan to cover the Red River Valley projects in the three States of North Dakota, South Dakota, and Minnesota I introduced the following bill:

A bill H. R. 11559) providing for appropriation for the purpose of making examinations and surveys and preparing plans and estimates of cost, and for construction projects, for regulating the stream flow and controling the flood waters of the Red River of the North and its tributaries.

Whereas the urgent necessity and the interstate character of the projects demand that the Government of the United States join with the several States and communities to apply a reemdy for the amelioration of flood conditions in the Red River Valley of the North; and

Whereas numerous surveys have been made by several Federal departments and by the States of Minnesota and North Dakota of the Red River of the North and its tributaries, and the State of North Dakota has appropriated the sum of $33,000 and the State of Minnesota the sum of $35,000 for the purpose of cooperating with the Government of the United States in making surveys and preparing plans and estimates of cost for flood prevention and protection on rivers of the States of North Dakota and Minnesota, respectively; and

Whereas 11,000,000 of acres will be affected and thousands of acres made available for soldier and civilian settlement: Therefore

Be it enacted, etc., That the sum of $25,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and the same is hereby, authorized to be appropriated to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War and the supervision of the Chief of Engineers for the purpose of making examinations, investigations, and surveys, and preparing plans and estimates of cost, and for constructing projects for regulating the stream flow and controlling the flood waters of the Red River of the North and its tributaries.

SEC. 2. That such work to be done in cooperation with the State drainage commissions and engineers of the States of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota.

After notifying the members of the various flood-control commissions, I obtained a hearing before the House Committee on Flood Control. The following statement contains important extracts from this hearing:

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN M. BAER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NORTH DAKOTA.

Mr. BAER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I want to say in the beginning that I introduced this measure to call the matter to the attention of the committee. I am willing to leave it to the judgment and wisdom of the committee to work out a bill that will cover the three States of North Dakota, South Dakota, and Minnesota, in order to prevent floods in the Red River Valley.

There are about 11,000,000 acres that would be indirectly affected by this project; there are about 4,000,000 acres that are directly affected, and 1,000,000 acres would be reclaimed by draining the lowlands. Now, this 1,000,000 acres, if they were reclaimed, would furnish 10,000 farms of 100 acres each to the returned soldiers or other citizens if they desired to settle on them. The value of the land would run from $50 to $100 an acre to-day. This bill would make an appropriation of $25,000,000 to reclaim an area of nearly $100,000,000 worth of land. * * *

I think that for a moment it would pay to consider the serious condition that this country faces so far as the wheat crop is concerned. There is going to be a shortage of wheat, probably, in two or three years. It is agreed by all agricultural economists that the acreage of wheat this year will be reduced 20 to 30 per cent. The uncertain prices and the demoralized conditions of credit in Europe make the market so treacherously uncertain that the farmer does not feel the confidence that he did when the price was fixed, and, of course, that will be automatically repealed on June 1.

Now, this comprehensive plan can not be left to any one of the States alone. The three governors, the flood control and the drainage commissions of the three States are in accord now for the first time. They have gotten together on a plan for the project. The commissioners were to have been here at this hearing. Then it was postponed until the 8th of February. The North Dakota drainage engineer, Mr. Herbert A. Hard, came here on the 27th of January and waited until the 8th of February. He now wants to get to work out there on some surveys, so I wanted to have him appear before the committee while here. I believe it is safe to say we shall have the fullest cooperation in a general plan from all who are interested.

Any engineer will tell you, of course, that this project should be handled from the standpoint of the welfare of the people on both sides of the river, because if there is any discrimination it will aggravate the trouble on the other side of the river, especially by promoting local projects.

* * * Mr. Hard is a technical engineer and expert who can lay this plan more vividly before you than I can. I will take notes while he is talking and may ask for a few minutes later for the purpose of collecting up any points he has left out. So, if it pleases the committee, I will introduce Mr. Herbert A. Hard, who is State drainage engineer of North Dakota and also a member of the State flood-control commission.

I thank the committee for its attention.

STATEMENT BY MR. HERBERT A. HARD, STATE DRAINAGE AND FLOOD-CONTROL ENGINEER, NORTH DAKOTA.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give your name and your position to the reporter?

Mr. HARD. Herbert A. Hard, State drainage engineer of North Dakota. My residence is Fargo.

Gentlemen, if you please, I would like to submit a few facts in regard to the matters involved in both bills that have been under discussion, because they have my most hearty approval, especially the Baer bill. I think they are worthy of consideration. I have resided in the Red River Valley for the past 10 years, and I know whereof I speak, as those other men who have spoken here. My work for the past four years has been in the capacity of flood and drainage engineer for the State of North Dakota. The six years prior to that I served the State and Federal Governments as a geological engineer. My duties have taken me on both sides of the river, in Minnesota and the Dakotas; my work naturally takes me into this territory. I represented the State of North Dakota as a citizen as well as the State officially, and I am one of a number of men selected as delegates by several very large flood-control organizations in the Red River Valley to seek Federal aid for control of floods and relief for the vast spring wheat lands of the valley. I happen to be one of the delegates who was to meet you at an early date. There were delegates from each State. The Minnesota Legislature appointed five members, headed by O. C. Neuman; Gov. Norbeck of South Dakota appointed S. E. Oscarson, while the North Dakota Flood Commission and O. E. Blanding represent that State with me. Hon. A. B. Kaercher and W. P. Chestnut were to represent the Tri-State Flood Control Association and the North Dakota Flood Control Association.

We have resolutions which were passed by these several flood-control and drainage bodies and by the Red River Valley Development Association respectfully beseeching your aid, and we have had a number of letters in regard to it, which I will be glad to submit. Those resolutions were drafted with regard to the grave flood situation. We have several very aggressive bodies, very effective bodies, with which Mr. VOLSTEAD and Mr. STEENERSON are familiar. These men are responsible for my being here, and also the other men that came down. The State legislatures and the governors and the State commissioners of South Dakota and North Dakota have also asked us men to accompany them.

Mr. Baer has told you of the lack of laws whereby the States were unable to act in their individual capacity to control the flooding of lands that embodied a loss of over a million acres. These men set about trying to secure, and did secure, effective legislation which would enable the States to get together and act immediately. North Dakota and Minnesota have passed laws and created a flood-control commission with generous appropriations. The counties alone during the past years have spent millions of dollars in drainage work. During the past four years the North Dakota Flood Control Commission, of which I am engineer, has been working out a comprehensive plan to prevent floods in the entire valley. In Minnesota a commission has been created and some work is being done on the east side of the Red River Valley.

The project which we have to present is not one of small dimensions. It is not a local affair. The vast mother project includes the entire Red River Valley in the States and Canada. It is made up of several large unit projects. The various units of this project are very important themselves. One of the big units is the Lake Traverse, that of which Mr. VOLSTEAD so ably told, another the Red Lake, which Mr. STEENERSON presented.

The report which I have just placed on the table (the First Annual Report of the Engineer of the North Dakota Flood Control Commission) was prepared by myself. It is brief, and I wish to submit it with my evidence, supplying each member of your committee with a copy. It covers a reconnoissance survey of the Red River Valley and presents a series of definite projects which are believed will put an end to disastrous floods. It has a little map showing the boundary between Minnesota and North Dakota and South Dakota and the Red River Valley in the States. Then we have these maps [indicating maps on wall] and we have the engineers' blue prints. This indicates the area that has been damaged by floods [indicating on map]. If I do not make myself clear, and there are any questions that you desire to ask, I will be glad to answer them, or I will be glad to locate any of these points.

The area in the States of Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, in the Red River Valley is a tremendously big area. To give you some idea of the size of the project, in these States we have over 35,000 square miles in the area of the Red River Valley. Including Canada, we will have about 110,000 square miles. So it is a very large area, and I am not calling your attention to some minor local project. The river extends from Lake Traverse on up past Fargo [indicating on map], and is the boundary line for 230 miles between North Dakota and Minnesota. * * * It contains about 22,000,000 acres, an area about as great as that of the New England States. * * *

Mr. HUMPHREYS. May I ask you what you mean by 35,000 square miles; is there that much subject to overflow?

Mr. HARD. I mean to say that is the total watershed south of Canada. I will immediately get to that point, the subject of overflow. There are about 11,000,000 acres of that land that are vitally affected by the project which is to be considered in the several States, and there will be about 4,000,000 acres very greatly benefited in these sections [indicating on map], and there will be better than a million acres which will be virtually reclaimed by any such a project as will undoubtedly be carried out.

Mr. HUMPHREYS. Does this 1,000,000 acres, and 4,000,000 acres, and 11,000,000 acres include all privately owned lands?

Mr. HARD. No; that includes some small amounts of Government area, but it is mostly privately owned. * * *

Mr. BAER. Right there, might I interrupt you? This area which you are discussing, during glacial conditions was supposed to be a large lake about 100 miles wide. You can trace it by the sands. In eastern North Dakota and western Minnesota you come upon the shore-sand beach of this lake, and the geologists indicate that one time this was a great lake.

Mr. HARD. So this is a very level country of which we are speaking; an old lake floor with the characteristically level surface of such a geological structure. The river flows from Lake Traverse to Winnipeg. It is very sluggish and has a drop of less than 1 foot to the mile. The air-line distance from Wahpeton to Pembina is about 190 miles, and the altitudes show a difference of 192 feet. While the gentle slope of the valley is less than 1 foot to the mile on the average, the river meanders so widely as to travel over two times the air-line distance, and the average grade is but 0.46 of a foot per mile for much of its extent. Wahpeton is about 290 miles from Lake Winnipeg; the difference in altitude is about 236 feet. The general slope of the lake floor is toward the Red River in its middle, and is steeper, yet it is usually but 2 to 5 feet per mile.

Not only must we drain away the water falling on the flat valley, which must be by channel improvement and ditches, but we must arrest the rainfall in the higher counties to prevent its rushing down to gorge the channels of rivers in the lowlands. This, I take it, must be done by great impounding dams and reservoirs, constructed in the lakes and in gorges of rivers. These will hold the waters for from a few days to a few weeks—until the lowland streams have had time to drain adjacent farms, then the reservoirs may be voided at will. This early voiding of reservoirs will greatly reduce the damage claims, as much of the lands covered will in effect be irrigated for the season. Some towns will get water supply from them.

We recommend that reservoirs be placed at Red Lake and at the Ottertail Lakes in Minnesota, at Lake Traverse, at Lake Tewankon, and in the gorges of certain North Dakota rivers, as on the Sheyenne, 10 miles north of Valley City. Anything that is done for flood control will have to be done on both sides of the river.

Mr. HUMPHREYS. It is proposed to so improve the river that it can carry off and drain this water off. That is the idea.

Mr. HARD. Exactly. That is one of the propositions. This is a tremendously big project. It is proposed to handle this in much the same way as is being done in the Miami Valley in Ohio. * * * I might cite you to an instance north of Grand Forks where by cutting through but three of the many meanders it will shorten the river 33½ miles.

Gentlemen, you will remember that this is a very recently formed river. I mean from a geological standpoint, during past times. The channel has not yet been cut deep enough, and it is absolutely unable to handle the floods which we get from two to three times in a 10-year period in this region, with an increasing frequency and intensity. The channel of this river for the most part is entirely too small to relieve this great agricultural country. The most important work that we have got to do in the way of improving and relieving this drainage situation is on the Minnesota lakes, on Lake Traverse, and in the North Dakota region on the Sheyenne, Wild Rice, Rembina, and other rivers [indicating on map].

Much of this money that has been spent in the past has been a waste. Much has been spent on local, ill-conceived ditches which have helped a few people, but have often aggravated the general conditions. Many ditches were too small, some even do not go in the right direction. The suit that has been brought for a million and a half dollars would emphasize that fact. * * *

This region was flooded after it had been farmed for a number of years. The water stayed so long that in one locality farmers got rafts and took their household goods and live stock out and got away the best way they could. Some of them have gone back since. The general condition in this whole district happened after it had been cropped for 25 or 30 years. As the result of this, the farmers lost millions of dollars during these three years.

There were prosperous farms in this locality [indicating on map]; the farmers had tree claims of well-grown trees, 25 to 50 feet high, over the valley. In going through the country on a train you could look out and see these tree claims and you would wonder who ever built substantial houses and barns and planted trees in a marsh land like that. Cat-tails had grown up all over this section, including parts of the three adjacent States. The land from just east of Hankinson, eastward, to Tintah, Minn., about 28 miles, was one continuous sheet of water. Much of this farm land remained almost continually under water for three crop seasons after having been farmed continuously for 25 to 35 years. These lands have since been plowed up and are going back into cultivation again. We have had a heavy snowfall this winter. With heavy spring rains or with rapid melting of the snow we are likely to have another disastrous flood. And here is another locality up here [indicating on map], in northwestern Minnesota, where last summer we had 9 inches of rainfall in 24 hours. This region was completely inundated and thousands of acres of crops became total loss.

Mr. BAER. Will you yield again? I want to emphasize that in our bill, the measure before the committee, that we want to eliminate these local projects and look for intelligent cooperation between all of the three States. A general plan by the Federal Government will take care of the proposition. This is not a proposition simply for North Dakota or South Dakota. This is a project for the beginning of cooperation, for a definite plan for the benefit of the whole valley. I wanted to get that before the committee.

* * * * * * *

Mr. HARD. Some of the early War Department surveys have been so made but our State surveys were made with the idea of controlling floods. Our survey was made with the idea of cooperating with the War Department, not on navigation but on drainage. There are two phases which I have not brought to your attention which I would like to present in this matter. Can we afford to wait years and years of time before something active is done in this region? We had in 1915 losses, as I had estimated it, in agriculture alone of $15,000,000; in 1916, when we had two floods, one in April and another in July, we had losses of over $20,000,000, and in 1917 the losses were at least $15,000,000.

Further, our greatest losses sustained are not those from the so-called "floods." Rather they come from the regular annual water-logging of soils that can not be drained in time in spring to permit the seed to be put in the ground on time. This late seeded grain is always stricken with rust, and yields reduced if not a total failure. Our State agricultural experts have computed this loss with me, and their late estimate places the rust loss in North Dakota at $275,000,000 in the last four years, a staggering figure; a value subtracted directly from the Nation's hard wheat production. While this figure relates to North Dakota, I would, considering the area involved and the superior productivity of the Red River Valley, bodily transfer this estimate of loss of $275,000,000 to it.

This land should be reclaimed in order to increase the farm acreage and thereby increase food production. I recently made a speech bringing out the facts that farm acreage is decreasing. In order to obtain facts directly from my constituency I sent out the following letter:

DEAR FRIEND: The unnecessary high cost of living, with its constant and unjustifiable increases, creates a problem in which you are intensely interested. The speech inclosed not only presents various phases of this question but offers what many able authorities believe to be a remedy.

After you have read it I shall appreciate hearing from you and receiving any suggestions which you may have to offer.

There are a number of valuable bulletins published by the Government on problems of agriculture. I shall be glad to send you bulletins on any subject in which you may be interested.

If at any time I can be of service to you, do not hesitate to write me.

Sincerely, yours,

J. M. BAER,
Member of Congress.

The Red River Valley of the North is the richest and deepest in soil deposit of any valley in the world, being comparable only to the fertility of the Nile. Like the Nile, the flood problem is of prime importance. Its available land forms a great natural garden 600 miles long and from 25 to 60 miles wide, producing an enormous quantity of grain each year. It has well been called the "breadbasket of the world." The wheat from the Northwest makes the highest grades of flour. The world needs this wheat, as it is absolutely essential to make standard flour. The famous Red River Valley potatoes are known throughout the land, and many other food products are raised in this fertile glacial lake bed. The most progressive, thrifty, and intelligent farmers of the Northwest live here, and the problem of properly protecting them and their homes from ever recurrent floods and saving millions of dollars in crop losses is one that can not be evaded or neglected.

SPEECH

OF

HON. STUART F. REED,

OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

The House had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 327) terminating the state of war between the Imperial German Government and the United States.

Mr. REED of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the President came before Congress over a year ago and informed us that the war was ended.

As this old earth revolves daily on its axis we are told that the sun shines in benediction upon a world at peace, but, Mr. Speaker, amazing as it may appear, it never sets upon American soldiers still at war.

Think of it, my colleagues, we now have about 18,000 soldiers on the German frontier—several thousand more than England is keeping there—guarding territory and safeguarding indemnities in which we have declared we have no interest. It has been costing the people from $5,000,000 to $8,000,000 per month to keep our boys over there. Let us end the war and bring them home and use this money for the benefit of all our people, and particularly our soldiers who left good jobs to serve the Government at about $1 per day. End the war, my friends, by this resolution and bring our baggage and troops out of Europe. End the war, stop spending the people's money in foreign lands, and let us give our attention to the needs of the citizens of the United States, who are groaning under burdens caused by waste, extravagance, profiteering, and lack of sane business methods in the administrative branches of the Government.

You gentlemen on the other side of the aisle, speaking of your leader, used to say, "He kept us out of war," and some one has well said, "Is Congress going to let him keep us forever out of peace?" The gentlemen on the other side say we are embarrassing the President by this action. Let me remind them that failure officially to end the war is becoming decidedly embarrassing to the American people.

It may be that we are interfering with a beautiful dream of a man who aspires to be the head of a supergovernment of the world. The President, in his speech at Kansas City on the 6th day of last September, eulogizing the League of Nations, said, "That cause is greater than the Senate. It is greater than the Government." Mr. Speaker, I deny that any cause, aside from the decrees of the Infinite, is greater than the American people, their Government, and their welfare.

This great Nation wants peace. Millions of our people are crying for relief from chaotic and unwarranted economic conditions. Business hesitates, commerce is hampered, everybody seems to be shackled and manacled by war conditions.

But our Democratic colleagues say we can not have peace by this method because it is unconstitutional. It is pitiful, my friends, to see these able-bodied, big-brained colleagues of ours choking to death to-day on the Constitution.

During the war you Democrats took the Constitution of the fathers and twisted it and bent it and diluted it and stretched it and emasculated and practically nullified it. Under the stern necessities of war you starved the American people in summer, froze them in winter, and muzzled them in all seasons. When one protested he was told "the war powers were in operation" and the Constitution was in cold storage. [Applause.]

I recall one day when the great Speaker, Mr. CLARK, left the chair to admonish you. The ex-Speaker and I do not agree politically, but I frequently find myself contemplating him with admiration on account of the splendid Americanism and common sense that invests his big soul. Speaker CLARK on that day took the floor and said:

> I am not certain but that I ought to apologize; nevertheless I am going to read to you from the Constitution. My fellow Representatives, has the Constitution of the United States also become "a mere scrap of paper"? (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 55, p. 1120.)

No one questioned the power of Congress to declare war. We all know Congress did declare war, and in carrying out the program to save civilization we have spent over $30,000,000,000. The Nation has been burdened by war debts that will not be wiped out in two generations. The purchasing power of our dollar has been cut in half; more than a quarter of a million young men have been blinded and maimed and crippled for life; over 100,000 Americans "sleep the sleep that knows no waking."

America did her work well. It was our boys that turned the tide of war, shattered the Hindenburg line, and saved the nations of Europe from ruin and serfdom. Now, in God's name, why can not we get out of Europe and look after our affairs at home?

To-day, Mr. Speaker, they tell us that Congress, having under the Constitution "power to declare war," to "provide for the general welfare," even to remove the President from office, can not end this war. I am not a lawyer, but I can and do sometimes read the Constitution of the United States, and nowhere have I found where it prohibits Congress from ending a war.

The American Congress gets its commission from the greatest people of all time. As a legislative body it is looked upon as the highest lawmaking force in Christendom. If it can make a declaration of war making us participants in a conflict, deluging continents with blood, and overturning thrones and monarchies, who will seriously say that when all our people want peace this great Congress shall find itself helpless, hopeless, and Constitutionless? [Applause on the Republican side.]

Soldiers' Relief and Sales Tax.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. EVANS,

OF MONTANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 15, 1920.

Mr. EVANS of Montana. Mr. Speaker, on September 30, 1919, I introduced a bill (H. R. 9628) providing for additional compensation to members of the military and naval forces who served in the war against Germany, and I hoped then that long before this some such relief measure for the ex-service men would have become a law.

I have listened attentively to the discussion from both sides of the House, and I am glad to note that most of us, at heart at least, favor a measure that will give the soldiers this much needed relief. At the outset I wish to state emphatically that I am for the enactment of such a measure without delay. I am for the fourfold proposition just as it was submitted by the American Legion.

Let us provide for those brave men and women who when the call came and our country was in danger did not stop to argue or reason why, but responded with a do or die, not delaying, not inquiring, but hope inspiring they left confident we would provide promptly for any exigencies that might arise at home. Let us then respond to our duty and provide recompense for their losses.

I can not help thinking of those critical and trying days following the vote of this House on April 6, 1917, which plunged us into the greatest war of all history and meant so much to the mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters of those whom we knew would be called upon to bear the brunt of the burden, endure the trying hardships, face the fire and shell, suffer the agonies of wounds, hunger, thirst, and possibly death. I wondered then, as I have wondered many times since, how we could ever repay them or show by act or deed the appreciation this country then had for the acts of its brave heroes. I thought then, as I think now, that when we pledged our resources and the wealth of the Nation to bring the war to a speedy and successful conclusion, that it was in truth a pledge and debt that could never be fully paid. Fortunately for us we have had one of the most serious problems solved for us in the assistance and recommendation of the American Legion, that great organization of American soldiers which, while it does not include as yet all the ex-service men in its membership, is organized for the benefit of all and had worked inspiringly and without prejudice for the welfare of all ex-service men. They have made their investigations, discussed the question with a full knowledge of their own needs, and I am satisfied that their final recommendations to Congress are fair to the American people and will result in a great service to those concerned. For my part, I do not like the term "bonus." In the bill I proposed I provided that the act should be known as the "soldiers' victory payment act." I do not consider this a gratuity. It is victory pay to those who well earned it. At best it is only a part payment, for we can never fully repay them, and the rest must be by verbal commendation for their heroic acts. No money can repay those who carry the afflictions of war.

Let us admit that the condition of our Treasury does not at present warrant an unusual expenditure, but let us not forget

that we still have the power of taxation, and that we are the richest Nation in the world. I know and we all know it is our duty not to abuse the authority vested in us as representatives of the people in appropriating lavishly or unnecessarily at any time, or particularly when our present financial burdens are all that our income will bear. We must not be forgetful of the fact that our people are now burdened with heavy taxation as never before, and that complaints of excessive taxes come to us from all classes, particularly among the poor. Had the men not gone willingly to war we would have had to offer them a bounty, as was done in the trying days of the Civil War; but now that the war is fought and won shall we desert them?

It is on the proposed method of raising the needed money that I urge a change in the proposed bill. As I said before, I would prefer that the means of raising the revenue be considered separately, and it was with that idea that I originally introduced a bill providing for soldiers' relief, House bill 13786, for increasing the surtax upon individual incomes.

SCOPE OF BILL.

Under that bill I propose an amendment to the revenue act of February 24, 1919, increasing surtaxes on individual incomes on a graduated scale of from 55 per cent on incomes in excess of $100,000 to 90 per cent of the excess where the net income amounts to $225,000 and not more than $250,000, and 100 per cent in excess of $250,000. I apply the same tax to corporations after an exemption of $3,000 is allowed to domestic corporations and an amount equal to 8 per cent of their capital invested. No income over $250,000 should be permitted while men, women, and children are suffering from insufficient food, shelter, and clothing due to existing high taxes and high cost of living brought about by profiteering overlords.

The Ways and Means Committee has proposed an iniquitous sales tax and has tied it up with the service men's relief measure in such a way that it can be neither amended nor a substitute provision inserted, and we must accept this unjust tax provision or vote against the whole bill. Unless this provision is changed—and I think with concerted action we can change it—irreparable hardship will be worked on our people. I believe no one has the interests of the ex-service men more at heart than I have, and I am anxious and willing to vote for any bill which I feel will grant even partial relief at this time. Yet I feel that this bill, because of its iniquitous tax provisions, does not afford the relief sought; in fact, it adds to the burdens of the very men it is intended to serve by reason of this vicious sales tax.

INIQUITOUS SALES TAX.

This means a tax on the commodities of barter and sale, including food, clothing, medicine, and other actual necessities to the ex-service man and his dependents, and is like putting a little money in his pocket with one hand and taking it out with the other. I contend, and it needs no argument to convince any of us except those who refuse to look around, that for every dollar collected in taxes this way it will cost the public two, three, five, or possibly ten dollars. In referring to the public, I mean the great masses, those who are not fortunate enough to have to pay excess-profits taxes. It means that an article that is taxed 1 cent will be increased in sale price at lest 5 cents, as you and I have seen in the past. Who gets this difference and who pays it? We all know that the Government gets but a fraction of the increase paid by the public. Who does get it, I ask? The lurking profiteer, for what else may we call him? It is he who takes advantage of the slightest excuse to raise prices and then maintain and collect them so long as the innocent and needy public has money to pay. This procedure has been going on for a long time now, and we thought there would be some check to stem the tide of advancing prices; but it still goes unthrottled. They corner the sugar, store the potatoes until they get their price, and gamble with our flour while many suffer with hunger. How shall we stop it, and when?

THE REMEDY.

My remedy is to limit incomes and thus take away the incentive to profiteer for the purpose of amassing colossal fortunes. Ah, some one says such a thing was never done—it is revolutionary, it is unconstitutional, it is un-American. I deny it. We regulate the income of railroads by fixing their rates, we regulate the income of gas companies, light and power companies.

We say to the banker, money lender, and pawnbroker, you may charge a certain rate for your money and no more. Certainly we can do directly what we may do indirectly. Except in extreme cases I do not believe in price fixing, but unless we remedy the present conditions, unless we curb the soaring prices of necessities in life, a system of price fixing must inevitably come. I believe the same end can be reached by fixing a point beyond which incomes can not go. We will thus lower prices and at the same time raise large revenues for the Government.

Look at the list of new millionaires published from time to time, who have become rich during the war and since. While the soldier boys were fighting to make the world safe for people to live in it was found on their return that certain large interests during their absence had established their power and influence to such an extent that it seems almost impossible to curb them. They profiteered on the families at home, increasing the prices from day to day while the Government was busy with urgent war matters. Patriotically, in name at least, they affiliated with 100 per cent American societies, contributed to the Red Cross, bought bonds, and so forth, and then went about gouging from the public what they needed for this and enough more to amass fortunes unbelievable except for the indisputable records of our Government here in Washington. These are the persons I contend should return some of their unconscionable gains in the form of taxes, for it is apparent some one must pay the Government's bills.

I am not blaming all those who made big profits during the war or those who got rich on large production solely. We owe much to them for their untiring efforts and ability. Nor do I believe in penalizing those who were industrious during our great period of war activities. But I do contend that you can not take money from those who do not have it, and who are already struggling to keep up with conditions. We must not levy taxes on a large part of the people of the United States beyond the degree they can bear, and it is no less to our discredit to attempt to justify the present plan by saying it is for a worthy cause.

WHAT MONTANA EXPERIENCED.

Well do I know that when the call to arms came the boys in my State dropped their plows, left their fields of grain, quit their jobs, turned their cattle and stock out on the range, sacrificed their belongings, left their parents or families oftentimes in destitute conditions without funds or help to manage their farms, left with the whole future an uncertainty—some of them now beneath the sod in France. And as to those who did return, those whom this bill is intended to relieve, what did they find? Not only had they in many cases sacrificed their worldly possessions on their departure, but they also lost pay and income they would have received had they remained and worked at home. They nurtured, however, visions of good old United States of America as she was when they left her behind; they thought of the reunions with their loved ones; of completing their college courses; or restocking their farms and of carrying out ambitions. Sad to say, they were keenly disappointed on their return.

They found their families deeply in debt, everything sky-high in price, no suit of civilian clothes to fit them, and face to face with poverty. Compelled to start anew.

These are the 4,000,000 men, the backbone of our Nation today, this bill is intended to relieve; and these and their families are the ones upon whom this tax should not fall.

I say again you can not and shall not with my vote saddle the burden upon those who have already paid more than their share. The solution is obvious. Put the burden of such further taxation upon those who can bear it. Put it upon luxuries if you will, put it on imports, put it on stock manipulations, put it on the idle and overrich or, as proposed by me and others on this floor, put it where it belongs—on excess profits and particularly war profits. Unless you want to invite bolshevism, radicalism, and even anarchy in this country, and bring disaster to ourselves, do not put it, as in the proposed bill, on necessaries of life. If we do those who are responsible for such base misuse of power will rue the day. I care not whether you be Democrat or Republican, your duty is the same. This is not a partisan issue. The time is coming and it will not be long when these people who are affected by this legislation will demand an accounting; it will be a counting out, for the time has passed when those sitting in the legislative halls may ignore or misconstrue public sentiment, and cater to the whims and fancies of big business, while the laboring masses are "bound hand and foot," struggling to make even a bare living.

The Supreme Court has recently decided that under the law as it now stands we can not tax stock dividends. Let us amend the law. It is incomprehensible that this Congress shall acquiesce in the doctrine that a corporation can evade its just taxes by paying its stockholders in stock instead of cash. There is no wrong for which the law can not find a remedy. Let us find that remedy.

Those stock dividends represent profits or investments made out of profits after normal dividends had already been paid to the stockholders. Statistics have been given by other speakers that makes a recital of them unnecessary but all one needs

to do is to glance over the financial page of a city newspaper to discover what enormous and unconscionable profits have been made during the war, and these could only have been made by charging more than was warranted. The people paid because they had to pay. If they needed an article they had to pay the price, even if it were double what it should have been. Limit these profits and you will soon take away the incentive to make them and the public will be able to buy at a lower cost. Take away these excessive profits and the incentive to accumulate them will be gone. When there are no longer excessive profits the cost of living will drop, the cost of Government operations will fall, and we will not need these additional taxes.

Chief Justice Marshall, great jurist of the Supreme Court of the United States, in 1819, said:

The power to tax involves the power to destroy.

It is a power nevertheless which in some form or other every Government must possess, and it is also one which must be exercised with care. It was the imposition of an unjust and excessive tax that cost England her American colonies and created for you and me a free country. In that case the American colonists had reached the limit of their endurance, just as it is believed many of the people of this country have reached the limit of their patience and endurance. The power to tax is also a great economic weapon that is often used to restrain undesirable forms of business or may even be used to wipe out any form of property. It may and should be used to wipe out profiteering and no better nor opportune moment has been reached in this country to deal a body blow to profiteering than is afforded in this case if the proper action shall be taken. If, as I have already indicated, taxes are increased upon excess profits above a fair and reasonable return on the invested capital, it will afford millions in revenue to meet demands upon our Treasury and serve a useful purpose by destroying profiteering, with the consequent reduction in the cost of living. The sales tax will not only work a hardship upon the great mass of the public and may result in further strikes, dissatisfaction, and other possible disturbances by the people themselves but will result inevitably in increasing the excess profits of the rich. To meet this issue there is an effective remedy—increase taxes on excess profits, and at the same time reduce the temptation to profiteer, with the result attained of raising the needed money and lowering the high cost of living. Capital can not complain, as a fair return on its investment is not denied, and individually they are on a par with every other individual. By the sales-tax provision, however, a man with a large family is penalized because he must of necessity buy in proportion more of the necessities of life, although less able to do so. This proposed sales tax is an iniquitous and dangerous proposal and should be rejected.

As heretofore stated, I am for the bonus legislation. I am for the fourfold proposition just as it was submitted by the American Legion.

Mr. Speaker, the day for action is here. The doctrine of "the public be damned" has passed. Statesmen must explore new fields and cut roads into new forests. The war has changed the viewpoint of our people, and this Congress must meet those changing views or the seats you and I temporarily occupy will be filled by others sufficiently discerning to realize that old conditions and old theories are passing away.

Soldiers' Bonus.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROSCOE C. McCULLOCH,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 22, 1920.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I favor a bonus for American soldiers who served in the World War, and I shall vote for the pending bill. When the war-risk insurance bill was under consideration last fall I contended, while speaking in favor of certain amendments I offered to that bill, that the soldiers should receive an adjustment of their compensation.

The American soldier not only made the supreme sacrifice, left his business, and the opportunities for personal advancement he had in prospect and that the emergency offered, but he paid his own way largely. The soldier knows what few people realize, and that is that after he had taken care of the demands that were made upon him he had very little left out of the $30 a month pay. The allotments for his dependents were taken out of his pay, his war-risk insurance premiums were taken out of his pay, so that at the end of the month the average soldier did not have much left.

The absolute necessity for reducing appropriations and strict national economy is apparent to everybody, but we should not begin on the American soldier, because we have been very lavish and very liberal in making appropriations for the purpose of taking care of all other interests. We appropriated millions of dollars to validate incomplete contracts. We appropriated millions of dollars for the relief of peoples in foreign countries. There seemed to be no limit to the demands and no hesitancy in responding to the demands for lavish appropriations. Everybody seemed to be protected in a material way who had anything to do with the war except the American soldier, and I am in favor of adjusting his compensation by providing a bonus, and I think it should be done without quibbling and without delay. We spent billions of dollars uselessly for which the Government received no adequate return. The floodgates were thrown down and a golden stream was allowed to flow away. Members of Congress were called upon to support bills making these lavish appropriations under the lash of the Executive whip and in the name of patriotism. Now, we have a chance to do something for the real patriots who served and suffered and bore the brunt of the war.

The provisions of this bill may help to give thousands of soldiers a start. Some may not need it or want it, but all are entitled to it, and I trust that the bill will pass and become a law without delay.

"The Laborer Is Worthy of His Hire."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CROWTHER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 12, 1920.

Mr. CROWTHER. Mr. Speaker, we have been discussing the necessity of lightships for the safety of our merchant marine, our passenger steamers, and our Navy. They are the beacon lights that flash warning to the commanders of our sea craft to steer their course aright, and what a message of comfort they send across the waters to commander and crew, and passengers, as the watch cries "All's well." But, Mr. Speaker, while the great trans-Atlantic liners are plowing the high seas, carrying the millions of letters that go to foreign lands, I want you to think for a moment of the army of 280,000 men in the Postal Service of the United States who work as no other Government employees work—day in and day out, rain or shine, in winter's zero clime and in the intolerable heat of summer, and for wages scarcely equal to those paid to day laborers.

The Government should exemplify the highest ideals of an employer and thereby set a standard for private employers of labor to live up to. Thousands of our large manufacturing plants are to-day, through their welfare departments, providing for recreation and education, medical services, and dental services. All the recreation a postal employee gets is in the performance of his duty, and if he is a letter carrier he does not have to attend a gymnasium to keep in shape. Carrying a 60-pound pack 5 miles four times a day leaves his conscience untroubled as to having earned his meager salary. Uncle Sam expects his postal employees to be high-grade men, physically strong, keen of intellect, affable, and courteous.

The clerks must understand many of the methods used in banking, insurance, and commercial business. Postal savings, war stamps, payment of insurance and registry, money orders, postal notes, and parcel-post detail, and the incidental book and record keeping have increased so tremendously that the post office in a moderate-sized city has become a combined bank and express company. And to those who are responsible for the performance of these exacting duties we grant a scant living wage.

The rural carriers have no easy task, for good roads are the exception and not the rule on thousands of rural routes; some are so bad that it is impossible to use a motor car for delivery,

and the horse-drawn vehicle is, of course, resultant in a great loss of time.

The complaint regarding the changes in rural-delivery routes has been universal all over the country, and scant attention or courtesy has been shown by the present post-office administration to those living in rural communities as regards their postal facilities.

Railway mail clerks, after months of intensive training, possessing the skill of a handwriting expert, a memory that is 100 per cent perfect, and a knowledge of the geography of the country that would put a college professor to shame, work for wages that were paid to water boys at some of the shipyards during the war.

The entire business life of the Nation depends upon these postal employees and their efficient performance of duty. How eagerly Mr. Business Man looks for his mail and dispatches his acceptance of orders contained therein; the old soldier for the letter that contains his pension; and the mother waiting for the carrier who brings tidings of her boy or girl gone far away from the homestead; and friends, long separated by the width of the continent, talk to one another of the old days because of the untiring, faithful service of Uncle Sam's postal employees.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I trust we may soon have the report of the commission that has the matter of salaries for postal employees under consideration, that we may without delay provide generously for these men who give real service, and who have never quit, even when patience ceased to be a virtue.

When Beau Brummel's valet informed him of his insistent creditors, his master directed him to "promise them something." That is what Uncle Sam has been doing with the postal employees. Let this Congress as speedily as possible reward loyal service with decent compensation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALLEN T. TREADWAY.
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 20, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 13558) for the purpose of improving the facilities and service of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, and of further amending and modifying the war-risk insurance act, as amended.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to go on record as most heartily in favor of this bill, H. R. 13558, the so-called Wason bill, which seeks to further improve the service of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance and to offer further aid and assistance to veterans of the World War.

I am particularly interested in section 3, which provides that a new section shall be added to article 2 of the war-risk insurance act as amended to be known as section 212 and makes the payment of Government allowance possible in cases where dependent families did not receive this money through no fault of their own but because checkage was not made against a soldier's pay.

This amendment was previously in the original Sweet bill as it passed the House last fall, but was stricken out for some unknown reason in the Senate. The subject was very thoroughly discussed during the hearings on the Sweet bill and in the House when that measure was under discussion. Its merit seemed to be unquestioned during the debate in the House. It had the approval of Secretary Glass and was again favorably acted upon by the subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce as is shown by its incorporation in the Wason bill as reported here.

I have had several cases from my own district wherein the enactment of this section would be of great benefit and I have had similar cases brought to my attention by other Members in other sections of the country. The War Risk Bureau has informed me that there were a number of cases depending on the action of Congress on this question.

The most striking case that I have in mind is that of a lady in my district who is the mother of four children. Her husband entered the Army early in the war and left her without support. He failed to make out a compulsory allotment and allowance application in his wife's behalf, serving throughout the war, about 17 months, without any deduction being made from his pay, or any payments going to his wife and family. Several sets of applications from the wife were presented through the Red Cross and through my office and each time the Bureau of War Risk Insurance insisted that steps had been taken to obtain the checkage of the man's pay. Through negligence somewhere, this checkage was never secured and the wife and children would have been without any support had it not been for the Red Cross Home Service Section and local organizations.

My original bill would have made it possible to pay both the allotment of the man's pay and the Government allowance, but the committee, believing a duplication of pay would thus be incurred, simply recommended the allowance settlement.

In the case which I have mentioned above, had the War Risk Bureau secured the checkage of the soldier's pay in order to make the award, the wife would have received for the time he was in the service $269 allotment and $804.67 allowance, or a total of $1,073.67. Under the terms of section 212 of H. R. 13558, this woman should receive approximately $804.67, which she should have previously been paid.

This section and the entire bill is another evidence of the intention of Congress to deal liberally with dependents of veterans.

The Mexican Problem.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFTON N. McARTHUR,
OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 28, 1920.

Mr. McARTHUR. Mr. Speaker, the following is a copy of an address, entitled "The Mexican Problem," delivered by me at the weekly luncheon of the Advertising Club of Baltimore on April 21, 1920:

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, it has become quite apparent to the thoughtful student of current history that the Mexican problem is no longer one that concerns our border welfare, the investments of Americans in the country beyond the Rio Grande, or the kidnaping or murder of diplomatic agents or business visitors from the United States. It has outgrown all these and has become a national problem, a menace to the future welfare of our country and to the civilization of the Western Hemisphere.

"I shall not undertake to enumerate the outrages which have been perpetrated on American citizens in Mexico during the past nine years, for they are too numerous and, in many instances, too revolting to be mentioned here. These intolerable conditions have continually grown worse until they have reached the apex of shameful disregard of every American conception of justice, decency, and international obligations. The Mexican authorities, during this long train of outrages and depredations, have looked on complacently; in fact, have in many instances expressed their approval of the riot of robbery, rapine, and murder. Furthermore, the Mexican Government has done no end of discourteous, contemptuous, and offensive things toward our Government and our people.

"The result of all this has been an increased estrangement and an increased hatred against the people and Government of the United States. To-day we are confronted with no end of reports showing that Americans are being murdered or captured and held for ransom, and that American-owned properties are being confiscated or destroyed. Mexican bandits continue their mad orgie of crime against American citizens and their property even on our side of the international boundary line. The doctrine of hate of America and her people is not confined to any group or faction in Mexico; it prevails on all sides; it is inculcated in the youth of the country, even the little children are taught to despise us and curse our flag.

"Carranza's régime was recognized by the United States on October 9, 1915, as the de facto, and nearly three years later as the de jure government of Mexico. Recognition as the de jure government was nothing less than official notification to the world that Carranza's administration was legally constituted and that it possessed all the powers of a sovereign and independent nation. Having been the recognized authority for more than four years, the Carranza administration may be deemed to have had sufficient time to demonstrate its fitness to govern, notwithstanding the fact that the entire country has not acknowledged Carranza's authority. A résumé of the conditions of the past four years and a careful survey of the present situation leads

us to the inevitable conclusion that Mexico to-day, under the rule of Carranza, is in her normal condition of turmoil. Graft, bribery, debauchery, drunkenness, gambling, and prostitution flourish unrestrained. Justice has been dragged on the ground or sold in the open forum. There is no public credit and a monetary menace is imminent. Business is unstable, crops devastated, property destroyed, and elections manipulated by those in authority. The whole land groans under a reign of terror and brigandage rivaling in cruelty and wantonness the German invasion of Belgium. When word came out four years ago that 18 nuns had died of abuse received at the hands of bandits and 200 had barely recovered, the world shuddered and hushed the facts; but how many people know that in whole villages in Mexico not a girl or woman had escaped these ruffian butcheries as late as last June? Hundreds of thousands of children have been orphaned by nine years of revolution and the poverty in what should be a land of plenty is appalling. The country is deep in the power of a greater evil than the peonage which the ever-present revolution has sought to destroy; she appears to suffer from a peculiar combination of militarism and banditry that is eating out the very vitals of a nation second to none in the magnitude of her undeveloped resources.

"Another fact which we should keep in mind is that Carranza was and is rabidly pro-German, the willing friend and tool of the Hohenzollerns. From the beginning of his régime and down to August 21, 1919, no less than 383 Americans were murdered on Mexican soil, but no record of any form of punishment meted out to the murderers. On the other hand, there is no record of any German having been killed in Mexico in Carranza's time. It was German trickery that led Mexico astray and increased the hatred of the Mexicans for America. It was German money that put in circulation clever propaganda to the effect that the United States wishes to seize Mexico, exploit her resources, and enslave her people.

"It is quite obvious that Germany wished to stir up a war between the United States and Mexico to the end that the United States would not be able to enter the War in Europe or play a conspicuous part therein. The Germans succeeded in fanning the flame of hatred toward Americans in the hearts of the Mexican people, but they were unsuccessful in provoking a war—another of the tragic blunders of German diplomacy. In addition to this, Mexico is a hotbed of Bolshevism. It has been well said that 'the Utopia alike of Trotski and Carranza is a despotism of force under the guise of a great popular reform.' Carranza for the past four years has confiscated the earnings of foreign-owned railroads with immunity and impunity. These and many other acts brand him as a creature utterly devoid of a decent conception of public morality—in truth, a Bolshevist. Only a few months ago a United States Senator presented to the President the surprising but unmistakable evidence that Carranza's official representatives in the United States were working in collusion with radicals here, seeking to encourage strikes and industrial disorders and spreading insidious Bolsheviki propaganda.

"Prior to our declaration of war on Germany, the forces of that Government had taken the lives of about 130 Americans who were exercising their rights as neutrals on the high seas. The repeated violation of these rights led to our declaration of war, into which our Government put thousands of lives and billions of treasure; yet the murder of 383 Americans in Mexico has not aroused us to action. These murdered Americans were within their rights under the rules of international law and had every right to expect protection from their Government. Let our complacent pacifists and our peace-at-any-price element consider these facts and figures and advise us whether or not we should suffer further violations of American rights by the Mexicans.

"The people of the United States can not escape their responsibility for Carranza and his régime, for it was recognition by our Government that placed him in power. He has repaid us by killing our people, ravishing our women, and destroying our property. It is now necessary for our Government to maintain an army of 35,000 men along the Mexican border—four times as many men as were in the army of Gen. Scott when he captured Mexico City; three times as many as accompanied Gen. Pershing when he marched 400 miles into Mexican territory; and thirty-five thousand times as many as are needed to patrol our Canadian border.

"The real menace of Mexico, however, lies in the future. With one revolution succeeding another, and with an increasing hatred for America and her people, Mexico presents a most inviting field for exploitation by some foreign power unfriendly to the United States. Aye, more than this, Mexico stands forth as an inviting ally to any foreign power with which we may engage in war. With her excellent harbors, her secure mountain defenses, and our exposed border line of 2,500 miles, Mexico holds out great possibilities to any army that would seek to invade the United States, and at the same time offers secure naval bases for the battleships of foreign nations that would cut us off from the Panama Canal. Mexico herself is not to be feared, but Mexico as an ally is a problem of serious concern. Furthermore, Mexico is rich in oil, in minerals, and other resources which are so essential to the successful conduct of a war. Will anyone dispute the assertion that Mexico, with the mind of her people fanned to a white heat against our country and our people, and with her resources for the carrying on of a war, stands forth to-day as a possible—yes, a probable—ally to any nation that would make war on us? I pause for reply.

"Another consideration that we can not afford to overlook is Mexico's geographical position with relation to South and Central America and to the Panama Canal. Mexico is the keystone of the arch of the great chain of Republics extending from Cape Horn to the Rio Grande—broken only by the Canal Zone. Any foreign power with which we may be at war in the future and which may adopt Mexico as an ally would not only be able to land a great army in Mexico and attempt an invasion of the United States, but would be almost certain to attempt a land attack on the Panama Canal in the hope of seizing or destroying it, thereby cutting off our naval communication between the Atlantic and Pacific and working irreparable injury to our trade with the Republics on the Pacific slope of South America. The only line of railroads that all but connects the two great continents of North and South America runs through Mexico for many hundreds of miles, and would prove of immense military value to the enemy in such a war. With Mexico as an ally and friend, such an undertaking is not without the realm of possibilities for some foreign foe at war with the United States.

"The possibilities which I have just discussed should be seriously considered by the people of the United States. We have long prided ourself in the strength which naturally attaches itself to geographical isolation—great distances and broad oceans separating us from the other great powers of the earth. But are we isolated when we are unprotected by any kind of a geographical barrier from a country which would undoubtedly ally itself with any foreign power which may see fit to declare war upon us? A chain is no stronger than its weakest link, and the weak link in our isolation lies along the Rio Grande and from El Paso to the Pacific, even though the country beyond is in the throes of revolution and in the grip of bandits. The possibilities of foreign invasion of the United States by way of Mexico also brings the Monroe doctrine into the foreground. If any foreign power should see fit to ally herself with Mexico for the purpose of invading the United States, would not that power challenge our cherished policy of a century of statesmanship? Where would the Monroe doctrine be with a foreign power landing her troops on Mexican soil and anchoring her battleships in Mexican harbors? What would prevent such a power from setting up a government of its own in Mexico?

"What, then, are we to do about the Mexican problem? Are we to sit idly and see the present carnival of crime against our people continue? Are we to wink at murder, rapine, and insult to our flag? I am not here to condemn any man or set of men, or to complain about our sins of omission. I am not half so much concerned about yesterday as I am about to-morrow. I have not and am not advocating an armed intervention unless all peaceful means fail. I do contend that we as a nation do our full duty in mercy, in righteousness, in justice, and in honor. We owe it to ourselves and to civilization to compel Mexico to cease murdering our citizens, to stop destroying our property, to quit insulting our flag. We sent an army across the sea and joined our allies in a great war because our rights as a neutral Nation had been violated, and yet we permit the Mexicans to violate the rights of our people and to breed in their own breasts a hatred for all things American.

"The first thing for us to do is to think straight about the Mexican question. It is our duty to consider all the facts and to render sane judgment. I regret to note an insidious propaganda which imputes sinister motives to all Americans who would undertake a solution of the Mexican problem. The authors of this propaganda are apparently eager to seize most any kind of an excuse for not accepting an uncomfortable truth.

"Americans who are shot down by Mexican bandits are classified as 'gamblers' and 'adventurers' by these propagandists, and we often hear the hackneyed excuse of 'Wall Street' and 'powerful financial interests'—time-worn billingsgate of the coward and demagogue. As a matter of fact, thousands of Americans of all classes and conditions and from every

State in the Union own property in Mexico, or rather, did own it before the present state of revolution in that country, and those unfortunate Americans who have lost their lives there can hardly be classified as Wall Street operators. Let us put aside such puerile talk and consider facts, and let us remember that it is the function of government to unite its people for mutual defense, for the promotion of the general welfare, for the establishment of justice, for the safety and security of life, liberty, and property. These are the fundamentals of government, and when they are discarded or ignored government fails to function. Let us, therefore, demand of Mexico that our citizens hereafter be unmolested in their persons and property and in the pursuit of their lawful business beyond the Rio Grande. Let us see to it that all American rights are vindicated. Let us give Mexico to understand that we mean business, and that she must respect our rights under international law. Let us assure her that we want none of her territory, want nothing but the proper respect and recognition that is rightly due us.

"Pacifists and cowards will rise up and demand that we keep out of war with Mexico. No right-thinking person wishes to engage in war if it can be honorably avoided, but no one but a coward and a traitor wishes to remain supinely in a state of peace when our rights as a Nation are being ruthlessly violated. The pacifist asks how many of our boys we would sacrifice in order to protect American property in Mexico. That question is thoroughly dishonest. No American with a vestige of patriotism wishes to sacrifice any American lives, but when Americans in pursuit of lawful business are shot down like dogs, when American women are ravished in public places, when the American flag is spat upon and tied to the tails of asses, it is time for America to think and think seriously. No lives were sacrificed in order to maintain a due recognition of American rights in Mexico from 1880 to 1910, and none need be sacrificed now. We must, as we did then, adopt a firm policy toward Mexico, and make her understand that we are in earnest; that we are not looking for a fight, but that we are not running away from one, and that we have no fear of the outcome. Acceptance of such a pronunciamento would not only mean a new attitude toward America, but would do much toward ridding Mexico of the menace which is now destroying her. Some force, either moral or physical, must guarantee to our citizens in Mexico the same protection of life, liberty, and property as we extend to Mexicans and other peaceable foreigners here.

"We owe it to ourselves and to humanity to insist upon a new order of things in Mexico. We owe it to the present generation, but even more than this we owe it to the future, to see to it that our neighboring country becomes a peaceful ally and friend, not a hostile cobelligerent of some future world power that would destroy us. Let us, then, face the issue squarely and do our duty promptly and without evasion, for no people can maintain their own self-respect or the good opinion of mankind when they fail in the discharge of their plain and positive duty.

"Let us insist upon a prompt recognition of American rights by the Mexican Government, and let that Government assume and maintain responsibility for the acts of its people throughout the entire country. Let us have no more pleas of impotency to deal with bandits and outlaws, but let us insist that order be established and that American citizens be protected in the pursuit of their lawful business and in the enjoyment of their lawful rights. As a self-respecting Nation, we can do no less."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. B. ROUSE,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 1, 1920.

Mr. ROUSE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to thank the membership of the House for the courtesy which has just been extended to me. I will give to the House and to the country a synopsis of many important bills which have been enacted into law during the time the Democrats had control of the House. I will give the title of the bills, the date the bills passed the House, the page of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which contains the vote, and the relative vote which passed the bills. I will also give the date on which the bills received the approval of the President. You can search the records of Congress and you will not find as much constructive legislation for 40 years prior to the passage of the bill on April 13, 1911.

SIXTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

FIRST SESSION.

(Apr. 13, 1911, p. 242, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Direct election of United States Senators: Provided for the direct election of United States Senators by vote of people instead of by State legislatures. Yeas, Democrats 191, Republicans 103; nays, Democrats 1, Republicans 15. Proclamation issued May 31, 1913.

(Apr. 14, 1911, pp. 268–269, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Publicity of campaign contributions: Limiting amount of expenditures in elections and provided for publicity of contributions and expenditures before and after elections. Yeas, Democrats 186, Republicans 120; nays, none. Approved by the President August 23, 1912.

(Apr. 21, 1911, p. 559, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Canadian reciprocity: To promote trade relations with the Dominion of Canada. Yeas, Democrats 202, Republicans 65; nays, Democrats 10, Republicans 78. Approved by the President July 25, 1911.

(May 23, 1911, p. 1529, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Statehood for New Mexico and Arizona: Provided for admission of Territories of New Mexico and Arizona into the Union on equal footing with the original States. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President August 21, 1911.

SECOND SESSION.

(Dec. 12, 1911, p. 284, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Sherwood pension law: Increased rate of pension of Civil War soldiers, basing same upon age and length of service. Yeas, Democrats 98, Republicans 129, Socialist 1; nays, Democrats 85, Republicans 8. Approved by the President May 11, 1912.

(Dec. 14, 1911, p. 396, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Eight-hour day: Limited hours of daily service on work for the United States to eight hours. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President June 19, 1912.

(Apr. 2, 1912, p. 4226, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Children's Bureau: Established bureau under Department of Commerce to investigate matters pertaining to welfare of children. Yeas, Democrats 99, Republicans 78; nays, Democrats 17. Approved by the President April 9, 1912.

(May 2, 1912, p. 5755, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Parcel post: Provision in annual Post Office appropriation bill. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President August 24, 1912.

(May 14, 1912, p. 6470, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Anti-injunction law: Placed additional restrictions on granting of injunctions. Yeas, Democrats 166, Republicans, 76; nays, Republicans 31. Approved by the President.

(July 17, 1912, p. 9190, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Department of Labor: Created separate department providing Cabinet member to represent wage earners of the country. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President March 4, 1913.

(July 17, 1912, p. 9207, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Industrial Relations Commission: Appointed commission to study and investigate industrial conditions, with a view to improving same. (Passed without a roll call.) Approved by the President August 23, 1912.

(July 31, 1912, p. 9980, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Eight-hour day on river and harbor work: Extended provision of law limiting hours of service to eight hours a day on Government work on rivers and harbors. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President March 3, 1913.

(Dec. 5, 1912, p. 177, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Physical valuation of railroads: Directed Interstate Commerce Commission to secure information relative to physical value of railroads. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President March 1, 1913.

(Mar. 3, 1913, p. 4755, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Rural Credits Commission: Appointed commission to investigate rural credit systems abroad. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President March 4, 1913.

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

FIRST SESSION.

(May 8, 1913, p. 1386, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Underwood tariff: Reduced tariff duties on necessities and increased duties on luxuries. Yeas, Democrats 274, Republicans 2; nays, Democrats 5, Republicans 127. Approved by the President October 3, 1913.

(May 8, 1913, p. 1386, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Income tax: Requiring wealth to bear its proportion of taxation. (Part of Underwood Tariff Act.) Approved by the President October 3, 1913.

(June 27, 1913, p. 2267, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Increase of midshipmen at Naval Academy. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President July 9, 1913.

(July 15, 1913, p. 2442, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Mediation, conciliation, and arbitration: Provided machinery to prevent strikes and settle labor disputes. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President July 15, 1913.

(Sept. 18, 1913, p. 5129, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Federal reserve act: Expanded volume of currency. Insured country against panics. Placed control of the country's finances under the Government. Yeas, Democrats 248, Republicans 31; nays, Democrats 3, Republicans 81. Approved by the President December 23, 1913.

SECOND SESSION.

(Jan. 13, 1914, p. 1616, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Vocational Education Commission: Created commission to study plans for promoting vocational education of youths of the country. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President January 20, 1914.

(Jan. 19, 1914, p. 1947, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Lever Agriculture Extension Act: To extend educational facilities to farm boys and girls. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President May 8, 1914.

(Feb. 12, 1914, p. 3418, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Hours of labor for female employees in District of Columbia: Limited hours of service of female employees in the District of Columbia. Improved working conditions of such employees. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President February 24, 1914.

(Feb. 18, 1914, p. 3647, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Alaskan Railway: Provided for construction of railways in Alaska to open up and develop the rich natural resources of Alaska. Yeas, Democrats 147, Republicans 75; nays, Democrats 66, Republicans 20. Approved by the President March 12, 1914.

(Mar. 31, 1914, p. 6088, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Panama Canal tolls: Repealed provision exempting American coastwise shipping from paying tolls, thereby carrying out our treaty obligations. Yeas, Democrats 221, Republicans 25; nays, Democrats 52, Republicans 98. Approved by the President June 15, 1914.

(June 5, 1914, p. 9911, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Clayton Antitrust Act: Prohibiting interlocking directorates; defined and expanded provisions of Sherman law; opened door of opportunity to small business. Yeas, Democrats 219, Republicans 47; nays, Republicans 53. Approved by the President October 15, 1914.

(June 5, 1914, p. 9910, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Federal Trade Commission: Created commission to investigate and regulate unfair methods of competition, thereby affording protection to small business. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President September 26, 1914.

(June 29, 1914, p. 11322, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Cotton-futures act: Curbed gambling in cotton and to regulate the transactions on the cotton exchange. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President August 18, 1914.

(Aug. 3, 1914, p. 13190, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

American registry for foreign-built ships: To permit operation under the American flag of foreign-built ships. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President August 18, 1914.

(Aug. 7, 1914, p. 14362, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Seamen's law: Improved working conditions of American seamen; provided for adequate life-saving equipment and maintenance of crews in sufficient number to meet all emergencies. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President March 4, 1915.

(Aug. 29, 1914, p. 14449, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Marine insurance: Created in Treasury Department a Bureau of Marine Insurance to provide insurance at reasonable rates to encourage resumption of shipping and to provide market for American products. Yeas, Democrats 196, Republicans 28; nays, Democrats 3, Republicans 53. Approved by the President September 2, 1914.

THIRD SESSION.

(Jan. 13, 1915, pp. 1530–1531, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Standard fruit barrel: Providing for uniform size containers for shipping fruit, thereby protecting both the shipper and consumer. Yeas, Democrats 114, Republicans 83; nays, Democrats 97, Republicans 6. Approved by the President March 4, 1915.

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

FIRST SESSION.

(Jan. 18, 1916, p. 1234, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Stock-raising homesteads: To provide for stock-raising homesteads, to increase beef and leather supply. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President December 29, 1916.

(Jan. 25, 1916, pp. 1536–1537, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Good roads: Providing Federal assistance in improvement of highways. Yeas, Democrats 168, Republicans 111; nays, Democrats 19, Republicans 62. Approved by the President July 11, 1916.

(Feb. 2, 1916, p. 2035, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Child labor: Affording protection to youth of the land. Yeas, Democrats 156, Republicans 176; nays, Democrats 44, Republicans 2. Approved by the President September 1, 1916.

(Feb. 7, 1916, p. 2246, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Increase of midshipmen at Naval Academy: Providing further increase in number of midshipmen to properly and adequately provide for our naval expansion. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President February 15, 1916.

(Feb. 16, 1916, p. 2674, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Indian war pensions: Provided pensions for survivors of certain Indian wars. Yeas, Democrats 85, Republicans 132; nays, Democrats 94, Republicans 13. Approved by the President March 4, 1917.

(Mar. 30, 1916, p. 5194, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Immigration restriction law: To regulate entry of aliens into the United States, and provided certain restrictions relative to their entry. Yeas, Democrats 157, Republicans 147; nays, Democrats 47, Republicans 38. Approved by the President February 5, 1917.

(Apr. 28, 1916, p. 6973, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Safety of railway employees: Required installation of improved safety appliances—afforded better protection for railway employees. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President May 4, 1916.

(May 2, 1916, p. 7271, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Warehouse bill: Amendment to Agriculture appropriation bill providing improved market conditions, and enables farmers to hold crops properly insured. Yeas, Democrats 171, Republicans 117; nays, Democrats 12, Republicans 30. Approved by the President August 11, 1916.

(May 2, 1916, p. 7271, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Grain grades bill: Amendment to Agriculture appropriation bill establishing uniform grades and classification for grain. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President August 11, 1916.

(May 15, 1916, p. 8017, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Rural credits: Established system of farm-loan banks affording farmers financial assistance at low rate of interest and long tenure. Yeas, Democrats 187, Republicans 105; nays, Republicans 10. Approved by the President July 17, 1916.

(May 20, 1916, p. 8374, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Shipping Board: To establish and provide machinery for purpose of encouraging and developing a merchant marine. To restore the American flag on the high seas. Yeas, Democrats 196, Republicans 8; nays, Democrats 2, Republicans 159. Approved by the President September 7, 1916.

(June 19, 1916, p. 9572, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Widows' increased pension act: Increased pension of the widows of soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and War with Mexico. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President September 8, 1916.

(July 10, 1916, p. 10768, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Revenue act: To provide revenue for needs of the Government. Yeas, Democrats 197, Republicans 37; nays, Democrats 0, Republicans 141. Approved by the President September 8, 1916.

(July 12, 1916, p. 10916, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Employees' compensation: Provided compensation for Government employees who were injured while in performance of their duties. Yeas, Democrats 145, Republicans 138; nays, Democrats 2, Republicans 1. Approved by the President September 7, 1916.

SECOND SESSION.

(Jan. 9, 1917, p. 1083, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Vocational educational act: Provided for creation of board to study and investigate the promotion of vocational education. To cooperate with States in promotion of vocational education and to provide for training of teachers in vocational subjects. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President February 23, 1917.

(Feb. 1, 1917, p. 2442, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Revenue for preparedness: To provide additional revenue for military and naval expansion. Yeas, Democrats 209; nays, Republicans 189, Democratsc 4. Approved by the President March 3, 1917.

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.

FIRST SESSION.

(Apr. 5, 1917, pp. 412–413, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

War with Germany: Declared war on Germany to protect American rights. Yeas, Democrats 193, Republicans 177; nays, Democrats 16, Republicans 32, Socialist 1. Approved by the President February 5, 1917.

(Apr. 14, 1917, p. 690, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Liberty bond bill: (1) To authorize the sale of bonds to defray war expenses. Yeas, Democras 191, Republicans 195; nays 0. Approved by the President April 24, 1917.

(Apr. 28, 1917, p. 1557, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Draft act: Providing for speedy mobilization of an army. Yeas, Democrats 193, Republicans 201; nays, Democrats 14, Republicans 8, Socialist 1. Approved by the President May 18, 1917.

(May 4, 1917, p. 291, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Espionage: To punish acts of interference with the conduct of the war and to prevent the dissemination of insidious propaganda. Yeas, Democrats 171, Republicans 87; nays, Democrats 9, Republicans 94, Socialist 1. Approved by the President June 15, 1917.

(May 23, 1917, pp. 2818–2819, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

War revenue act: To provide revenue to defray part of expense of conducting the war by direct taxation. Yeas, Democrats 206, Republicans 119; nays, Republicans 76. Approved by the President October 3, 1917.

(May 31, 1917, p. 3124, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Explosives: To regulate sale, use, and possession of. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President October 6, 1917.

(June 13, 1917, pp. 3584–3585, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Export trade: To encourage and promote our export trade. Yeas, Democrats 138, Republicans 102; nays, Democrats 4, Republicans 23. Approved by the President April 10, 1918.

(June 23, 1917, p. 4190, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Food control: To prohibit hoarding of foodstuffs—insure ample supply and to prevent profiteering in foodstuffs. Yeas, Democrats 173, Republicans 187, Socialist 1; nays, Democrats 3, Republicans 2. Approved by the President August 10, 1917.

(July 11, 1917, p. 4989, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Trading with enemy: To define and regulate trade with countries with which the United States is at war and providing punishment for violations. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President October 6, 1917.

(Sept. 6, 1917, p. 6708, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Liberty bond bill: (2) Authorized sale of additonal bonds to defray war expenses. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President September 24, 1917.

(Sept. 13, 1917, p. 7104, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Soldiers' insurance—Allotments and allowances: Provided insurance for soldiers, sailors, and marines at low rates—made provision for compensating those wounded and disabled in service—extended financial assistance to dependents of soldiers, sailors, and marines. Yeas, Democrats 169, Republicans 147, Socialist 1; nays, 0. Approved by the President October 6, 1917.

(Sept. 25, 1917, p. 7439, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Aircraft Board: Placed under separate board control and responsibility for development and production of aircraft. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President October 1, 1917.

(Oct. 4, 1917, p. 7808, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Additional chaplains: Provided for appointment of additional chaplains at large for the United States Army. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President October 6, 1917.

SECOND SESSION.

(Dec. 7, 1917, pp. 99–100, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

War with Austria-Hungary: Declared war on Austria-Hungary for preservation of American rights. Yeas, Democrats 187, Republicans 174; nays, Socialist 1. Approved by the President December 7, 1917.

(Dec. 17, 1917, p. 471, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Increase of midshipmen at Naval Academy: Provided for further increase in number of midshipmen at Naval Academy to properly care for our growing Navy. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President December 20, 1917.

(Jan. 4, 1918, p. 615, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Farm-loan bonds: Authorized Secretary of Treasury to purchase farm-loan bonds—to establish farm-loan bond market—to encourage and assist farm-loan banks. Yeas, Democrats 150, Republicans 64, Socialist 1; nays, Democrats 3, Republicans 66. Approved by the President January 18, 1918.

(Feb. 28, 1918, pp. 2835, 2836, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Railroad control: Provided for Federal control and operation of the railroads of the country, thereby relieving freight congestion and guaranteed continuation of transportation facilities for movement of troops and war supplies. Yeas, Democrats 180, Republicans 153, Socialist 1; nays, Democrats 2, Republicans 4. Approved by the President March 21, 1918.

(Mar. 6, 1918, pp. 3126, 3127, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Destruction of war materials: Provided for imposing penalty for destruction of war materials. Yeas, Democrats 167, Republicans 148, Socialist 1; nays, Democrats 0, Republicans 0. Approved by the President April 20, 1918.

(Mar. 21, 1918, pp. 3842, 3843, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

War Finance Corporation: Providing machinery for extending financial assistance—providing credit-encouraged industries engaged in manufacture of war material. Yeas, Democrats 192, Republicans 173; nays, Republicans 2. Approved by the President April 5, 1918.

(Apr. 2, 1918, p. 4451, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Liberty bond bill: (3) Authorized issuance of additional bonds to help defray war expenses. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President April 4, 1918.

(Apr. 2, 1918, p. 4473, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Housing Commission: Created commission authorized to provide housing facilities for persons engaged in war work. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President May 16, 1918.

(Apr. 4, 1918, pp. 4615, 4616, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Nitrate plants: Authorized condemnation proceedings on lands for erection of nitrate plants for the manufacture of high explosives for war purposes and fertilizers for the farmers. Yeas, Democrats 165, Republicans 149; nays 0. Approved by the President April 11, 1918.

(May 14, 1918, pp. 6524, 6525, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Coordination of executive bureaus: Authorized the President to consolidate and coordinate functions of executive bureaus to more efficiently conduct public business, to avoid waste and duplication of work. Yeas, Democrats 155, Republicans 134, Socialist 1; nays, Republicans 2. Approved by the President May 20, 1918.

(June 21, 1918, p. 2767, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Alien slackers: To deport aliens who were unwilling to assume obligations of military service. Yeas, Democrats 168, Republicans 171; nays, Democrats 13, Republicans 7, Socialist 1. Approved by the President October 16, 1918.

(June 28, 1918, p. 8438, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Liberty bond bill: (4) Authorized further issue of Liberty bonds. (Passed without record vote). Approved by the President October 16, 1918.

(July 5, 1918, p. 8735, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Telephone and telegraph control: Provided for Federal control and operation of wire communication facilities to further safeguard military secrets. Yeas, Democrats 121, Republicans 99, Socialist 1; nays, Republicans 4. Approved by the President July 16, 1918.

(July 9, 1918, p. 8925, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Pension for Spanish War widows: Provided for placing on the pension rolls certain widows of soldiers of the War with Spain. Yeas, Democrats 131, Republicans 93, Socialist 1; nays, Republican 7. Approved by the President July 16, 1918.

(Aug. 24, 1918, pp. 9506–9507, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Second draft act: Extending age limits from 18 to 45; provided for further increase of Military Establishments; increased man power of Nation subject to military service. Yeas, Democrats 165, Republicans 170; nays, Democrats 1, Socialist 1. Approved by the President August 31, 1918.

(Sept. 20, 1918, p. 10548, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD).

Revenue act 1918: To provide further revenues for defraying expense of war; imposing additional income taxes, excess-profits tax, etc. Yeas, Democrats 177, Republicans 167, Socialist 1; nays, 0. Approved by the President February 24, 1919.

(Oct. 4, 1918, p. 11140, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Medals of honor: Providing for award of medals of honor for meritorious service in the war. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President February 4, 1919.

THIRD SESSION.

(Feb. 18, 1919, pp. 3718–3719, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Voluntary enlistments: Authorized resumption of volunteer enlistments in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. Yeas, Democrats 158, Republicans 12; nays, Democrats 5, Republicans 154. Approved by the President February 28, 1919.

(Feb. 22, 1919, pp. 4051–4052, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Wheat guaranty: Provided for fulfillment of Government promise of guaranteed price for wheat. Yeas, Democrats 136, Republicans 137, Socialist 1; nays, Democrats 1, Republicans 5. Approved by the President March 4, 1919.

(Feb. 26, 1919, pp. 4343–4344, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Victory Liberty loan: Authorized issuance and sale of Victory bonds. Yeas, Democrats 170, Republicans 173; nays, Republicans 2, Socialist 1. Approved by the President March 3, 1919.

The Bonus Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. PELL, JR.,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 1, 1920.

Mr. PELL. Mr. Speaker, I intend to vote against the bonus. I am doing this in the full realization that it means the end of my political career, and I can tell you frankly that it is a painful thing to commit suicide, but I do not think that honor will permit me to follow any other course.

Of course, I shall vote for the most generous treatment possible for men that have been injured in the service of the United States, and also for proper care of the dependents of those men who have been killed, but I can not bring myself merely for consideration of political advantage to vote for a bill which would impose a tax of $20 a head on every man, woman, and child in the country. There is no conceivable way—or, at least, no way has been suggested—by which such an amount of money could be raised which would not paralyze the industries of the United States and precipitate such a crisis as we have never seen in our history. Hard times unquestionably are coming, whatever we may do, but while we can not avert difficulties, we can tremendously aggravate them.

So far there have been three plans suggested of raising the money. First, by the issue of $2,000,000,000 of bonds, which obviously could not possibly be marketed at a rate very much under 8 per cent, which would promptly knock 20 points off the price of Liberty bonds and make any private borrowing by business men practically impossible. Second, a retroactive tax on incomes for at least three or four years. Ordinary common sense will show any man that this money has not been kept by the individuals who acquired it in the form of cash in their stockings, but has been spent or invested, and to raise the tax money every business man in the country would be obliged to go into the money market and borrow on his own credit. This also would run the price of money up to such an extent that the permanent investment rate in the United States would remain somewhere around 8 per cent for a great many years. Of course, I mean nonspeculative investments, the class of thing that before the war paid from three and a half to four and a half per cent.

The third system is a general sales tax of one-half of 1 per cent on all sales made in the country. The argument for this is that it would take the money from the people in such small installments that they would not notice it, but it would be impossible to take such an enormous sum from the community without very seriously affecting all business throughout the country, and, of course, it would wreck the financial district of New York, and with it the hope of commercial preeminence of the world. An American stock exchange would probably be opened in London on which all stocks listed on New York would be dealt in. This would mean that London would become the great market of the world for call money, and would end any hope that we may have held in the past of New York becoming the financial capital of the world.

Considering the low purchasing power of money to-day, and also the general tendency of all classes toward extravagance, $500 means about as much to a boy to-day as seventy-five or a hundred would have meant to us, and we may rest assured that nine-tenths of the men receiving this money will spend it on a good time and not work until it is all gone. After that they will try to get back the jobs that they held, and find that they no longer exist, so that their last state will be worse than the first.

The country is laboring under too many laws, too many taxes, too much interference, too much government. The only remedy suggested is more legislation and more expenditures. What we really want is a return to the old American principle that the best government is the least government. We must realize that it is not the business of Congress to protect the class from the community, but to protect the community from each class and to guarantee a fair field and no favors. The right principle on which to conduct our public affairs is continuously to strive to give to the individual all the freedom that we possibly can consistent with the public safety, and to return to the period when the American people relied on themselves and on their own intelligence and industry rather than on assistance from the Government. Let every one bake his pie as he pleases and let the Government keep its fingers out.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES O'CONNOR,
OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 10, 1920.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, in the discussion of the bonus bill and matters I deem relevant thereto I freely concede to the other Members of this House what I hope will be granted unto me—sincerity of purpose and a desire to meet a grave question patriotically. No man possesses the inflexible touchstone of truth, and men equally honest, intelligent, and sincere will differ widely as to the methods that should be adopted to secure the results desired in this and all other cases that will arise and which will demand settlement now or in the years to come. The World War has released new emotions, new ideas pent up in the mind of man for years. His vision is enlarged, and he has a firmer grasp upon the rights of man and the obligation of government than ever before in history. The trials and the sufferings of that dreadful conflict which staggered the world and deluged it in blood and tears have moved him rapidly along the road to a newer day. Broadened in mind by humanity's Golgotha, he is intellectually a giant, his phenomenal mental growth during the last five years making for a profound conviction that democracy is something more than any former conception. Many of the old definitions and expressions of democracy are regarded to-day as tinkling cymbals and sounding brass. He is looking eagerly forward to the glory of the coming day that was so colorfully and beautifully painted by the word artists that held the literary stage during the years of the tremendous crisis from which the world has just emerged. The war caused a revolution in the soul of man. His newborn attitude is compelling, necessitating a change in the thought that has obtained for so long with reference to the rights and privileges, duties and obligations of the different constituents and phases of society.

Running parallel with this tremendous movement of the soul have come demands making for vast expenditures that would have staggered the banking world in times gone by, demands that have created a financial and economic situation and problems that press for solution yet apparently baffle the skill and thought of the best political economists and experts of the time. Leaders of one school of thought inform us that it is necessary to starve, freeze, go in rags, wear battered hats and worn-out shoes in order to get back to a living basis and prevent the rapidly mounting costs of existence, forgetful that such a course would inevitably lead to the closing of factories and mines; depressing agriculture and commerce at a time when both are in the fight for world markets, and, if anything, require stimulants instead of narcotics. The result of any condition making for the unemployment of our laboring host and wage earners is appalling to the mind and is a complete answer to those misguided souls and sesquipedalian political economists that would earn heaven by making earth a hell. It is usually this school of economists that assert when prices are low and men without the means to secure the necessaries of subsistence that their ills and sufferings are due to overproduction. Between overproduction and underproduction the wage earner is squeezed until he cries out for relief, and his cry at this time is for something more than a mere statement of that which is pretended to be the

law, which is said to govern inexorably and which is phrased in the one-time satisfactory maxium of "the law of demand and supply." That law has been suspended if not aborted by reason of new conditions and situations which have not been mastered and controlled by remedial legislation. "They shall take who have the power; they shall keep who can," is susceptible of many applications to present-day conditions. But man has grown and does not want to continue an economic system that means if he succeeds in avoiding the rocks of Scylla he shall be submerged in the whirlpools of Charybdis. He is now demanding a scientific system of taxation that will yield sufficient for a big national life, great road building, an extension of the school system, and make for a more equal and equitable distribution of the wealth produced by the generation in which he was born and of which he is a unit. The irrepressible conflict between poverty and riches is on more strenuously to-day than ever before. America refuses to adopt the roll of pauper in order to get back to what parlor economists are pleased to call a living basis. The grand destiny of this Republic will not be accomplished until we are free not only politically but commercially, agriculturally, industrially—free from the heartache and the agony of poverty and the terrors of old age; free from illiteracy and ignorance and the haunting dread of the appalling trials that confront the toiler in the evening of his life. Larger salaries, comfortable homes, good food, and drinking water demand more thought now from the statesmen than ever before in the record of statecraft. Our soldiers, our sailors, school-teachers, ministers, clerks, wage earners, laborers must be given a decent living wage; it can be done or our boasted civilization is a delusion.

The American knows that it can be accomplished; he insists that a system that makes for poverty in the face of plenty unto profusion and prosperity and fatness in times of scarcity of the fundamentals of life should be extirpated root and branch. His voice is heard aloud in the land now and then raised in shrill or raucous tones; but above this uproar is felt the silent thought of millions of Americans who look confidently to Congress, the greatest legislative body in the world, for an answer to the mute but patriotic demands for relief—"to do noble things, not dream them all day long."

ABOUT TO MEET THE TEST.

"The shallows murmur but the deeps are dumb." We are about to meet the first acid test as to whether or not we are responsive to the great obligations that rest upon us crying for a discharge that will answer the soul, the patriotism, and the promise of America. The adjusted compensation requested for our soldier boys by the American Legion, the organized articulate expression of our gallant youths who offered their young lives to meet their country's need, is one of these obligations. We must not fail in our duty; we shall not fail. I know that if the wage earners and the poor of our land did not know that there was a more just way of securing the funds to meet the requests of our boys they would deem it an honor and a glorious privilege to bear the tax, even if it were burdensome enough to bend them to the earth, for the boys are bone of their bone, flesh of their flesh, and blood of their blood. But the toiling masses of the land will regard it as a shirking of duty by those who were born with a silver spoon in their mouth and rocked in a golden cradle, by those who have always been arrayed in purple and fine linen and who have dwelt in marble halls and palaces, to evade a tax which they, and they alone, should bear, a tax which they should deem a privilege and an honor to discharge, because it would be borne for the sake of a true and exalted patriotism. "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mort." If it be sweet and honorable to die for one's country, how much sweeter for the affluent and the rich man to assume an obligation of his country rather than cast it upon the hewer of wood and the drawer of water.

The Republican majority in this House are in a position to determine where the great obligation of meeting our soldiers' request rests and who should discharge it. They have the power to say whether it shall be Dives or Lazarus. If they determine to burden Lazarus and let Dives continue to roll in the chariot of boundless wealth; if by a rule they preclude us from relieving the poor who have had to beg for the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table, the low and the humble will proudly do their duty, but will long remember, not soon forget, the Republican Party, and will work its woe and pillory it for many a year to come. Yes, my countrymen, we are face to face with one of the great acid tests that will be applied by the American people to their national lawmaking body. If we fail them in this instance, well may they ponder upon the ingratitude of governments; well may they ask the question of themselves, "What if the war had lasted two years longer and had cost 3,000,000 lives and more than a hundred billions of treasure?" For never forget that was the price that thoughtful Americans believed we would have to pay to keep the world from staggering to its destruction and fall, its passing over into chaos before it would take the final plunge, and rest in oblivion with the mighty civilizations that have come and gone and are now no more.

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide
In the strife of truth with falsehood, for the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand and the sheep upon the right,
And that choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that light.

We are indeed on the firing line. Great problems will have to be met and solved now and in the future. Vast sums are required and will have to be exacted in order to meet the pressing needs of Government and the new order. Huge appropriations will have to be made to meet the interest and provide for the amortization of the war debt and provide for the national defense. Great internal improvements will soon be demanded by the people and other large governmental expenditures may result from the new life. A system of taxation will have to be devised to secure the enormous funds that will be required to meet the exactions of an advanced civilization, and these funds must come from those who have been favored by nature and society in such a manner that they have been able to gather unto themselves shining piles of gold. First of all, we must pass the bonus bill and with that duty well performed we shall be heartened to move forward to grapple with other problems that will make our country indeed a government of the people, for the people, and by the people. "The reward of one's duty well performed is the power to discharge another."

The money to meet this bonus bill and other great measures must come from war profits and an adequate collateral inheritance tax, subject to State inheritance tax, and a Federal tax on the holding of land, urban, agricultural, coal, oil, mineral, timber, water power, and so forth, valued, irrespective of improvements, at over $10,000. Our first duty is to meet this demand of the moment. We must pass a bonus bill. A failure to do so would be looked upon as a refusal to make good the glowing promises made to our brave boys during the months that elapsed between the declaration that a state of war existed between the German Empire and the United States of America and the day on which the armistice was signed.

I reiterate that we can not place this burden upon the toiling masses of our country without arousing a suspicion as to our sincerity, without creating the chance of a resentful feeling between and among the soldier boys and the masses of their countrymen that love them so well, without the risk of severing the affectionate ties that bind our boys and girls who earn their bread to the doughboys who lived and suffered in camp and in trench for the honor and glory of their country, its past and its present, its living and its dead. We must not do anything that would act as a wedge between those who were willing to die for us and their countrymen who would enshrine the soldier lad in his memory as long as life lasts. We could not do so without forgetting the past, without ignoring what the future may hold in store for us. Again on some tremendous day, even in the near future, we may have to issue the clarion call for the boys to assemble once more to meet an enemy, an invader, in the event that our naval force is not sufficient to cope with those that might assail us by combination from the two oceans. Again we may expect them to answer the trumpet call of patriotic duty to maintain the glory of those illustrious spirits that fought, bled, and died in each generation in the life of America for its ideals, hopes, and aspirations.

We must pass a bill that will command the approbation of the masses of our people—the farm boy, the clerk, the wage earner, the hewer of wood and drawer of water, the laborer who with pick and shovel earns his bread and pays his rent in the sweat of his brow. We can not add to his burden. He is already bending to the earth. The country would not accept as an evidence of statesmanship the bill proposed. If enacted into law it would widen the ridge that now exists and make it a gulf whose waters would flow with bitterness. Let us be just to the soldier. We owe him that which we can never pay.

Lest we forget, let us turn back the hand of time; let us roll up the curtain upon the dreadful tragedy that began on August 1, 1914, when a madman, bearing aloft the torch of militarism, started out to set this world on fire. England and France were to be put to the sack and then our own country was to be given to the flames. Subject to his will was the mightiest army that this world has ever known; trained as were never trained the phalanxes of Alexander that swept over the Asiatic world and sent dynasties and empires into oblivion; trained as never were trained the Roman legions whose all conquering spirit subdued the nations of the earth and brought back to Rome as captives

princes and queens bound to the chariots that rolled into the Forum over the Appian Way, which connected Rome with the uttermost parts of the empire; trained as never were trained the Carthaginian hosts who, under the inspiring leadership of one of the foremost geniuses of any age, scaled the Alps and caused Rome to tremble when the Roman heart was a tiger heart and the Roman matron was a lioness for her country, her children, and her gods; trained as were never trained the children of the desert who, behind Mohamet, swept over Asia and Europe, changing not only manners and customs but even the religion of the lands that fell before his invincible march; trained as were never trained the legions that sang their war songs under the leadership of Napoleon, who carried the eagles of France over a hundred battle fields and made his name immortal as one who waded through slaughter to a throne and shut the gates of mercy on mankind. For 40 years this engine of war that was put into motion on that never-to-be-forgotten day, August 1, 1914, was in the making. Aye, it had been in the blood of Germany from the days of Frederick the Great, of whom Macaulay said that in order to betray a friend, whom he had sworn to protect and defend, black men slew each other off the coast of Coromandel and red men scalped one another by the Great Lakes of North America. On the signal this perfected military juggernaut moved on its road for the destruction of civilization. Belgium went down in the twinkling of an eye and northern France was laid in the dust. Serbia, Albania, Montenegro, and Roumania reeled, tottered, went to their destruction and fall; western Russia was torn into fragments and hundreds of thousands driven across Siberia and whose wanderings did not cease until they reached China; northern Italy was swept as if stricken by a West Indian hurricane; England and France were slowly going to their knees.

The submarine, the monster of the deep, was strewing the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean with their ships and foodstuffs. A terrible cry for help came over the seas to us. We heard it and simultaneously realized the appalling danger that menaced our own land. Suddenly the terrible truth burst upon our minds. If England and France were beaten to their knees and had to surrender their navies as a condition precedent to peace, Germany with these acquired fleets and her own could and would sweep us from the seas as mist goes before the sun, and with airplanes sent from the decks of her war vessels bring fire, explosion, and destruction to the cities of the north Atlantic, and, in acordance with the best military experts, land upon our coast in six weeks 600,000 trained troops equipped with the best war machinery known to any age and fresh from the conquest of Europe. It is true indeed, my friends, that had the god of war willed it so we would have met the invader and fought him for a generation until we had driven him from our shores, but at what a terrible price, for while we know that Americans, all other things being equal, are superior in valor and ability to any other people on earth, they would not have been on an equal footing with the invader as a result of inexperience at the bloody game of war. With a thrill of horror the thoughtful men of the country recognized that during the making of this German Moloch we had been sleeping in a fool's paradise. But with that realization came a surge of patriotism that swept from ocean to ocean, reuniting the people of the North and South and making for a union which had been the dream of patriots and statesmen for half a century; a surge of patriotism that showed we were one people—divided only as the waves, but one as the sea. With the declaration that a state of war existed as a result of continued affronts and insults and our own consciousness that we were to be the next victim, as no conqueror ever stops until he is stopped by superior force, the genius of the country, with sweep and speed, swept on our activities and made for an army which won the day, preserving civilization and glorifying American arms with a glory that shall never fade while fame her records keep or honor points the spot where valor proudly sleeps. Sixteen cantonments, modern cities as it were, sprang into existence overnight. There were trained our boys; there many met their doom and wrote out the last chapter in their histories; from there they went out over our land and across the seas and into the trenches of northern France, and then over the top and to victories that will cause America's heart to thrill with pride until time is no more.

But we paid the price—in the blood of our soldiers, in the tears of our women, and what we thought least of at that time, the treasure of our fabulous wealth. From North and South, East and West the boys came and went to yield their lives as a holocaust to their country's need. The country was one in the great sacrifice that it was about to make and did make. Listen to these lines, which ought to be in every schoolhouse in America; they express the thought which is in the heart of every boy and girl in this broad land of ours:

Here's to the Blue of the wind-swept North
As they will meet on the fields of France;
May the spirit of Grant be with them all
As the sons of the North advance.

And here's to the Gray of the sun-kissed South
As they'll meet on the fields of France;
May the spirit of Lee be with them all
As the sons of the South advance.

And here's to the Blue and Gray as one
As they'll meet on the fields of France;
May the spirit of God be with them all
As the sons of our flag advance.

America is a temple of sorrow. Columbia mourns for her children because they are not. France, hitherto the playground of the world, is now sacred soil to America. There our dead rest. Rude wooden crosses dot the shell-scarred battle field; each simple cross marking the grave of an American soldier who died in France in defense of the America he loved and those dear to him. We had to suffer our spiritual agony; we could not be spared. Like Europe, we had to toil painfully the weary road to Calvary. It is true that the boys are back; all except our sainted dead. The boys that are back look across the waves with a holy vision to the last, sad, silent resting place of their comrades in arms with a noble resolution that should another call come for service of the highest order they will go out again under the banners of our country—the flag of our Republic—giving up life if necessary and joining the gallant spirits that have gone before and who are on fame's eternal camping ground with the bivouac of the dead. The boys are back in large numbers, thank God! We owe them as much as if that war had lasted two years longer and when undoubtedly the toll exacted would have been millions of our young men and incalculable treasure. Did we not believe that it would last until 1921? Did we not believe that it would cost rivers of blood and oceans of tears? Did we not believe that it would exhaust our granaries and storehouses, and were we not willing to pay the price? We said we were and, by the God of Nations, that word and that vow must be kept! Whatever demand our soldier boys make we must yield, we must concede. They are the judges of what is just and proper, not ourselves, for whom they fought and bled, whose comrades died and whose women in tears and in sorrow mourned for those that will never come back. The bonus must be paid, and it shall come not from the sweat of the poor man's brow but it shall come from the bursting coffers of the rich man; it shall come from the swollen fortunes of the war lords and profiteers whose millions came from shot and shell; it shall come from the necrophile, whose safes are bursting with gold secured with the priceless treasure of American blood. And when that ill-gotten gold mine fails us we shall go after collateral inheritances, so that wealth shall not be piled up and become a menace to our liberties. If we have to be ruled, it will be by flesh and blood like ourselves and not by the power of money, that makes tyrants and slaves of those who possess it and afflicts and terrorizes and robs of manhood those whom it brutalizes and rules. The war has ended, but it has released new emotions. Its agonies must be paid for, but paid for by those who suffered not. The Old World is a thing of the past. It was a world where toil for myriads of honest men and women purchased nothing better than squalor, penury, anxiety, and wretchedness; a world scarred by slums and disgraced by sweating, where unemployment through the vicissitudes of industry brought despair to multitudes of humble homes; a world where side by side with want there was waste of the inexhaustible riches of the earth, partly through ignorance and want of forethought, partly through intrenched selfishness.

If we renew the lease of that world we shall betray the heroic dead. We shall be guilty of the basest perfidy that ever blackened a people's fame. The irrepressible conflict is on, I repeat. The people of this country are determined not to starve, freeze, and wear battered hats, worn-out shoes, and ragged clothes in the land of their birth when that land is a land of milk and honey—a land of plenty unto profusion—in order that a relatively few may roll in wealth, live in palaces, rock their children in golden cradles, and oppress a hundred million with an instrument far more cruel than the sword. The American people are going to live decently, and the surplus wealth of the country will yield to the taxing power and pay the expenses of Government and the care of the soldiers who were willing to die for their country and the families of those who did die for it. A hundred million Americans would starve

if it were necessary in the defense of their land, but they will refuse to go in rags while the pampered few stroll through life in golden raiment. They will refuse to starve and go without shoes in order that a relatively few of their countrymen may acquire that dominion which means the enslavement of the masses of the country. We put down the autocrat of the world more powerful than Genghis Khan or Attila, whose boast was that the grass never grew where the hoof of his war horse trod. We are going to curb the mighty power of money and make it serve the needs of our country and prevent it from becoming a monster of oppression, of tyranny, and slavery. I reiterate, the irrepressible conflict is on. The dawn of a new order is here. The old order is rapidly disappearing. Those who believe in equal rights for all and special privileges for none, who believe that the wealth of the land should be so distributed as to bring about the general welfare, will press on the fight, knowing that victory will be theirs, knowing that no question is ever settled until it is settled right.

However the battle is ended, though proudly the victor comes,
With fluttering flags and prancing nags and the echoing roll of drums,
Still truth proclaims this motto in letters of living light,
No question was ever settled until it was settled right.

Oh man, bowed down by labor; oh woman, young yet old;
Oh hearts oppressed in the toilers' breast and crushed by the power of gold,
Keep up with your weary battle against triumphant might,
For no question was ever settled until it was settled right.

Under which King Bezonians? Under the banners of war, wealth, and privilege or under the flag of union, justice, and confidence, the flag of the patriot, living and dead, the flag of the United States, the flag for which poverty has always fought, the flag that has always been and always will be, I trust, "the rainbow to the storms of life, the evening beam that smiles the clouds away."

Fuller Pension Law.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY Z. OSBORNE,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 14, 1920.

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Speaker, I avail myself of the privilege accorded me by the House of Representatives to extend my remarks upon the subject of the Fuller pension law, approved May 1, 1920. This is such a statute as I have long desired to see written into our books. It applies not alone to the veterans of the Civil War and their widows, but as well to the Army nurses of that war and to the dependent parents and children of its veterans. It is regrettable that legislative exigencies compelled the restoration by the Senate of the date of marriage required for Civil War widows to June 27, 1905, instead of advancing it as the House bill originally provided to 1915. Since the earlier date was fixed, many women have married and well and faithfully cared for our Civil War veterans, and it is unthinkable to attribute to their so doing any selfish motive. They are justly entitled for this sort of care of our wars' veterans, which money can not purchase but which the Government should encourage by such means as it may, to the bounty of the widow's pension. I hope to see an early enactment to do full justice in this behalf. This law also applies to the widows of veterans of the War of 1812, of whom in the course of nature a scant few remain; to the soldiers of the Mexican War having 60 days' service, and widows of such soldiers.

In order that the matter may be widely published, Mr. Speaker, I wish to incorporate here the analysis of the law which has been furnished to Members by the Commissioner of Pensions. The law provides pensions at rates per month as follows:

WAR OF 1812.

1. To widow of one who served in War of 1812	$30

WAR WITH MEXICO.

2. To one who served 60 days or more and honorably discharged	50
3. To one who served 60 days or more, was honorably discharged, who is helpless or blind, or so nearly helpless or blind as to require regular personal aid and attendance	72
4. To widow of one who served 60 days or more and honorably discharged	30

CIVIL WAR.

5. To one who served 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States and honorably discharged	50
6. To one who served less than 90 days, discharged for disability incurred in service in line of duty, in receipt of or entitled to pension or on pension roll as a Civil War veteran	50
7. To one who served 90 days, honorably discharged, or having served less than 90 days, discharged for disability incurred in service in line of duty, or on the roll as a Civil War veteran, who is helpless or blind or so nearly helpless or blind as to require regular personal aid and attendance	72
8. To one who in service in line of duty lost—	
(a) One hand or one foot or totally disabled in same	60
(b) An arm at or above elbow, or leg at or above knee, or totally disabled in same	65
(c) An arm at shoulder joint, leg at hip joint, or if artificial limb can not be used	72
(d) One hand and one foot, or totally disabled in same	90
9. To widow married prior to June 27, 1905—	
(a) Of one who served 90 days or more and honorably discharged	30
(b) Of one discharged for or died in service of a disability incurred in service in line of duty, regardless of length of service	30
(c) Married once or more than once after death of soldier or sailor husband if subsequent marriage has been dissolved by death, or divorce without fault on her part	30
10. To widows above mentioned for each child under 16 years of age of officer or enlisted man, additional	6
11. To child or children under 16 years of age of such officer or enlisted man, in case of death or remarriage of widow, the whole pension.	
12. To Army nurses, Civil War	30
13. To dependent parents, Civil War	30

HOW TO OBTAIN THE BENEFITS.

The Pension Bureau will take steps promptly to make effective the provisions of the law.

No declaration will be required from those now on the roll and mentioned in foregoing clauses Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 (a), 10, 11, 12, and 13.

Declarations will be required in every case for original pension; also in claims under clauses 3, 7, 9 (b), and 9 (c).

Where a declaration is required, pension, if allowed, will begin from the date of filing; under clauses 3 and 7 pension, if allowed, will commence when the disability is shown to exist after approval of this act.

Where no declaration is required, increase of pension will commence from date of approval of said act.

Where a remarried widow filed an application under the act of September 8, 1916, pension, if allowed, will commence when her original application was filed. In all such cases the claimant should notify the Pension Bureau by letter or otherwise.

Claim agent or attorney not to be recognized except in claims for original pension, and in such cases not more than $10 shall be paid for services, and only on order of the Commissioner of Pensions.

Declarations will be furnished on request.

Payments at the increased rates will be made at the date of the quarterly payment due July 4, August 4, and September 4, 1920, to those then entitled, and thereafter regularly. Earlier payment can not be made on account of necessary labor and changes.

COMPLETE TEXT OF THE FULLER LAW.

[Public, No. 190, Sixty-sixth Congress (H. R. 9369).]

"An act to revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War and the War with Mexico, to certain widows, including widows of the War of 1812, former widows, dependent parents, and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases.

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That every person who served 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War, and who has been honorably discharged therefrom, or who, having so served less than 90 days, was discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, or is now upon the pension rolls as a Civil War veteran, and every person who served 60 days or more in the War with Mexico, or on the coasts or frontier thereof, or en route thereto, during the war with that nation, and was honorably discharged therefrom, and who is now in receipt of, or entitled to receive under existing law, a pension of less than $50 per month, shall, from and after the passage of this act, be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $50 per month.

"SEC. 2. That every person who served 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War, and who has been honorably discharged therefrom, or who, having so served less than 90 days, was discharged for a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, or is now upon the pension rolls as a Civil War veteran, and every person who served 60 days or more in the War with Mexico, or on the coasts or frontier thereof, or en route thereto,

during the war with that nation, and was honorably discharged therefrom, and who is now, or hereafter may become, by reason of age and physical or mental disabilities, helpless or blind, or so nearly helpless or blind as to require the regular personal aid and attendance of another person, shall be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $72 per month.

"SEC. 3. That from and after the approval of this act all persons whose names are on the pension roll, and who, while in the service of the United States in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps during the Civil War, and in the line of duty, shall have lost one hand or one foot or been totally disabled in the same, shall receive a pension at the rate of $60 per month; that all persons who, in such service and in like manner, shall have lost an arm at or above the elbow, or a leg at or above the knee, or been totally disabled in the same, shall receive a pension at the rate of $65 per month; that all persons who, in such service and in like manner, shall have lost an arm at the shoulder joint or a leg at the hip joint, or so near the shoulder or hip joint, or where the same is in such condition as to prevent the use of an artificial limb, shall receive a pension at the rate of $72 per month; and that all persons who, in such service and in like manner, shall have lost one hand and one foot, or been totally disabled in the same, shall receive a pension at the rate of $90 per month.

"SEC. 4. That the widow of any person who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War for 90 days or more, and was honorably discharged from such service, or, regardless of the length of service, was discharged for or died in service of a disability incurred in the service and in line of duty, such widow having been married to such soldier, sailor, or marine prior to the 27th day of June, A. D. 1905, shall be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month. And this section shall apply to a former widow of any person who served for 90 days or more in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War, and was honorably discharged from such service, or who, having so served for less than 90 days, was discharged for or died in service of a disability incurred in the service and in the line of duty, such widow having remarried, either once or more than once after the death of the soldier, sailor, or marine, if it be shown that such subsequent or successive marriage has or have been dissolved, either by the death of the husband or husbands or by divorce without fault on the part of the wife; and any such former widow shall be entitled to and be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month; and any widow as mentioned in this section shall also be paid $6 per month for each child of such officer or enlisted man under the age of 16 years, and in case of the death or remarriage of the widow leaving a child or children of such officer or enlisted man, under the age of 16 years, such pension shall be paid such child or children until the age of 16 years: *Provided*, That in case a minor child is insane, idiotic, or otherwise mentally or physically helpless, the pension shall continue during the life of such child or during the period of such disability; and this proviso shall apply to all pensions heretofore granted or hereafter to be granted under this or any former statute: *And provided further*, That in case of any widow whose name has been dropped from the pension roll because of her remarriage, if the pension has been granted to an insane, idiotic, or otherwise helpless child, or to a child or children under the age of 16 years, she shall not be entitled to renewal of pension under this act until that pension to such child or children terminates, unless such child or children be a member or members of her family and cared for by her; and upon the renewal of pension to such widow payment of pension to such child or children shall cease: *And provided further*, That the rate of pension for the widow of any person who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States in the War of 1812, or for 60 days or more in the War with Mexico, on the coasts or frontier thereof, or en route thereto during the war with that nation, and was honorably discharged therefrom, shall be $30 per month.

"SEC. 5. That all Army nurses of the Civil War and all dependent parents of any officer or enlisted man who served in the Civil War whose names are now on the pension roll, or who are now entitled to pension under any existing law, shall be entitled to and shall be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"SEC. 6. That the pension or increase of pension herein provided for, as to all persons whose names are now on the pension roll, or who are now in receipt of a pension under existing law, shall commence at the rates herein provided, from the date of the approval of this act, or under section 2 hereof, when the requisite condition is shown to exist after the approval of this act; and as to persons whose names are not now on the pension roll, or who are not now in receipt of a pension under existing law, but who may be entitled to pension under the provisions of this act, such pensions shall commence from the date of filing application therefor in the Bureau of Pensions in such form as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior: *Provided*, That as to any former widow as mentioned in section 4 hereof, who since the death of her soldier, sailor, or marine husband has remarried either once or more than once, and such subsequent or successive marriage has been dissolved, either by the death of the husband or husbands, or by divorce without fault on the part of the wife, and who filed her application for pension under the act of September 8, 1916, her pension shall commence from the date when her original application was filed under that act in the Bureau of Pensions, and shall be at the rate in that act provided, with increase at the rate or rates subsequently provided for the widows of Civil War soldiers, sailors, and marines, and by this act from the date or dates when any such subsequent act or acts took effect or may hereafter take effect, it being the intent and purpose to give to any such widow the same status as other widows of Civil War soldiers, sailors, and marines who have not remarried, and from the date of said act of September 8, 1916.

"SEC. 7. That nothing in this act contained shall be held to affect or diminish the additional pension to those on the roll designated as 'The Army and Navy Medal of Honor Roll,' as provided in the act of April 27, 1916, but any increase herein provided for shall be in addition thereto; and no pension heretofore granted under any act, public or private, shall be reduced by anything contained in this act.

"SEC. 8. That no claim agent or attorney or other person shall be recognized in the adjustment of claims under this act, except in claims for original pension, and in such cases no more than the sum of $10 shall be allowed for services in preparing, presenting, or prosecuting any such claim, which sum shall be payable only on the order of the Commissioner of Pensions; and any person who shall violate any of the provisions of this section, or shall wrongfully withhold from the pensioner or claimant the whole or any part of a pension allowed or due to such pensioner or claimant under this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall, for each and every offense, be fined not exceeding $500 or be imprisoned not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court."

Cooperative Live-Stock Shipping.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. KING,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 11, 1920.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, in pursuance of the permission extended to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to submit an article by Mr. John T. Montgomery, farm adviser of Henry County, Ill., as printed in the Geneseo Republic on April 30, 1920, on the subject of cooperative shipping of live stock, so that other communities situated similarly may be benefited.

The article is as follows:

Some interest in the volume of cooperative shipping of live stock has led to the compilation of the totals of this work in Henry County, Ill.

Eleven associations shipped 994 cars of stock, approximately 6,570 head of cattle, 188,145 head of hogs, and 4,300 head of sheep, a total of 158,515 head. The proceeds from these sales, less freight, yardage, and commissions, totals $2,869,153.42. Part of the associations did not report a full year's business, because they were organized during the year.

These figures, however, indicate the general approval of Henry County farmers of the cooperative marketing of live stock. From nothing a few years ago this project has developed to quite a respectable business. Osco Association was the first to start, with Galva and Cambridge soon after. Now 13 associations are making fine progress, 2 having started since the beginning of the year. Two or three more communities are developing a sentiment toward organization, and in all probability every farmer in the county may avail himself of the help of the association at his station before the year closes.

The older associations had many handicaps, and at times worked under serious difficulties. Car shortages and unfair distribution of cars during the past two seasons have hindered progress. It is hoped that the return to normal shipping conditions will make it possible for the associations to obtain cars more readily.

We are not able to say how many dollars cooperative shipping has saved farmers of the county, but all believe the sum to be quite considerable. The feeling is universal that buyers have been obliged to pay much better prices to obtain stock. A number of buyers have quit or begun service as managers of the associations. Farmers feel that ship-

ping through their association brings them all the market pays when the stock arrives, and are right well satisfied with this method of shipping.

The officers and managers of the various associations have organized a county federation with headquarters at the farm bureau office. In their meetings improvement of the service and problems of conducting the business are discussed and appropriate action taken. Some very important changes in methods of handling and selling are being worked out. Some have been turned over to the Illinois Agricultural Association for action. So that this little federation is doing a real service to cooperative shipping and to farmers and feeders at large.

The ability to conduct their own business in marketing and to work together is being developed among Henry County farmers to a marked degree, and proceeding carefully along chosen lines. Prospects for continued and broader development are bright indeed.

Civil-War Pensions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 25, 1920.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I have held since the Civil War that soldiers' pensions should be based on service or wounds or disability, but this policy was abandoned in 1907 by a Republican Congress, when Civil War soldiers were pensioned on account of age. Later, by act of May, 1912, known as the Sherwood Act, pensions were granted on the basis of length of service and age. At the outset of the World War in 1917 a system of insurance was adopted by Congress on the recommendation of Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, which enabled a soldier to take out insurance to the aggregate of $10,000 by paying 10 per cent of the amount. This was the most generous system ever before adopted by Congress, and has proved by far the most expensive to the Government. It was stated on this floor that the cost of the system will aggregate about $350,000,000. This amount includes both insurance and compensation. The insurance for 1919 was $43,798,000 and $85,000,000—officially estimated—for 1920. The War Risk Insurance Bureau is unable to give at this date the cost of compensation for 1920, but for both insurance and compensation, vocational training, and hospital services the aggregate this year, according to figures furnished me by Chairman GOOD, of the Appropriations Committee, will be $360,000,000. This is $254,000,000 more than the entire cost to the Government in pensions for soldiers of the Civil War nine years after the close. This does not take into account either the $60 bonus paid to the soldiers at the close or the proposed bonus provided in a bill now pending. When we reflect that the battle fatalities of the soldiers of the Civil War exceed the battle fatalities—killed and fatally wounded—of the United States soldiers of the World War, we are better enabled to estimate the cruel injustice and ingratitude meted out in stinginess to the soldiers of the Union Army.

In the session of Congress, 1873–74, Congressman Garfield, then chairman of the Appropriation Committee, stated on the floor of this House that the entire appropriation for pensions for Civil War soldiers that year was $26,000,000. We had during the four years from 1861 to 1865, according to official report, 2,212,474 soldiers, volunteers and drafted. Of this number only about 62,000 drafted men ever reached the battle front. I rejoice that there exists to-day a more generous spirit toward the soldiers of the World War than prevailed at the close of the Civil War. The 1861 to 1865 veterans were treated with cold neglect by Congress and the recognition of their services was confined to laudatory resolutions by civic societies and political conventions commending their valor and sacrifices and by making Gen. Grant President and selecting many service officers to State and local offices. But the men who stood behind the guns and did the hardest work of war were turned out in cold neglect like a worn-out dray horse.

It was 14 years after the war, when a Democratic House of Representatives was elected, that any adequate legislation was enacted to take care of those who were wounded or disabled in the service. Nowhere, where hearts are human, can this cruel neglect of the veterans of the Union Army be justified. And no true soldier of that desperate war wants the same cold-blooded neglect extended to the young soldiers of the World War.

It has been constantly asserted in press and forum by Republican exploiters of patriotism that nearly all of the liberal pension legislation for the benefit of the soldiers of the Civil War has been enacted by the Republican Party.

I desire here to present the record showing how utterly fallacious this claim is. I submit the following laws enacted by the Democrats, which is a complete answer to this charge, and should be satisfactory to all patriotic citizens of all political parties:

"1. Act of August 15, 1876, providing for the issuance of artificial limbs, or commutation therefor, to disabled soldiers and seamen, and providing transportation for the purpose of having the same properly fitted.

"2. Act of February 28, 1877, increasing the pension of those who lost both an arm and a leg.

"3. Act of March 9, 1878, granting pensions on account of service in the War of 1812 and the Revolutionary War, requiring a service of but 14 instead of 60 days on the part of the survivors of the War of 1812, and granting pensions to widows, regardless of the date of marriage to soldiers of this war. It also granted pensions to widows of soldiers of the Revolutionary War on a service of 14 days. Former laws required a marriage prior to the treaty of peace in the case of widows of the War of 1812.

"4. Act of June 17, 1878, increasing to $72 per month the pensions of those who lost both hands, both feet, or the sight of both eyes, incident to the service.

"5. Act of March 3, 1879, increasing to $37.50 all pensions on account of amputation at the hip joint. This sum was afterwards increased to $45 per month by a Democratic House.

"6. The next humane and generous pension laws were enacted January 25 and March 3, 1879, laws prepared by that gallant and enduring soldier and Congressman, Gen. Americus V. Rice, of Ohio. Gen. Rice lost his good right leg in that desperate charge on Kenesaw Mountain on June 27, 1864. This was the charge in which Gen. Harker, the poet-hero soldier, fell mortally wounded. This arrears-of-pension law, introduced and successfully piloted through a Democratic House by Gen. Rice, was at that time the most generous pension law ever enacted by any parliamentary body in the world. It gave increases to 225,000 wounded and disabled veterans, aggregating about $40,000,000. Previous to this time, as will be remembered, the Republicans had been in control of both branches of Congress for over 10 years.

"7. Act of June 21, 1879, abolishing biennial medical examinations and providing that in no case shall a pension be withdrawn or reduced except upon notice to the pensioner and a hearing upon sworn testimony.

"8. Act of June 16, 1880, giving $72 per month to all those who became totally helpless for any cause incident to the service.

"9. Act of February 26, 1881, for the protection of pensioners in the soldiers' homes.

"10. Act of July 14, 1892, establishing an intermediate rate of pensions between $30 and $72 per month and fixing the rate of $50 for all who require frequent and periodical, though not regular and constant, personal aid and attention.

"11. Act of August 5, 1892, granting pensions to Army nurses and forbidding the demanding of a fee by claim agents for prosecuting this class of cases. This was a generous recognition of the noble heroines who, leaving home and loved ones behind, in self-sacrifice braved pestilence and hardships to minister to the sick in the hospitals of the Army.

"12. Act of December 21, 1893, making a pension a vested right.

"Here are some other contributions to the pension laws which were either approved by a Democratic President or passed by a Democratic House of Representatives:

"13. Act of March 19, 1886, from $8 to $12 per month the pensions of 79,989 widows and dependents on the roll at the time as well as tens of thousands who have since been placed there. These certificates were issued by a Democratic Commissioner of Pensions without any expense or unnecessary delay to those deserving beneficiaries.

"14. Act of May 17, 1886, amending the reports of the War Department, which discriminated against a large and worthy class of soldiers, relieving thousands of unfortunate veterans of the hardships worked by the resting of charges against them, based upon technical errors in the records.

"15. Act of August 4, 1886, increasing the pensions of 10,030 cripples—armless and legless veterans.

"16. Act of January 29, 1887, benefiting about 30,000 survivors and widows of the Mexican War.

"17. Act of June 7, 1888, granting arrears to widows from the date of the death of the husband and providing that all United States officials authorized to administer oaths should administer all oaths required to be made in pension cases in

the execution of vouchers for pensions free of charge. This arrearage act benefited at once more than 200,000 soldiers' widows.

"18. Act of August 27, 1888, increasing pensions on account of deafness.

"19. Act of February 12, 1889, granting an increase in pensions from $72 to $100 per month to all persons who lost both hands in the service and line of duty.

"20. Act of March 1, 1889, relating to the payment of pensions to the widows or dependent heirs where subsequent to the issuance of the check the pensioner dies.

"21. Act of March 2, 1889, removing certain technical charges in the record and relieving a large and meritorious class of soldiers.

"22. Act of March 2, 1895, which abolished the rates of $2 and $4 and fixed the lowest rate of pension at $6 per month.

"23. The next in order is the so-called dollar-a-day pension bill that I introduced in December, 1907, and which involved a struggle in committees and on the floor of the House of Representatives of over four years—the longest enduring and most notable struggle of any pension bill ever enacted since this Republic was born. It became a law on May 11, 1912.

"Let me here quote an extract from a speech I had the privilege of making on this floor February 26, 1908, when I presented those enormous petitions:

"I have here seven great rolls of petitions, each 500 feet long, from soldiers who fought the battles of the war. These petitions were prepared by the old soldiers themselves in their humble homes. Some have 20 names, some have 30, some have 40, and some have 100. There are only a few of these old stalwarts left in any locality. I have strung these local petitions together, and I will ask my friends to assist me in unrolling only one of them. You can see they are all headed differently and all prepared at home. Many of them are on cheap paper, written by trembling hands, in pencil. No two are alike. This, you see, is only one of seven of these great petitions. It has been unrolled and stretches up the aisle here to the back of this hall, around the railing, and back down another aisle. On both sides of this petition are the names of the old veterans of the war who fought the fiercest battles the world ever saw in the greatest war of all history. This petition and seven others like it bear the names of the men who enlisted under the call of Abraham Lincoln, whom we heard lauded to-day by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Dalzell]. These are the heroes who made Abraham Lincoln great and who unified this Nation.

"At this point of my address Congressman ASHBROOK, of Ohio, arose and said:

"I call attention to the fact that all but seven Members on the Republican side have left the Hall.

"I did not then and do not now feel that any Republican left the floor of the House because of any remarks I was making or of any disrespect to me, but because the subject of increased pensions to veterans did not appeal to his economic sense.

"24. The act of March 4, 1913, providing for automatic increase of pension under the act of May 11, 1912, on account of age and service, without further application on the part of the pensioner. This act was of very great service to soldiers.

"25. The act of September 8, 1916 (sec. 1), providing increase of pension for a widow who was the lawful wife of an officer or enlisted man during the period of his service in the Civil War, to $20 per month, and increasing to the same rate the pension of widows of veterans of the Civil War, the Mexican War, and the War of 1812, upon their attaining the age of 70 years.

"Section 2 of the same act provides restoration to the pension roll under certain conditions of widows dropped therefrom by reason of remarriage; also establishing title to original pension of certain other 'remarried widows.'

"Section 3 of the same act extends provisions of the act of April 19, 1908, to the widows of Civil War veterans who married the soldier or sailor prior to June 27, 1905.

"Records indicate that approximately 200,000 widows have benefited by the provisions of the act of September 8, 1916.

"Act of April 27, 1916, medal-of-honor law, introduced and piloted through the House by Congressman SHERWOOD, giving an additional pension of $10 per month to soldiers who have been awarded a medal of honor for having in action involving actual conflict with an enemy distinguished himself conspicuously by gallantry or intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty.

"26. The act of March 4, 1917, providing pension of $20 per month, under certain conditions, to the survivors of certain Indian wars, and $12 per month to their widows.

"27. The act of October 6, 1917 (sec. 314), increasing to $25 per month the rate of pension of widows of officers or enlisted men who served in the Civil War, the War with Spain, or the Philippine insurrection, which placed on the roll at $25 per month approximately 284,000 widows.

"28. The act of June 10, 1918, providing a rate of pension ranging from a minimum of $30 to a maximum of $40 per month, depending on age and length of service; an amendment to the Sherwood dollar-a-day law of May 11, 1912.

"29. The act of July 16, 1918, provides a pension at the rate of $12 per month to widows (with $2 per month additional for each child under 16 years of age) of certain veterans of the War with Spain, the Philippine insurrection, or the Chinese Boxer rebellion campaign, who married the soldier or sailor prior to the passage of the act and whose net annual income, exclusive of their own manual labor, does not exceed $250 per year; and in case of death or remarriage of the widow extending the same benefit to children under 16 years of age."

I will not omit to credit the Republican majority for enacting the Fuller pension bill of May 1, 1920, a measure of appealing justice to the surviving veterans of the Civil War. It is not a measure to increase pensions but to equalize the pensions under previously existing law, and is so expressed in the title. The purchasing price of the circulating dollar, as measured by property and commodities, is now about 40 cents. Our normal money circulation is $19.50 per capita; it is now over $52 per capita. As money measures value, this enormous inflation is bound to jump prices in about equal proportion. This is inevitable. Hence the increase of a soldier's pension from $30 per month to $50 per month does not fully restore his financial aid to normal conditions, but it is as just and generous as the overburdened taxpayers can stand at this time.

I am presenting this record history to prove that patriotism is a common quality in our beloved America and that no party can claim a monopoly of that most sterling and vital element of American manhood—practical patriotism.

The Fuller bill, which was unanimously reported by the Committee on Invalid Pensions of the House of Representatives, typifies my idea of practical patriotism. It gives to the fast-fading remnant of the gallant men who stood behind the guns a small token of our sense of gratitude to cheer their worn-out, weary lives.

McFadden Personal Rural-Credit Bill is Both Sound and Practical.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD E. RANDALL,

OF WISCONSIN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 25, 1920.

Mr. RANDALL of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the personal rural-credit bill (H. R. 12678) introduced by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MCFADDEN] is both sound and practical, but so broad in its scope that one must limit his discussion to particular features of it. Therefore I shall confine my remarks to the general insurance feature, or, to be still more accurate, to certain phases of the insurance feature. I shall preface my discussion with the statement of the following propositions:

REASONS FOR FEDERAL GENERAL INSURANCE CHARTER OF M'FADDEN BILL.

Because general insurance is a necessary prerequisite to sound personal rural credit, especially so for farmers who have accumulated no property to pledge for loans obtained on the community guaranty.

Because if the league obtained a charter from a State it would be prohibited from doing business in some States, while other States would impose burdensome taxes on it.

Because it is optional with the rural-credit society to patronize the insurance league, thus forcing the league to furnish the maximum insurance service to the society at a minimum cost to get its business.

Because the fact that a big life insurance company was investing $7,200,000 of its wealth in the rural-credit paper and became a guarantor of each piece of that rural-credit paper, and selected the auditors of the rural-credit society, would do more to inspire public confidence in that paper than anything imaginable.

Because the life insurance company would furnish the capital for the branches of the rural-credit society at a lower dividend rate than any other financial institution.

Because the life insurance companies would be the most important market for rural-credit paper, and it should behoove the rural-credit society to do all within its power to acquaint those companies with the fact that its paper is sound and a fit investment for their trust funds, and the best means to that end

is to permit the insurance league to choose its auditors. The society's directors who would reside in the several States, should and would welcome accurate information as to its management so as to apply the necessary corrective in case of abuses, as each of them is a guarantor of the credit of his community association.

Because some of the big life insurance companies are creating surplus capital at a greater rate than any other financial institutions in the country, and are, therefore, in a position to aid the rural-credit society by furnishing funds to loan to farmers.

Because the agents of the league would become the most useful factors in organizing the farmers into community associations, as they are trained in presenting financial problems.

Because the league must serve the farmers well and faithfully or else lose their insurance business, and Congress would refuse to extend its charter at the end of the first term.

Because the general insurance league would do more to reform the insurance business in this country than anything imaginable.

DISCUSSION OF FOREGOING PROPOSITIONS.

I shall not attempt to discuss the foregoing propositions in the order stated. Any system of personal rural credit, credit based on personal security, to be practical, should harmonize with the financial institutions and conform to the customs of the investing classes of the country in which it is to operate. In this respect the McFadden bill meets every requirement, and this is especially true of the insurance feature, as I shall proceed to show.

This bill purposes to create two Federal charters, one for a rural credit society and the other for a general insurance league, and it designates three commissioners to negotiate with a life insurance company possessing at least $400,000,000 assets, for the purpose of inducing it to surrender its State charter and accept and operate under the Federal general insurance charter. The latter charter, in addition to granting broad powers to do a general insurance business, imposes certain obligations on it toward the rural credit society, namely, it requires an investment of $7,200,000 of its assets in the rural credit system and provides that it shall choose the auditor and deputy auditors of the rural credit society.

Life insurance is distinctively an American institution, for even before the World War our people were buying yearly twice as much life insurance as the balance of the world, and it is estimated that we bought five or six times as much as the balance of the world in 1919. In financial stability no other corporation compares with that of a life insurance company, its status depending on the stable law of mortality. To illustrate, compare it with a bank. The obligations of a bank are payable principally on demand, and to destroy confidence in it means its financial ruin; whereas the insurance obligations of a life insurance company are deferred for years in the future and are payable upon the happening of a contingency—the death of its members—which operates with a uniformity approaching the fixed law of gravity, and to destroy public confidence in it means to strengthen it financially. This was demonstrated by the 1905 life insurance exposures, all of which companies are now paying larger dividends to policyholders than they did previous to such exposures, due in part to the loss of surplus of those who lapsed their policies.

Furthermore, a life insurance company accumulates surplus capital to an extent greater than any other class of corporations. For instance, in 1917 the difference between the income and disbursements of one of our companies was $93,979,874, all of which could safely have been invested in the paper of the proposed rural credit society. The fact that such a company was backing the rural credit society with $7,200,000 of its wealth, coupled with the further fact that it selected its auditors and thereby gained accurate information of its affairs, would do more to inspire confidence in the credit society than anything imaginable. There are times in the history of every credit institution, no matter how sound, in which they require an extension of time. If that capital were raised in driblets here and there, from Tom, Dick, and Harry of small means, that would amount to no more than their investments, but contributed by such a corporation, with accurate information, it would mean the multiplication of such security capital manyfold, and thereby give added strength to the rural credit society and at the same time work an economy in the capital requirement. No one has to be a financial expert to appreciate the force of this argument. All that is required is the application of a little common sense. I therefore unreservedly commend this insurance feature.

General insurance is absolutely essential to sound personal rural credit. It is the salvation of the poor man who has no property for loans obtained on the community guaranty. General insurance is not in vogue in the United States, simply because the laws of some of the States prohibit it, but it is a common thing in Europe. Many of the British insurance companies operate under general charters, some of which have been in operation for more than two centuries. I have had compiled from the 1918 Life Insurance Year Book a list of a few of the old British insurance companies, showing the different classes of insurance actually done by them. This list is incorporated in my remarks as Appendix I.

The bill does not force the rural credit society to patronize the insurance league. That is as it should be, for that will force the insurance league to furnish the rural credit society the maximum of insurance service at a minimum cost. In a few States we have some efficient mutual fire insurance companies, and it stands to reason that the rural credit society would patronize them unless the league furnished a superior service at a less cost. But such States are in a minority, and the mutual companies operating in each of them could not operate in other States without the consent of the officials of such other States. Some States would impose taxes which would be extremely burdensome. To illustrate this, I had the tax laws compiled from one of the strictly agricultural States, one which has not a single mutual fire insurance company. I refer to that as Appendix II. The license fees which the secretaries of the community associations of the rural credit society would have to pay would in some instances exceed the premiums received by them. Those local secretaries or scribes would not be general insurance agents but would merely act as agents to serve the members of the rural credit society. It is therefore preposterous to suppose that the Government would donate $25,000,000 capital and the franking privilege to the rural credit society and have some of the States impose such burdensome and confiscatory taxes on an instrumentality necessary to the success of the system. The only way to meet that situation is for Congress to create a general insurance league which may serve the rural credit society when called upon so to do by its board of directors.

HOW INSURANCE LEAGUE WOULD REFORM THE INSURANCE BUSINESS.

I will now discuss the insurance reforms which this general insurance charter would effect. Here again I must limit my discussion to a particular feature, namely, the system of self-inspection provided by that Federal general insurance charter. This system of self-inspection by public certified accountants has been thoroughly tried in Europe for many generations, and is far superior to our system of Government inspection of financial institutions. This is the system by which all the banks and insurance companies of England and France are inspected, and with them there does not occur such abuses in the management of trust funds as so frequently occur with us. This system of self-inspection is employed in inspecting the rural credit systems of most European countries. In proof of this let me quote from the excellent address of Wollemborg, the founder of the Italian personal rural credit system, to the rural credit commission we sent abroad in 1913. He said:

> But when the loans are strictly limited to people residing in the same locality all become vigilant and act as inspectors for their own protection. And you will find that inspection thus exercised by the members themselves is far superior to any Government inspection, since each man has rendered himself personally liable and is acting as inspector in his own behalf. As one of the farmers once said to me, "We are 100, all acting as spies on the others to see that nobody does anything wrong" (p. 26, S. Doc. 214, 2d sess., 63d Cong.).

Those were not the words of a rural credit theorist, but the greatest living authority on the subject, the man who actually founded the system in Italy 39 years ago, and has devoted his whole life to giving the Italian farmers the benefits of cooperative credit. We can not afford to ignore the advice of such experienced and practical patriots and thinkers as he has proven himself to be.

SUPERIORITY OF SELF-INSPECTION OVER GOVERNMENT INSPECTION EXPLAINED.

At the present time each of the 48 States and the District of Columbia has a separate system of Government inspection of the insurance companies operating in their respective territories. Those systems differ little in principle from each other, and as the legislatures of the States are responsible for the State inspection systems, I shall confine myself to the system provided for the District of Columbia, as Congress alone is responsible for it. There are 289 insurance companies and associations operating in the District of Columbia, with assets aggregating $7,721,083,376, which the insurance department of this district is supposed to report upon as to soundness and to advise the dear people that they are entitled to patronage. The annual appropriation for this insurance department is $13,000. If that appropriation were one hundred times what it is, that department could accomplish little more than it is now accomplishing

under the system it is operating under, as I shall proceed to show.

In the first place, the average insurance commissioner is a novice in accountancy when selected to that office, and his selection is due more to the political pull he exercises on the appointive power than for a knowledge of accountancy. In the second place, there is no way by which an insurance commissioner can be promoted in that particular line of work. That is, when he becomes insurance commissioner he reaches the top of inspection work in his State. The desire to rise burns in the breast of every ambitious man, and that is a laudable desire, and if properly directed should be encouraged. But the average insurance commissioner is no sooner inducted into office than he begins looking about to see how he can advance himself, either in the political field or land some lucrative office with some insurance company he has been employed to inspect. The whole history of Government inspection of insurance demonstrates that that department is a kindergarten for political wirepullers and insurance officials.

Most of the shameful life-insurance scandals in the past have resulted from exposures from the inside, fights among officials over a division of the spoils. In 1891 it was Banta, the cashier of the New York Life, who exposed the Beers administration of that company to the New York Times, thus bringing about a legislative investigation. In 1905 it was Hyde and Alexander, high officials of the Equitable, who fell out and washed their dirty linen in public, which brought forth the Armstrong investigating committee, which employed Judge Charles E. Hughes as counsel. The mismanagements disclosed by those two investigations existed for years without a word of complaint from any of the many insurance departments. Some people may labor under the delusion that the laws enacted as a result of the Armstrong investigation have righted everything. But they should remember that only three years ago the Pittsburgh Life & Trust was exposed and its officials have been sent to the penitentiary for robbing it, and the investigation showed it to have been insolvent for five years before the exposure. Yet all that time it was operating in the District of Columbia and 21 of the most important insurance States of the Union, and those 22 insurance departments were each year issuing to it a clean bill of health or permit to do business in their respective territories. Why, it was only last year that the general agents of one of the big mutual companies went to the home office at the annual election and turned out the old president because his son was too free in the sale of securities to the company. Those general agents did not propose to have their business ruined by giving publicity to that fact. So they took time by the forelock and deposed the old president. These things do not prove that the new laws have worked marvels in the management of insurance companies. But the law is not self-enforceable, and we must devise a plan by which the officials at the home office will observe the law, and that is what the self-inspection system of the Federal general insurance league charter of the McFadden bill is designed to do, as anyone will observe from a careful study of that plan.

SELF-INSPECTION PLAN OF THE M'FADDEN BILL.

The McFadden bill provides for the election annually of three public certified accountants by responsible policyholders who have no voice in the management of the league. They must have been public accountants for five years before their election. They hold office for one year each and are ineligible for reelection. Their salaries are $12,000 a year each and traveling expenses while attending to their duties. No two can be residents of the same State. The charter defines their authority and duties in the following words:

PAR. 7. (Authority of censors.) The censors shall have power and authority to supervise all elections, call confidence elections, audit the accounts, verify the statements, and inspect the books, papers, and transactions, and properties of the league, become the custodians of one of the keys to the securities vault, and approve each by-law, contract, and agreement in which a director, trustee, or officer making the same is to acquire a direct personal interest.

The proper place to inspect a life insurance company is at the home office by an expert possessing the power and authority to visit all board meetings. The scandals in the management of the life insurance companies result from the officers speculating with the securities of their companies. For instance, when George W. Perkins became a partner of the promoting firm of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co., we find him, as chairman of the finance committee of the New York Life, investing its insurance companies' funds in the trust certificates of the following holding companies:

Atlantic Coast Line Co	$5,000,000
Northern Securities Co	12,500,000
International Navigation Co	3,200,000
	20,700,000

The Northern Securities Co. was organized in 1901 to consolidate the control of the Northern Pacific, Great Northern, and Chicago, Burlington & Quincy railroad companies in the hands of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co., and the fact that the New York Life was carrying such securities on its books appeared in its reports to all the insurance departments for the years of 1902, 1903, 1904, and 1905 without a criticism from any of the insurance departments until the Armstrong investigating committee exposed the same in the fall of 1905. It was in August, 1902, that J. P. Morgan & Co. bought the control of the Louisville & Nashville Co. from John W. Gates, which was paid for by organizing a holding company under the laws of Connecticut, the Atlantic Coast Line Co., and issuing the holding company's trust certificates and selling them to the New York Life. The fact that that company was carrying such securities appeared in the company's 1903, 1904, and 1905 reports to all the insurance departments, without a word of protest or criticism from one of those departments until the Armstrong committee exposed it. The Atlantic Coast Line holding company was given that name so as to deceive the public by having it believe its securities were those of the railroad of the same name, but one would suppose that some one of the 49 insurance departments would have discovered the deception. The silence on the part of the insurance commissioners respecting such shady deals as those mentioned shows the necessity of that provision in the McFadden bill for the inspection of the general insurance league by expert professional censors, by men who realize the purport of such deals and who have professional reputations to be blasted by remaining silent on such occasions.

Mankind was made selfish for a purpose, for his self-preservation. It is perfectly natural for one lawyer to go into court and riddle the pleadings of his professional rival, for by doing so he not only wins his fee but he enhances his own professional reputation, and indirectly injures the professional reputation of his rival, and the lawyer who meets with many defeats loses his clientele, the influence of those who sustain him. The same thing is true respecting the professional expert accountant. Those provisions in the bill which require that a censor shall serve but a year and be ineligible for reelection is to give full scope to that trait in human nature which means so much for the preservation of civilization, for each will know that in four months a professional rival is to come in office, and that it will be to the advancement of that rival's professional reputation for him to expose wrongdoing which others in the same profession failed to expose. It is by the use of professional censors, self-selected, that the British insurance companies are so free from such scandals as disgrace us periodically. It is by the constant criticisms of those institutions by professional experts who are selfishly interested in giving publicity to the errors they discover that they are free from public scandal, and therefore enjoy such freedom in the exercise of the powers given them by the British Parliament. A high official of one of the British insurance companies said to an American in 1905, during the Armstrong investigation:

I can not for the life of me understand how you great money-making Americans have the confidence you do in your life insurance management. Your companies are never criticized until some scandal is unearthed, which upsets the business of the whole world. We are criticized every year, as it is impossible for us to go a year without making a mistake; and it is to the selfish interest of the public certified accountants who inspect us to give publicity to our errors, for fear of being exposed themselves the following year by other public certified accountants who inspect us. And we are bound to publish their criticisms, as the advertisement we thus give them is a part of the consideration for which they serve us. Our Government does not spend a penny to inspect us, and in order to inspire the confidence of the public whose business we seek we must employ these public certified accountants who enjoy high reputations in public estimation.

The American in question asked the British insurance official if he would let him see some of the reports of those censors, and the official turned to his secretary and ordered him to get the last 10 annual reports. The American said he read those reports with considerable interest, and while each contained a criticism, but one amounted to anything. That one raised the question of ultra vires—that is, it raised the question of the company's corporate right to do a certain thing it had done. But he said there was not a thing contained in any of those 10 annual reports of the censors which smacks of corruption or wrongdoing. No one can answer the criticism of that British insurance official of our paternalistic insurance-inspection system.

The press at the present time is full of the "Nicky" Arnstein scandal, wherein he is supposed to have gotten possession of $5,000,000 of Liberty bonds. That shows the carelessness of the big New York corporations in the handling of their securities. That could not have happened under the safeguards of the McFadden bill, which provides that the censors shall become the

custodians of one of the keys to the securities vault. Those censors will see to it that the securities leave the vault for a proper purpose and in proper custody, as they would have to answer for any loss of the same if such loss resulted from improper safeguards. There are many other excellent safeguards provided in this Federal insurance charter, but the one I have discussed will do more to reform the insurance business in this country than all the laws on our statute books at the present time. Let Congress do its duty in providing proper safeguards for this one company, and public sentiment will force all the companies to make better safeguards for the protection of their trust funds. Such shady deals as I have mentioned will be things of the past.

APPENDIX I.

Statement compiled from 1918 Life Insurance Yearbook showing different classes of insurance actually being done by a few of the old British insurance companies.

NAME OF COMPANY, DATE OF ORGANIZATION, AND CLASSES OF INSURANCE ACTUALLY TRANSACTED.

Alliance, London, 1824: Life, fire, marine, accident, burglary, fidelity and guaranty, and leasehold.
British Equitable, 1854: Life, fire, accident, burglary, and liability.
Commercial Union, 1861: Fire, life, marine, and accident.
Liverpool & London & Globe, 1836: Fire, life, accident, annuity, burglary, etc.
North British & Mercantile, 1809: Fire, life, annuity, burglary, etc.
Northern, London, 1836: Fire, life, accident, burglary, employers' liability, fidelity, plate glass.
Royal Exchange, 1720: Fire, life, marine, annuity, accident, employers' liability, executors, and trustees.
Royal, Liverpool, 1845: Life, fire, accident, plate glass.
Union, London, 1714: Fire, accident, fidelity, burglary, W. C., plate glass.
Yorkshire, York, 1824: Fire, life, accident, employers' liability, burglary, fidelity, live stock, plate glass.

APPENDIX II.

Taxes imposed on life insurance companies by one of the strictly agricultural States. The same taxes are imposed on other classes of insurance companies, and as the rural credit society would need about six classes of insurance, the following should be multiplied by 6 to ascertain the taxes imposed on the scribes of the rural credit society who act as insurance agents for their members.

Fee for local agent, $2; general or special agent, $3; incorporated agencies in cities over 3,000, $100; in towns of less than 3,000, $50; each agent in city of 2,000 or over, $30; each county, $10, provided that payment to three counties authorizes agent to do business throughout the State, if he pays municipal tax at residence or where he first solicits; for filing preliminary statement, $20; filing annual statement, $10; copy of annual statement and certificate, $5; for publication of annual statement (to be paid to publisher), $9; for each certificate of examination or qualification, $2; for each seal, $1; for service of process, $2; for examination, $25 per day and expenses; not less than 1½ per cent of the gross premiums in the State.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANTHONY J. GRIFFIN,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 19, 1920.

On the conference report upon the bill H. R. 12775, the Army reorganization bill, Mr. KAHN moved that the managers on the part of the House be instructed to agree in conference in substance to certain provisions as amendments to the Senate amendment, embracing sections 59 to 69 of the Senate amendment, both inclusive, providing, among other things, for the optional adoption by the States of a plan for the reorganization of the National Guard under the Army clause of the Constitution.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, much as I would like to align myself with my colleagues from the State of New York upon this proposition, I do not feel that I can conscientiously support the committee's substitute. For that matter, I am not in sympathy with many features of this bill. Under the guise of reorganization of the Army, it contains many departures from our national policy which I believe to be destructive of American traditions. The House bill was bad enough, but the Senate substitute has accentuated, if anything, its most vicious features. The unfortunate thing about the whole matter is that we, the majority of this body, are practically helpless and unable to pass upon any matters except those which our Committee on Military Affairs sees fit to present for our consideration. Notwithstanding that the House bill, consisting of about 70 pages, has been utterly wiped out and a new bill written, consisting of 165 pages, containing many new features which the House has never considered or passed upon, we are obliged to be content, under the rules governing this body, with the compromises and negotiations in conference of our four managers. This is clearly a gross abuse of legislative rules which cries aloud for reformation. The managers on the part of the House have undertaken to speak for us and have apparently assented to the wholesale amendments of the Senate and now deign to consult us only upon one phase of the measure. They have usurped the authority to legislate. New matter is contained in this bill of the gravest import to the entire country, and yet there is no suggestion that the House ought to be consulted or called upon to advise.

COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE.

For instance, on page 155 of the bill, section 69, we find a provision to the effect that "whenever Congress shall declare and the President shall proclaim that a national emergency exists," not only the National Guard and the organized Reserves of the Army of the United States shall be subject to call for immediate active military service, but "all other male citizens of the United States between the ages of 18 and 45, both inclusive," shall be subject to call for immediate military or naval service, as may be provided by regulation. The object of this, of course, is to forestall argument as to the draft age and practically put a permanent draft law upon our statute books.

WHAT WE ARE PERMITTED TO CONSIDER.

We are asked in the motion by the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] to assent to the proposal of the Senate to Federalize the National Guard and the pill is sugar-coated with the suggestion that the matter of Federalization of the guard be made optional with the respective States. This, in my opinion, does not lessen the objectionableness of the innovation. It has been well argued here that to leave the matter optional with the States would be followed by disorder, leading to confusion, jealousy, and discrimination. The States which accepted the Federalization plan would be the favored children of the War Department, while those which hung back and resisted Federalization would be handicapped and discriminated against.

If Federalization of the National Guard is good, it ought to be adopted. If it is essentially bad, as I hope to show it is, it ought to be rejected. It is no mitigation of a thing inherently bad to allow freedom of will to embrace or reject it. I contend that the temptation should not be offered.

WHAT IS FEDERALIZATION?

Let us inquire as to the meaning of Federalization of the National Guard. As tersely expressed by its sponsors, it means the reorganization of the militia of the various States under the so-called Army clause of the Constitution. Now, what is the Army clause of the Constitution? It is to be found in Article I, section 8, subdivision 12, and provides as follows:

The Congress of the United States shall have power to raise and support armies, etc.

This is the clause under which they want to reorganize the militia. In other words, we are asked to ignore that provision of the Constitution—Article I, section 8, subdivision 16—which provides specifically as follows:

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

To the gentlemen who are so anxious to enlarge the Army and to extend the authority of the Regular Establishment over the man power of the Nation, this modest clause, intended by the founders of our Government as a check and restraint upon militarism, presents a serious stumbling block to their ambition. Defeated in their efforts to enlarge the Regular Army Establishment beyond all reasonable limitations, they have cudgeled their brains and enlisted the highest legal talent in the country to evade the specific terms of the Constitution and devise a plan which will enable them to get the militia of the country under their heel. Their proposal to organize the militia of the country under the Army clause of the Constitution is a clear violation and evasion of its spirit and of the intent of its founders. To my mind it is nothing more than an indirect enlargement of the Regular Army and foreshadows the death of the militia or National Guard system. Some of the proponents of this bill chuckle with delight at the prospect and slyly hint that that denouement would be no great loss. If they were frank enough to say this outright, we would find no fault with their efforts, but they hypocritically pretend to be solicitous for the preservation of the militia system and claim to believe that a Federalized National Guard or a State National Guard may be made optional, interchangeable, and mutually harmonious.

It would be bathos to attempt to deplore the passing of the old militia system with its fuss and feathers, its gold lace, its chesty personnel of arrogant pinheads with their meticulous inspections and habitual magnification of guard mount, dress

parade, and scrupulous and exacting alignments; but I would be more convinced of the sincerity of the reformation if some of those who have been conspicuous in the past as glittering examples of these defects were not so insistent for the new order. The faults of the militia system in the past have been the faults of men and methods and not of the system itself. Yet there are some men so sensitive that they are ashamed of the term "militia," forgetting that it is one of the most honorable titles evolved out of our history. To ignore that title we must first forget the men "who fired the shot heard 'round the world" and the memory of Lexington and Concord, Ticonderoga, Saratoga, and Yorktown must fade out of mind.

The founders of our Republic in framing the militia clause of the Constitution established a mechanism which is admirably adapted to meet every possible change in our national requirements. The best proof of that, in my opinion, is the national defense act, and we can not do better than to mold all necessary changes in our law upon the model which was then set.

In the memorandum accompanying the Senate amendment, printed on page 7263 of the RECORD of yesterday, we find this frank and somewhat brazen initial statement:

> The object of the National Guard provisions in the Senate bill is to make the National Guard a part of the Army of the United States.

What more need be said? If there are any here who like that sort of thing, why, then, that is the sort of thing they ought to have, but I venture to say the vast body of the citizenship of this country will look upon such a proposition as a dangerous innovation aiming directly at the heart of democratic government. A perusal of the document that I have just mentioned will furnish genuine amusement to and provoke astonishment in the mind of anyone familiar with American history. For instance, the writer says that in its present constitutional status the National Guard can be used only to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrections, and to repel invasions. "It can not," he says, "be used for general military purposes, and therefore can not be included as such in general plans for the national defense." It seems to me it was used very effectively in the Spanish-American War and the Philippine insurrection, and no one who is not a deadly enemy of the National Guard system would dare avow that it did not make good in the recent World War.

Next, our anonymous friend from unknown seclusion, to defend this new proposal, says that the National Guard "can not be given the uniform training required in an efficient national military force, because under the Constitution the authority to train it is expressly reserved to the several States." But I say to him that that very clause of the Constitution provides that the training of the militia must be "according to the discipline prescribed by Congress." Therefore all that we need do is to prescribe the training and the National Guard organizations of the various States must comply with our directions.

It would be futile to go through the list of misstatements in this so-called defense of the Federalization plan. It is so full of errors that the puncturing of this final misstatement ought to suffice to show the flimsy foundation upon which this proposed change in our military traditions is founded. He states that the National Guard "can not be used for general military purposes as such, but must be reorganized in a new constitutional status before it can be employed as a war force." If this objection amounted to anything, it would truly be alarming. But the only obstacle seems to be in the big words used. The new constitutional status is so little different from the old that not even a new oath is required. It simply means the issuance of a proclamation by the President to the effect that the National Guards of the respective States are hereby called forth to execute the laws of the Union.

The Regular Army Establishment who are so set on this innovation flatter the vanity of the National Guardsmen by pretending to highly value the military capacity of the National Guard. Well, hardly. They are not so much attached to the National Guard as they are to get hold of the masses of men in the National Guard which this proposal will put at their command with its inevitable and pleasing prospect of promotion, power, and aggrandizement.

The friends of this measure urge that if Federalization is adopted it will put an end to the invidious discrimination against the National Guard officers which was exhibited by the Regular Establishment in the World War. Perhaps it will and perhaps it will not; but one thing is certain, and that is that there will be very few National Guard officers who will ever rise to positions of high command. It will be all right for those who are already in and have their rank; but for the young, struggling subaltern with high ambitions, I can only predict for him a most dismal and unprofitable future.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MASON,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 25, 1920.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the President sent a message asking the Congress to give him the power to accept and enforce a mandate in the new Republic of Armenia. I am opposed to this most extraordinary granting of war power to the President. While I would favor a recognition of the new Republic, if he would follow the policy of this Government from the days of Washington to Roosevelt—if we could have recognition without intervention. This, however, is a plain request to give him the power to accept the mandate to establish the boundaries, when, we are informed, there is a state of war existing between Russia and Armenia on one side and Turkey and Armenia on the other side of the country. For years we have heard the Macedonian cry, and every lover of civil and religious liberty has been hoping for the day of peace in Armenia. The natural feeling of every American is to help the down-trodden people who are seeking self-government, but as the policy has been to recognize without war and as the proposition now made by the President of the United States involves us in war in the very beginning, it is most important that the law-making power should know the probable cost in life and treasure if we undertook placing into the hands of the Executive this power to commit acts of war against nations with which we are now at peace.

I have therefore introduced and sent to the Committee on Foreign Affairs the following resolution:

> Whereas the President of the United States is asking for power to assume a mandate in Armenia; and
> Whereas the Congress of the United States has no official information as to the cost in American life and American Treasury; and
> Whereas it is most important that the Congress should know before adding to the burden of the over-taxed people: Therefore be it.
>
> *Resolved*, That the President of the United States be requested, if it be not inconsistant with public good, to state through the Departments of War, Navy, and Treasury—
>
> First. What boundaries are in dispute between the Russian Government and the Armenian Government.
>
> Second. What boundaries are in dispute between Armenia and Turkey.
>
> Third. How many officers and men will it take to negotiate the process of mandate.
>
> Fourth. How are such military forces to be divided as among infantry, artillery, and cavalry.
>
> Fifth. What means of transportation are at hand for conveying our troops to Armenia, what will be the expense of transportation, and whether or not the President has an agreement with the other nations of the world that lie between the United States and Armenia as to transportation of our troops through any such country.
>
> Sixth. What is the estimate of the number of men necessary in case he enters into war with Turkey.
>
> Seventh. What is the estimate of the number of men required if he enters into war with Russia.
>
> Eighth. What is the estimate number of officers and men in case the United States becomes involved in war with both Russia and Turkey.
>
> Ninth. Is it intended that the American Navy shall take part in sustaining our mandate over Armenia.
>
> Tenth. If so where is the nearest point that our Navy can reach the territory of Armenia and how many of the American warships will be necessary, in the opinion of the Executive, to use in this mandate, and how many seamen and marines, in the opinion of the President, will be necessary to accomplish the mandate.
>
> Eleventh. Does the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy intend to use the American soldiers for laborers as he did in northern Russia and Siberia, or does he intend to use them as policemen, guard the street corners, as he is now doing in Germany.
>
> Twelfth. If it be not inconsistent with public good, to let the Congress know if he has made an endeavor to exchange mandates with Great Britain to the end that the United States could have a mandate for oil fields of Persia and allow Great Britain the honor to the mandate in Armenia.
>
> Thirteenth. Also, the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy is to state whether he intends to take the soldiers and marines now in the regular service or call for volunteers, or whether he intends to exercise his right of conscription to the end that the American youth may be conscripted under emergencies which are likely to be, in the forceful establishment of the American mandate in Armenia.
>
> Fourteenth. What arrangements, if any has been made, for the return of our soldier dead who may lose their lives in Armenia.
>
> Fifteenth. Also please state whether, if granted power by Congress to establish a mandate for Armenia, he will in his civil and military action be governed by the so-called covenant for a League of Nations, which he agreed to, and which has been rejected by the Senate of the United States, or will he be governed by the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, some questions that I have asked in this resolution may seem frivolous, but I am asking them in good faith, for in my opinion this attempt of the President is a departure from the time-honored policy of our Government as one of the

most astounding and dangerous things ever attempted. To show that it is an absolute overturning of American policy let us repeat some of the statements of Presidents of the United States who have preceded President Wilson.

I insert the messages of our Presidents, beginning with Washington and ending with McKinley and Roosevelt, showing the fixed policy of our Government to keep out of European entanglements. I beg leave to quote first from John Adams's diary in 1782:

It is obvious that all the powers of Europe will be continually maneuvering with us to work us into their imaginary balances of power. They will all wish to make us a make-weight candle when they are weighing out their pounds. Indeed, it is not surprising, for we shall very often, if not always, be able to turn the scale. But I think it ought to be our rule not to meddle, and that of all the powers of Europe not to desire us, or perhaps even to permit us, to interfere if they can help us. The public negotiations and secret intrigues of the English and the French have been employed for centuries in every court and country of Europe. Look back to the history of Spain, Holland, Germany, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Italy, and Turkey for the last hundred years. How many revolutions have been caused? How many emperors and kings have fallen victims to the alternate triumphs of parties excited by Englishmen or Frenchmen? And can we expect to escape the vigilant attention of politicians so experienced, so keen sighted, and so rich? If we convince them that our attachment to neutrality is unchangeable, they will let us alone, but as long as a hope remains in either power of seducing us to engage in war on his side and against his enemy we shall be torn and convinced by his maneuvers.

I also quote from Washington's Farewell Address, 1796:

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Just a few words from Mr. Jefferson to the President in 1823:

I have ever deemed it fundamental for the United States never to take an active part in the quarrels of Europe. Their political interests are entirely distinct from ours. Their mutual jealousies, their balance of power, their complicated alliances, their forms and principles of government are all foreign to us. They are nations of eternal war. All their energies are expended in the destruction of the labor, property, and lives of their people. On our part never had a people so favorable a chance of trying the opposite system of peace and fraternity with mankind and the direction of all our means and faculties to the purposes of improvement instead of destruction.

One word from Mr. Madison to Mr. Monroe in 1823:

A participation in (a congress proposed by Mr. Canning for the settlement of the difficulties between Spain and her colonies) would not be likely to make converts to our principles, whilst our admission under the wing of England would take from our consequence what it would add to hers. Such an invitation, nevertheless, will be a mark of respect not without a value, and this will be more enhanced by a polite refusal than by an acceptance, not to mention that an acceptance would be a step leading us into a wildness of politics and a den of conspirators.

And a few words from President Monroe in 1824:

Separated as we are from Europe by the great Atlantic Ocean, we can have no concern in the wars of the European Governments, nor in the causes which produce them.

President John Quincy Adams, in 1826, said:

Compare our situation and the circumstances of that time (that of Washington's Farewell Address) with those of the present day, and what from the very words of Washington then would be his counsels to his countrymen now? Europe has still her set of primary interests, with which we have little or a remote relation. Our distant and detached situation with reference to Europe remains the same.

Mr. Van Buren, Secretary of State, to Mr. Moore, minister to Colombia in 1829:

It is the ancient and well-settled policy of this Government not to interfere with the internal concerns of any foreign country.

A word from Daniel Webster, Secretary of State in 1842:

And the perfecting of this system of communication among nations requires the strictest application of the doctrine of nonintervention.

President Fillmore claimed that in this doctrine of "neutrality and nonintervention the United States have not followed the lead of other civilized nations, but that they have taken the lead themselves and have been followed by others."

I refer you also to Secretary of State Cass, who in 1859 declined to interfere in Mexico, although he sympathized with the constitutional party.

I will not quote further, but recommend to the student of this well-established policy of noninterference Moore's Digest of International Law, volume 6, which includes opinions of many of the Secretaries of State and many of the Presidents, including messages from McKinley and Roosevelt. Just one sentence from President Roosevelt's message in 1904:

Ordinarily it is very much wiser and more useful for us to concern ourselves with striving for our own moral and material betterment here at home than to concern ourselves with trying to better the conditions of things in other nations.

Mr. Speaker, I repeat it is no pleasant task to disagree with and criticize our President. It is almost childish for our Democratic friends to cry that we are glad the President is so sick. It is silly to make an appeal that he is above criticism because of his condition. Every human being is sorry for every other of his kind who is sick. Shall we therefore permit the man who in health betrayed us to submit to further betrayal because he is sick? Is he to be allowed to run a war in Armenia with our consent, as he did in Siberia without our consent? Are we to send our sons to die to assist Great Britain steal the oil wells across the line while we keep the owners from defending their own?

Are we to abandon the ancient and honored policy suggested by Madison to Monroe in 1823 to keep out of the "den of conspirators"? Are we to permit a sick man to play a game involving the lives of our sons when he failed in that game when he was well?

Are we to ratify a covenant in part which has been repudiated by our country? This move of the President is to play upon the feelings of our Christian liberty-loving people, a hypocritical attempt to bewilder the people, to sacrifice our children on bloody fields to gratify the whims of a man who never had and has not now any ideal he would not sacrifice for his own political ambition.

Mr. Speaker, I shall oppose this or any other measure that gives any additional power to Woodrow Wilson. I shall go back to my constituents in Illinois and answer to them that I preferred the advice of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Van Buren, Grover Cleveland, McKinley, and Roosevelt rather than that of Woodrow Wilson. If I have erred, it will not be because I have been unfaithful to the teaching of the fathers.

America Must Increase Her Farm Products.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM D. McKEOWN,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 26, 1920.

Mr. McKEOWN. Mr. Speaker, the shortage of the world's supply of food and clothing is causing great distress and abnormal conditions in society and government. There are persons who bring forward many remedies to cure the world's troubles, but I am convinced that the greatest solution of all our woes is to increase the production of farm products.

This can only be done by encouraging the farmers of the country and make conditions inviting to the young men and women of the country to remain or return to the farms.

Owing to the many difficulties incident to farm life in many States the population of the rural communities decreased in the last decade and the towns and cities overflowed during the same period of time.

During the war the boys went from the farms into the Army, and many a farmer who, on account of his age, had quit hard work was forced to take the place of his son and do the hard manual labor necessary to make and gather the crop. Since the signing of the armistice he has continued to work hard for the reason that he can not get his labor, and when the boy came back home he did not remain on the farm, but went to the factory where he could get better wages than the farmer could possibly pay.

We are told that last fall, although the farmers paid as high as $3 per hundred pounds for picking cotton, pickers did not come back to the farm, and as the result much cotton was lost. The same thing is true of the wheat farmers. It is impossible under present conditions for the men who produce the food supplies and the cotton of the country to get an adequate supply of dependable labor to carry on their work, so that the farmers are either abandoning the farms or only planting just enough acreage to supply their own needs.

Some persons who do not understand the difficulties encountered in producing a crop of cotton contend here that cotton is too high, but such is not the case. When you compare the cost to produce a pound of cotton now with the cost to produce a pound of cotton before the European war, at a time when cotton was selling at 13½ cents per pound, we find that a pound of cotton should bring 48 cents to bear the same relation to the expense involved in its production.

In 1914 the cotton farmers lost so heavily that it has taken them four years to get back on their feet.

On February 9 last, speaking on this subject, among other things I said:

Mr. Chairman, it might not be out of place at this time to make a few observations relative to the conditions that now confront the American farmer. America and the entire European Continent is calling upon him for more food, and yet the conditions under which he toils do not improve. The farmers are unable to get labor at any reasonable figure and often can not employ sufficient labor at any price. This is due to the fact that during the war the call and demand for labor in the shipbuilding and manufacturing centers took from the farm all the labor that was left after the boys went to the Army. The boys have returned from the Army, but the call of the city with high wages has left but few of them on the farm.

While obtaining increased prices for his products, yet the farmer is having to pay unheard-of prices for the things he must buy. This is especially true of his farm machinery and equipment required for his business.

In 1914, when the World War broke out, the cotton farmers of my State suffered a tremendous loss because of the effect of the blockade of cotton to Germany and Austria, but, on the other hand, the things the farmers were required to buy commenced to rise in price and have been going up ever since until we are wondering where it will stop. Many farmers and merchants were ruined financially as a result of the embargo of 1914, and never recovered from the effects of the low price of cotton.

Cotton has recently reached a high price, but it has been slowly following the manufactured products up the scale. The farmers' products, as a rule, never start up at the same time as the manufactured articles, and, in my judgment, the products of the farm will be the first to be hit in the process of curtailing the cost of living, unless the farmers are aided in their methods of marketing.

Legislation that would be fair to the manufacturer in reducing the high cost of living would not be fair to the farmer.

The manufacturer can put on the market whatever quantity of the product of his factory he desires. He can increase the quantity in a given period of time or decrease the same as the exigencies may require; but the farmer can not control the amount of his crops. There is a Higher Power that controls the sunshine and the rains so necessary to a good crop. He may plant large acreage, expecting a large yield, and may have an entire failure.

It is therefore imperative that in legislating for the welfare of the farmers that we keep this fact before our minds.

Some considerable feeling has grown up in the cities against the farmers of the country on account of the enormous increase in the cost of living. This is not justified, because there is too great a difference between the prices received by the farmer and the prices paid by the consumer. The wrong lies between the two. In many places the profiteers have been taking toll. To find the profiteers seems to be a difficult job. One is reminded of that game played in the days of his youth, "Button, button, who has the button?"

One thing is certain, however, and that is, these pirates will not get their just dues until they are brought to justice and have to wear trousers with large stripes running around instead of narrow stripes running up and down.

Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of putting into effect every sane method that will reduce the cost of living, but I am not in favor of 5-cent cotton and 50-cent wheat to get it.

There is an abnormal demand for food, clothing, and the necessaries of life throughout the entire world. It could not be otherwise when we contemplate the immense loss and destruction of supplies during the war and the employment of millions of men in destroying lives and property for four long years. The demand grows greater every day upon the United States, and far exceeds the financial ability of many of the countries, and unless the peoples of continental Europe can get started to creating something with which to trade, the shipment of the products of the farmer will be greatly curtailed and a break in prices will result. This must be avoided.

The question of the high cost of living, which seems to mount higher at the mention of the words, can not be solved by mere legislative enactment.

There must be an increase in the supply of necessities and an abolition of obstructions in the distribution of necessaries. The Government should lend every assistance possible to this end, and the people should be informed as to the true situation. The laws of economics and statutory enactment will not change the dire effect of extravagance.

The wage earner and the salaried person are hardest hit by the mounting prices, and as fast as wages are increased the cost of living goes on up. The matter has gotten into a vicious circle and it is a perplexing problem to solve. Unless conditions improve it will be necessary for the Government to require all exporters of necessaries to show that there is sufficient supply of same before any necessaries can be exported from the United States.

It is being strenuously advocated by some that the cause of high prices is wholly due to an expanded currency. And to listen to them talk you would think that a panic would be a blessing instead of a disaster. For my part, I want the country to readjust itself to normal conditions without any jolts.

There is no doubt that the purchasing power of the dollar is affected by the present expansion of the currency, but to plunge the country into a panic by a sudden contraction of the currency would be to play the part of Samson and pull down upon ourselves our currency structure.

Profiteers operating in the large centers where the opportunities are easy to hoard large quantities of necessities have greatly augmented prices. I favor less investigations and more prosecutions. The evidence of the methods of operation make every honest man indignant and adds to the unrest throughout the country. One case that I call to mind was that of a wealthy baker who filched 1 ounce off of each loaf of bread he made during the war. Even Dives fed the crumbs off of his table to the poor, but this man stole the crumbs from the poor. It is to be hoped that he and all his kind will receive the punishment they justly deserve.

An effective method to stop speculating in and the hoarding of food is to refuse to loan money upon such security, and if the banks will call all such loans when due and refuse to renew loans to those who undertake to withhold necessities from the markets in order to increase the price, then large quantities of stored foods will reach the market.

The Department of Justice should press the prosecution of such speculators without quarter.

If every line of industry was meeting the demands upon it with the same energy and amount of work as are the farmers of the country, it would not be a great while until the supply of all products would be ample to meet the demands.

The farmer is struggling under great difficulties. He is working early and late and all the week. He does not have any time for vacations during crop seasons. He is setting the example of hard work and economy, and if the Nation will follow his example the time is not far distant when the Nation will be more prosperous than ever in its history.

The farmer, in return for his labor, demands a fair price for his products; sufficiently high to enable him to earn an honorable living for his family; to send his children out of the field into the schoolhouse and his wife to take care of the home; to enjoy the use of the telephone, good roads, and daily mail.

The farmer is entitled to receive enough from his crops to enable him to live comfortably in a modern house and not in a shack; to educate his children under well-trained and properly paid teachers; and to contribute to the betterment of his neighborhood.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I favor legislation that will help and not hamper the farmers in their struggles with present conditions, to the end that we may enjoy real and permanent prosperity throughout the Nation.

The Pay of a Private Soldier.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDMUND PLATT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 28, 1920.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Speaker, in the discussion on the proposed soldiers' bonus or "adjusted compensation" the statement has been made over and over again that the soldiers were getting only a dollar a day, while men at home were making 5, 6, 8, or 10 dollars a day. Passing over the exaggeration often involved in the latter figures, was it true that the soldiers received only a dollar a day? If you are going to put the service of a soldier on a money basis and talk of "adjusted compensation," it is necessary to know what the actual pay of the soldiers was during the war. Was it merely the cash pay he received, or should his clothing and subsistence be counted? The base pay, in cash, of the average soldier in the war was $405.53, according to the War Department. That is over and above all necessary cost of living. Certainly the cost of living, which every wage earner has to pay, should be considered a part of a soldier's pay if you are going to make a comparison. I recall that I once worked a year myself, just after graduation from college, at $400, with board and lodging, as a teacher in a military school. My salary was not equal to a soldier's pay of to-day, because I had to buy clothes, but I saved $200 out of that $400. With clothing included, so that the present high prices would not be felt, any soldier without dependents can save $200 to-day, and many do.

I talked with a soldier of the late war one day not long ago who told me that he had saved over $400 in 18 months' service. He was an exceptionally thrifty fellow, no doubt, but with living expenses as they are now, or as they were during the war, it would have been impossible to save that amount in any urban neighborhood on less pay than $100 a month. In fact, many soldiers admit that soldiers' pay is equal to $100 a month, and some of the recruiting officers put it higher than that. We have testimony from former service men in the hearings of the Education Committee to the effect that the $80 a month paid them for subsistence while in vocational training was not equal

to their former Army pay, and the committee reported a bill, which has been passed, raising their subsistence pay to $100 a month.

Now, in order to find out just what the pay of a private soldier in the Army was I have had some interesting correspondence with the War Department, my answers coming from Gen. George W. Burr, Director of Purchase, Storage, and Traffic. In the first place I found that the cash pay of a first-class private was $33 in this country and $36 in France, only the untrained men receiving $30. There were and are privates who receive continuation pay from reenlistments, so that some of them reach as much as $45 a month. This does not include any pay of noncommissioned officers, which runs up to $75 or $80 a month, and in the case of a few special experts somewhat higher. It is common talk in the Army that a sergeant at $75 a month, with everything in the line of living expenses found, is better off than a second lieutenant at $141 a month, and I have talked with sergeants myself who have told me that they could not afford to accept commissions.

Gen. Burr, in his first letter to me, gave the items of the average private soldier's pay, as follows:

Base pay	$405.53
Continuous-service pay	20.00
Allowance for dependents	40.92
Subsistence	216.34
Clothing and equipage	136.77
Quarters	51.53
Medical and dental supplies and equipment	27.50
Total	900.59
Monthly average	75.05

I questioned this, as it seemed to me that the continuous-service pay was too large and the family allowance then too small. I asked if that average did not apply to the Regular Army of to-day rather than to the temporary Army during the war. I received a reply in the affirmative. Less than half of the men in the Army made allotments during the war or received allowances for dependents, but surely the average allowance must have been more than $3.41 a month. Gen. Burr then sent me the following, which differs in monthly average of pay only 19 cents:

Base pay	$405.53
Continuous-service pay	8.53
Allowance for dependents	54.62
Subsistence	216.34
Clothing and equipage	138.77
Quarters	51.53
Medical and dental supplies and equipment	27.50
Total	902.82
Monthly average	75.23

Gen. Burr's letter explained his method of arriving at some of these figures, and I questioned him by telephone regarding some of them. I asked him, for instance, whether arms were included in "equipage," and he replied in the negative, and I am satisfied that the statement is substantially correct as to the pay of the average private in actual cost to the Government at wholesale rates. Nothing is included for the privilege of purchasing at commissary stores, though that privilege in the camps made the soldier's cash pay equal to a third more money, so far as it was expended in those stores. Cigarettes that were selling at 15, 18, and 20 cents to civilians were sold at the commissary stores at 8 and 10 cents and many other things in constant demand by the soldiers at proportionate reductions. However, Gen. Burr said he did not think any allowance could well be made for this privilege, as none of the articles so purchased were actually necessary. The soldiers had other privileges, such as reduced railroad fares when on leave, for which no allowance is made.

My point in presenting these figures is to base the discussion on the actual facts and to show that the difference between Army pay and the average of wages in civil life was by no means so great as is generally assumed. There were many cases of pecuniary sacrifice on the part of the boys who entered the military service during the war, but it may be doubted whether the average soldier really was any worse off financially than he would have been had there been no war, or even than he would have been had he remained at home. The number of men who worked in the shipyards or munition factories was comparatively small, and the war—through the increase in cost of living and through contributions to various war activities, which in my neighborhood were made by wage earners as well as by the well-to-do—made nearly everybody not richer but poorer. Only through added thrift and sacrifice were any considerable number of persons able to save money during the war, and their savings were represented by Liberty bonds and thrift stamps.

Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the bonus proposition, not only because it is a serious matter to increase taxation and to promote idleness at this time, but because I believe the American soldier was as generously treated during the war as we knew how to treat him, and as patriotic citizens soldiers should not complain and should not be asking money from the Government at such a critical time as this. "Adjusted" means settled, and I do not believe we can settle or adjust the debt of gratitude the country owes the soldiers in any such petty way as proposed by the bonus bills. The ex-service men are young and strong and at work at high wages. They do not need "relief," though the bill is referred to as a "relief" measure. When they are older and do need relief, the country will stand by them, as it has the soldiers of former wars.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 27, 1920.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I desire to insert a letter written by Hon. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, to Hon. JULIUS KAHN in relation to the resolution that I introduced, which provided for the loaning of tents to cities during the summer. Upon the receipt of this letter the Military Affairs Committee failed to report out my resolution.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, April 21, 1920.

Hon. JULIUS KAHN,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. KAHN: In reply to your letter of April 13, 1920, wherein the views of the War Department are requested on H. J. Res. 326, authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to loan tents to cities during the summer months of 1920 to relieve the housing situation, I have the honor to inform you that the War Department does not look with favor upon this resolution for the following reasons:

(a) In the event of the passage of this resolution there would be insufficient tentage available to meet the needs of all cities in the country.

(b) This would unavoidably lead to claims of discrimination by cities that could not be supplied.

(c) The War Department has suffered considerable financial loss in cases where tentage has been loaned to communities suffering from floods, tornadoes, or other calamities, the causes of these losses being unnecessary wear and tear due to inexperienced persons erecting and caring for tentage; destruction by fire; theft; unexplainable shortages and charges for handling and shipment.

(d) Tentage loaned to communities would not be available for the Army should an emergency demand its use.

Very truly, yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

The Bonus Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT C. PELL, JR.,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 28, 1920.

Mr. PELL. Mr. Speaker, I endeavored in vain yesterday to get before the House the side of those who are opposed to this soldiers' bonus. I endeavored to ask questions of the gentleman supporting it, but he would not yield. It seems to me an extraordinary condition. As I understand it, the rule is to be brought in to-morrow which will allow the bonus bill to come up for discussion, but without any right of amendment and without adequate discussion. In order to get the bill through by this method it is necessary that two-thirds of the Members vote for it. If it appeared before the House in the ordinary course, it would only require a plain majority. I do not understand the course which is being adopted by the Rules Committee. Presuming that they believe in this bill, presuming that it is something more than a political trick designed to affect the election this autumn, and for no other purpose, presuming that they sincerely think that there is a chance of this measure passing, why have they adopted this course? Are they afraid of numbers? Obviously not. Because if they see the slightest chance of getting two-thirds they must be unquestionably certain of a majority. Of what, then, are they afraid? Why do they deny a hearing to a respectable, intelligent, and capable

part of their own party and to our leaders? I can see how such a course may be politics of a kind, but I can not see in what way it can be considered constructive statesmanship.

Remember that this bill was prepared entirely by the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee. I understand that the Republicans put this bill through in that committee without adequate consultation with the Democrats. It will soon be before the House, to take or to leave without amendments. If this is to be the policy of the majority party, why not let us all go home and delegate to a dozen Members the absolute right to legislate in our names? It not only reduces the opposition to complete legislative impotence but it reduces those Members of the majority party so unfortunate as not to be among the lucky dozen to the dignity of trained dogs jumping through hoops.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS H. CARAWAY,
OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 29, 1920.

Mr. CARAWAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted I extend my remarks. I trust that it is not inopportune in the briefest way possible to refer to some of the more important legislative activities of mine since I have been a Member of Congress. I commenced my service in the House in the Sixty-third Congress, and am, therefore, now serving my fourth term. I come of a race of farmers and represent an agricultural district. My sympathies are enlisted in behalf of farmers and most of my activities have been directed along that line. Therefore I will set out first some of the measures in aid of farmers which have been the subject of my heartiest support.

AGRICULTURE.

COTTON.

Every effort that has been made since I have been a Member of Congress to prevent gambling in futures, both in corn and cotton exchanges, has received my heartiest support. I have been a member of every organization formed here to forward that class of legislation.

A resolution introduced by me to investigate the New Orleans and New York Cotton Exchanges is now pending and has been indorsed by every Member of Congress interested in that class of legislation from the cotton-growing States and by farm organizations in cotton-growing sections.

I was one of the group of Congressmen who made the fight in the fall and winter of 1917 and 1918 to break the great bear combinations in their attempt to force down the price of cotton in the United States, and who had succeeded in putting the price down $40 to $60 a bale. We finally induced the Government to aid the farmers and compel the banks to provide the means to enable the farmers to hold their cotton until ships could be provided to export it.

Millions of dollars were saved for the cotton growers of the South by this.

Congressman H. M. JACOWAY and myself, accompanied by some cotton growers from Mississippi County, defeated a policy of licensing the sellers or purchasers of cotton which the Department of Agriculture was fixing to put into force in 1918. There can be no doubt but what it would have ruined the cotton growers of the South had it been persisted in.

I made the opening speech resisting the fight led by Congressman MOORE of Pennsylvania and other Republicans from the Northern States to tax cotton in 1918. Their effort was firmly defeated.

I was first to take up the fight with the Department of Agriculture that led to the modification of the so-called zoning system, under which the cotton growers of our State were compelled to sell their cotton seed at a loss of from $20 to $40 per ton during 1917–18.

Advocated the Government gathering and publishing statistics giving the amount of cotton consumed each month by the cotton mills of the United States, the amount of cotton on hand from time to time at the mills and warehouses of the country, the amount exported each month, and the amount of old cotton left over at the end of the year. Before this much-needed information was obtained the speculators would give out false statements and misleading reports regarding the amount of cotton being consumed and exported. When certain speculators and spinning interests in the East and New England demanded that a price be fixed on cotton and two bills were introduced in the House, one to fix the price at 15 cents and the other at 20 cents, I found that the purpose of certain Members of the House who did not live in the cotton-growing States were to fix the price at not more than 20 cents per pound. I fought the proposition bitterly and assisted in its defeat, thereby saving millions of dollars to the farmers and merchants of cotton-growing States.

I have advocated cooperative demonstrations by the farmers of the South for the study and demonstration of the best methods of meeting the ravages of the cotton-boll worm.

On account of the menace to cotton culture in the United States arising from the existence of the pink boll worm in Mexico, the Secretary of Agriculture, in order to prevent the establishment and spread of such worms in Texas and other parts of the United States, is authorized to make surveys of its actual distribution in Mexico, to establish in cooperation with the States concerned a zone or zones free from cotton culture on or near the border of any State or States adjacent to Mexico, and to cooperate with the Mexican Government or local Mexican authorities in the extermination of the local infestations near the border of the United States.

I advocated making investigations to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to prevent the movement of cotton and cotton seed from Mexico into the United States, to make surveys to determine the actual distribution of the pink boll worm in Mexico, and to exterminate local infestations in Mexico near the border of the United States in cooperation with the Mexican Government or local Mexican authorities.

To conduct surveys or inspections in Texas or in any other State to detect any infestations and to conduct control measures, including the establishment of cotton-free areas in cooperation with the State of Texas or other States concerned, as may be necessary to eradicate such infestation.

I have assisted in investigations to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to meet the emergency caused by the existence of the pink cotton-boll worm in Mexico and to prevent the establishment of such insect in the United States by the employment of all means necessary.

I have advocated and assisted in the fight in the Democratic caucus which resulted in an act to require Federal reserve banks to loan money on cotton warehouse receipts.

ROADS.

I favor keeping faith with the people in the matter of good roads construction in the United States, and pledge myself to the policy of carrying on this work in each and every county in the State. I favor every county sharing in these appropriations and having a fair deal. I have the friendship and confidence of the various departments of the Federal Government that have to do in various ways with the question of road building, and it is my desire and purpose to see that justice is done to all the counties in the State.

I assisted in the passage of the good-roads act, which appropriated millions of dollars for building roads by cooperation between county, State, and Federal Government, these roads to lead from the farms to the towns and cities.

I have advocated investigations of the best methods of road making, especially ordinary sand-clay and dirt roads, and the best kind of road-making material, and for furnishing expert advice on road building and maintenance.

RURAL CREDITS.

The first rural-credit bill ever seriously considered by Congress was one introduced by me. It was adopted in the Committee of the Whole, but afterwards defeated by a teller vote.

Twelve of the fundamental provisions in the present farmers' loan law were first contained in the bill I introduced. Among these was one to allow farmers a loan upon the value of improvements. This bill, as introduced by me, was indorsed by the National Farmers' Union, the National Grange, and the Society of Equity, all farmers' organizations composed exclusively of farmers.

I am the author of the amendment to the farm-loan act under which the borrowing of money on lands for speculative purposes is prohibited. I wanted the law to aid those who wanted homes, not to accumulate large estates to be held for speculation.

I voted for and helped to pass the Federal reserve banking act, which took away from Wall Street the power to produce a panic.

RIVER IMPROVEMENT.

The flood control bill to protect the valleys of the lower Mississippi River was the most important flood-protection measure ever before Congress.

When this bill was to be considered in the House the Congressmen vitally interested in its passage asked the Speaker to

appoint me chairman of the Committee of the Whole House when this measure was to be considered. I was so appointed and did preside. Permit me to say that rulings made by me during its consideration and sustained by the committee did much to preserve that bill in its present helpful form.

I introduced the bill under which the St. Francis and Black Rivers and their valleys are now being surveyed and complete plans and estimates of cost for the protection from floods of the valleys of these rivers will be made, with a final view of getting Government aid for these improvements.

A bill introduced by me is now a law under which Government lands in improvement districts can be taxed as other lands to help pay for drainage.

The bill under which certain lands along the St. Francis River, when reclaimed, are to be sold and the proceeds used in defraying the expenses of draining the St. Francis delta was introduced by me.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY.

I secured the establishment of a beef experiment station at one of the agricultural schools in Arkansas, where experiments are now carried on in breeding, feeding, and shipping beef cattle.

I advocated the carrying out of the provisions of an act establishing a bureau of animal industry to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to collect and disseminate information concerning live stock, dairy, and other animal products.

For all necessary expenses for investigations and experiments in dairy industry.

For investigating diseases of animals, for their control and eradication, methods of treatment and prevention, independently or in cooperation with farmers' associations, State or county authorities.

For experiments in animal feeding and breeding, including cooperation with State agricultural experiment stations.

For investigating the disease of hog cholera and its control and eradication.

For investigating the preparation for market, handling, grading, packing, freezing, drying, storing, transportation, and preservation of poultry and eggs.

For furnishing to producers, dealers, newspapers, and consumers accurate information regarding supplies of fruits, vegetables, dairy and poultry products.

For collecting and distributing by telegraph, mail, or otherwise, timely information on the supply, demand, commercial movement, disposition, quality, and market prices of dairy and poultry products.

Provided for publication and distribution of bulletins on hog and cattle raising in the South.

GENERAL AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS.

I assisted in having withdrawn from the forest area and opened for homestead entry nearly 1,000,000 acres in Arkansas. There are now many prosperous farmers owning their own homes within this area.

I introduced a bill, and had it considered by the Committee on Public Lands, where it is now pending, to grant to the agricultural schools, and to the colleges of agriculture of our State, one-half of the funds arising from the sale of timber from forest reserves within the State. This bill received the indorsement of the Farmers' Union of Arkansas.

Helped to pass the Smith-Lever agricultural extension act, which gathers, publishes, and distributes throughout America the best thoughts and methods of touching the various phases of profitable, up-to-date farming and scientific agriculture, and it is the most valuable and comprehensive farm demonstration plan ever devised.

To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with the several States in the employment of agents to acquire and diffuse useful information connected with the distribution and marketing of farm products.

Advocated the investigation of cotton, corn, and other crops introduced from the tropical regions and for the improvement of cotton.

I helped to pass a law taking tax off of bagging and ties and agricultural implements.

Helped to establish the Bureau of Markets, giving the needed and valuable assistance and information to both producer and consumer.

For collecting and distributing by telegraph, mail, or otherwise, timely information on the supply, commercial movement, disposition, and market prices of fruits and vegetables.

Have advocated the investigation and improvement of grasses, alfalfa, clover, and other forage crops.

Investigation of insects affecting cereal and forage crops.

Investigation of and improvement of cereals and methods of cereal production and the study of cereal diseases.

Have advocated investigating means and methods of more effectually providing for the national security and defense by gathering authoritative information concerning the food supply, by increasing production, and preventing waste of food supplies.

Have advocated investigating the history and habits of the insects injurious and beneficial to agriculture, the study of insects affecting the health of man and domestic animals, and ascertaining the best means of destroying those found to be injurious.

Have advocated the investigation of insects affecting southern field crops, including insects affecting cotton, tobacco, rice, and sugar cane.

Have advocated investigating and reporting farm drainage, and for the drainage of swamp and other wet lands which may be made available for agricultural purposes.

For the investigation and improvement of methods of crop production.

For investigating the food habits of North American birds in relation to agriculture.

For investigating plant diseases, soil bacteriology, and plant nutrition.

For the investigation of insects affecting fruits, orchards, vineyards, and nuts.

For the investigation and improvement of fruits and the methods of fruit growing, harvesting, and in cooperating with the Bureau of Markets, studying the behavior of fruits during the processes of marketing and while in commercial storage.

I have given special thought and study and rendered valuable service to the great agricultural interests in my State and Nation.

I was one among the 20 Members of Congress who voted against the so-called daylight-saving bill, and also assisted in its repeal.

PROHIBITION.

I supported the national prohibition amendment.

I had stricken from the bill for the enforcement of this amendment the provision authorizing the opening of private letters.

Prohibition has become a national policy. I am not a fanatic on this subject, but I do believe a nation sober is better than a nation drunk.

SUFFRAGE.

I voted for the Federal amendment granting suffrage to women, and since its adoption, at the request of advocates of this amendment, have aided in several States to secure its ratification.

GENERAL LEGISLATION.

The amendment adopted to the railroad-control bill, under which were preserved the police powers to the State, was prepared and offered by me. Without this amendment all the laws of the several States protecting both employees and passengers on railroad trains would have been nullified, such as the separate-coach law, assigning separate coaches for whites and negroes. Without it negroes would have been privileged to occupy any coach, including sleeping and dining cars, on any train.

I advocated and reported a bill to prohibit the intermarriage of negroes and whites within the District of Columbia and all Territories under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Federal Government.

So far as I know, I was the first Member of Congress to advocate the enactment of a law to prevent the enlistment of negroes in the Army and Navy in time of peace, or their appointment as cadets in either West Point or Annapolis.

I advocated and assisted in bringing about the separation of the races in the Government departments in Washington, placing whites in one room and negroes in another.

I advocated, and had reported and made the report from the Committee on the District of Columbia, a bill for separate coaches and conveyances for negroes and whites in the District of Columbia.

A committee, of which I was a member, prepared and had passed a bill known as the soldiers and sailors' civil-rights bill to protect the family and estates of soldiers and sailors of this Great War.

I helped to pass the law which provided for a fleet of merchant ships to carry the products of our farms and factories to the markets of the world.

I was a member of the committee that drafted the espionage act, and I assisted in having stricken from that bill, as first proposed, the right to search private residences without a warrant. I now stand for a repeal of this measure.

I was one among the first to advocate sending out of this country those who advocate the overthrow of our Government by force, and helped to secure legislation to carry out this

purpose. Under this law the deadly enemies of our country are being sent back to their own country.

I have always voted for restricted immigration laws, which are intended to protect America from the unfit people and criminal refuse of foreign countries.

I advocated and will continue to advocate fair and just treatment of American soldiers who served our country in the great World War. I have voted for measures that promote and safeguard their interest in various ways, and can be counted on to do the very best that can be done for them in the final settlement for which they are now asking. Various plans have been suggested and various measures on this subject are now before the Ways and Means Committee. The soldiers themselves are divided in opinion as to just what they desire to be done, but I believe that Congress will pass a just and satisfactory measure, and I stand ready to vote for such a measure.

I have opposed in every way measures that seek to foist upon America any plan or system that smacks of military despotism.

I helped pass the workmen's compensation act for accidents and death in industry.

I helped to pass the humane act declaring that human labor is not a commodity, thus taking the flesh and blood of human beings out of the class of chattels.

I helped pass the child labor act, which took thousands of children out of the sweatshops and factories of the country. This law freed children from conditions that were depriving them of an education and sapping their vitality and dwarfing their young bodies.

In the matter of differences or disputes arising between railroad employer and employee, I favor absolute justice to both in the matter of protecting and safeguarding the right of both, keeping in mind and safeguarding at all times the rights and interests of the public.

I fought centralization of Government and never lost an opportunity to defend the doctrine of State rights.

Have supported every measure necessary to carry out the purpose of the people in constitutional amendments adopted.

I favor readjustment of the income tax so that the single man shall have an exemption of an income of $2,000 and the man with a family $5,000.

I supported every measure looking to the best interests and advancement of the cause of education.

I favor speedy action on the peace treaty and urge the repeal of all special laws growing out of the war that restrain and harass the citizens of the United States in the free and honest management of their own private affairs.

Have advocated in the House and elsewhere the doctrine that America and other civilized nations should set up an international tribunal for the settlement of disputes by arbitration, to the end that peace of the world may be preserved and the cruel, useless slaughter of human beings prevented.

I introduced an amendment to the bill requiring the Government to educate and rehabilitate disabled soldiers and sailors of the World War. Without this it would have been impossible for the soldiers and the sailors to secure education other than that which would fit them to enter some trade. Now they may take literary training or study for any of the professions.

I introduced the bill requiring Federal judges in cases triable by jury to follow the procedure and practice of the State courts, and forbidding them to express an opinion as to the credibility of a witness or the weight of the testimony. This bill is now pending in the Senate. It passed the House without a dissenting vote.

I reported and secured the passage of a measure to reduce the cost of writs of error and appeals in Federal courts.

Voted for Federal aid for State schools and colleges for vocational education.

Advocated and voted for the measure to increase the pay of school-teachers in the District of Columbia.

RECONSTRUCTION LEGISLATION.

I favor the immediate closing of the war by treaty stipulation, preserving America's rights, and securing a lasting peace.

I am in favor of repealing the irksome war laws that have outlived their usefulness.

I stand pledged to favor soldier legislation along the lines recommended by the American Legion. I will not deny to these soldiers relief after they have so valiantly performed the duties demanded of them by America.

Modifications and changes in the present tax law are necessary. The burden should be distributed so that those most able to pay shall pay the greater share.

I stand pledged to favor Federal aid to good roads and the expenditure of large sums to enable us to repopulate the farms and thereby lower the cost of living.

I am in favor of adequate and additional marketing facilities so the farmer will not have to market his crops at a sacrifice.

I favor stamping out gambling in farm products so the farmer can have an open and honest market in which to sell the products of the farm, thereby reaping the benefit of his own toil and industry.

I have been true to the farmer and his legislation at every step of the way. The speeches made, bills introduced, votes cast in his behalf are all available. The record is made. I stand on it. I will continue to do what I can to help the farmer.

I favor legislation to extend to farmers loans at a low rate of interest and for a short time, to enable them to make and harvest their crops. I want to free them from the thraldom of the credit merchant and the money lender.

I stand pledged to grant by law to labor a fair deal. It is foolish from a standpoint of economy, and wrong from a standpoint of morals, to deprive labor of a full share in the wealth it produces. Justice and fair dealing must characterize future legislation.

I favor equal suffrage for both men and women. They both pay taxes; they both serve the Nation in times of peace and war.

I am not in favor of reducing the volume of money and bringing on another panic for the benefit of the financiers, who alone would profit, to the grief and distress of the rest of us. To do this would ruin the man in debt, but multiply the millions of the money lenders.

I oppose universal military training, call it compulsory or volunteer. I do not want to see America chained hand and foot to the chariot of militarism.

I have no divided allegiance. I have always stood before, during, and since the war for America and American rights and institutions.

I stand pledged for rigid economy in Government expenditures. The Government should be conducted on a business and not a political basis.

In conclusion, permit me to say I am willing to stand on my record, the speeches made, bills introduced, votes cast, and the life I have lived, the things I have achieved, the loyalty displayed, both in times of peace and war—the record as it stands. On this I stand and am willing to be judged.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHAS. POPE CALDWELL,

OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 31, 1920.

Mr. CALDWELL. Mr. Speaker, under the leave given me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I print the speech I had prepared to deliver at Jamaica, Long Island, as a part of the memorial exercises to-day and which I have asked Hon. Edward J. Kiely, sr., to read there in my behalf, it having become necessary for me to stay in Washington and attend the day's session of the House:

"Mr. Chairman, veterans of America's wars, ladies, and gentlemen, to-day the patriotic sons and daughters of our new nationalism pay tribute to the heroic dead whose sacrifice has made America possible, preserved the Union of the States, defended the cause of humanity, and protected our rights. Thus we honor them, for selfishness has never caused the American sword to leave its scabbard, and our greatest profit has been the satisfaction which comes from a wrong made right.

"This is not a day of celebration. It is for hero worship, unstinted and unashamed. We march, not to show a martial spirit but as a token that we hope to meet at the end of life's journey the great souls who have gone on before, that we might tarry yet a little while and enjoy the liberty of this life that was purchased with theirs and at that meeting give an account of the way we have used that liberty and preserved it for our children and our children's children.

"Out of courtesy these exercises are primarily under the auspices of the Grand Army of the Republic and United Spanish War Veterans. Each has had its appropriate part in the program. With high veneration and deep regard for the prowess of the veterans of those wars, the new generation bows in humble recognition of their mighty sacrifice and pays tribute to their heroic dead. But as the man really learns to value his father only when he contemplates his own child, it would not be amiss on this day of hero worship if we fill

our minds with the contemplation of the heroism of this generation, the children of the veterans of the other wars, and thus learn how to appreciate those whose ranks are thinning, for

"There is a reaper whose name is death,
And with his sickle keen,
He reaps the bearded grain at a breath
And the flowers that grow between.

"The object of all life is the propagation of its species and the betterment of the conditions under which its offspring is to live. As the tree sheds its leaves, fertilizing the soil, and at last the dead trunk of the parent oak moulders in the ground a young oak springs up in its place, growing to greater heights and of finer fiber, so man in his struggle to better conditions of his offspring sets up government which sheds the leaves of its manhood to make better the condition under which it flourished. Wars are fought and governments decay. From their crumbling ruins new nations spring of a higher type and with a finer sense of justice.

"In America every generation has had its war, and as one generation of heroes passes away another rises to take its place. They go but are not forgotten, for their deeds are the basis of the tradition around which our nationalism is built and their sacrifice and success the incentive to noble deeds by those that follow.

"I say each new generation in the march of time has its war, and as the veterans of one war pass on to their final roll call, a new army marches on to take their places among the living, to receive the adulation of their generation, and to watch with patience and forbearance the manner in which the children of the new day care for the heritage that has been made possible by their heroism. To-day we have the veterans of three wars doing honor to their comrades and the heroes of our wars.

"That which we love above all save God and His righteousness—that which we call the Government of the United States—secured its life by war, and the price paid in blood and treasure was small if the heritage of freedom is cherished by those for whom the sacrifice was made. In justification, the noble manhood of America has ever been willing, though never prepared, to defend our country, its principles and rights, against all enemies, foreign and domestic, in the same spirit.

"Life crowds to-morrow upon to-day with its major and insistent problems with such demand that we seldom have time to think of yesterday and draw from its experiences lessons for the future. The little child learns of our wars most from old age, for both have fewer cares and more time, the one to dig from the recesses of memory, the other to store there the treasures found.

"How pleasant it is to recount to your child or grandchild the deeds of heroism performed by your companion in arms, in later years, when the mellow of friendship has dissipated the recollections of shortcomings, and when the reason has supplied to memory the blanks lost to intelligence, with an honest conviction that things were because they ought to have been; and how fond are we to believe them when so told, even though we hesitate to repeat them for fear the sacred truth may be doubted.

"But our last war is still new in our minds. When we speak of it our exaggerations may be as great, for we tell of our boys, and the stories are lighted with pride, love, and gratitude. Because of our lack of preparation for the war, the world was prone to think of us as a nation of money lenders, and gladly perverted the statement of our President that there was such a thing as being too proud to fight without just cause to a declaration that we wouldn't fight, and from that to believe that we couldn't fight.

"For many months before we declared war we were fed up on the belief that it would take a year to raise an Army of a million men, two years to train them, and five to arm and equip them. Our greatest and wisest men honestly believed such to be the case. Two ex-Presidents and three ex-Secretaries of War so maintained, and the boasts of those who opposed preparation, that a million men would spring to arms overnight when called, was scoffed at by those who thought they knew.

"All were wrong.

"We are a moneyed people because we are intelligent, energetic, and industrious. We are slow to take up arms because a war with us is a war of the people and they know and hesitate over the sacrifice and hardship that it entails, and will not unless the cause is just and the provocation great. But we know how to fight and are not afraid. In fact, we are the most warlike people on the earth and the most desperate in battle. The standard of America has waved over our homes and on our battle fields, at home and abroad, for almost a century and a half. It has never trailed in defeat, because when America goes to war the hearts of her people go with her soldiers.

"Since Jehovah decreed that man should earn his living by the sweat of his brow, men have worked to live, and if by living we mean happiness, no man has ever lived whose work has not been in the service of others. The greater the service and the less selfishly it is given, the greater the happiness that results therefrom.

"One may grow fat and luxuriate upon the toil and service of others. He may gain great riches by chicanery, but he will not live—be happy—unless in turn he serves his fellow man. And as this is true of the individual, so it is true of the Nation. Our participation in this war was a service to humanity, and particularly to France. It was freely and unselfishly given. It made us the acknowledged foremost Nation of the world and the satisfaction we have earned by our deeds fills us with pardonable pride in our manhood and gives us an ample competence to enjoy the peace and happiness we deserve.

"France is the most sentimental nation on earth, and in her heart she cherishes a deep regard for America and a lasting gratitude for the service rendered by our soldiers. When the irritations have been forgotten, the French mothers will tell their litttle children of the great people that crossed the sea infested by the German submarines, building, as they came, a line of communication and establishing their strange machinery. How hope rose in the saddened heart of a heroic people who were all but crushed and how they rejoiced when victory was snatched from the greatest military autocracy that the world had ever seen.

"They will tell of the great size of our soldiers, of their tender care of little children and kindness to the aged and infirm. How with the one hand they supported the fallen and with the other struck the mighty blow for humanity that turned back the tide of war and liberated their beloved soil from a ruthless foe.

"They will marvel at the energy and skill with which the American Army went about its tasks, doing in eight months the work that France thought would take five years. How the great American general, after a three weeks' inspection, laid down the plans, marking the ports that were to be dug, docks to be built, railways and storage plants to be constructed, waterworks to be installed, headquarters to be established, and camps to be erected; and how, with mathematical precision, the strongest point in the German line was selected as the place to make assault, upon the understanding that a breach here was a mortal wound and would be a guaranty of early victory. Then, without detracting from the heroism of the French soldier or the British Tommy, they will tell how American doughboys romped over the barbed-wire entanglements, jumped the German trenches, stormed the pill boxes, captured the machine-gun nests, and routed the enemy.

"Each year on this, our Memorial Day, as they are doing to-day, all of France will journey to the American cemeteries where lie the sentinels of freedom, decorate the graves of our heroic and beloved dead, and bless the Nation that came at freedom's call of anguish—came with her men and women, her money and machinery, her material and her brains, and having come, dried the tears, fed the hungry, protected the weakened, succored the injured, and freed the world.

"All of America's wars have been in the cause of humanity, and each of her victories has been the beginning of an advanced era in human government.

"Some are so critical as to say that the politicians have thrown away America's greatest world opportunity in a fight among themselves for the control of domestic affairs; some say that we have drawn back in the nick of time to preserve American institutions and retain our sovereignty and independence. I will trust the American public to make a just decision and visit its punishment where deserved.

"The world is crying for peace and America joins in the cry. Our manhood fought to protect our rights and preserve our institutions. Neither the selfish pride of authorship nor the contemptible schemes of politicians shall deny that which it so devoutly craves—peace and an opportunity to heal up its wounds and forget the hell of war. The world has learned its lesson. America must be consulted in the future, league or no league. Her demands will always be for simple and exact justice, which no self-respecting nation dare deny, but, denying, must reckon with a Navy that is second to none and a man power that is greater than any.

"Sleep on, proud heroes of this and other wars, wherever you may lie. The fight you have made has been a blessing to mankind, and Americans in America see in a new light the tower of liberty that now faintly illumines the darkest recesses of the world.

"Your lives have not been given in vain. We weep because you are our kin, but we are proud that you so nobly fought and nobly died and rejoice that you are in God's keeping."

Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY Z. OSBORNE,
OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 31, 1920.

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the privilege granted me by the unanimous consent of the House, I append the following address made by me at a memorial meeting in the Rotunda of the Capitol, held under the auspices of the U. S. Grant Circle and Lincoln Circle, Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, District of Columbia, on Sunday, May 30, 1920, in honor of Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant:

MEMORIAL ADDRESS BY HON. HENRY Z. OSBORNE AT THE ROTUNDA OF THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C., MEMORIAL SUNDAY, MAY 30, 1920, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF U. S. GRANT CIRCLE AND LINCOLN CIRCLE, LADIES OF THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC.

LINCOLN AND GRANT.

Madam President, Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, comrades, and friends: To-day memorial services similar to these are being held in every city and village in the land from North to South, from East to West, and in the islands of the sea. It is fitting that we should meet in the Nation's Capitol, and in this historic Hall pay our tribute to the noble dead. In the earlier history of the Republic, in an adjoining room, the House of Representatives held its sessions, conducted its debates, and passed laws for the orderly government of the Nation. There many historic discussions took place, participated in by the great men of the past. In that room Henry Clay presided as Speaker of the House for nearly 10 years; Daniel Webster, Thomas H. Benton, and John C. Calhoun sat there as Representatives. Within 100 feet of the spot on which I now stand was the desk of John Quincy Adams, where he sat for 17 years after he had completed a term of 4 years as President of the United States, patiently performing his duties as a Representative. The spot where he fell upon this floor while in the performance of his duty is marked by a bronze plate. His body was borne to yonder room, where presently his soul took flight. There the great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, served his single term in Congress. The statues of these great Americans and of many others have been placed in this Capitol, the scene of many of their earthly labors, as perpetual memorials to their memories.

Could any place be more appropriate than this for the sacred purpose for which we are assembled to-day—a memorial service for the dead soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and of all our wars?

I have been requested to speak particularly of the two greatest figures and heroes of the Civil War—Lincoln and Grant. The one was our great leader in statesmanship and administration; the other our great military captain who led our armies to victory in the field.

There was much in common in the early lives of Lincoln and of Grant. Both were born in lowly circumstances, and both were of families of long American lineage. Ulysses S. Grant was born April 27, 1822—98 years ago—at Point Pleasant, Ohio, in a small frame house such as succeeded the log cabin in the early days of our country. His father was a tanner.

When 17 years of age Grant was appointed a cadet at West Point by Congressman Thomas L. Hamer, of Ohio, and graduated from the Military Academy in 1843 at the age of 21 years, ranking 21 in a class of 39. Thus his standing in his class, a little below the medium, gave no indication of his future greatness as a military leader. He was commissioned as a brevet second lieutenant, and was made a full second lieutenant September 30, 1845. In March, 1846, the war with Mexico then being in progress, he proceeded with his regiment to Mexico and participated in the Battle of Palo Alto on May 8. On the following day he was made acting adjutant of his regiment in place of an officer who was killed in the Battle of Resaca de la Palma. On the 21st of September of the same year the Battle of Monterey was fought, and Grant, although then on quartermaster duty, went to the front and participated in the assault on the city. He also participated in the same month in the siege of Vera Cruz, the Battle of Cerro Gordo, the asault on Churubusco, the storming of Chapultepec, and the Battle of Melino del Rey. Col. Garland, the commander of his brigade, in his report of the storming of Chapultepec, said: "Lieut. Grant, Fourth Infantry, acquitted himself most nobly upon several occasions under my own observation." After the Battle of Melinó del Rey he was appointed on the field a first lieutenant for gallantry, and at Chapultepec later he was brevetted a captain, to date from that battle, September 13, 1847. He thus demonstrated his courage and devotion to duty, and entered the City of Mexico with the American Army on September 14, 1847.

Upon the conclusion of the Mexican War Capt. Grant's regiment was sent to the Pacific coast, where he served at Fort Vancouver, Oregon Territory, and at Humboldt Bay, in California, remaining on the coast until 1854, when he resigned from the Army, as he saw no prospect of being able to support his family on his pay. After his resignation he lived for a time in St. Louis and at Galena, Ill. His Army life had probably disqualified him for success in business, and he lived a rather precarious life during that period.

Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, was fired upon by the troops under Gen. Beauregard Sunday, April 14, 1861. On the following day, Monday, the people of Galena, upon receipt of the news, held an indignation meeting, over which the humble Capt. Grant was called to preside. At the conclusion of the meeting Capt. Grant declared his intention of again entering the service of the country that had given him a military education. Gov. Richard Yates, the great war governor of Illinois, and father of a subsequent governor of the same name who now is an honored member of the House of Representatives, requested Capt. Grant to assist in the adjutant general's office of the State, and he was given charge of the mustering in of 10 regiments, his knowledge of Army methods being of great service to inexperienced officers. Later he wrote a letter to The Adjutant General, United States Army, at Washington, reciting his previous military experience and respectfully tendering service "until the close of the war, in such capacity as may be offered," adding that with his military experience he felt that he was "competent to command a regiment if the President should see fit to intrust one to him." This letter brought no reply, and Capt. Grant endeavored to see Gen. McClellan at Cincinnati, hoping that he might be offered a place on his staff. During his absence Gov. Yates appointed him colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois Infantry, and issued his commission June 15, 1861.

Events succeeded each other with great rapidity. Col. Grant's first service with his regiment was at Palmyra, Mo., where he proceeded to the relief of an Illinois regiment reported to be surrounded. Before his arrival the imperiled regiment had retreated, and he expected to give battle at the little town of Florida, in Missouri. In his memoirs Gen. Grant says that when the top of the hill was reached only a deserted camp appeared in front. "It occurred to me at once," he says, "that Harris had been as much afraid of me as I had been of him." From that event to the close of the war "I never experienced trepidation in confronting the enemy. Although I had more or less anxiety, I never forgot that he had as much reason to fear my forces as I had to fear his."

On August 7, 1861, he was appointed a brigadier general by the President, and on November 7, 1861, he fought his first real battle at Belmont, Mo., where he had a horse shot under him and had several narrow escapes. The Union losses were 485 killed, and the loss of the enemy was officially reported as 632. Early in January, 1862, Gen. Grant, whose headquarters at that time were at Cairo, Ill., went to St. Louis to explain his plans for a campaign against Forts Henry and Donelson, the first on the Tennessee River, the other on the Cumberland River, in the southern part of Kentucky. Gen. Halleck told him that his scheme was preposterous.

On February 1, however, he was instructed to go ahead, and he proceeded with a number of gunboats under Flag Officer Foote, of the Navy, and 9,000 men on transports and disembarked a few miles below Fort Henry. Immediately upon disembarkation a force of 17,000 additional men was brought in, and the attack was made on the 6th of February with complete success. Gen. Tilghman, in command, with his staff and 120 men, were captured, the remainder of the force having evacuated. Grant had no instructions to attack Fort Donelson, but moved his army over fearful roads and began investing Fort Donelson on the 12th. On the 14th the gunboats commenced the attack, and on the 15th Gen. Grant received a note from Gen. S. B. Buckner, suggesting the appointment of commissioners to agree upon terms of capitulation. To this note Gen. Grant sent the historic reply:

"No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works."

This laconic message doubtless had more to do with the popularity of Gen. Grant than any other written statement made during his life. It immediately electrified the whole North, where anything of an encouraging nature had become extremely

rare. Up to this time the Confederates had achieved nearly all the notable successes of the war; and the actions at Fort Henry, and particularly at Fort Donelson, were the turning points in the conduct of the war. From that time on Gen. Grant was inseparably connected with all the notable successes of the Union Army. It is not necessary on this occasion to recite Gen. Grant's many military successes. It is sufficient that in the main he was successful. It is true that he was criticized during the war and sometimes since because of his invariable insistence upon having a sufficient number of men to carry out his military plans and his policy of fighting wherever it was necessary and always to the best advantage, thus losing a great many troops. The best military opinion, however, justified his policy as being one that in the long run doubtless saved lives and brought final success to the Union arms.

He fought from time to time the battles of Shiloh, Corinth, Iuka, and Vicksburg—the latter, an almost impregnable stronghold commanding the Mississippi River, surrendering on the 4th of July, 1863. Here he declined to agree to the appointment of commissioners, and would accept no terms but unconditional surrender with humane treatment of prisoners of war. Gen. Grant was always considerate of the enemy when they were placed at a disadvantage, as was exemplified many times, and notably at the end of the war, when he received Lee's surrender. At Vicksburg the Confederates surrendered 30,000 men, besides cannon, small arms, and military stores. When the paroled prisoners were ready to march out, Gen. Grant ordered the Union soldiers "to be orderly and quiet as these prisoners pass" and "to make no offensive remarks."

This notable victory occurred simultaneously with the battle of Gettysburg, fought on the Union side by Gen. George G. Meade, with Gen. Robert E. Lee in command of the Confederates. The 4th of July, 1863, may be reckoned the turning point in the war. On March 1, 1864, Congress passed an act reestablishing the grade of lieutenant general in the Regular Army, with the view of placing Grant in complete command. He was ordered to Washington, and on this occasion he first was introduced to President Lincoln, although he had heard him make a speech many years before. He arrived very unostentatiously on March 8, and registered at the hotel simply as "U. S. Grant and son, Galena." He was received by President Lincoln on the following day. After introductions President Lincoln addressed him as follows:

"Gen. Grant, the expression of the Nation's approbation of what you have already done, and its reliance on you for what remains to be done in the existing great struggle, are now presented with this commission constituting you lieutenant general in the Army of the United States. With the high honor devolves on you an additional responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so under God it will sustain you. I scarcely need to add that with what I here speak for the Nation goes my own hearty personal concurrence."

Gen. Grant made the following reply:

"Mr. President, I accept the commission with gratitude for the high honor conferred. With the aid of the noble armies that have fought on so many battle fields for our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving upon me; and I know that if they are met it will be due to those armies, and above all to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men."

Gen. Grant had the utmost confidence in Gens. Sherman and Sheridan and never omitted an opportunity of acknowledging their great services and the assistance which they had been to him. On their part, they were always loyal in their support of the modest Gen. Grant.

Gen. Grant will, in my opinion, go down to posterity not alone because of his military successes but also because of his nobility as a man as displayed in his far-sighted and generous treatment of Gen. Lee and the armies of the South in the final capitulations; also, because of the stand which he took against the wishes of President Andrew Johnson to have Gen. Lee and other military leaders of the South tried for treason. This latter phase of Gen. Grant's character and statesmanlike attitude is deserving of a chapter all to itself. I have frequently observed in speeches made in Congress by southern men that this feature of Gen. Grant's character has apparently made a profound impression upon the South, which grows as time advances.

The final result of the negotiations between Gen. Lee and Gen. Grant at the little farmhouse at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, was contained in the following terms presented by Gen. Grant:

"The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the United States until properly exchanged, and each company or regimental commander to give a like parole for the men of his command. The officers to retain their side arms, private horses, and baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by the United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside."

It is to be remembered that at this time his armies were in complete command of the situation, and he might have insisted, had be been so disposed, upon any terms, however humiliating.

In a speech made by the Hon. HATTON W. SUMNERS, of Texas, in the House of Representatives, April 27, 1920, this distinguished southern man, son of a Confederate soldier, made the following comment:

"These terms were made with Lincoln's approval. In addition to these terms Grant instructed his commissioners designated to receive the surrender of Lee's army to permit the private soldiers to take away the horses to reestablish themselves on the farms, and directed that the hungry men being paroled should receive the rations which Lee requested for them.

"During the whole of the negotiations, those who were present tell us, and so does Gen. Grant himself, that Lee was compelled more than once to direct the attention of Gen. Grant to the business which had called them together. On that occasion this rugged man of many battles demonstrated a tender deference and a profound respect and sympathy for Gen. Lee which appeals to the gratitude and to the affectionate regard for Grant of every true southern man; and not only do I feel that gratitude as a southern man, but as a citizen of this Republic who has never felt estranged from it I realize that Gen. Grant's conduct on that occasion, and especially during the two fateful years which followed, more than anything else has made it possible for the hearts of the southern people to thrill, as now they do, with real vital love for the selfsame flag which waved in final victory that day over Appomattox's bloody fields. The facts permit not a shadow of doubt."

Subsequently President Andrew Johnson was undoubtedly pressed from many quarters to cause trials for treason to be instituted against Gen. Robert E. Lee and other Confederate generals. In the hearings before the Judiciary Committee, House of Representatives, on July 8, 1867, Gen. Grant was called as a witness, and at that time it was divulged that Gen. Grant had stood between the Confederate officers and this desire to bring them to such a trial. Gen. Grant based his opposition to such trials upon the terms that he, representing the United States, had given in the quotation that I have read. In this hearing Gen. Grant testified, among other things, to the following:

"I frequently had to intercede for Gen. Lee and other paroled officers on the ground that their parole, so long as they obeyed the laws of the United States, protected them from arrest and trial. The President at that time occupied exactly the reverse ground, viz, that they should be tried and punished. He wanted to know when the time would come that they should be punished. I told him not so long as they obeyed the laws and complied with the stipulation. That was the ground I took."

In reading Gen. Grant's memoirs I was struck by the fact that with characteristic modesty he makes no mention of this very notable incident which I believe history will determine to have been one of the most noble displays of his great and generous character.

On July 23, 1885, this great man passed away at Mount McGregor, N. Y. His name and his deeds have passed into history. Without question he stands as the first representative of American military genius. Accompanied by his military successes and abilities were those magnificent traits of character, nobility, and integrity of soul that will ever make him in the minds of the American people one of their noblest citizens.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

George Washington occupies a unique position in the minds of the American people as the Father of his Country. From the time of Washington, however, Abraham Lincoln will ever remain the most colossal figure in American life and the most influential upon its history. His entire life is surrounded by an atmosphere of romance, of pathos, of sadness, and of true greatness. From his birth in a humble log cabin in Kentucky to his tragic death in this Capital City his life was one of constant struggle and full of sadness. His grandfather, a pioneer of Kentucky, was killed by Indians. His father was a man of very slight education, but his mother, Nancy Hanks, though lacking in book learning, was a woman of superior natural ability, of exalted character, and of high spiritual temperament. To her maternal influence is attributed many of the most marked phases of the great emancipator's character.

When Lincoln was still a boy the family moved from Kentucky to Indiana and later to Illinois. Later his father, Thomas Lincoln, married Mrs. Sallie Johnston, of Elizabethtown, Ky. The new mother brought much comfort into the home of the hardy pioneer, and was throughout her life greatly beloved by the future President. The story of Lincoln's boyhood and early manhood has been frequently recited. His early trip to New Orleans down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers on a flatboat gave him his first intimate knowledge of the more severe features of slavery. In New Orleans he saw black men and women sold on the auction block, and he registered a vow to do his utmost to abolish that institution in this country. He kept store in Sangamon County, Ill.; he split rails for the fences to mark the lines between the lands of the various pioneers, and, indeed, performed all manner of physical work to which his great bodily strength was adapted. In the meantime, however, he was reading and studying as opportunity offered. His opportunity of a choice of books was limited, but the books that he did study were of the highest quality. They included the Bible, Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Æsop's Fables, Robinson Crusoe, and Weems's Life of Washington. The religious character of his reading undoubtedly affected and contributed to the purity of his later style of composition. In the meantime he made a study of law, and in 1837 was admitted to the bar of Illinois at Springfield at the age of 28. In 1843 Mr. Lincoln was defeated for Congress, but was successful in 1846. His fame commenced, however, after his term in Congress, when, in 1854, he entered into his famous debates with Stephen A. Douglas, who was at that time one of the leading orators of the United States, and subsequently the contestant with Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency. The speeches which he made in those great debates from the same platform with Mr. Douglas were widely published and attracted the attention of the country. The tenor of his great argument was contained in a single sentence: "The Government can not endure half slave and half free." Lincoln became the candidate of his party for United States Senator as against Mr. Douglas, and although he received a majority of the popular vote of the State the assembly districts were so constituted that he failed to receive the necessary vote in the joint session of the State legislature. While he was sorely disappointed at this result, it undoubtedly contributed greatly to his selection in 1860 as the candidate of his party for the Presidency.

Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated as President on March 4, 1861. Several of the Southern States had already seceded from the Union, and there was great excitement and a tense situation throughout the country. At that time Mr. Lincoln's thought was all for the preservation of the Union, and he sincerely desired the avoidance of war. In his inaugural address, delivered on that day, he used the following expressions:

"The power confided in me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government and to collect the duties and imposts, but beyond what may be necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no use of force among the people anywhere.

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors."

The story of Lincoln's services and experiences during the Civil War have filled volumes and are now known to all students of our history. With him it was a constant struggle with two forces: one which was not in sympathy with the war and desired to minimize and suppress all war activities; the other so impetuous and often thoughtless that it would avoid all prudence and attempt to accomplish things for which neither the country nor the Army was yet prepared. Many of the leading publicists and great newspapers of the North were constantly nagging the President to proceed more swiftly than the conditions would permit. The cry, "On to Richmond," which would have sent our Army unprepared against a valiant foe within defensive lines, was one which gave the President great concern. Many disasters in arms to the Union cause were created by the urgings of these zealous but indiscreet friends of the Union. Horace Greeley, the great editor of the New York Tribune, with a sincere devotion to the Union and a heart as gentle as a child's, was a serious offender in matters of this kind. The President was also pressed by the extreme abolitionists. While Lincoln himself was a strong abolitionist, above all things he desired to preserve the Union of States. In reply to one of the letters of Mr. Greeley in 1862, Lincoln gave his position on this subject in the following language:

"If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."

Lincoln's just estimate of his associates, who often were his political rivals, attested the greatness and nobility of his character. He was nominated for the Presidency after a severe struggle with several of the leaders and organizers of the Republican Party. Upon his election he appointed several of these men in his Cabinet—William H. Seward, his chief rival, Secretary of State, and Salmon P. Chase as Secretary of the Treasury. All the members of his Cabinet in the early part of his first administration undoubtedly considered themselves superior to Mr. Lincoln in statesmanship and knowledge of government. Mr. Seward early in the history of that administration submitted a suggestion which had been agreed upon by the other members of the Cabinet that the President should practically turn over the administration of the Government to himself—Seward—and the other members of the Cabinet. Mr. Lincoln, with his characteristic patience and breadth of view, manifested no indignation at this request, but replied to it in such a way as to leave no doubt in the minds of the Cabinet members that he not only felt fully competent to perform the duties of President but that he intended to do so. This was expressed in such a clear way that no attempt of this kind was ever subsequently made.

Washington's Farewell Address is a wonderful exposition of the foresight and deep wisdom of the first President of the United States, stated in simple and direct terms, which is the highest form of eloquence. But no American statesman or orator has equaled Lincoln in the eloquent statement of great truths in brief and concise language. In 1864 one of the great political parties in its national convention, in the form of resolutions which are usually spoken of as the platform of the party, set forth that the war was a failure and nominated one of the distinguished soldiers of the war as its candidate for President. Mr. Lincoln was overwhelmingly elected, and in his second inaugural address showed his great determination and tenacity of purpose in the following language:

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that the mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondsmen's 250 years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said 3,000 years ago, so still it must be said 'the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

In depth of feeling and tenderness of expression, nothing in American literature surpasses the letter written by President Lincoln to Mrs. Bixby, of Massachusetts, who had lost five sons on the field of battle. The great Lincoln wrote as follows:

"I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the adjutant general of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the fields of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any word of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I can not refrain from tendering you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom."

The culminating expression of Lincoln's great heart is contained in his address on the battle field of Gettysburg when that hallowed ground was dedicated as a national cemetery. It was framed by Mr. Lincoln partly before leaving the White House, and partly on the train en route, the last sentences being scribbled upon a scrap of paper with a lead pencil. This great address, containing less than 300 words, is generally admitted among men of letters to be one of the finest compositions in the English language and incomparably the better of any address delivered upon a like occasion. While it can be repeated by hundreds of thousands of school children, its brevity and trenchant patriotism make it appropriate upon any occasion of this character, and I make no apology for repeating it here. Mr. Lincoln said:

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But in a larger sense we can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow, this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here

to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

The tragic end of this great life occurred in this Capital City, April 15, 1865, in a house on Tenth Street opposite Ford's Theater, where the assassin Booth shot the President on the preceding night. The scene has been many times graphically described and is familiar to you all. The great soul of Abraham Lincoln passed from earth to meet the judgment of the Master whom he had so faithfully served. The record of his life is one of the cherished treasures of the American people. It has been an encouragement and incentive to thousands of men surrounded, as was Lincoln, in their earlier years with poverty to lives of usefulness and value to their communities and their country. Not only is the life of Lincoln influential upon the youth of America, but upon those of every other civilized country in the world. His life is immortal in its influence upon mankind.

So long as the American Republic lasts, even though it may extend to thousands or tens of thousands of years, Lincoln and Grant will stand out as the great figures of the Civil War and exemplars of the highest type of man produced by American traditions and American life.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM RAYBURN,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 26, 1920.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print and extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert an article written by Hon. Martin W. Littleton, of New York. Mr. Littleton is a former Member of this House, an able lawyer, and a thoughtful citizen:

[From the New York Evening Post, May 8, 1920.]

PROSECUTOR OF SOCIALISTS REPLIES TO HILLQUIT—MARTIN W. LITTLETON, ONE OF THE STATE'S COUNSEL, DEFENDS THE VERDICT OUSTING THEM FROM THE LEGISLATURE.

Martin W. Littleton, one of counsel who prosecuted the case against the expelled socialist members of the assembly, answers in the following article the arguments set forth by Morris Hillquit, counsel for the defense, in the magazine of the Evening Post on April 17.

[By Martin W. Littleton.]

The very essence of our definitive American civilization as embodied in a written Constitution is evaded and obscured by the socialists and those who join them in their protest against expulsion from the assembly. We are not, nor were we, designed to be a democracy nor even a representative democracy. We did not erect a government upon the shifting currents and popular gusts of opinion. Our fathers earnestly sought one thing, and one thing only, "the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—not as a nation but as individuals.

These are "unalienable," imperishable—these were never to be referred to the caprice, humor, or indignation of a majority. It was thought that as a means to secure these rights a government "deriving its just power from the consent of the governed" would be most effective. But it was not the object merely to create a government resting upon the consent of the governed. This would surely be a democracy, but it might be the very death of liberty.

Too often have democracy and liberty been confounded and confused. The power of a democracy resides in the majority. This is its original source of government, but "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" was for the individual against all governments and forms of governments. These were and are and must continue to be the very vitals of American civilization. These are the very fundamentals of a constitutional government; not merely a written constitution, but a constitution which scientifically and searchingly withdrew from the power of the masses or the classes the individual right "to life, liberty,

It not only withdrew this, but sanctified it as the whole sum and object of our civilization. If this right is destroyed, either peaceably or forcibly, our American civilization is destroyed, our definitive representative Republic is destroyed—all that there is of value or vitality, all that there is of essence or spirit, is gone. We would still have a mass of writing testifying to the existence of a new and strange absolutism and marking the place where liberty was destroyed, but our own civilization would disappear.

Democracy is a method of government—a registration of mass opinion. Life, liberty, property, or the pursuit of happiness, these are individual—indispensable to the very me of my life. These flee from all governments of all descriptions when they suspect that they are to be circumscribed, hampered, or suppressed. These enjoy a realm of their own, wrapping themselves around individuals, kindling the fires of ambition, stimulating them to daring deeds, pushing them on to high achievements. Democracy simply expresses the power of the mass—corrective, restraining, but rarely creating. "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—these express the precious attributes of the individual—initiating, devising, exploring, creating, and constructing.

The question which runs to the very heart of the age is not what manner of government shall we have but what manner of man will we leave after we have spread government all over his life, his liberty, and his pursuit of happiness. Well, then, what of the Socialist, and why expel him and disfranchise him? Because the whole aim of his conspiracy is to destroy the civilization of America—to tear out of it the very vertebræ of the Constitution, to take away the right to life as we are now assured we may live it, to destroy the right to liberty as individuals, to abolish the opportunity to pursue happiness as individuals.

The socialist says, "No; we give you a new life"—and so he does. But it is the life of an individual, not oneself, but the life fitted in and fastened to the mass, to rise or fall with its awful weight; to be crushed or solidified with its destiny. The socialist says he will give you new liberty, and so he will—the liberty of empty dreams and dead ambitions, the liberty not to think or grow or hope.

He will give you the liberty of uniting with the mass in resistless force to destroy real liberty, individual liberty—that's it, exactly—the liberty to destroy liberty or, better yet, the license to destroy liberty. The socialist says he will give us the right to pursue a new happiness; and so he will—the right, in concert with others, to combine against all individual pursuits of happiness, to insure the stagnation of economic security.

He will end all of the individual dreams of the individual soul, and you shall never suffer disappointment, for you will cease to hope; and you need never dread privation or despair, for you begin and end with these—the privation of individual aspiration and the despair of individual development.

The socialist says, "I have the right to participate in the Government and send my representatives there, because I intend the overthrow of everything that is vital in your Government and the establishment of mine." And he says, "You have no right to exclude me because I am intent on overthrowing your Government, provided I do it without force." And then some of us who confuse liberty with democracy are puzzled and hesitate and say after all he may be right. To those allow me to put this question:

If the Socialist should obtain control of this Government and begin the destruction of the right to "life, liberty," and property and the "pursuit of happiness," as we profess and live and enjoy it, and should inaugurate his rule of socialism, would you revolt and fight as your fathers did for a Government which insured "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" for the individual? If you would not, then you deserve to lose all of these blessings, because you have degenerated; but if you say you would fight to preserve them, then why allow yourselves to be reduced to a minority where you must rebel against the new order? Why not keep the alien thing out of your political household? Why not, as a masterful majority having liberty, maintain that liberty?

Whether peaceably or by force; whether insidiously or by open violence; whether as the spies of an invisible empire intriguing for the destruction of all nationalism or as the bold bandits and buccaneers of the frightful absolutism of the mob—the question is still the same: Will we voluntarily invite into our State and national councils enemies of that distinctive civilization which we are striving arduously to preserve? Will we suffer the individualism which is the very heart of national existence to be stilled and supinely adjust to our surrendered selves the strait-jacket of uniformity? The issue is squarely joined. We will accept socialism and surrender our civilization or we will exclude it as a voice in our political life and preserve our civilization.

And if some say, "You are destroying representative government," my answer is, I am not destroying anything. I am refusing you the license to destroy liberty. I will not guarantee representative government to you who reject it in order to enable you to take it from me, whose whole object is to preserve it.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALVOR STEENERSON,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 31, 1920.

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Speaker, this bill becomes necessary by reason of the fact that the Clayton Antitrust Act passed in 1914 contained a clause that on its face appeared to legalize cooperative associations of farmers to organize for the sale of their products, but it was so worded that it did not apply to associations having capital stock, and hence the contention has been made that such associations are illegal. Thousands of cooperative farmers' organizations exist in the different States, all with capital stock—such as creameries, elevator companies, stock-exchange associations, and so on. So long as they confine their business to their respective States they are legal because beyond the power of Congress, which only regulates commerce among the States.

But there never was any reason for outlawing them in interstate commerce, and the clause in the Clayton Act was really a joker, for had its effect been understood at the time it would not have passed. The object of this proposed measure is to give the farmers the same right to combine as is enjoyed by business men, and there is no danger in this, for the Secretary of Agriculture is given power to prevent an abuse of the power where it tends to monopolize or unduly advance prices. The farmer now must sell his products to the middlemen for what they choose to give, and the result is that the spread between the price the farmer gets and the consumer pays is very great. In many instances he gets two or three times what he pays the farmer for the products.

The contention that this measure will tend to increase prices to the consumer is unfounded. Under these organizations the farmers can in many cases sell directly to the consumer, and thereby eliminate the profits of the speculator or middleman. It will, above all, encourage food production, and in the end lower prices to the public. The bill carefully guards the interest of the consuming public, and the only real opposition to it comes from the large trusts and combines, who desire to continue to enjoy a monopoly in the purchase of farm products. I regard this measure as one of the most important to the continued welfare of the people of the country, and I hope it will be speedily enacted into law.

Adjusted Pay for Service Men.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. BAER,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 29, 1920.

Mr. BAER. Mr. Speaker, having introduced one of the first bills for adjusted compensation for the soldiers, sailors, and marines who served in the late war, it is with a great deal of satisfaction that I now see a measure which is about to become a law. Over a year ago I introduced one of the first measures for this purpose. At that time I made a speech urging immediate action on the measure. I argued that it was only the part of justice to compensate them for the actual losses they sustained while in the service. I also said that an additional amount should be paid to each person who served in the uniform, so that he could share in a small degree the unparalleled prosperity of profiteers at home. It is only fair play.

In order to prove that I am not a recent recruit to this cause, I shall quote from a speech I made on March 3, 1919:

"Mr. BAER. Mr. Speaker, I greatly regret that this third session of the Sixty-fifth Congress will adjourn without passing the urgent legislation required to adequately meet the imperative needs of the reconstruction period. There are many important bills which have been before the committee for months and which should have been brought out upon this floor. They would have passed this body with very little opposition on either the Republican or Democratic side of the House. I have introduced a bill to give to all soldiers, sailors, and marines one year's additional pay. I have indisputable evidence that an overwhelming number of discharged soldiers, especially the men with families and other dependents to support, are in need of funds to reinstate them in civil life. It is my intention to reintroduce the bill and urge its immediate passage at the coming extra session, which is inevitable, owing to the vast amount of necessary legislation which will be immediately required to meet the after-war problems. It was my earnest hope that the bill would pass, so as to meet the present needs of the situation until legislation could be enacted that would adequately provide for the future welfare of the men who have served their country with great honor to themselves and credit to our Nation.

"I have also introduced a bill which supplements the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior and multiplies opportunities for the discharged soldier. The measure provides that these men who so gallantly offered their lives to our Nation shall have an opportunity for education and training in the vocational lines which they desire to follow. I have talked to over 300,000 soldiers in the camps, and I believe I have had an unusual privilege to sense their needs. I know that many have been awakened to the great advantages they are able to obtain under our free institutions. We should open the door of opportunity to all men who desire to better their conditions. I believe that there will be much severe criticism of the present administration for not having a definite program of reconstruction and for delaying the legislation which is so important in order to meet the critical conditions which become increasingly more difficult to solve.

"After the Civil War the homestead act proved to be a magic wand in settling the West. The public domain formed the safety valve of economic discontent. But now we face a new problem. Since the sixties there has sprung up in this country a monopolistic control of our markets. Profiteers, gamblers, and speculators have clogged the channels of trade. They must be removed or we shall find that the new farmers will not stay upon the proposed farms. Some of the defects in our old system have been described by Dr. Elwood Mead in these words:

"Science should have gone hand in hand with the settlement of the arid and semiarid country, and all that science could give would have been utilized, first, in the creation of the conditions of settlement and then in aiding the settler in difficult tasks. Because nothing was done these heroic but uninformed souls were bedeviled by the winds, cold, drought, and insect pests. They wasted their efforts, lost their hopes and ambitions, and a tragic percentage left impoverished and embittered. The tragic part of this history is that nearly all this suffering and loss could have been avoided under a carefully thought-out plan of development.

"Those soldiers who are sons of farmers, and they are chiefly the ones who will take up the land, already know the injustice and inequities in our present method of distribution. They know the farmer only received 36 cents out of a normal dollar, and now only 18 cents out of a "50-cent" dollar.

"With the great land movement must come a new economic freedom, or the whole comprehensive scheme of back to the land will fail. Other nations are now meeting this problem. It is time that we, right here in this Congress, take action."

As I stated, I made this speech over a year ago. I believe that if Congress had taken action at that time we would not have been confronted by such a large appropriation as the present one. But often, owing to dilatory methods, we delay such matters, and the cost to the country is greater than it would have been if we had taken immediate action.

For instance, if the returned soldier had received six months' pay a year ago instead of the mere "tip" of $60, there would have been no more demand for this so-called "bonus" legislation, which, in truth, is not a bonus at all but just compensation for actual service performed. I think a lesser amount would have satisfied the service men then, because it was just when they returned home, and it required ready money to reinstate them in civil life. They wanted to buy a new outfit—such as clothes, shoes, and other necessaries—to take the place of those that they had outgrown or discarded upon being called to the colors.

When I first demanded adjusted compensation it was not as popular a cause as it is to-day. The American Legion and other soldier organizations had not yet been organized. After the American Legion received its official charter from Congress—a measure which I supported—the local legions began to make their influence effectively felt. An election was held in Wisconsin, and the people voted 3 to 1 for a soldiers' compensation law. I received numerous resolutions containing thousands of names from all parts of the country. North Dakota passed a law giving each soldier $25 a month for each month served, providing, however, that he invest the sum in a home, a farm, or in the furtherance of his education. Minnesota was compelled to follow the action of North Dakota and so were other States. About the time it became extremely popular among the people, it became very unpopular with the profiteers, the big bankers of Wall Street, and the big interests who, according to the provisions of the bill, will be compelled to pay the greater part of the burden, and which, according to all rules of equity, they should. The people will not pay this bill.

My action on this matter has been in full accord with the legislature of my State. In fact, the plan submitted by the American Legion is similar to the North Dakota plan, with one exception, and that one is the proposal in this measure to also give a cash payment. Congress has received the hearty cooperation of the officers of the American Legion in their fourfold plan, and also many letters from individual ex-soldiers.

Recently I made a statement for the Stars and Stripes, a soldiers' paper printed here in Washington, and I received many wires and letters commending my position. I have also donated several articles and cartoons to soldiers' papers and for their cause. I was among the few Members who first petitioned the leaders of the House to expedite hearings and action on this legislation. I hope that the Senate will immediately pass it, so that the soldiers will at once be assured of the benefits of this act.

The Wall Street Journal of August 17, 1919, severely criticized me for introducing the first bill. I shall not take the time to quote the article. This was followed by a barrage attack of all the reactionary publications of the profiteers. They have been sniping this bill ever since, and are getting in their best shots this very day. Just about a year after the Journal's attack I am glad to be voting for a bill for the soldiers. Recently I introduced a bill which is designed not to do away with legitimate stock exchanges but parasitical gamblers and speculators, who add no legitimate transaction to the functions of distribution. And again the Wall Street Journal devotes much space in an attack on my present bill. Is it possible that—judged by its previous attack on my soldiers' legislation—Congress will be passing an antigambling bill in

a year from now? Time will tell. If the present orgy of hoarding, gambling, and speculation in the necessaries of life keeps up, I am sure that some kind of such legislation will be enacted into law. I could have asked for "personal privilege" on the floor of this House to answer these attacks, but if a man advocates anything progressive a year in advance in these times it would require all his time answering attacks made upon him. The satisfaction always lies in the results.

Considerable criticism is made regarding the tax features of this measure. But where do they come from? They come from the big business interests, which have made a half dollar in profits for nearly every dollar spent in the war. The war cost thirty-six billions, and eighteen billions, went to making millionaires. It does not come with good grace to hear these exploiters of war's horrors—men who have taken advantage of the soldiers, their mothers, wives, and families—squirming because a slight tax is placed on their huge incomes. They have never paid their proportional share of taxation, and they are now trying to prevent anyone from being in Congress who insists that they must pay their equitable share.

There was no complaint raised about taxation by the gentlemen of Wall Street when we appropriated over two and one-half billions to pay off illegal and informal war contracts. Oh, no. Why do they cry now? They did not complain when Congress guaranteed millions in dividends and billions in "water" to the railroads of the country. The gentlemen who oppose this measure did not make a fight when wealth wanted a "bonus," but when the soldier who offered his life—the human element—was to be considered they have used every subtle means possible to defeat the proposal.

Here is the manner in which the revenue is to be raised to pay the soldiers' adjusted compensation:

1. An additional surtax on individual incomes of 1 per cent of the amount by which the net income exceeds $5,000 and does not exceed $10,000; 2 per cent from $10,000 to $26,000; and 3 per cent of incomes in excess of $26,000. (This provision is estimated to yield $108,000,000 per annum.)

2. A tax equivalent to one-fifth of 1 per cent on the sale of stocks and bonds. (This provision is estimated to yield $190,000,000 per annum.)

3. A tax equivalent to one-half of 1 per cent on the sale of real estate. (This provision is estimated to yield $50,000,000 per annum.)

4. An increase of approximately 15 per cent in the existing tax on cigars and tobacco and of approximately 25 per cent of the tax on cigarettes. (This provision is estimated to yield $55,000,000 per annum.)

5. An excise tax on corporations issuing stock dividends subsequent to March 15, 1920, equivalent to 10 per cent of the value of stock so issued. (This provision is estimated to yield $45,000,000 on stock dividends already declared and $7,500,000 per annum on future stock dividends.)

Can anyone show where these taxes fall on the people? None of these taxes are placed upon the necessaries of life. I personally opposed the sales tax on consumption, and I am glad it was stricken out.

The war profiteers will pay this tax. There seems to be an impression among certain reactionary newspapers that there are no profiteers. This false idea has been caused by the fact that the Department of Justice with its numerous employees is unable to find them and therefore tax collectors would not be able to chase them down and compel them to pay the taxes devised in this measure to raise the revenue to pay the soldiers this extra pay for their services.

I want to call the attention of the people of this country to some official figures on war profits which have been given out in a report to the United States Senate. I think these facts will prove that there will be little difficulty in finding profiteers because the proof is in the United States Treasury Department. There can be no question raised as to the authenticity of these statistics.

These profits will show how "patriotic" some capitalists were during the war. It will show immense dividends over which the farmer, soldier, and laborer had no control. The figures show net profits; that is, the profits after all excess-profits taxes and income taxes have been deducted. The figures prove conclusively that these profits were not due to increased production, but that these corporations took a larger proportion of the consumer's dollar.

Take a few, for example:

	Profits 1912–1914.	Profits 1916–1918.	Increase in profits.
			Per cent.
Copper	19.7	54.0	270
Steel	6.1	26.9	441
Clothing	3.9	22.6	580
Packers	14.4	36.9	256
Sugar	6.5	19.1	294

Total for 29 corporations show that the average profit in 1912 to 1914 was 8.6 per cent, while in 1916 to 1918 it was 23.9 per cent. This is nearly 25 per cent on their capital stock—and mind you, it is after all income taxes and excess-profits taxes were paid. Every four years these profiteering corporations could have nearly replaced their capital stock, which in many instances contained much "water."

Compare this with the income of the farmer, who, according to evidence made available by the Agricultural Department, made on an average of less than 4 per cent. It would take a farmer 25 years of hard work to replace his capital while corporations throughout the country replaced their capital in four years. According to the figures, a farmer could buy a new farm every four years if he were fortunate enough to be one of these privileged corporations. In Iowa the return on farms was only 3 per cent, and Iowa is a rich farming State.

But this 25 per cent is only an average. Let us see what some of the individual corporations made, according to this reliable report, which is taken from their own statements. It must be considered that these corporations took large exemptions in their reports for salaries, replacement, overhead, exemption of stock dividends, and other evasions. For example, one salary paid by the American Metal Co. was $364,000. I have not heard of any teacher, laboring man, or clerk receiving a salary like this during the war or at any other time.

These figures furnish plausible ground to estimate the real profits of corporations at about $1,200 for each family in the United States and still be conservative.

In Senate Document 259 it shows that 20,000 corporations made a profit, after paying all taxes, of 33½ per cent, while 5,724 made 50 per cent, and 2,030—one-tenth—made 100 per cent. In other words, over 2,000 corporations replaced their total capital stock every year during the war. A farmer or merchant in North Dakota could not replace his money actually invested in over 20 years, but these patrioteers robbed the people by equaling the capital in one year.

From 1916 to 1918 the coal companies made a clear profit of over one billion. The oil companies made $800,000,000 from 1912 to 1918. Over a billion dollars were turned over to the steel industries in three years. The copper interests made net profits of one-half billion dollars during four years, and most of the capital is fictitious. Numerous others could be cited which would show an alarming concentration of wealth in this country. These are the insidious influences that are trying to kill the soldiers' pay bill through their kept newspapers.

These papers did not complain when we gave war contractors $3,000,000,000 on illegal and informal contracts. They did not raise their voice when the railroads looted the Treasury of millions in dividends and Congress guaranteed billions in watered stock. We give wealth a "bonus," with no criticism from these privileged interests; but oh!—when the soldiers want justice—it is dangerous, a waste of public money, especially when we tax these profiteers to pay for it.

I want to call the attention of the House to the "king of profiteers." He made 299,999 per cent profit. His capital was $5,000; his profits $14,549,952.

It is unbelievable, but this incredible profit is shown on page 367 of the Treasury report. After deducting all income taxes and excess-profits taxes, this steel firm made 212,584 per cent on its capital stock. This company did not stand alone, for another made net earnings of 20,180 per cent. A farmer with $5,000 capital invested in a farm could have bought over 2,000 farms at the end of the year if he had made this profit. But the farmer only makes one twenty-fifth on his money invested, and this does not allow any fat salary, either.

Does it seem fair and just for these corporations, who have bled the country for four years, to complain when a soldier who earned a dollar a day asks, through his organization—the American Legion—for a small amount in adjusted compensation to pay him for losses sustained while in the service?

The American soldier, through his daring and valor, brought an early victory. It was generally conceded that the war would last one year more than it did. But by winning the war in such a short period the soldiers saved this country at least $20,000,000,000. In view of the fact that the victory veterans saved billions, and also considering the fact that profiteers made untold billions in excess profits during the war, I can see no argument for voting against this bill, and I am going to vote for it with a greater degree of pleasure than I have fought for it.

I want to take this opportunity to again call the attention of the country to the splendid record of North Dakota in the late war. North Dakota, in proportion to men serving, stands third in all the States of the Union in most men lost on the field of battle. In proportion to its population it had more

men under actual fire than any State. The Battle of Soissons, which has been called the "turning point of the war," was won by regiments in which North Dakota men predominated. The Second Regiment of North Dakota volunteers was raised in four hours as a result of the proclamation of the governor, the shortest time in which any regiment was ever raised in the United States. Thousands of others served in the war and at home, and every patriotic citizen in my State wants the soldiers to receive this adjusted compensation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN K. FOCHT,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 31, 1920.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following letters:

J. H. WEAVER & Co.,
COAL, BITUMINOUS AND GAS,
Philadelphia, May 26, 1920.

Hon. B. K. FOCHT,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. FOCHT: I return herewith letter to you from Mr. Morrow, vice president of the National Coal Association, together with copy of his letter of May 22 to Senator WALSH. I am not familiar with the Senator's speech referred to in Mr. Morrow's letter, but I have read the reply of the National Coal Association with a great deal of interest.

There has been some talk about the high price of coal. While I do not know it of my own knowledge, I have been told that bituminous coal has sold in New York Harbor at prices ranging from $22 to $25 per ton during the past 30 to 60 days. This is unusual and should not be taken into consideration for the reason that the numerous strikes which prevailed there recently prevented cars loaded with coal from reaching New York, in consequence of which they were dumped at other ports, such as Baltimore and Philadelphia, and barged to New York. The party who undertook to do this ran the risk of the situation clearing to such an extent that coal could be dumped at New York, when he would have had to take a great deal less for his coal upon arrival there than it cost him. However, the strike continued and these parties who assumed this risk found many distressed for coal, and accordingly exacted a high price. They were not, so far as I know, large coal interests, and perhaps they may have been only barge people.

If the price of coal is too high, it is due solely to lack of cars and motive power to move empties to the mines for loading. Mines are idle waiting for cars, and what little coal the operator produces costs him a sum far beyond what you would imagine, when overhead and all other items are taken into consideration.

I do not like high prices prevailing with any commodity, and coal prices, I can assure you, would be much lower if the Government had turned the roads back to their owners with adequate motive power and cars to promptly move the fuel which the miners are willing to dig. You will remember that during the period of Federal control, in order to keep business moving the Government bought quite a large number of cars, many of which, I understand, cost in the neighborhood of $3,000 each. The owners of the properties, I understand, demurred to taking some of these cars at the price paid for them by the Government, which was terrific, and they were only sane when they did it. However, costs have continued to advance, and it now appears that the cars can not be bought for any less cost.

In my opinion the railroad managers to-day are to be pitied. They are able men and are doing their very best, but you know as well as I that it is useless to try to run a newspaper without ink and type. Apparently, however, the American people want the railroad managers to move passengers and freight without engines and cars.

I have been suffering from a wretched cold, which has deferred my visit to Washington. I am thinking about going to Williamsport to-night, to remain there a couple of days to look after some matters of importance, and doubtless I shall return by way of Washington. If I do, I will not overlook wiring you in advance.

I thank you for sending me the letters referred to, and sincerely hope you will not forget me when you receive any similar information in the future.

Yours. very truly,

J. H. WEAVER.

NATIONAL COAL ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., May 22, 1920.

Hon. BENJAMIN K. FOCHT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: There are occasional indiscriminate charges that the bituminous-coal industry during the war made enormous profits. As a Representative of the public, you are doubtless interested in the facts in this matter as revealed by official publications. As a matter of information, therefore, I am handing you herewith copy of an open letter to Senator WALSH of Massachusetts on this subject.

Yours, very truly,

J. D. A. MORROW,
Vice President.

NATIONAL COAL ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., May 22, 1920.

The Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR WALSH: I have read your speech on profiteering with much interest, but I am constrained to deny your statements concerning the profits of the bituminous-coal industry. To my mind, it is necessary to refute the indiscriminate charge that the bituminous-coal industry made preposterous profits during the war. Let me, therefore, direct your attention to official figures on this subject which you have either overlooked or disregarded.

You cite Mr. McAdoo's report on corporate earnings printed as Senate Document No. 259 as your chief authority. The unfairness of that report is notorious. Mr. McAdoo's letter of transmittal itself states that he selected only companies "which in 1917 earned 15 per cent or more on their capital stock." In 1917 there were about 7,000 separate coal producers. His report, therefore, covers only about 6 per cent of the total number. It plainly includes the fortunate 392 who, because of specially favorable mining conditions, with low production costs compared with selling prices or on account of merely nominal capitalization, made 15 per cent or more on their capital stock. It says nothing of the other 94 per cent, some 6,600 operators, who admittedly made less than 15 per cent. Even the percentages quoted for the 392 concerns are no true measure of profits, because they are based on capital stock, when the report itself shows that many of these companies had invested far more than their capitalization. Consequently, any such conclusions as yours, based on that report, are manifestly unfair and misleading.

Further, with regard to alleged huge profits in 1917, the United States Geological Survey report on coal production for 1917, page 958, shows that the total output of bituminous coal in 1917 was sold by the operators at an average price of only $2.26 per ton at the mines, out of which all operating expenses, fixed charges, and taxes had to be paid before any profit remained.

Throughout 1918 prices were under control of the Government. On November 19, 1919, Dr. Garfield, United States Fuel Administrator, stated publicly that the average price allowed the bituminous operators for 1918 was only $2.61 per ton. He stated further that this permitted them an average "margin" of 46 cents per ton. Dr. Garfield was careful to explain that out of this "margin" Federal taxes of 30 cents per ton and some other deductions had to be made before the operators had any profits. Let me refer you, also, to the report of the United States Bituminous Coal Commission, page 41, where the tax returns to the Treasury of some 1,551 bituminous coal-mining companies are tabulated for 1918. These companies produce about one-third of the total output of bituminous coal, and after examination of the companies included the United States Geological Survey advised the commission that these companies represented fairly the conditions throughout the industry. Please observe that 337 of the 1,551 operators reported losses and that after deducting taxes the average per cent of net income to invested capital for the 1,214 companies reporting profits was less than 11 per cent, and for the entire number of 1,551 companies was only 9.72 per cent.

In this connection, I trust you will remember that coal mining is a hazardous business and can not be judged by the standards of return which are properly applicable to safer enterprises. At the outset the operator must invest in hundreds of acres of coal land, parts of which may afterwards turn out to be unworkable. He must sink his money in miles of underground tunnels and install expensive machinery far below the surface, all of which investment is subject to rapid destruction or total loss by explosions, fires, falls of slate, sulphurous mine water, and other physical conditions. At any time he may encounter irregularities in the coal deposits which will run his mining costs up to prohibitive figures. No 6 or 8 per cent return is adequate for capital which must encounter such risks.

As for 1919, the evidence obtained by Senator FRELINGHUYSEN'S subcommittee of the Senate which has been inquiring into coal conditions since last August shows that, following the lifting of the Fuel Administration control, prices under competition in the open market sank to ess than the Fuel Administration maximum limits. The only exceptions to this general downward price movement were certain high-grade coals of special value which have always commanded a premium in the open market. At the same time, on account of the additional increase in the cost of material and on account of greater lost time, mining costs advanced. It is common knowledge that in 1919 profits were less than in 1918.

The Federai Trade Commission has recently issued two reports on costs and selling prices of bituminous coal, showing that the operators' "margins" in January and February, 1920, were only about half the "margins" of 1918. The reports state that the "margins" shown are not profit, because selling expenses, interest on investment, and Federal taxes are still to be deducted.

The sale of a few cars of coal at high prices may be heralded broadcast as evidencing the general level of bituminous coal prices. Nothing is even said of the millions of tons moving currently at low prices. Some bituminous coal is doubtless being sold to-day at relatively high prices, but under present operating conditions high prices are inevitable.

An acute transportation shortage, rendering mine operation very irregular and costly, has been accentuated by unfair discrimination in the distribution of empty coal cars to the mines. Under special authorization from the Interstate Commerce Commission and in the face of the most vigorous protests from the bituminous coal operators, the railroads are giving a full supply of cars to those mines supplying their locomotives with coal and are running these mines six days per week. They are scattering the remaining handfull of cars among the other mines, which supply the public utilities, the industrial plants, and the domestic consumers of the country. Hundreds of mines thus discriminated against are prevented from shipping coal on more than four or five days per month, but all the expense of maintaining these mines goes on just the same. Some of them normally hoist 10, 15, and 20 tons of water daily for every ton of coal produced. This water must be pumped regardless of whether coal is being shipped or not. The workings must be kept ventilated, tracks cleaned of falls of slate and rock, and the property maintained. Such irregular conditions in the last few weeks have increased production costs at hundreds of mines from $1 to $3 per ton. Thus, at the same time that this system of discriminatory car distribution is depriving the industrial consumer and ordinary householder of his coal, it is doubling the cost of producing the little tonnage which is available for him.

There can be no permanent improvement of coal conditions in America proceeding from misinformation and misunderstanding of the elemental facts. I am satisfied that you are sincere in your desire for constructive betterment, and, therefore, I am taking the time to bring this information to your attention. We shall be glad at any time to give you or any other public official the facts on conditions in this industry.

Since your speech has been so widely quoted, I deem it only fair to make this letter public.

Yours, very truly, (Signed) J. D. A. MORROW,
Vice President.

The Budget Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. C. BASCOM SLEMP,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 29, 1920.

Mr. SLEMP. Mr. Speaker, there is so much confusion in the country generally as to the condition of our Treasury that I have given some study to the subject, and I hope a brief statement will serve in some degree to clarify the situation.

The estimated receipts for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920—ordinary and Panama Canal—are and will be approximately as follows:

Customs	$310,000,000
Internal revenue:	
Income and profits taxes	4,000,000,000
Miscellaneous and internal revenue	1,409,000,000
From sales of public lands	1,500,000
From miscellaneous sources	778,503,762
Panama Canal tolls	7,200,000
Total estimated receipts	6,506,203,762

The estimated expenditures for this period are:

Ordinary and special, to April 30, 1920, actual	$5,533,506,249.44
Estimated for May	425,000,000.00
Estimated for June	522,000,000.00
Total estimated expenditures	6,480,506,249.44

The amount between revenues and expenditures may be stated as follows:

Total estimated receipts	$6,506,203,762.00
Total estimated expenditures	6,480,506,249.44
Excess of revenues	25,697,512.56

This expenditure of $6,480,506,249.44 includes the ordinary expenditures of all the departments of the Government. It includes the entire interest on the public debt for the year. It includes over $1,300,000,000 paid to the railroads, of which $415,000,000 will be paid out this fiscal year as a result of the passage of the Esch-Cummins bill. It includes loans to our allies in cash of about $450,000,000; it includes $2,400,000,000 paid out in cash on war contracts, leaving a hang over only of such obligations of a little over $100,000,000. It also includes $150,000,000 paid to the War Finance Corporation, which, in effect, may be regarded as an investment in Government securities, inasmuch as the corporation has on hand of Liberty and Victory loans $221,437,906.99, and certificates of indebtedness amount to $189,800,000, a total of $411,237,906.99, and does not have commitments for loans to a greater extent than $150,000,000, and it also includes $442,000,000 paid in cash to the Shipping Board and other items of an extraordinary nature.

It will thus be seen that the revenues of the Government this year have been just about sufficient to take care of the expenses of the Government, including the extraordinary items that I have given, without resort to the sale of additional Government securities during the fiscal year.

However, the Treasury received on September 1, 1919, during the fiscal year, $1,032,000,000 as a result of the deferred payments of the Victory loans, thereby also increasing the public debt by that amount. The fact that the ordinary receipts of the Government about balanced the expenditures, as before stated, enabled the Government to use these proceeds in the discharge and retirement of other Government obligations; and this is just what was done:

The bonds of Liberty loans (first to fourth, inclusive) retired and to be retired this fiscal year, by June 30, 1920, will amount to	$970,000,000
Net retirement of war-savings stamps and certificates	120,000,000
Total net retirement of Government securities for fiscal year	1,090,000,000

It will thus be seen that the Treasury has retired this fiscal year about $60,000,000 more of national securities than it received from the sale of Government securities during the year. But this is not all. Treasury certificates, through a reduction in the general fund, had been reduced up to April 30, 1920, $637,962,934.44, with the probability that they will be still further reduced by the end of the fiscal year, leaving a working balance at the same time in the Treasury sufficient for all practical needs. I do not know whether the Treasury Department anticipated so good a showing this year or not, nor do I care. It would make no difference what any one might have guessed a year ago. I believe the showing for this fiscal year is better than was anticipated and as matter of fact better than has been stated by Treasury officials. It should serve at least to dispel some of the pessimism which seems recently to have been cultivated so generally in the country. The gross public debt, including Treasury certificates, as of June 30, 1919, was $25,584,506,160.05. On July 25, 1919, the Secretary of the Treasury said "that this amount should be increased by not more than the amount of deferred installments of the Victory loan, making a total public debt on June 30, 1920," to use his words, of $26,516,506,160.05.

The gross public debt, however, as of April 30, 1920, was $24,944,677,796.75, and will probably be $200,000,000 less by June 30, 1920, I am reliably informed. If that be the case, the public debt on June 30, 1920, will be $24,744,677,796.75 instead of $26,516,506,160, as expected by the Secretary of the Treasury in his statement in July, 1919. In other words the Treasury is $1,771,828,563.25 better off at the end of the fiscal year than was expected. There was a reduction in the general fund during the fiscal year, however, of $942,107,207.23, which, if deducted from the $1,771,828,563.25 would leave $829,721,356.02 that the Treasury is better off at the end of the fiscal year than it was at the beginning disregarding entirely the proceeds of the Victory loan payments in September, 1919, except as they were used to retire Government securities and not to pay running expenses.

Remember that this Republican Congress, due to a fortunate filibuster in the United States Senate, was placed in charge of much of the appropriations for this fiscal year and reduced Democratic appropriations by $940,000,000, and this is the principal reason why the Treasury is $830,000,000 better off than at the beginning of the fiscal year, permitting all the proceeds of the Victory loan to be used in reducing our public debt instead of payment on running expenses.

This more favorable showing of the Treasury Department is due to two or three causes: First, reduction of expenditures by this Congress from previous Democratic bills of $940,000,000, as I have explained; second, the insistence of the Republican Congress upon greater activity in the salvage of Government property; and third, increase in the revenue from other sources above the estimates of about $450,000,000.

I think the country and the Republican Party should be congratulated on this wonderful showing in the first year after the war.

Now, looking at the fiscal year 1921, we find that the relation between estimated revenues and estimated expenditures furnished by the recognized actuaries of the Treasury Department are as follows:

Customs	$340,000,000
Income and profits taxes	3,200,000,000
Miscellaneous internal-revenue receipts	1,300,000,000
Public lands	1,000,000
Miscellaneous sources of revenue	640,000,000
Panama Canal tolls	8,000,000
Total estimated receipts, 1921	5,489,000,000

The foregoing tabulation excludes the postal receipts.

Against these receipts we have estimated expenditures as follows, excluding expenditures on account of the Postal Service, to be paid from the postal revenues, in which it is assumed there will be no deficiency:

Under annual appropriation measures	$1,753,340,897
Construction of roads	45,000,000
Permanent annual and indefinite appropriations	1,400,000,000
Redemption of war-saving certificates	100,000,000
$240 bonus	30,760,000
Deficiency estimates which may be submitted against 1921 revenues	50,000,000
Settlement of Army and Navy contracts	115,000,000
Railroads	600,000,000
	4,094,100,897

Excess of receipts over expenditures, fiscal year 1921, $1,394,899,103.

In other words, the present revenues under the present system of taxation will leave the Treasury next year better off by about $1,394,000,000 than it was at the beginning.

To what is this good showing due? There is only one answer. The Republican Congress reduced expenditures below what was requested by the executive departments by about $1,400,000,000, which is just about the amount by which the revenues will exceed the expenditures.

This $1,394,000,000 excess may be applied on the floating debt of approximately $2,600,000,000, and thus reduce it by one-half, or it can be otherwise applied. At any rate, it is better to have it than not to have it, and we would not have had this excess of revenues had the Democratic Party instead of the Republican Party been in control of Congress.

I am not submitting this statement, Mr. Speaker, with any idea of encouraging any less regard for the most rigid economy than we have exercised or encouraging anyone to believe that taxes can be reduced until provision is made to take care of the floating debt of the Government. If taxes are to be reduced, then bonds must be sold to take up the floating debt, which even the great saving of $1,400,000,000 by the Republicans in the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress will not discharge.

Collective Marketing.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. RAKER,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 31, 1920.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, the bill H. R. 13931 is in substance the Capper-Hersman bill. I was in favor of that bill; and while there is a slight change made from the Capper-Hersman bill in the present bill, I shall and do support the present bill. I voted to consider the present bill, supported it in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and have just voted to suspend the rules and pass the bill.

The object of this bill is to authorize the producers of agricultural products to form associations for the purpose of collectively preparing for market and marketing their products.

Section 1 defines and limits the kind of associations to which the legislation applies. These limitations are aimed to exclude from the benefits of this legislation all but actual farmers and all associations not operated for the mutual help of their members as such producers. Unless each member has but one vote in his association, irrespective of the amount he may have invested as capital therein, the association must not pay a dividend of to exceed 8 per cent per annum. This limitation of 8 per cent is designed to compel payment to the members of as large a part of the proceeds derived from the sale of their products as possible, instead of paying it as a dividend upon the money used as capital. A number of farm associations oppose the payment of any dividend on capital, while others insist that they need a capital and must have the privilege of paying dividends. Eight per cent was fixed for the reason that in many places money can not be borrowed at a less rate, and that hence a less rate would prevent some of these associations from obtaining the necessary funds to carry on their business. The aim has been to make the provisions of the bill sufficiently liberal so that all cooperative farm associations operated in good faith for the benefit of its members might avail themselves of the provisions of this bill. The bill does not, however, compel any association to change its present organization nor does it create any new organizations. Associations will continue to be formed under State laws as heretofore. In States where it is illegal to operate an association such as the ones permitted under this bill, it will, because of the nature of such associations, be practically impossible to operate under this legislation, as the bill only grants the right to operate in interstate and foreign commerce. That is the only power that Congress can confer upon such associations.

Section 2 makes applicable to these associations in a modified form the provisions of the Clayton Act. Briefly, it gives the Secretary of Agriculture power to prevent these associations from exploiting the public. In the event that any association should refuse to comply with the order of the Secretary, a suit may be brought in the appropriate district court to enforce his order. The farmers are not asking a chance to oppress the public, but insist that they should be given a fair opportunity to meet business conditions as they exist—a condition that is very unfair under the present law. Whenever a farmer seeks to sell his products he meets in the market place the representatives of vast aggregations of organized capital that largely determine the price of his products. Personally he has very little if anything to say about the price. If he seeks to associate himself with his neighbors for the purpose of collectively negotiating for a fair price, he is threatened with prosecution. Many of the corporations with which he is compelled to deal are each composed of from 30,000 to 40,000 members. These members collectively do business as one person. The officers of the corporation act as agents of these members. This bill, if it becomes a law, will allow farmers to form like associations, the officers of which will act as agents for their members.

While this bill confers on farmers certain privileges, it can not properly be said to be class legislation. Business corporations have under existing law all the powers and privileges sought to be conferred on farm organizations by this bill. Instead of granting a class privilege, it aims to equalize existing privileges by changing the law applicable to the ordinary business corporations so the farmers can take advantage of it. Instead of granting to farmers a special privilege, it aims to take from the business corporations a special privilege by conferring a like privilege on farm organizations. It is no answer that farmers may acquire the status and secure the rights of a business corporation by deeding their farms to a corporation. That is neither practical nor desirable from any standpoint. Without doing that they can not associate themselves together for the mutual profit of the members without being threatened with prosecution.

New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and a number of other States have granted the right to form associations such as those contemplated in this bill. But these States can not confer any right upon their organizations to engage in interstate or foreign commerce. This bill is designed to grant that right. Associations of this kind are common in European countries and have been in operation for many years. Their effect has not been to raise prices to the consumer. In many instances the effect has been the reverse. They have tended to prevent much of the gambling in foodstuffs and to eliminate many of the useless middlemen that stand between the producers, the retailers, and the consumers. It is one of the chief problems of these associations to reach the consumer with as little expense as possible. Farmers ought to be given a chance to do that. The high cost of living can not be solved by discouraging agriculture. It must be solved by fair treatment of those engaged in that pursuit. To maintain his self-respect and the dignity of his occupation the farmer must be given an opportunity to deal in selling his products on an equal footing with those who purchase it. He should be given an opportunity to help solve in a rational and fair way the problems involved in the high cost of living.

I have just received a telegram from the agricultural legislative committee of California vigorously indorsing this bill. That telegram reads as follows:

SACRAMENTO, CALIF., *May 27, 1920.*

Hon. JOHN E. RAKER,
Representative Congress, Washington, D. C.:

Agricultural legislative committee of California, representing 70,000 farmers doing an annual business of over $2,000,000, to-day vigorously indorsed Volstead-Capper bill and unanimously passed the following statement of principle:

"Agriculture contributes so largely to the prosperity and well-being of the public that whatever makes for the legitimate interests of the producer brings a corresponding benefit to the public.

"Federal and State laws should be enacted permitting bona fide producers of agricultural products to act together either as corporations or otherwise in producing, manufacturing, storing, distributing, and selling their products. Whether producers' organization is formed with or without capital stock, has equal or unequal voting power of members, or pays interest or dividends on the capital employed are details that should be determined in each instance by the members of the organization, with due regard to the nature and extent of the industry itself and the necessities of production, storage, manufacture, and distribution.

"Any interest or dividends paid on capital, however, should be considered in the nature of a reasonable interest on the capital employed in furnishing the facilities through which the members transact their business. Such interest or dividends should not be considered as a profit earned by the capital contributed, but, rather, as a fair return to the members for the use of the capital which they contribute to furnish their own business facilities.

"The same public concern which authorizes collective organization and action by producers likewise requires provisions that safeguard the public against abuses by such collective action of producers and should provide the machinery for such public protection, preserving at all times to the producers the legitimate benefits of their cooperative efforts. It should be understood that the right to organize collectively under the laws referred to should be restricted to associations or organizations composed exclusively of producers of agricultural or horticultural products."

Legislative committee is composed of the following organizations: San Joaquin County Table Grape Growers' Association, California Fruit Exchange, California Fruit Growers' Exchange, California Peach Growers, California Fruit Distributors, Sebastopol Apple Growers' Union, California Prune and Apricot Growers' Association, California Pear Growers' Association, Mutual Orange Distributors, California Berry Growers' Association, Poultry Producers of Central California, California Lima Bean Growers' Association, California Cattlemen's Association, Associated Dairymen of California, Fruit Growers of California, California Almond Growers' Exchange, California Associated Raisin Company, California Walnut Growers, Nurserymen's Bud Selection Association, California Bean Growers' Association, Southern California Poultry Producers' Association.

AGRICULTURAL LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE,
R. N. WILSON, *Secretary.*

Who Kept the Faith—Who Broke It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SCOTT FERRIS,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 4, 1920.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the Congress, I have served in Congress from the State of Oklahoma for almost 14 years. The many bills I have introduced, votes I have cast, speeches made, are an open book. The citizens of my State and my colleagues are entitled to know the facts in reference to them. They have been compiled, and I have issued a statement to the people of Oklahoma embodying them. It follows:

To the people of Oklahoma:

You are entitled to know my attitude toward the war measures. Four million eight hundred thousand soldiers were serving at the front; America's taxpayers were buying Liberty bonds and paying income taxes that were heavy and hard to bear; 2,500,000 of America's womanhood were enlisting as nurses, yeowomen, and in other war activities; America's mothers were knitting sweaters and socks and praying and hoping that the war might be concluded. America's citizens, both within and without Congress, were expected to do their full part. You are entitled to know who kept the faith—who broke it.

WAR MEASURES ON WHICH TEST VOTES CAME.

1. War resolution. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

2. Selective-draft law. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

3. McLemore resolution. I voted against this in the House, as did every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present.

In the Senate, the Gore resolution, a duplicate of the McLemore resolution, which was killed in the Senate by an overwhelming vote.

4. Fifty-dollar bonus to dependent families. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

5. Increase of soldiers' pay from $15 to $30 per month. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present voted for this amendment.

6. Decker amendment to voluntary enlistment bill fixing the soldiers' salary in peace times as well as in war times at $30 a month. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

7. Seven-billion-dollar bond bill. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

8. Espionage law. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

9. Eleven-billion-dollar bond bill. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

10. National-defense act. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

11. War-risk insurance law. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

12. Necessary revenue for war expenses. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

13. Alien slacker bill to protect Americans—to deport disloyal aliens. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

14. Vocational education—providing education for America's 236,000 wounded men. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

15. Liberty loans. Supported faithfully every bill; contributed to the loans; made speeches; supported every one of them vigorously.

16. Second selective-draft act. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

17. Gregg amendment to specifically include Congressmen in the draft. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

18. Revenue bills. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

19. Aviation Corps—necessary appropriations therefor. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

20. Fortifications bill. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

21. Trading-with-the-enemy act. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

22. Bill to punish spies and traitors for destruction of war material. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

23. Bill to promote public safety at United States public ports. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

24. War-time prohibition. Every Democratic House member of the Oklahoma delegation present likewise supported this legislation.

Of the 96 Senators in the Senate there were but 8 who failed to keep the faith. Of the 435 Members of the House there were not exceeding 30 who from the beginning of the war to its close hindered and delayed their Government—obstructed war legislation, made troublesome speeches, introduced vicious bills, and cast unpatriotic votes. Fortunately most of these two groups have been defeated by patriotic constituencies, who repudiated them for the records made. Unfortunately for the country, a few remain.

This unfaithful group and those who agree with them on the subject are now vociferously asserting that they were the faithful ones and that those who did not agree with them, who would not vote as they voted, were the unfaithful. They are asserting that those who kept the faith are rubber stamps, inconsequential, and were lacking in vision, personality, and individual strength.

This willful group are now seeking to bolster up their record by asserting that they wear no ring in their nose, that they know no master, that they are men of vision, freethinkers, independent, and do not have to be led or follow any leader.

True, the 400 Congressmen and 90 Senators who were faithful to their oath of office, loyal in the support of the war, true to the Commander in Chief in raising an army, purchasing ships, killing McLemore resolutions and vicious amendments did not agree with this miserable slacker group. It is true that they helped to conduct the war—helped to raise an army, helped to equip an army, helped to furnish supplies, and helped to win the war.

Has the time come in America's history when the faithful of yesterday become the unfaithful of to-day? Has the time come when this willful group, hated, despised, and apologized for from one end of the country to the other, shall become the faithful and the chosen of to-day?

No; history has never written such a page—exacted such a toll.

Has the time come when sophistry, high-sounding phrases, skilled oratory, wit, sarcasm, and invective, bolstered up by fragments of truth amidst pages of deception, can blur the record of those who honored the Nation, upheld its tradition, and preserved the flag?

If this little group of 6 Senators was right, 90 Senators were wrong. If this little group of 24 Congressmen was right, 400 Congressmen were wrong. If this little group was right, Taft, Roosevelt, Root, the 48 governors of the 48 States, and the President of the United States were wrong. If this little group was right, Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln were wrong.

No; in truth and in fact, history must write, if it writes the truth, that this little group had forgotten their country, their patriotism, and their devotion to duty. It must write that they were catering to an element born beyond our shores. They were obstructing the progress of the war. Their bills, votes, and speeches did not ring true.

It has been asserted that the character of support I gave my Government during the war was that of a rubber stamp, but I can not believe that would be the verdict of more than the few. The eight Congressmen from Oklahoma have voted as I have voted, spoke as I have spoken, have stood as I have stood—behind the Government—aiding and helping the Government as best they could from the beginning of the war to its

close. To say I am a rubber stamp is to say they, too, were rubber stamps.

To say that the eight Congressmen from Oklahoma, who stood by their President, their Government, the boys at the front, the war legislation, the necessary appropriations to feed, clothe, and support the Army, are rubber stamps is to attack men who faithfully performed their duty when their Government called.

To say that the eight Oklahoma Congressmen who kept the faith are rubber stamps is but to repeat in substance the words of Trotski and Lenin, in far-away Russia, while they were stabbing their country in the heart with Bolshevism, anarchism, and disloyalty.

To say that the eight members of the Oklahoma delegation in Congress who voted alike on every vote, who spoke alike in every speech, who were helpful, thoughtful, and mindful of their Government's interests at every step of the perilous way throughout the war were rubber stamps is to adopt in substance the words of Villa, who is to-day disrupting Mexico as a common outlaw, a dangerous bandit, an enemy to society, a traitor to his country.

Fortunately in Oklahoma 77 counties have held county conventions, and not a single one of the 77 counties failed to indorse in terms specific the record of the Democratic House members of the Oklahoma congressional delegation for their services rendered throughout the war.

Fortunately a great State-wide convention was recently held in Muskogee, Okla., represented by more than a thousand delegates from every one of the 77 counties in the State, who in words unmistakable, in words loud and clear, passed a resolution easy to understand, plain in terms, emphatic in spirit. That great convention which passed this resolution without a single dissenting vote seemed to understand who was faithful, who was unfaithful, who had kept the faith, who had broken it. The resolution follows:

Not unmindful of her illustrious dead the Democracy of Oklahoma venerates the name of the Hon. Joe B. Thompson whose fidelity to his constituency went hand in hand with his enlarged conception of the true patriot. His ideal was performance of duty, his recreation was found in faithful service.

Resolved, That we most heartily commend the Hon. ROBERT L. OWEN, SCOTT FERRIS, W. W. HASTINGS, J. V. MCCLINTIC, CHARLES D. CARTER, E. B. HOWARD, and TOM MCKEOWN for their able, patriotic, and zealous support of and full accord with President Wilson as Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy in the conduct of the war and their zealous support since the signing of the armistice in endeavoring to bring the world lasting and eternal peace through the League of Nations. We condemn as un-Democratic, unpatriotic, and un-American the action of those who during the progress of the war obstructed and delayed and did what they could to retard and impede the war program, and who, since the armistice, have been seeking to pervert the results of victory, prevent the adoption of the peace treaty, and destroy the covenant of the League of Nations. The Democracy of Oklahoma with the blush of shame and the lament of sorrow deplores the action of its other Senator in pursuing a policy of obstruction and in giving aid and comfort to alien enemies from the inception of the war even unto the present hour, and the Democracy of Oklahoma most solemnly avows never to support any candidate, whomsoever, who during the war was under suspicion of disloyalty to our country's cause.

VICIOUS SENATE AMENDMENTS WHICH OBSTRUCTED, HINDERED, AND DELAYED THE PROGRESS OF THE WAR.

La Follette substitute, which reads as follows:

That within 15 days after this act takes effect the following question shall be submitted to the voters: "The Government of the United States having declared war against the Government of Germany, shall the United States Government at this time raise an army by draft to send to Europe to prosecute the war?"

Substitute defeated May 1, 1917, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session, page 1624 of CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—yeas 4, nays 68. The yeas were GORE, GRONNA, LA FOLLETTE, and Vardaman.

McCumber amendment: Senator MCCUMBER moved to strike out the provision exempting conscientious objectors May 1, 1917, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session, page 1625 of CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—yeas 17, nays 54. GORE, Hardwick, and PENROSE were among those absent.

McKellar amendment: Providing for raising of an army by volunteers rather than by draft. Defeated in Senate April 28, 1917, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session, page 1489—yeas 18, nays 69. GORE, Hardwick, and Vardaman all voted yes.

GORE'S amendment to revenue bill:

That until Congress otherwise provides, no part of the moneys raised or received under the authority of this act or otherwise shall be accepted, expended, or used, either directly or indirectly, to transport over the seas any citizen of the United States drafted into the military service thereof, unless such citizen shall also have volunteered for such service over the seas. (65th Cong., 1st sess., Aug. 18, 1917, p. 6146.)

The war revenue bill was pending. It was for the purpose of raising funds to feed, clothe, and equip the Army, to further conduct the war, to buy ships, to transport troops, to maintain the honor of the Republic, to win the war.

This amendment would have obstructed the war, delayed the transportation of troops, and released every slacker and conscientious objector and disloyal person who desired to avoid service. This in the midst of the world's greatest war.

SMOOT'S amendment to buy whisky:

Provided, That the President of the United States be, and hereby is, directed to take over for and on behalf of the Government of the United States all distilled liquors that are held in bond at the time this act goes into effect, and he is hereby authorized to pay the owners of such liquors the actual cost of the same plus a profit of not exceeding 10 per cent.

Amendment adopted July 7, 1917, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session, page 4780—yeas 65, nays 12. OWEN voted against it; GORE voted for it. This amendment would have cost America's taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars. It was later stricken from the bill. It would have taken money from the Treasury and sent it straight to the distillers of the East, thereby impoverishing the West and the entire Republic. It would have increased our war debt and required greater sacrifices of our people.

VOTED FOR SOLDIERS' SALARY INCREASE.

You are entitled to know my position and attitude toward the increase of the soldiers' salary from $15 to $30 a month. The salary increase from $15 to $30 a month was an amendment offered by Austin, of Tennessee. I voted for it, as did every Member of the House present—there wasn't a single dissenting vote. (See dates, volumes, pages where votes were had on this important question.)

Austin amendment, April 28, 1917, page 1550—yeas 257, nays none. No roll call.

Final passage of bill April 28, 1917, page 1557—yeas 397, nays 24. SCOTT FERRIS voted "Yes."

Motion to recommit May 16, 1917, pages 2396-97—yeas 199, nays 178. SCOTT FERRIS voted "Yes." Also GILLETTE, MANN, KAHN, LONGWORTH, STEDMAN, Fitzgerald, Adamson, and every member of Military Affairs Committee. They were unwilling to allow the organization of an army to be delayed. The salary item as reduced by the Senate was $25 a month plus 20 per cent, which amounted to $30, to those who served abroad, and if that was not sufficient, it could be increased any day. No one was against the salary increase; everyone had voted for it—it was a controversy over recommitting the entire draft bill. To say that these men were against the increase of salary is preposterous. It simply is not true.

Final adoption of conference report May 16, 1917, page 2423, without roll call. SCOTT FERRIS voted "Yes."

Speaker CHAMP CLARK of Missouri, who was Speaker all through the war, who understands the proceedings in Congress and knows the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and every detail of it as no other man does, gives the true situation with reference to the soldiers' increase, citing the page of the RECORD and all the details about it in a letter to Ray O. Weems, of Sallisaw, Okla., showing conclusively that SCOTT FERRIS not only voted for the increase but helped the soldier and stood for the soldiers' interest on every occasion. The letter is as follows:

APRIL 29, 1920.

Mr. RAY O. WEEMS,
Sallisaw, Okla.

DEAR MR. WEEMS: I have received your letter of recent date making inquiry as to what took place in Congress at the time the soldier salary increase was up for consideration. I also observe your desire to know what part Congressman SCOTT FERRIS took on that particular matter and also what his general attitude has been toward the soldiers.

In reply, I beg to advise you that I was Speaker of the House of Representatives when this controversy came up and that while my memory on the subject is fairly clear, I have had the RECORD examined in order that there might be no mistake about it.

The whole question of the increase of pay of the soldiers was carried in H. R. 3545, the so-called draft bill, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session.

First vote. Mr. Austin of Tennessee offered an amendment to the draft bill increasing the soldiers' pay from $15 to $30 a month. Yeas 257, nays none. SCOTT FERRIS was present and voted yes. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Apr. 28, 1917, p. 1550, 65th Cong., 1st sess.)

Second vote. Final passage of the draft bill containing the Austin amendment. Yeas 397, nays 24. SCOTT FERRIS voted yes. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Apr. 28, 1917, 65th Cong., 1st sess.)

Third vote. The Senate reduced the pay of soldiers to $29 a month, thereby placing the item in conference. The draft bill, in form of a conference report, came from the House carrying an amendment increasing the soldiers' pay to $25 a month, plus 20 per cent for foreign service, which made it $30 a month. The conference report amount carried $30 a month for all who served abroad—the same as finally passed. The difference between $25 a month, provided in the conference report for those that remained at home, could be remedied any day—the 178 men who voted against recommitment were the best men in the House and all true friends to the soldiers. Mr. GOOD, of Iowa, moved to recommit the entire draft bill with instructions to increase the soldiers' pay to $30 a month. Yeas, 199; nays, 178. See pages 2396-2397 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sixty-fifth Congress.

The 178 Members who voted against recommitment were not opposed to the salary item—they were opposed to recommitment of the draft bill and delaying the organization of an army. For example, every member of the Military Affairs Committee, both Republican and Democrat, voted against recommitting the bill. The present Speaker, FREDERICK H. GILLETT; Republican leader, JAMES R. MANN; ranking Republican member of the Military Affairs Committee, KAHN; NICHOLAS LONGWORTH, son-in-law of the late lamented Roosevelt; Maj. STEDMAN, an old Confederate soldier; Fitzgerald, of New York, chairman of the Appro-

priations Committee; Adamson, of Georgia, chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee; FERRIS, chairman of the congressional committee; and each and every one of the 178 Members who voted against the recommitment of the draft bill and sending it back to conference had previously voted in favor of the increase of salary—for the Austin amendment—for the draft law carrying the Austin amendment, and to say that they were opposed to the increase of salary is preposterous—without reason and without justice. It simply is not true; not a Republican or Democrat in the House was opposed to the increase.

Fourth vote. Final adoption of the conference report carrying $30 a month pay for soldiers. Passed without a roll call; no Member voted no. SCOTT FERRIS was present and voted yes. President Wilson signed it, and it became a law. The soldiers received $30 a month throughout the war.

In the third session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, in the consideration of the volunteer enlistment bill, S. 5279, Mr. Decker, of Missouri, offered an amendment giving the soldiers $30 a month in time of peace as well as in war. It was adopted unanimously. SCOTT FERRIS was present and voted for it; it was signed by the President; it is a law. Soldiers of the Army now receive $30 a month.

In addition to what the record shows and in addition to the facts as above given, I desire to say that SCOTT FERRIS's attitude toward the soldiers, from the beginning of the war to this good day, has been of the most friendly sort. He has not only voted for the increases of the soldiers' pay on each and every occasion, but has supported and voted for every appropriation for supplies for the soldiers and for every piece of legislation that would help the soldiers. He did not stop there. Throughout the last session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, while he was chairman of the Public Lands Committee, he tried faithfully to secure the passage of legislation that would allow the soldiers to buy homes on long time of repayment at low rates of interest. He appealed to me as Speaker to help get it through. He brought it up in the congressional committee of which he is chairman and fought to get their indorsement of it. He did every conceivable thing to get legislation through for the soldiers, and he still is at it. He is at this time absenting himself from his campaign and remaining here in Washington trying to help get through the American Legion bill and achieve something for the soldiers. The soldiers have no better friend in Congress than SCOTT FERRIS.

Very truly, yours, CHAMP CLARK.

VOTED TO SPECIFICALLY INCLUDE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS IN DRAFT—REGISTERED AND CLAIMED NO EXEMPTION.

You are entitled to know my position on the question of exempting Congressmen from service during the war. I voted twice to specifically include Members of Congress in the draft. I registered and claimed no exemptions, and had they called men up to 41 years of age I would have been called as every other man was called. It will be remembered that men above 36 years of age were never called.

(First vote: See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Aug. 23, 1918, 65th Cong., 2d sess., p. 9458.)

(Second vote: See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Aug. 24, 1918, 65th Cong., 2d sess., p. 9505.)

Hon. South Trimble, of Kentucky, was Clerk of the House throughout the war and when this question was voted upon, has, pursuant to a request from Mr. Glover Suter, an ex-soldier of Randlett, Okla., written a letter which gives the facts precisely as they are. He has no interest in this contest. His letter explains the entire situation:

APRIL 28, 1920.

Mr. GLOVER SUTER,
Randlett, Okla.

MY DEAR GLOVER: I have received your letter of recent date. I was Clerk of the House during the war Congress. I knew SCOTT FERRIS very well. I was present when both the draft bills were passed through the House. When the first draft law was passed it included men between the ages of 21 and 31, and there was no Member of the House or Senate who fell within those ages. Hence the first draft law had no application whatever to Congressmen and Senators.

Later in the Congress, as the war progressed, it was necessary to have additional men, and the War Department prepared a new bill, which was known as the second draft bill, and which provided for the drafting of men from 18 to 45 years of age. While this bill was being considered in the House, Mr. Gregg, of Texas, offered an amendment to specifically include Members of Congress in the draft. The first vote on the question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to. SCOTT FERRIS was present and voted for it. The amendment and the vote on it will be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 23, 1918, page 9458.

Later, during the consideration of the bill, Mr. SIMS, of Tennessee, demanded a second vote on the proposition of specifically including Members of Congress. Mr. SIMS, a gentleman 66 years old at the time, could not have had any special interest in it, and contended that it was an unwise policy to draft Members of Congress and thereby hinder the work of the war Congress. The second vote was taken. Eighty-nine Members voted specifically to include Congressmen in the draft; 143 followed Mr. SIMS, and the amendment was defeated. SCOTT FERRIS was present, and was one of the 89 who a second time voted specifically to include Members of Congress in the draft. You will find the second vote in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 24, 1918, at page 9505.

Immediately following the passage of the second draft law, including men between 18 and 45, SCOTT FERRIS, being 41 years of age and within the limit, immediately registered, as did every one of the 25,000,000 registrants, claimed no exemption, and stood ready to go. The war was concluded by the signing of the armistice in November, 1918, and men above the age of 36 and below the age of 21 were never called.

You can say to the Oklahoma people for me that the American soldier had no better friend in Congress than SCOTT FERRIS. He not only voted for every increase and against every decrease but spoke in their behalf, worked in their behalf, and is now in Washington working in behalf of bonus legislation and every other species of legislation which is good for the American soldiers.

SCOTT FERRIS was a loyal, patriotic Member of Congress throughout the war. He was chairman of the Committee on Public Lands in the House of Representatives. He was likewise chairman of the Democratic congressional campaign committee. Notwithstanding this, and notwithstanding the sacrifice which would have been made had he left his seat in Congress and entered the service, he voted to include himself in the draft; when he was outvoted in that, he registered, claimed no exemption, and stood ready to go, as did every other man.

Oklahomans do not and will not have occasion to apologize for SCOTT FERRIS's war record. He was 100 per cent every day.

Remember me to your father.

Very truly, yours, SOUTH TRIMBLE.

SUPPORTED WOMAN SUFFRAGE ON EVERY VOTE.

You are entitled to know my position and to have the complete record on the question of woman suffrage. It is as follows:

First vote in the House: House joint resolution 1—yeas 174, nays 204. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Jan. 12, 1915, 63d Cong., 3d sess., pp. 1483–1484.)

Thus it will be observed that I voted for suffrage when it was unpopular as well as later when it was popular.

First vote in Senate on suffrage: Senate joint resolution 1—yeas 35, nays 34. Senator GORE voted no. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Mar. 19, 1914, 63d Cong., 2d sess., p. 5108).

Second vote in the House on suffrage: House joint resolution 200—Yeas 274, nays 136. I voted yes. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Jan. 10, 1918, 65th Cong., 2d sess., p. 810.)

Second Senate vote: House joint resolution 200—yeas 53, nays 31. GORE voted yes. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Oct. 1, 1918, 65th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 10987–10988.)

Third vote in the Senate on suffrage: House joint resolution 200—yeas 55, nays 29. GORE voted yes. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Feb. 10, 1919, 65th Cong., 3d sess., p. 3062.)

Third vote in the House: House joint resolution 1—yeas 304, nays 90. I voted yes. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 21, 1919, 66th Cong., 1st sess., p. 93.)

Fourth vote in the Senate on suffrage: House joint resolution 1—yeas 56, nays 25. GORE absent and not voting. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 4, 1919, 66th Cong., 1st sess., p. 635.)

I voted for woman suffrage when it was an issue in the State; I voted for woman suffrage when it was an issue in the Nation; I have never voted against suffrage; I have always supported it. I have received a letter from Carrie Chapman Catt, one of the leaders of the suffrage movement, thanking me for my efforts in behalf of suffrage. The letter follows:

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., May 24, 1919.

Hon. SCOTT FERRIS,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. FERRIS: In behalf of our association, we write to thank you once more, not only for your support of the suffrage amendment on May 21, but for your genuine and most helpful interest in the long, hard months that preceded that splendid victory.

It is a pleasure to thank all our friends, but we take special satisfaction in expressing our gratitude to those who, like yourself, have at all times been loyal defenders of our great cause.

Sincerely, yours,

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
President.
ANNA HOWARD SHAW,
Honorary President.
HELEN H. GARDENER,
Fifth Vice President.
MAUD WOOD PARK,
Chairman Congressional Committee.

SUPPORTED JUST LABOR LEGISLATION.

You are entitled to know my position with reference to the labor questions that have come up in Congress during my service here. I have supported and helped secure the passage of the following bills. They were in the interest of labor—they were labor's demands:

Bill forbidding child labor in the District of Columbia.

Amendment forbidding prosecution of labor organizations under antitrust law. A law asked by labor.

Children's Bureau, to improve the conditions of America's children.

Direct election of United States Senators instead of by State legislatures as in past.

Forbidding transportation of prison-made goods, protecting labor against competition with convict labor.

Child labor bill, to protect the children against being placed in sweatshops.

Minimum wage for Federal employees, insuring employees of living wage and principle for which labor has long contended.

Anti-injuction bill, to protect labor.

Federal employees workmen's compensation act, to provide compensation for Federal employees injured in line of duty.

Final passage of postal employees' salary increase, to give postal employees living wage.

Employers' liability, to protect workers and preserve their rights in personal injuries.

Motion to override President Taft's veto of bill containing exemption of labor from prosecution under antitrust law.

Sundry civil bill making appropriations for vocational rehabilitation, a bill to help soldiers wounded in war.

I have always been friendly to the 20,000,000 wage earners of the country. The American Federation of Labor keeps a complete record and a complete check on every Member of Congress, every bill introduced, every vote cast, every speech made. Hon. Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, has been good enough to write a letter which, I think, quite well states my attitude toward labor and labor questions. It follows:

APRIL 12, 1920.

Hon. SCOTT FERRIS,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

SIR: In compliance with your request, I am sending your labor record made as a Member of Congress from 1908 to the present time. I am doing this with a great deal of pleasure, as your record is a very favorable one.

As you know, labor does not ask for anything that is not of benefit to all the people. Therefore, when we find a Member of Congress who is loyal to the people because of his loyalty to labor, we consider it a duty to express our satisfaction to him personally.

The nonpartisan political campaign of the American Federation of Labor, which is now in full swing throughout the country, has for its purpose the return to Congress of such men as you and the defeating of those who continually, by both word and vote, take away the liberties of the people.

Again congratulating you on the good record you have made as a Member of Congress, I remain,

Yours, truly,

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary American Federation of Labor.

I ask my friends to examine the bills introduced, the speeches made, the votes cast, the results attained, to determine who served them best, and who was faithful to them. I ask them to read carefully the letter of the American Federation of Labor, signed by Frank Morrison, its secretary, who has kept the record, knows the facts, and states the truth.

SUPPORTED LEGISLATION BENEFICIAL TO RURAL CARRIERS AND OTHER GOVERNMENT CLERKS.

You are entitled to know my attitude toward the 650,000 civil-service employees in the United States and their salaries and their general welfare. I have at all times been friendly to them and their interests. Hon. Luther C. Steward, president of the National Federation of Federal Employees, keeps an accurate record of every Member of Congress, his votes, his speeches, and his bills, and he, better than anyone else, knows the attitude that I have maintained throughout my long service here toward these 650,000 civil-service employees. He has been good enough to write a letter on the subject, explaining the situation. It follows:

APRIL 16, 1920.

Hon. SCOTT FERRIS,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. FERRIS: I am in receipt of your letter of the 14th instant asking that I examine the record maintained by the National Federation of Federal Employees as to important votes cast by each Congressman and Senator affecting the interests of labor in general and the Federal employees in particular, and inform you whether or not your record has been favorable on these questions. You also ask that I particularly inform you as to our record of your stand on the so-called Borland amendment and Nolan minimum-wage bill, two measures of particular importance to Federal employees throughout the United States.

In reply I take pleasure in informing you that the attitude of the Federal employees, as expressed through their organization, the National Federation of Federal Employees, has been of the utmost friendliness toward you, due to the feeling that you were interested in their welfare and would deal with an open mind and in a fair spirit in respect to measures in which they were interested. Our records show that on important measures affecting either the interest of labor or Federal employees you have been recorded as favorable; that you are recorded in opposition to the Borland amendment, which piece of legislation would have resulted in adding about 15 per cent to the working day of Federal employees, without any corresponding increase in compensation; you are recorded as opposing the Good amendment to the Nolan minimum-wage bill, which amendment, had it been adopted, would have deprived beneficiaries of the minimum-wage bill of any benefit from a temporary increase, or so-called bonus. You are also recorded as voting for the Nolan minimum-wage bill on its final passage. This measure, affecting as it does about 66,000 of the lowest-paid Federal employees, now receiving less than a living wage, is one of our most important measures.

I can only wish that all of the Members of the House had records as favorable toward remedial legislation for Federal employees as yourself. In that event, the condition of civilian employees would be materially above what it is at the present time.

Very truly, yours,

LUTHER C. STEWARD, *President.*

SUPPORTED LEGISLATION BENEFICIAL TO FARMERS.

You are entitled to know my attitude toward the 6,500,000 American farmers. From the day I entered Congress until this good day I have never introduced a single bill against the farmer's interests, never have spoken against his interests, never have failed to speak in his behalf when his interests were hanging in the balance. I have never voted against the farmer's interests; neither have I failed to cast a vote in his behalf when opportunity presented itself.

SOME OF THE MORE IMPORTANT PIECES OF FARM LEGISLATION THAT I HAVE HELPED TO ENACT.

1. Federal aid for good roads, under which $294,000,000 have been appropriated out of the Federal Treasury.

2. Law to prevent gambling in farm products, affording the farmer an open and honest market on which to sell the products of the farm.

3. Rural credits law, lowering the rates of interest, longer tenure, affording the farmer who earns slowly an opportunity to repay on.

4. Warehouse bill, enabling the farmer to house his crops and prevent him from sacrificing them on an unfavorable market.

5. Ferris 640-acre homestead law, increasing the area of homesteads that may be homesteaded from 160 to 640 acres.

6. Three-year homestead law, cutting down the residence requirement from five to three years.

7. Ship-purchase act, freeing America's farmers from the shipping trust; furnishing them an avenue and market for their crops; ships to carry America's commerce; enabling the farmer to have a steady and dependable market for his wheat, cotton, and his every product.

8. Marine-insurance law, requiring the Government to afford insurance to America's producers in order that their products may go forward across the sea to an open market.

It will be remembered that before this law was enacted, during the early part of the war, cotton dropped down to 6 cents a pound and wheat to 79 cents a bushel. The marine-insurance law and the ship-purchase act brought the price of cotton and wheat up, by enabling him to send his products in Government ships under Government insurance across the sea to the markets of the world, thereby aiding him in his efforts to succeed.

9. Bureau of Markets, a Federal bureau supported by the Government, to aid the farmer in securing the best market for his crops; to help him avoid waste; to provide better market facilities; and to assist the farmer in every way.

10. Bureau of Good Roads, to keep alive road improvement everywhere, to cooperate with the States in a great system of Federal highways.

11. Food-control bill, a war measure, necessary during the war to provide sufficient food for our armies at the front. To prevent waste, profiteering, and graft.

The vote was taken on the conference report on the food-control bill, it being the last vote before the bill went to the President for his signature—yeas 359, nays none. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the 65th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 5767–5768.)

Not a single Republican or Democrat failed to support this bill. It was the best judgment of everyone present at the time. Every Democratic Member of the Oklahoma delegation present voted "Yes."

Vote on the food-control bill in the Senate—yeas 81, nays 6. Senator OWEN voted "yes." GORE did not vote.

If certain phases of this bill worked a hardship and proved to be a mistake, it was a mistake of every Member of Congress in the House.

12. Wheat guaranty law; $2.50 wheat amendment—yeas 127, nays 180. I voted "yes." (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Apr. 18, 1918, 65th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 5319–5320.)

Second vote in House, on $2.40 wheat amendment—yeas 150, nays 107. I voted "yes." (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 6, 1918, 65th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 8796–8797.)

Third vote in House, on $2.40 wheat amendment; vote to override the President's veto—yeas 73, nays 173. I voted "Yes" to override the President's veto. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 65th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 9105–9106.)

Billion-dollar wheat guaranty—yeas 278, nays 14. I voted "yes" for the guaranty and to protect the farmer and his interests. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Feb. 22, 1919, 65th Cong., 3d sess., pp. 4051–4052.)

NOTE.—Thus it will be observed that on all four test votes on the wheat-guaranty proposition—increasing the price, overriding the President's veto, and so forth—I supported the farmers' interests on every vote.

Hon. A. F. Lever, 20 years a Member of Congress, 6 years chairman of the Agricultural Committee, now member of the Federal Farm Loan Board, who better than anyone else knows my attitude on agricultural questions, has been good enough to write me a letter on the subject, which is as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
FEDERAL FARM LOAN BUREAU,
Washington, D. C., May 1, 1920.

Hon. SCOTT FERRIS,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SCOTT: I am just in receipt of your letter, and because of the fact that I was six years chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture I am not surprised that you should make inquiry of me concerning your attitude in Congress touching matters of interest to agriculture in general.

You were always active and helpful in the passage of every measure considered in behalf of agriculture. This is especially true with respect to the farm-loan act, the cotton-futures act, the warehouse act, and the grain-grades act, the good-roads act, and the acts authorizing the construction of fertilizer plants and the establishment of the Bureau of Markets. These were measures with which I myself was intimately connected. I remember very distinctly also your position with reference to the $2.50 wheat bill and the billion-dollar wheat guaranty act. Not only did you vote for the $2.50 wheat bill, as well as the $2.40 wheat bill, which later passed both the House and Senate, and was vetoed by the President, but you likewise voted to override the veto of the President.

During the 14 years of service with you in the House I found you at all times not only alive to all legislation under consideration but especially alive to legislation reported from the Agricultural Committee which undertook to better the condition of agriculture throughout the Nation.

Very truly, yours,

A. F. LEVER,
Member Farm Loan Board.

I was born on a farm, raised on a farm, came of a race of farmers. Everything I have on earth is invested in a farm. I am interested in the farmers' welfare. I have supported them in season and out, as my record will disclose. True, I have not boasted that "I carried the farmers' votes in my vest pocket." True, I have not boasted that "the boys from the forks of the creek all belong to me." True, I have not agitated and sought to array them against other classes of citizens, for by so doing I become the farmer's enemy rather than his friend. Coming from a race of farmers as I do, I have preferred to believe that the farmer neither desires nor deserves flattery, cajolery, or deception practiced upon him. I have preferred to believe that he only asks a square deal, honest treatment, and a fair chance. This I have always accorded him. This I always will accord him. This I will fight to secure for him. I am perfectly sure he asks nothing more; and anyone who promises more is promising something that will not be delivered, something that can not come true, and merely seeking to presume upon his intelligence, which I can not do and will not do.

I have represented an agricultural district in Congress for 14 years. They have stood by me every day. I have intended to stand by them every day as I understood their rights and desires. To have done less then, to now promise to do more, would be an injustice to the farmers, an injustice to the public, would render me both unworthy and untrue.

I resent the insinuation that any Senator or Congressman carries in his vest pocket the votes of the Oklahoma farmers. They study, think, understand, and differ as we all differ. Because one farmer or little group of farmers are disloyal it does not follow that others are disloyal. Because one business man or group of business men, one laborer or group of laborers, are disloyal it does not follow that they are all disloyal. I deny that there is more disloyalty among the farmers than in any other class. I deny that they as a body will support a disloyal man when every other class refuses to accord him its support.

The burdens of the war have been heavy and hard to bear. The farmer has carried his load manfully and well. He is entitled to the thanks of a grateful Republic. It is true that injustices have been heaped upon the farmer in the administration of the food-control law. I am now at work seeking to correct some of them. I shall not stop until it is done.

SOME ACTS OF INFIDELITY AND DISLOYALTY TO MY GOVERNMENT THAT I DID NOT COMMIT.

1. I did not introduce troublesome bills to hinder and delay the progress of the war.

2. I did not introduce troublesome amendments tying up appropriation bills while the armies suffered for food, clothing, and equipment.

3. I did not introduce any McLemore resolutions to surrender my Government's rights and humiliate the Nation in which I lived.

4. I did not write letters of encouragement to slackers, draft resisters, draft dodgers, and other enemies of the Government.

5. I did not refuse to help raise an army when my Government was without an army, when my Government needed an army, when it was calling to Congress to raise an army.

6. I did not receive letters from an outraged constituency demanding that I resign, come home, on account of my lack of patriotism and infidelity to my country during the war.

7. I did not join hands with a little group of slackers, numbering approximately 8 in the Senate and some 24 in the House, and from the beginning of the war to its close hinder, delay, annoy, obstruct, scold, decry, and abuse my Government.

8. I did not refer to the soldiers as "conscripted slackers" and use other unpatriotic epithets of or concerning them.

9. I did not make a speech against the soldiers' increase of salary and call the soldiers sunshine patriots, knights of the drawing room, mollycoddles, who must carry with them chiropodists and manicurists to attend them on their mission.

10. I did not forsake my President, my party, my country, my Congress, in its hour of travail, by reason of pique, prejudice, and hatred for my Government and its Commander in Chief.

11. I did not join hands with a Republican Senate and help to defeat and kill the peace treaty, which contains provisions (a) for arbitration, (b) for reduction of armament, (c) for abolition of secret treaties, (d) the ending of the war.

12. I did not seek to array one class against another. I did not tell the farmers on the western side of the State that I was the only friend the farmers had, although by speech, bill, and vote I had supported them on every occasion; I did not tell the oil men on the eastern side of the State that I was the only friend the oil men had, although I had supported the depletion amendments and every just law in behalf of the oil industry and have received the acknowledgement of Chairman KITCHIN, who had authority to accept or reject them. I have preferred to believe that just laws for all were correct in principle, and that is all a just constituency would desire or require.

VIEWS ON RECONSTRUCTION LEGISLATION.

You are entitled to know my position on reconstruction legislation to enable us to get back to normal prewar conditions.

1. I am in favor of the immediate closing of the war by treaty stipulation, preserving America's rights and securing a lasting peace.

2. I am in favor of the immediate repeal of the irksome war laws that have outlived their usefulness.

3. I am in favor of soldiers' relief legislation along the line of the American Legion bill, feeling that the home-ownership provision will be of marked benefit to the soldiers and to the country. I can not get the consent of my mind to draft soldiers, cause them to make untold sacrifices, and then fail to do what other countries are doing and give substantial recognition to them.

4. I am in favor of an immediate modification of the burdensome tax laws and let the war debt be spread over a period of years as distinguished from being paid all in a few years, causing hardship, interference with business, and increasing the cost of living.

5. I am in favor of Federal aid to good roads and the expenditure of large sums to enable us to repopulate the farms and thereby lower the cost of living. Good roads benefit all—all should aid in their upbuilding.

6. I am in favor of additional and adequate marketing facilities so the farmer will not have to sacrifice his crops on poor markets when aid would save him and keep him on the farm.

7. I am in favor of stamping out gambling in farm products, so the farmer can have an open and an honest market on which to sell the products of the farm.

8. I have been true to the farmer and his legislation every step of the way. I will continue to do what I can to help the farmer. He is the backbone of the country and the country's prosperity. Without him the Nation perishes; with him it prospers and improves. The speeches made, bills introduced, votes cast in his behalf are all available. The record is made. I stand on it.

9. Increased personal credits to the farmers. The farmer is entitled to better interest rates, better borrowing facilities. The money market is already beginning to tighten up and this will hit the farmer first. This must be remedied and the farmer kept on the farm.

10. Labor must be treated fairly. The high cost of living everywhere present has made it necessary for them to ask some changes in their schedule of wages. The man who arrays labor against capital or capital against labor is the enemy of both. Each must be considerate of the other.

11. I have been true to labor and their every cause, and the American Federation of Labor, which has faithfully kept the record, in terms loud and clear so certifies. I will keep it again. The handful of disloyal and unpatriotic men in labor circles shall not submerge labor and labor's cause.

12. I am in favor of upholding the prohibition law. I am not a crank on the subject, but a nation dry is better than a nation wet—a nation sober is better than a nation drunk.

13. I am in favor of equal suffrage to men and women. They both pay taxes, they both serve the Nation in peace and war. They are entitled to equal consideration and equal rights. Those who do not desire it can let it alone. It is not compulsory suffrage, it merely affords the right.

14. I am not in favor of reducing the volume of money and bringing on another panic for the benefit of the financiers, who alone would profit, to the grief and distress of all the rest of us. To do this will ruin the man in debt and but multiply the millions of the money-changer.

15. I am not in favor of compulsory military training in time of peace. Give the citizen the largest latitude and the least restraint. That will serve both the citizen and the Nation best.

16. I am in favor of America first, last, and all the time. I supported her every cause before when we were at war. I had no divided allegiance. In the event of war again I would pursue the same course, hoping and praying always that the war clouds may never again appear. When the country is in peril the place for every citizen to be is behind his country.

17. I did not in the last war feel too big to stand by my country and its cause. I will not feel too big in the future, either in peace or in war. In time of war we can not all be commanders in chief. Some must lead, some must follow. The Constitution determines who shall lead in time of war, as it makes the President Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy.

18. I did not feel bigger than my party and join a little band of willful men who spent their time in picking flaws, finding fault, throwing stumps in the way. If I am expected to do that in the future, I pass.

19. I felt that during the war the 4,500,000 men in the Army, the taxpayers at home, the 2,500,000 women who were doing war work of one sort or another were entitled to some recognition, some support, and some rights. I may have been wrong about it, but it was my course; the record is made; the page is written. I stand on it as made and written.

20. I am in favor of rigid economy in Government expenditures—the disposing of all unnecessary Government employees in Washington, now that the war is over.

I hope I may be pardoned for a personal word; I have lived in the State 20 years—served the State in Congress almost 14 years—every living member of my family lives in Oklahoma. Everything I have on earth is in Oklahoma—my parents are buried there—my interests are there. Every tie that tugs at the human heart draws me to the State.

The speeches I have made, the bills introduced, the votes cast, the life I have lived, the things I have achieved, the faith I have kept, the loyalty displayed both in peace and war—the record is made, the record kept, the page is written. On this I stand. It is an open book. It is for your inspection. On it I am entitled to be judged; on it I stand or fall.

Some of the Things Zeke Candler Has Done During His Faithful Service in Congress.

SPEECH

OF

HON. EZEKIEL S. CANDLER,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 5, 1920.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 13870) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CANDLER]. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CANDLER] is recognized.

Mr. CANDLER. Mr. Chairman, I desire first to thank my very good friend from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS] for his generosity in yielding to me unlimited time. [Applause.] I desire also to express my sincere appreciation to you, my good friends, both Democrats and Republicans, for your kindnesses always extended to me and for frequently greeting me with applause when I rise to speak, thus assuring me of your confidence and esteem. I have long been a Member of this great legislative body, the House of Representatives of the United States, and to have enjoyed during all these years, and to enjoy to-day, your good will, your friendship, your confidence, and your esteem evidenced by your readiness attentively to hear me whenever I rise to speak fills my heart with affection for you and gratitude to you which increases with my daily associations with you as the years come and go. [Applause.]

You greatly honor me, and in honoring me you honor the noble, big-hearted, brave, chivalrous, and patriotic Mississippians who have been so good to me in giving to me every two years their approval at the ballot box, thereby retaining me in their service as their Representative. Because of their supreme kindness to me it delights me and ever makes me happy to be their servant, and the God whom I love and worship knows it is my earnest desire and purpose to promptly, faithfully, efficiently, and truly represent their views and express their sentiments, and do that at all times which will be for their very best interest, their welfare, and their prosperity. With humility of spirit and a contrite heart, I pray to Him above to help me at all times to do my full duty, and in doing so that I may always benefit the splendid people—men and women—whom I represent and for whom I vote and speak on this floor in this historic Capitol Building.

May I never by word or deed, by voice or vote, do anything hurtful or injurious to them. That is my conception of a true Representative—service—faithful, conscientious service, in the fear of God and for the good of the people. [Applause.] Sincerely entertaining these views, I have earnestly labored to be useful to my constituents in every way possible. I have sought to comply with every request for service which has come to me. I have answered promptly letters received from men, women, and children in my district, and whether matters mentioned by them were great or small, important or unimportant, whether they came from rich or poor, each and all have received my best effort and their business has been my chief concern and has received my earnest attention.

It has always been my greatest pleasure to help those who needed help most, and the humblest citizen in my district knows he can without hesitancy call on ZEKE CANDLER for any service he can render and the service will be cheerfully, faithfully, and promptly performed and the best possible results obtained. Not only, Mr. Chairman, have I faithfully attended to the business of my people at home in my district, but I have helped to pass many very excellent and beneficial laws now on the statute books. Permit me, briefly, to refer to some of these. Time will not allow reference to anything like all of them. The Federal reserve act is the law under which 12 great Federal reserve banks, under the control of the Government, were established which have proven a Gibraltar of strength to the business world and to the Government itself in these terrible times and made panics impossible.

Without them our people would not now have plenty of money and we could not have financed the war. They took the power from Wall Street and forever destroyed the domination of the Money Trust. This reserve system took the money out of the clenched fists of a comparatively few money sharks and distributed it throughout every section of this great Republic through the instrumentalities of these reserve banks. It put money within the reach of every citizen having sound credit based upon property or good personal securities. No longer can the heartless shylocks hold tight the money resources of the country and demand the "pound of flesh" and bleach white the blood and sinew of the toiling masses of the American people. Every citizen with approved personal credit or collateral can get money to meet his necessities and square his obligations. [Applause.]

While this system is primarily intended for what is known as "commercial business" there is provision made in section 13 of the act for making farm paper, maturing in six months, satisfactory collateral in the financial world. This was the first recognition of that character of paper in the financial legislation of this country. This has resulted in very great benefit to farmers. Another provision of the bill authorizes national banks to loan money on farm mortgages. Democrats contended for that for a long time and it was never realized until this law was passed. That, too, has been very helpful to the agriculturists.

THE FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACT.

The greatest law in my judgment on the books up to this date for the farmer is the Federal farm loan act passed in July, 1916. Farmers often having the very best gilt-edged security were required in many instances to pay exorbitant rates of interest. Not so now, for under this law the farmer can borrow money on 40 years' time if he desires, or a shorter time if he chooses himself to do so, at 5½ per cent interest. Since this law has been in force $344,721,366 have been loaned to farmers. It has made the farmers free from the heartless usurer and selfish money lender of the past by furnishing them the cheapest money in history. It has already saved them $6,000,000 in interest and permitted thousands to have benefits they richly deserved but otherwise not obtainable to make life pleasant and their homes happy. With this law on the statute book the farmer will ever be a free and independent business man.

THE FEDERAL WAREHOUSE ACT.

The Federal warehouse act provides for a system of legally regulated warehouses for agricultural purposes, to handle farm products, issuing thereon uniform warehouse receipts. On these receipts so issued for farm products stored in the

licensed warehouse and insured money can readily be obtained, if needed, at a reasonable rate of interest, thereby enabling the farmer to hold his products when he desires to do so for a better market.

THE AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION ACT.

Under the agricultural extension act the wonderful fund of knowledge accumulated by the great Agricultural Department, during its entire existence, in agriculture, horticulture, animal industry, farm economics, raising, canning, and preserving foods, and many other useful investigations, is being placed at the service of the farmers in practically every agricultural county in the United States, under a cooperative plan, by trained men and women in the service of the Government. Under this cooperative system provided for in this law a method of itinerant agricultural teaching and demonstration of home economics and agriculture has been inaugurated, which has revolutionized, diversified, and increased production throughout our great country.

THE GOOD-ROADS ACT.

Under the "good-roads law" millions of dollars have been appropriated and is being expended by the Government in aiding the construction of good roads to the marvelous benefit of all the people. Nothing is more conducive to development and prosperity than the improvement of our roads and highways.

GENERAL AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT.

Having been for a long time and being now a member of the Committee on Agriculture, I have given special study and rendered valuable service to the great agricultural interests of my district, State, and Nation. I have helped to pass every Agricultural appropriation bill which has been passed since I have been a Member of Congress to carry on the work of the great agricultural development in our country.

I have insisted each year that agricultural appropriations should be increased to meet the ever-increasing demand and development of our great agricultural business. I have contended that such appropriations were really an investment and not in the true sense an expenditure. They always return very large profits. The result of my efforts and of others who agreed with me has been to increase these appropriations from $3,000,000 to over $30,000,000 to the benefit of the whole country. I helped to pass the law creating the Bureau of Markets, which all the farmers desired. I helped to pass the Lever Food-Control Act, through the operation of which our boys in the World War and our allies were fed with plenty, thus aiding materially the winning of the war.

I introduced, reported from the Agricultural Committee, and secured the passage of the Candler Food-Production Act, which largely extended the activities of the Department of Agriculture, resulting in a very great increase in the food production of the country during the war when it was most needed to feed our own people, our Army, our Navy, and our allies. I have actively and earnestly supported all the great work of the Agricultural Department and of the farmers throughout the country since I entered Congress, and will continue to do so in the future. Ex-Secretary of Agriculture, Hon. James Wilson, the ex-Secretary of Agriculture—the present Secretary of the Treasury—Hon. David F. Houston, and the present Secretary of Agriculture, Hon. Edwin T. Meredith, would, if asked, I feel sure, bear willing testimony to the truthfulness of my statement in that regard.

LEGISLATION FOR THE SOLDIERS.

I voted for and helped to pass the soldiers' and sailors' civil rights bill to protect their families and estates, and the law providing for vocational education, training, and rehabilitation of wounded and disabled soldiers, and for Federal aid to schools and colleges to aid their education, and to provide war-risk insurance, allotments, compensation, mileage, equipment, and for everything necessary for our boys in the World War. I wanted them to have everything necessary during the war and after the war, especially when injured, and I have at all times done everything I could to help them. This statement will be verified by the soldiers themselves and their fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, wives, and friends who have telegraphed and written me. No boy ever appealed to me himself and no one has appealed to me for any boy that I did not in every instance do for him and for his loved ones everything which could be done, and I did it cheerfully and promptly and rejoiced to have the opportunity to perform the service. I am ready, willing, and anxious to continue to do for them all I can in the future. Therefore, I invite them to continue to command me for any service I can render any of them at any and all times. [Applause.]

GENERAL LEGISLATION.

Mr. Chairman, I have voted for and helped to pass the income-tax law, law to elect United States Senators by the people, publicity of campaign expenses, Federal Trade Commission law, marine-insurance law, ship-purchase act, which reestablished our merchant marine and furnished ships to carry the products of commerce, manufacture, farm, mine, and forest to the markets of the world—important in peace and more important in war—also the Clayton antitrust law, law against profiteering, law to prevent gambling in farm products, the grain-grades bill, the law for the establishment of the Department of Labor, the law for the establishment of the Department of Commerce, the parcel-post law, the postal savings bank law, laws resulting in the extension of rural mail delivery, law restricting foreign immigration, and many other general laws too numerous to mention in the time I shall consume. In fact, I have voted for and helped to pass about all the good laws on the statute books for many years, and during that time I have voted against and helped to defeat many bad laws which were proposed, and with all this good, efficient, and active work to my credit some few people, not many, cry out in exuberant tones sometimes, "What has CANDLER ever done?" I have done much good, as the above facts disclose, all of which my record in this body will upon examination fully verify.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANDLER. Always, with pleasure, to my good friend.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Certainly any person who would insinuate by asking what has the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CANDLER] ever done or say that his work here has not been faithful and productive of results would only expose his own ignorance of the legislation of Congress. We who serve here with him know there is not a more faithful, efficient, honest, hard-working Member in this body, or one who enjoys the confidence and esteem in a higher degree of his colleagues than the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi. By his knowledge of agricultural legislation he is very useful to the farmers, and by his activity here in their interest he is familiarly known as "the farmers' friend." While agriculture has been his specialty, and he is always very active when any agricultural legislation is under consideration, he is an intelligent, safe, and useful legislator at all times, and his long experience is very valuable to this House and to the country. [Applause.]

Mr. CANDLER. My friend is very kind, for which I am sincerely grateful. Now, Mr. Chairman, I have occupied the time of the House longer than I intended and I am thankful to you, my friends, for your indulgence.

RECONSTRUCTION LEGISLATION.

Permit me to say in conclusion that as to reconstruction measures I favor immediate peace by treaty secured in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution in which shall be preserved America's rights, the vindication of the wrongs we suffered, and the ideals for which our brave boys so gallantly fought. They won a great victory, adding new luster to American arms and brilliant glory to our stainless flag, and I want our country to have the results of their wonderful achievements and everything to which America and Americans are entitled. It was secured by their supreme sacrifices and therefore should never be thrown away or lost to our people or to their posterity. [Applause.] They established safe democracy and made liberty doubly secure.

Now, let us have lasting peace through a treaty which will make it abiding. Let us repeal the irksome, irritating, and troublesome war legislation which is now no longer needed or desired. Let us practice every possible economy in expenditures so as to reduce the taxes at the earliest possible date. Let us go back quickly to peace-time prewar conditions and restore quiet and tranquillity in the country, safety and security to business and, as far as possible, happiness and contentment to the homes of our people, and all will be well. We have the most marvelous country and the best country in all the world. With but 5 per cent of the earth's population, we have 24 per cent of its agricultural production, 40 per cent of its mineral wealth, and we manufacture 35 per cent of its goods. Our natural wealth is above $225,000,000,000, half the gold of the world is in the United States, and our trade balance is over $5,000,000,000. While rich in material resources, we are richer in our people. We have the bravest, noblest men and the prettiest, purest women in all the world. Who would not live for such a country; who would not, should it become necessary, die for such a people and for such a country? May God ever keep it in its integrity, its beauty, its grandeur, and its glory. Gentlemen, I thank you for your indulgent attention. [Loud applause.]

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. T. W. SIMS,
OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 31, 1920.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, prior to the passage of the transportation act that took effect on March 1, 1920, the law required that rates, fares, and charges by common carriers doing an interstate business should be just and reasonable and nondiscriminatory. This had been the rule of rate making by which the Interstate Commerce Commission had been guided ever since its existence. There was no other restriction or limitation upon the perfect freedom of action by the commission as to its rate-making powers.

But the transportation act so amended the law as to make it mandatory on the commission to permit rates, charges, and fares to be made that would yield at least 5½ per cent net return to the carriers on the total value of the property of the carriers used in transportation in the rate-making groups to be established by the commission, and that this rule of rate making should continue for at least two years from the enactment of the transportation act. Prior to the enactment of this law the justness and reasonableness of rates, fares, and charges was not determined by the value of the property of the railroads, either as separate properties or as groups. By the terms of the present law rates must be permitted that will give not less than 5½ per cent net return on the railroad property, regardless of the costs of operation. The carriers can pay any prices they see fit for supplies and materials. They can pay any compensation they see fit to pay to their officials and attorneys. They can also pay any schedule of wages that their employees may demand, and, in addition to all these expenses of operation, rates must be paid by the shipper that will yield not less than 5½ per cent on the value of the railroads. Under the present law the commission will have no power to scrutinize the amount paid by the carriers in the rate-making groups for materials and supplies or the reasonableness of the compensation paid to their officials and attorneys or the justness and reasonableness of the wages paid to their employees. In the absence of charges and proof of fraud, the commission must accept the accounts of the carriers as to all these items of expenditure and must, under the mandate of the law, permit the carriers to collect rates, fares, and charges that will, after paying all expenses of operation, give them a net return on their property of not less than 5½ per cent.

Under the present law the commission has no power to check extravagance on the part of the carriers regarding any or all these items of expense of operation, and the whole burden, whatever it may be, must be passed on to the freight and passenger paying public. Prior to the enactment of the present law the commission had the power, and exercised it, of determining, from a consideration of all pertinent facts, what were just and reasonable rates for the service rendered by the carriers, and if just and reasonable rates as fixed by the commission did not pay 2 per cent on the property value of the railroads they could make no complaint. Under the old law the carriers necessarily had to use economy in incurring any of these operating expenses, as the net return to their stockholders would suffer to the extent of any waste or extravagance incurred in operation. Under the present law no such incentive to economic operation exists, as the minimum net return to the stockholder is fixed and, to a certain extent, the maximum return to the stockholder is also fixed, as under the present law if the net earnings of the roads exceed 6 per cent one-half of all excess is forfeited by the earning carrier.

Mr. Speaker, let us examine for a few moments the possible and probable effect the present law put into effect will have on the compensation paid to railway officials. Prior to the enactment of the present law the salaries and compensation of railway officials and attorneys were fixed by the directors and were paid out of the operating revenues of the carriers and charged to expense of operation. The wages of the employees were fixed by the officials and also charged to expense of operation. All these charges had to be paid out of earnings before one cent could go to the stockholder in the way of dividends. Therefore the stockholder had a direct interest in holding down these two sources of expense of operation, and it is but reasonable to suppose that the stockholders, looking out for their own interest, would not permit excessive salaries and compensation to be paid to their officials and attorneys, and that, in so far as they could control it, they also held down the wages of employees. Labor unions of railway employees with the power to strike may have been a check on the freedom of action as to the wages paid employees, but as there were no such unions with power to strike among the railway officials and attorneys, we must presume and assume that the compensation paid them was what was thought and believed to be just and reasonable by the directors and stockholders. Wages of employees have been largely increased since 1914 and further increases are asked by the employees and no doubt will be allowed at least in some substantial amount.

Mr. Speaker, if the salaries and compensation of railway officials and attorneys, paid them prior to Government control, were just and reasonable and fair to the public and to the stockholders they certainly ought to have a substantial increase now over what they received in 1917, the last year of private operation. Will they get it? Prior to Government control the compensation and salaries of railway officials and attorneys were paid out of earnings and in effect necessarily reduced the net earnings available for dividend payments. But how is it now under the new law? It matters not what official salaries and attorney fees may be now rates must be such as will pay all such salaries and fees and in addition thereto must provide a net return of not less than 5½ per cent on the value of all railroad property in the rate-making group.

Mr. Speaker, the public, who pay the freights, fares, and charges of railroads, have a right and an interest in knowing what was paid by the railroads to their officials and attorneys before Federal control and what is now paid or will be paid to such officials, since a guaranteed net return on railroad property, over and above all operating expenses, must be paid regardless of whether rates necessary to such payment are just and reasonable or not as to the shipper, and as to the consuming public, who in the end must pay them.

During the progress of the hearings on the House bill providing for the return of the railroads to their owners I requested Commissioner McChord to furnish for printing, as part of our hearings, if available, a tabulated list of the salaries paid by the railroad corporations to their officials in excess of $5,000 per annum. As requested, Commissioner McChord transmitted to me on October 23, 1919, the list asked for by me, but I was unable on account of its length to have it printed in the hearings. But the list is so important, and as it has not been printed by the Railroad Administration or by the Interstate Commerce Commission, I feel that it ought to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I am therefore, under the permission given me to extend my remarks, making the letter of Commissioner McChord, transmitting the said list, and the list a part of my remarks:

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION,
Washington, October 23, 1919.

Hon. THETUS W. SIMS,
Interstate Commerce Committee, House of Representatives.

DEAR JUDGE SIMS: When our legislative committee was before the House Committee on Interstate Commerce last week, you asked me whether the wage commission, of which I was a member, had tabulated a list of the salaries paid by the various railroad corporations to their officials in excess of $5,000 per annum. I advised you then that such a list had been made and was a part of the record in the wage commission investigation. You requested me to send you a copy of it for the committee's use and to be made a part of the present hearings.

I find that I have only one copy in my files, and in compliance with your request I am sending original and supplemental copies to you. If these go into the RECORD and are printed you need not return them to me. otherwise I shall thank you to return them as they are the only copies I have.

Very truly, yours,

C. C. MCCHORD,
Commissioner.

List of railroad officials showing title, railroad, and total compensation during year ending Dec. 31, 1917.

Abercrombie, Frank P., acting superintendent Bedford Division, Penna	$7, 200. 00
Abney, B. L., chief counsel South Carolina, Southern	10, 000. 00
Abrams, W. H., land and tax commissioner, Tex. & Pac	5, 005. 00
Adams, E. W., secretary, C. M. & St. P	8, 500. 00
Adams, E. Eugene, construction engineer, Union Pacific	8, 800. 00
Adams, Guy, mail traffic manager, Union Pacific	7, 000. 00
Adams, H. C., president, Springfield Term	12, 000. 00
Adams, H. M., vice president, traffic manager, Mo. Pac	16, 750. 00
Adams, Henry, general freight agent, east, Erie	5, 624. 97
Adams, Robert, assistant auditor, Southern Pacific	5, 000. 00
Adams, Follansbee, Hawley & Shorey, general attorney, Chicago, C. & E	5, 100. 00
Addison, Chas. L., assistant to president, Long Island	9, 000. 00
Adsit, S. M., general freight and passenger agent, Virginian	6, 500. 00
Ahern, Thomas, superintendent coast division, Southern Pacific	5, 400. 00
Ahrens, Rudolph Paul, local treasurer, N. Y. C	7, 500. 00
Aikens, B. A., purchasing agent and general tie agent, Michigan Central	5, 750. 00
Ainsworth, Dr. F. K., chief sur. and manager, Southern Pacific	12, 060. 00
Airey, Chas. T., freight traffic manager, Central of Georgia	8, 000. 00

Aishton, Richard H., president, C. & N. W. $50,240.00
Albee, W. C., division superintendent, Northern Pacific. 5,200.00
Albert, Chas. S., attorney for Idaho and eastern Washington, Northern Pacific. 7,500.00
Albright, P. R., general manager, Atlantic Coast Line. 8,400.00
Alburn, John A., attorney, Clev. & Mahoning V. 6,275.00
Alden, E. H., secretary and assistant treasurer, Norfolk & Western. 12,030.00
Alderman, R. J., president, Alcoln. 5,000.00
Aldrich, Sherwood, president and director, Ray & Gila Valley. 5,040.00
Alexander, G. H., superintendent freight transportation (deceased), N. Y. C. 5,500.00
Alexander, Thornton, solicitor for receiver, Boston & Maine. 4,416.67
Alexander, Walter, superintendent motive power, C. M. & St. P. 5,000.00
Alfred, Frank H., president and general manager, Pere Marquette. 18,505.15
Allen, Leonard B., superintendent of maintenance of way, C. & O. 7,650.00
Allen, L. M., passenger traffic manager, C. B. I. & P. 10,333.30
Allen, Louis B., general manager, C. B. & Q. 11,024.97
Allen, Stuart Ashby, general freight agent, B. & O. 6,000.00
Allibone, L. W., superintendent Sun. division, Penna. 6,600.00
Ambrose, J. H., treasurer, N. C. & St. L. 5,000.00
Anderson, A. W., second vice president and general manager, C. & W. C. 6,000.00
Anderson, Cann, Cann & Walsh, division counsel, Seaboard Air Line. 6,000.00
Anderson, F. E., assistant to president, Term. R. R. Assoc. St. L., St. L. M. B. T. R., W. F. Co., St. L. Trans. R. Co., St. L. B. Co. 8,900.00
Anderson, Frank (deceased), St. L. & S. F. 3,600.00
Anderson, Harry A., assistant purchasing agent, Pennsylvania. 4,214.10
Anderson, H. F., general manager, M. K. & T. 7,500.00
Anderson, James P., passenger traffic manager, Pennsylvania. 8,400.00
Andrews, Frank, general counsel and chairman of board, N. O. T. & M. 12,000.00
Andrews, E. C., commercial agent, Pere Marquette. 7,545.00
Andrews, Henry M., general land and tax agent, Erie. 6,000.00
Andrews, John B., assistant to president, assistant secretary, chairman board of pensions, Denver & Rio Grande. 6,300.00
Andrews, Streetmen, Burns & Logue, general attorneys, St L. S. F. & T. 5,000.00
Andrews, Warren S., general superintendent of transportation, Southern. 5,916.66
Andrus, Chas. L., general attorney, N. Y. O. & W. 8,200.00
Anewalt, H. P., general freight agent, A. T. & S. F. 5,800.00
Ansley, Harrie C., treasurer, Southern. 15,620.00
Apperson, A. B., special representative, Utah. 15,000.00
Ardery, A. M., vice president and general manager, Virginia & Truckee. 7,200.00
Armstrong, E. N., receiver and president, T. P. & West. 6,000.00
Armstrong, W. C., chief engineer, St. P. Un. Depot Co. 7,200.00
Armstrong, W. R., engineer maintenance of way, Union Pacific. 6,000.00
Armstrong, W. T., general counsel, Texas City Term. Co. 5,000.00
Arnold, L. B., land commissioner, Duluth & Iron Range. 8,757.72
Arp, W. C., superintendent motive power, P. C. C. & St. L. 6,000.00
Ashby, E. B., chief engineer, Lehigh Valley. 4,966.68
Atkinson, B. S., traffic manager and purchasing agent, L. & A. 5,400.00
Atterbury, W. W., vice president in charge of operations, Pennsylvania. 40,000.00
Atwood, J. A., chief engineer, P. & L. E. 6,600.00
Auch, John F., vice president and traffic manager, P. & R. 20,000.00
Austin, B. N., general passenger agent, B. & O. 6,010.00
Austin, C. G., jr., general solicitor, C. & W. I., Belt Ry. of C. 8,083.34
Auten, John C., principal assistant engineer, P. B. & W. 5,100.00
Averill, Wm. H., general manager, S. I. R. T. Co. 9,060.00
Axtell, Decatur, vice president and chairman valuation commission, C. & O. 17,041.70
Ayers, A. R., superintendent motive power, N. Y. C. & St. L. 6,100.00
Babbitt, K. R., general counsel, B. & G. 5,000.00
Babcock, Allen H., operating electrical engineer, S. P. 6,500.00
Backes, W. J., engineer maintenance of way, N. Y., N. H. & H., Cen. N. E. 5,825.00
Bagby, George P., general attorney, Western Md. 6,500.00
Bailey, W. E., general auditor, A. T. & S. F. 14,250.00
Baird, D. G., secretary, Lehigh Valley. 7,365.00
Baird, F. C., freight traffic manager, B. & L. E. 12,025.04
Baird, John B., freight traffic manager, Northern Pac. 10,000.00
Baker, Burton & Baker, general attorneys, F. J. & G. 5,500.00
Baker, C. D., superintendent, L. I. 5,100.00
Baker, Harry H., superintendent rest. ser., Pennsylvania. 6,000.00
Baker, Horace, general manager, Southern. 15,000.00
Baker, Horace F., vice president and general counsel, P. & W. Va., and general counsel, W. S. B. 7,500.00
Baker, James A., receiver, I. & G. N. 12,000.00
Balch, C. F., statistician, C. & N. W. 5,000.00
Baldwin, A. S., chief engineer, I. C. 12,000.00
Baldwin, Baldwin & Holmes, general attorneys, G. N. 5,000.00
Baldwin, C. D., purchasing agent, B. & A. 4,166.76
Baldwin, Hadley, assistant chief engineer, C. C. C. & St. L. 4,708.30
Baldwin, Lewis W., vice president and general manager, C. of Ga. 13,416.65
Baldwin, W. A., general superintendent, Erie. 7,333.33
Baldwin, W. W., vice president, C. B. & Q. 15,000.00
Bale, Frank W., general freight agent, B. R. & P. 5,000.00
Ballantine, N. D., assistant to vice president, C. R. I. & P. 6,000.00
Ballard, Ernest S., assistant general solicitor, N. Y. C., Mich. Cen., P. & L. E., T. & O. Cen. 5,400.00
Balliet, Herbert S., signal engineer and assistant terminal manager, N. Y. C. 6,000.00
Bankard, E. H., purchasing agent, B. & O., acting purchasing agent, C. H. & D. 15,750.00
Banks, A. F., president, E. J. & E., C. L. & S. E. 25,060.00
Bannard, William Newell, special agent to general manager, Pennsylvania. $6,600.00
Bannon, Henry, assistant general counsel, C. & O. Northern. 5,050.00
Barber, J. T., treasurer, S. M. & P. 7,500.00
Barclay, F. B., superintendent motive power, O. C. R. R., Y. & M. V. 5,700.00
Bardo, Clinton L., assistant to president and general manager, N. Y., N. H. & H., Central New England. 17,696.66
Barger, Milton S., treasurer, Mich. Central, C. C. C. & St. L., Ind. Har. Belt., Rutland R. R., T. H. & B., K. & M. Ry. Co., Clearfield Bit. Coal Corporation, Merchants' Des. T. Co., Lake E. & W. R. R., T. & O. Cent., Western T. Co., N. Y. State Rys., N. Y. & H. R. R. 18,000.00
Burnhum, Charles, general freight agent, N. C. & St. L. 6,000.00
Barkalow, William A., assistant general counsel, Cen. R. R. of N. J. 5,583.30
Barlow, Henry C., freight claim adjuster, Erie. 5,000.00
Barlow, J. Q., assistant chief engineer, Southern Pacific. 8,500.00
Barlow, S. D., manager western transportation line and acting D. F. A., New York Central. 5,000.00
Barnard, Robert C., superintendent, P. C. C. & St. L. 6,600.00
Barnes, Joseph B., assistant secretary and assistant treasurer, M. K. & T. 6,000.00
Barnes, F. A., assistant comptroller, G. N. 6,000.00
Barnes, George L., legislative counsel, N. Y., N. H. & H. 7,500.00
Barnes, John H., solicitor, Pennsylvania. 9,000.00
Barnes, W. L., superintendent of transportation, C. B. & Q. 8,550.00
Barnum, M. K., assistant to vice president, B. & O. 6,600.00
Barnwell, W. G., assistant to freight traffic manager, A. T. & S. F. 10,020.00
Barr, Samuel R., superintendent, B. & O. 6,000.00
Barrett, C. H., assistant general superintendent, C. M. & St. P. 5,416.62
Barrett, R. W., assistant general solicitor, Lehigh Valley. 10,000.00
Barrow & Stewart, attorneys, C. B. & Q. 5,000.00
Barrow, Craig, chief surgeon, Central of Ga. 500.00
Burrows, W. A., general passenger agent, Boston & Albany. 6,000.00
Barry, Chas. Carroll, auditor in charge of freight claim department, Los Angeles & Salt Lake. 6,060.00
Bartle, James S., assistant freight traffic manager, A. T. & S. F. 5,919.35
Bartlett, Henry, chief mechanical engineer, Boston & Maine. 8,000.00
Bartlett, O. P., general eastern freight agent, Southern Pacific. 5,133.33
Barton, C. A., president and general manager, Intermountain. 5,000.00
Basinger, W. S., general passenger agent, Union Pacific. 6,000.00
Bass, F. M., local attorney, Louisville & Nashville. 6,233.33
Batchelder, W. C., president B. & O. Chicago Term., vice president and executive representative, B. & O. 22,015.00
Bates, Elmer P., assistant freight traffic manager, Pennsylvania. 10,200.00
Battle, William S., jr., general claim agent, Norfolk & Western. 8,400.00
Batturs, Frank E., general passenger agent, Southern Pacific. 6,075.00
Baxter, J. E., assistant general auditor, A. T. & S. F. 7,500.00
Baxter, R. W., vice president and general manager, C. R. & N. W. 5,600.00
Baxter, R. W., vice president and general manager, Alaska S. S. Co. 14,400.00
Beach, Charles A., superintendent New York division, Phila. & Reading. 5,000.00
Beacon, T. H., general manager, C. R. I. & P. 12,120.00
Beakes, Crosby J., assistant general attorney, N. Y. C. 6,000.00
Beale, George B., superintendent, Pennsylvania. 6,600.00
Bean, Philip D., receiver, Gulf, Fla. & Ala. 2,413.72
Bean, S. L., mechanical superintendent, A. T. & S. F. coast lines. 5,100.00
Beard, E. J., civil engineer, Great Northern. 3,542.00
Beardsley, W. H., president, Fla. East Coast. 18,000.00
Beattie, John J., director and general counsel, Lehigh & Hudson River. 5,910.00
Beckler, W. A., passenger traffic manager, Southern. 7,000.00
Beckwith, J. P., vice president, Fla. East Coast. 15,750.00
Beeuwkes, Reinier, electrical engineer, C. M. & St. P. 6,000.00
Begien, R. N., general manager, B. & O. 14,500.00
Bell, David N., general passenger agent, Pennsylvania. 7,800.15
Bell, Frank, assistant general manager, Great Northern. 7,757.00
Bell, M. L., general counsel, C. R. I. & P. 59,486.45
Bell, R. W., general superintendent motive power, Ill. Central. 9,000.00
Bender, Louis, assistant treasurer, N. Y. C. 7,500.00
Benedict, P. M., assistant secretary and assistant treasurer, C. B. & Q. 5,200.00
Bennett, W. J., superintendent motive power, Denver & Rio Grande. 3,349.72
Benson, E. S., comptroller, Chicago & Alton. 7,210.00
Bent, C. C., general agent, B. & O. 6,040.00
Bentley, Harry T., superintendent motive power and machinery, C. & N. W. 10,000.00
Bergner, Charles H., solicitor, Pennsylvania. 6,733.33
Beman, Thomas R., general attorney, C. R. I. & P. 6,060.00
Bernet, J. J., president and general manager, N. Y. C. & St. L. 26,906.66
Bernstein, Henry, general attorney, St. L. I. M. & So. 10,700.00
Berry, G. A., general manager, Gulf, Fla. & Ala. 1,249.98
Berry, J. B., consulting engineer, Los A. & S. L. 23,600.00
Berry, L. W., superintendent, N. Y. & L. Br. 5,600.00
Besler, J. D., assistant to vice president, C. B. & Q. 5,000.00
Besler, W. G., president and general manager, Cn. R. R. Co. of N. J. 50,210.00
Betts, C. E., general accountant, A. T. & S. F. 6,900.00
Betts, Edward E., superintendent of transportation, C. & N. W. 7,562.49
Beville, W. B., passenger traffic manager, N. & W. 9,000.00
Beyers, Henry W., assistant freight traffic manager, C. & N. W. 9,125.00
Beymer, W. V., comptroller, Ill. Central. 12,265.00
Biard, A. J., auditor for receivers, Tex. & Pacific. 5,183.34
Biddle, W. B., president, S. L.-S. F. 39,879.00
Bierck, Albert B., general auditor, Long Island. 8,400.00

Bierd, W. G., president, Chicago & Alton	$36,646.55
Biggs, John, solicitor, Phila. Balto. & Wash	5,000.00
Bigoney, Daniel W., treasurer, Erie	7,590.00
Bikle, Henry W., assistant general counsel, Pennsylvania	8,000.00
Biles, George P., freight traffic manager, Southern	8,000.00
Bills, John C., assistant general counsel, Pere Marquette	7,300.00
Bingham, William J., auditor of passenger traffic, Pennsylvania	5,100.00
Birkhotz, Ben. L., general agent at Norfolk, El P. & S. W	5,600.00
Bisbee, E. F., vice president, St. L. Nat. Stock Yd	5,600.00
Bisbee, F. M., chief engineer, A. T. & S. F	5,700.00
Biscoe, H. M., vice president, Boston & Albany	20,010.00
Bishop, George C., superintendent motive power, Long Island	6,000.00
Bixler, Heister C., superintendent stations and transportation, Pennsylvania	6,000.00
Blabon, Joseph W., vice president, C. G. W	12,010.00
Black, Eugene R., assistant counsel, Southern	4,450.00
Black, William Joseph, passenger traffic manager, A. T. & S. F	10,800.00
Blaess, A. F., engineer maintenance of way, I. C. R. R. Y. & M. V	6,000.00
Blair, George A., assistant freight traffic manager, C. M. & St. Paul	11,000.00
Blair, H. L. H., assistant to general manager, Pennsylvania L. W. of Pitts	7,675.00
Blair, Joseph P., general counsel, Southern Pac	34,500.00
Blair, R. W., general attorney, Union Pac	7,000.00
Blake, C. O., attorney for Oklahoma, C. R. I. & P	10,000.00
Blake, E. A., superintendent Norfolk division, Norfolk & Western	5,100.00
Blakeley, Henry, general freight agent, Northern Pac	7,000.00
Blanchard, E. C., general manager, Northern Pac	15,030.00
Bland, John C., engineer of bridges, Pennsylvania lines W	8,200.00
Blaser, F. E., assistant general manager, B. & O	7,800.00
Blatchford, Chas. H., attorney, Maine Cen	5,000.04
Blauvelt, M. P., comptroller, Lehigh Valley	8,520.00
Bledsoe, Samuel T., assistant general solicitor, A. T. & S. F	20,000.00
Blendinger, F. L., vice president, Lehigh Valley	20,120.00
Bliss, C. T., vice president and general manager, L. T. Ry. & Trans. Co	7,200.00
Blomeyer, E. F., vice president and general manager, Ann Arbor	3,654.17
Blood, C. A., freight traffic manager, Lehigh Valley	7,500.00
Blount, William Alexander, general counsel, Fla. East Coast	10,000.00
Boettcher, C., president, Denver & Salt Lake	3,131.67
Boles, E. H., general solicitor, Lehigh Valley	17,525.00
Bolles, F. R., general manager, Copper Range	6,000.00
Bond, Hugh L., jr., general counsel and director, B. & O	25,290.00
Bond, Thomas, commerce counsel, St. L. & S. F	5,000.00
Booz, H. C., assistant chief engineer, Pennsylvania	8,100.00
Boomer, Hobert A., general manager, L. E. & Western	9,200.00
Boone, Glen A., special solicitor, Pennsylvania lines west	6,000.00
Booth, Charles H., assistant treasurer and cashier, Del. & Hudson Co	7,000.00
Booth, C. M., general freight agent, Pere Marquette	5,166.66
Booth, Horace, traffic manager, Interna. & G. N	7,200.00
Booth, Walter L., assistant general manager, C. & O	7,525.00
Borden, H. L., vice president and director, secretary, assistant treasurer, Atlantic Coast Lines	6,605.55
Bosman, David, vice president, secretary, Erie	8,345.00
Bowen, Arthur P., director of purchase, Pullman Co	19,000.00
Bowen, L. W., general superintendent, Great Northern	5,038.70
Bowen, O. S., principal assistant engineer, Great Northern	5,000.00
Bower, G. H., general passenger agent, Ill. Central, Y. & N. W	4,800.00
Bower, W. C., purchasing agent, N. Y. C	10,000.00
Bowes, Frank B., vice president, Ill. Cen	20,115.00
Bowman, D. M., general passenger agent, C. C. C. & St. L	6,000.00
Boyd, George W., passenger traffic manager, Pennsylvania	9,000.00
Boyd, Oliver T., general passenger agent, Pennsylvania	5,400.00
Boyle, Egell, Houston & Grover, general attorneys, S. A. & A. P	12,500.00
Bracken, E. P., vice president, C. B. & Q	19,749.99
Bradbury, J. H., general auditor, Colo. Southern	7,500.00
Braden, Stanley M., line superintendent, C. & N. W	7,200.00
Bradish, L. M., auditor of receipts, Pullman Co	5,500.00
Bradley, Morton C., assistant comptroller, Boston & Maine	4,416.67
Bradley, V. J., general supervisor, Pennsylvania	6,000.00
Brand, J. N., assistant general manager, Atlantic Coast Line	6,080.00
Brand, R. A., vice president, Atlantic Coast Line	10,300.00
Brandon & Hynds, general counsel, Atlanta, Birm. & Atl	7,500.00
Brandriff, Chas. D., general auditor, C. & N. W	6,000.00
Bratnober, C. P., receiver, M. St. P. Rochester, receiver, Dubuque El. Trac. Co	15,600.00
Brazier, Frederick W., superintendent rolling stock, N. Y. C	7,000.00
Breckinridge, W. L., engineer of maintenance of way, C. B. & Q	7,000.00
Bremerman, Dan H., assistant to vice president, C. B. & Q	5,000.00
Bremner, W. H., president, Minn. & St. L	15,373.29
Brennan, Jos. D., superintendent, Southern Pac	6,000.00
Brennan, T. F., vice president, B. R. & P	10,333.33
Brent, Duncan K., counsel, B. & O	5,083.70
Brewer, W. H., assistant to general manager, A. T. & S. F	5,000.00
Bridgers, S. S., assistant general freight agent, N. & W	5,400.00
Briggs, Asa G., attorney, Minnesota, C. G. W	6,000.00
Briggs, Frank E., auditor of freight accounts, N. Y. C	6,000.00
Brigham, Edmund D., assistant freight traffic manager, C. & N. W	11,000.00
Bright, Alfred H., general counsel, M. St. P. & S. S. M	13,160.00
Brinkerhoff, J. H., general superintendent, Belt Ry. of Chicago	6,000.00
Brister, Chas. J., traffic manager, C. C. C. & St. L., C. N	12,320.00
Brister, W. C., claim agent, P. & R	5,400.00
Bristol, B. D., freight claim agent, Ill. Central, Y. & N. W	4,600.00
Bristol, C. H., general superintendent, A. T. & S. F	6,900.00
Bristow, A. S. H., general counsel, A. T. & S. F	5,025.00
Brittain, John B., assistant comptroller, Pennsylvania Lines	8,400.00
Britton & Gray, legal representatives, A. T. & S. F	$5,000.00
Britton & Gray, legal representatives, Northern Pac	6,000.00
Brogan, E. V., division superintendent, N. Y. C	5,100.00
Bronner, E. D., vice president and general manager, Mich. Cen	17,395.00
Bronner, Harry, director and chairman, Mo. Pacific	4,570.00
Bronson, Miles, general superintendent El. division, manager Grand Central Terminal, N. Y. C	12,000.00
Bronson, W. S., assistant general solicitor, C. & O	7,611.95
Brooks, T. E., division superintendent, L. & M	5,000.00
Brooks, W. E., general superintendent, Mo. Pa	5,350.00
Brown, Abbott & Somsen, attorneys for Minnesota, C. & N. W	7,500.00
Brown, Randolph & Parker, division counsel, S. A. L	5,000.00
Brown, Albert H., fruit inspector, Erie	2,916.68
Brown, Armstead, general solicitor, Fla. E. C	6,000.00
Brown, A. V., general superintendent, So. Pac	6,350.00
Brown, B. H. Innes, advisory counsel, S. A. L	15,000.00
Brown, Clarence, general solicitor, T. St. L. & W	6,020.00
Brown, Clyde, general solicitor, N. Y. C	15,000.00
Brown, Edward L., president, D. & R. G	10,766.11
Brown, E. N., chairman board of directors, Pere Marquette	21,666.67
Brown, Frederick B., general attorney, Pere Marquette	5,100.00
Brown, F. V., general attorney, Great Northern	12,000.00
Brown, F. W., assistant to vice president, Southern	5,858.07
Brown, Harry A., assistant treasurer, Pullman Co	5,300.00
Brown, J. H., traffic manager, Gulf & Ship Island	5,000.00
Brown, Nathaniel S., assistant general solicitor, Wabash	9,000.00
Brown, S. W., assistant to general manager, Mich. Central	10,000.00
Brown, William W., general attorney for Kansas, Mo. Kans. & Texas	6,000.00
Brownell, George F., vice president and general solicitor, Erie	49,610.00
Bruce, Helm, local counsel, L. & N	27,770.00
Brunley, D. J., valuation engineer, Ill. Cen	6,000.00
Brunn, C. A., general manager, Buffalo Creek	5,600.00
Bryson, Joseph M., general counsel, Mo., Kans. & Texas	18,000.00
Bryson, Joseph M., general counsel, Mo. Kans. & Tex. of T	6,000.00
Buchanan, H. G., associate counsel, N. & W	6,000.00
Buck, Gordon M., assistant general counsel, So. Pac	15,820.00
Buckelew, James, division superintendent, Pennsylvania	7,368.35
Buckingham, E., vice president and general manager, Union Stock Yards	10,000.00
Buckland, Edward G., president, Central of N. E	5,973.34
Buckland, Edward G., vice president and general counsel, N. Y., N. H. & H	22,699.99
Buckley, Edward, president, Manistee & N. E	5,000.00
Budd, Ralph, assistant to president, Gt. Northern	20,000.00
Bugg, Benjamin L., vice president and general manager, A. B. & A	8,155.00
Bull, W. F., assistant secretary, So. Pac	5,375.00
Bumsted, William G., president and general manager, Raritan River	9,380.00
Bunch, John H., general freight and passenger agent, Copper R. & N. W	6,000.00
Burger, W. O., general superintendent freight claims, C. R. I. & P	6,000.00
Burn, Charles W., general counsel, N. Pac	30,000.00
Bunting, Carroll M., comptroller, Pennsylvania	14,000.00
Bunting, Guy J., comptroller, C. M. & St. Paul	10,000.00
Burbank, David R., secretary, Ill. Central	8,355.00
Burch, Charles N., general solicitor, Yazoo & Miss. Valley	12,000.00
Burgess, George H., chairman valuation commission, D. & H. Co	6,000.00
Burgess, Kenneth F., general attorney, C. B. & Q	4,499.92
Burgess, T. H., assistant general solicitor, Erie	5,208.26
Burke, Joseph M., chief surgeon, S. A. L	5,000.00
Burlingame, I. L., general manager, Terminal Railroad Association	9,550.00
Burlingham, Veeder, Master & Fearey, solicitors, Pennsylvania	17,000.00
Burnett, Edmund T., purchasing agent, N. & W	10,000.00
Burnett, H. C., assistant general freight agent, Lehigh Valley	6,000.00
Burnett, R. W., master car builder, D. & H. Co	2,000.00
Burnham, C. G., vice president, C. B. & Q	31,249.98
Burns, T. J., superintendent rolling stock, Mich. Central	5,000.00
Burns, W. H., general auditor, C. R. I. & P	7,200.00
Burpee, Moses, chief engineer, Bangor & Aroos	5,003.25
Burr, Charles E., vice president, D. & H. Co	6,877.54
Burr, Charles E., vice president, Greenwich & Johnsville	6,792.54
Burr, Nelson B., vice president, St. L. S. W	5,000.00
Burroughs, F. D., freight traffic manager, C. M. & St. P	5,000.00
Burt, A. M., chief engineer, maintenance of way, N. Pac	6,000.00
Burt, C. M, general passenger agent, B. & Me	8,000.00
Bush, B. F., president, Mo. Pac	44,170.00
Bush, D. L., vice president, C. M. & St. Paul	20,010.00
Bushnell, F. A., purchasing agent, Great Northern	7,500.00
Butler Pierce, counsel of Federal valuation, N. Pac	45,000.00
Buzbee, Thomas S., attorney for Ark. & La., C. R. I. & P	8,000.00
Byers, B. C., assistant general superintendent, C. C. C. & St. P	5,000.00
Byers, M. C., assistant to president, W. Md	9,060.00
Byers, M. L., chairman valuation committee, S. A. L	6,000.00
Bynum, Edwin A., vice president and general manager, Texas City Terminal	6,000.00
Byram, H. E., president, C. M. & St. Paul, P. S. & W. H., S. P. A. & W., B. & N., T. E	60,000.00
Byram, H. E., vice president, C. B. & Q	22,500.00
Byrne, John J., assistant passenger traffic manager, A. T. & S. F	8,000.00
Byrne, Joseph J., general eastern freight, D. L. & W	6,000.00
Cabell, F. I., chief engineer, C. & O	6,900.00
Cahill, M. H., general superintendent, B. & O	7,800.00
Cahmann, R. B., general manager, G. F. & A	5,000.00
Cairns, C. A., passenger traffic manager, C. & N. W	8,075.00
Caldwell, G. K., assistant freight traffic manager, Southern	4,935.91
Caldwell, John D., secretary, C. & N. W., C. St. P. M. & O	14,060.00
Caldwell, William T., general superintendent, Southern	6,000.00
Calhoun, A. M., assistant to president, K. C. S	6,000.00
Calkins, Robert L., freight claim agent, N. Y. C	6,200.00

Calkins, R. M., vice president, C. M. & St. P	$12,000.00
Calloway, W. R., general passenger agent, B. & O	10,000.00
Calloway, W. B., passenger traffic manager, B. & O	6,100.00
Calvin, Edgar E., president, Union Pacific	35,080.00
Cameron, Charles C., general freight agent, I. C	6,800.00
Campbell, Benjamin, senior vice president and director, N. Y. N. H. & H	28,343.33
Campbell, D. W., assistant general manager, S. P	12,000.00
Campbell, Edw. T., general traffic manager, Erie	12,000.00
Campbell, George E., editor and general freight agent, Union	5,904.64
Campbell, George H., assistant to president, B. & O	14,159.00
Campbell, James H., general counsel, G. R. & I	7,200.00
Campbell, J. L., chief engineer, El Paso & Sou	6,140.00
Camp, Edgar W., attorney, A. T. & S. F	7,200.00
Campion, J. J., vice president, C. C. & O	8,749.96
Candler, G. L., general superintendent, C. of G	6,000.00
Canniff, W. H., retired officer, N. Y. C	7,500.00
Cannon, Edw. J., division counsel, N. P	5,100.00
Cannon, J., general superintendent transportation, Mo. Pac	7,200.00
Cannon, L. G., vice president and general counsel, Nev. Northern	15,000.00
Caples, Martin J., vice president, Hocking Valley, C. & N. O., C. & O., B. C. D. & W. Co., Pomeroy Belt, Toledo Term	15,846.95
Capps, Chas. R., first vice president and director, Seaboard Air Line	20,000.00
Carey, James T., superintendent, N. & W	5,100.00
Carey & Kerr, general counsel, S. P. & S., Oregon Tr., Oregon Elec., United Rys., G. N. P. S. S	22,500.00
Carl, P. R. L., vice president, treasurer, and general manager, M. & N. E	5,000.00
Carlson, Charles E., secretary and assistant to president, D. M. & N	5,179.20
Carlton, W. G., superintendent of power, N. Y. C	7,000.00
Carmichael, Norman, vice president and general manager, A. & N. M	5,520.00
Carothers, J. B., receiver, C. F. & Ft. W	5,000.00
Carpenter, Myron J., president, C. T. H. & S. E	25,040.00
Carr, Lewis E., resident counsel, D. & H	12,000.00
Carr, R. F., assistant general manager, St. L.-S. F	9,033.00
Carr, Carr & Evans, attorneys for Iowa, C. G. W	7,500.00
Carroll, F. S., auditor, L. & A	5,400.00
Carroll, John T., assistant general S. M. P., B. & O	7,200.00
Carroll, J. H., attorney, Northern Pacific	6,000.00
Carroll, J. H., general attorney, C. B. & Q	8,000.00
Carroll, J. H., attorney, Great Northern	6,000.00
Carroll, L. S., general purchasing agent, C. & N. W	15,000.00
Carroll, Phil, general superintendent, Tex. & Pac	6,000.00
Carson, H. M., G. S. of C. G. Div., Penna	10,800.00
Carstensen, John, vice president, N. Y. C., Mich. Cen., P. & L. E., Tol. & O	35,000.00
Carter, B. & Sons, solicitors, Pennsylvania System, B. C. & A. R. R., M. D. & V	11,600.00
Carter, C. M., secretary and treasurer, H. U. Depot Co., C. R. & Q., St. L. & K. C. L. Co., St. J. U. D. Co	6,200.00
Carter, E. Ben, chief engineer, Fla. Ea. Coast	5,000.00
Carter, S. M., general counsel, Me. Central	12,184.00
Cary, H. F., general passenger agent, Southern Ry	5,180.00
Cary, J. R., sr., general superintendent, C. & O. Ry	7,950.00
Cary, Robert J., general counsel, N. Y. C., Ind. H. B., C. C. C. & St. L	22,000.00
Casey, M. B., superintendent of transportation, Wabash	5,150.00
Cass, Louis Stephen, receiver, K. C. N. W	10,000.00
Cates Louis S., superintendent, Ray & Gila Valley	5,312.50
Cellar, Geo. A., superintendent of telegraphs, Pennsylvania	5,637.50
Chace, H. C., superintendent of telegraphs, A. T. & S. F	5,130.00
Chadbourne & Shores, counsel, Denver & Rio Grande	63,000.00
Chalmers, Stahl, Fennemore & Longan, attorneys, A. T. & S. F	5,000.00
Chambers, A. D., secretary and treasurer, D. L. & W., L. & M., Glen Alden Coal Co., Lack. V. Coal Co., N. Y. L. & W., Morris & Essex, Harlen Transfer Co	9,254.86
Chambers, Chas. E., superintendent motive power, Central of N. J	7,800.00
Chambers, Chas. H., auditor, N. Y. C	8,400.00
Chambers, Edw., vice president, A. T. & S. F	25,000.00
Chambers, J. M., assistant general solicitor, M. K. & T. Ry. of Tex	4,166.66
Chapman, C. L., assistant general traffic manager, Erie	4,624.99
Charlton, A. D., assistant general passenger agent, Northern Pacific	6,400.00
Charlton, Geo. T., passenger traffic manager, C. & A	6,000.00
Charity, F. E., assistant general manager, Denver & Rio Grande	5,400.00
Cheatham, R. I., assistant freight traffic manager, Seaboard Air Line	6,000.00
Chesbrough, John M., general passenger agent, Pennsylvania	7,500.00
Cheyney, Henry C., assistant general freight agent, C. & N. W	5,000.00
Chittenden, A. D., superintendent transportation, B. & L. E	5,547.76
Christie, Cornelius, general superintendent, special agent, N. Y. C	5,400.00
Church, Geo. H., treasurer, Virginian Ry	9,000.00
Church, Samuel H., secretary, Pennsylvania, P. C., C. & St. L	10,916.70
Churchill, Chas. S., assistant to president, Norfolk & Western	13,992.00
Clancy, R. J., assistant to general manager, Southern Pacific	5,000.00
Clapp, Martin H., superintendent of telegraphers, Northern Pacific	5,130.00
Clark, Arthur B., superintendent Pennsylvania terminal division, Pennsylvania	7,229.05
Clark, Arthur E., secretary, N. Y. N. H. & H., C. N. E	8,070.00
Clark, Byron, attorney for Nebraska district, C. B. & Q	12,000.00
Clark, Chas A., treasurer, Northern Pacific	10,000.00
Clark, Chas. D., division attorney, B. & O	7,125.00
Clark, Edw. T., district attorney, C. B. & Q	5,000.00
Clark, Elroy N., general attorney, Denver & Rio Grande	10,000.00
Clark, F. A., general auditor, Erie	$7,500.00
Clark, F. H., general superintendent, M. P., B. & O	15,000.00
Clark, Geo. Wesley, general superintendent, Central New England	5,300.00
Clark, J. H., superintendent Fl. equipment, S. J. R. T	5,000.00
Clark, James L., division freight agent, N. Y. C	5,000.00
Clark, J. Ross, second vice president and director, L. A. & S. L	5,080.00
Clark, James T., president, C. St. P. & O	25,160.00
Clark, R. W., secretary to president, Northern Pacific	5,000.00
Clark, W. A., chief engineer, Duluth & Iron Range	8,851.32
Clarke, T. E., assistant to president, D. L. W	5,010.00
Cleave, Ernest J., superintendent Trenton division, Pennsylvania	7,007.50
Cleland, A. M., general passenger agent, Northern Pacific	7,000.00
Clement, M. W., superintendent, Pennsylvania	4,924.50
Clements, Howard P., general ticket agent, Pullman	7,000.00
Cleveland, G. C., chief engineer, N. Y. C	9,000.00
Cleveland, Josiah F., land commissioner, C. & N. W	9,040.00
Cleveland, M. C., valuation engineer, Lehigh Valley	6,000.00
Clevenger, Henry C., coal freight agent, Pennsylvania	6,150.00
Clift, Albert E., general manager, Illinois Central	8,500.00
Clifton, Randall, freight traffic manager, Southern	7,747.38
Clotfelter, U. T., solicitor, A. T. & S. F	5,600.00
Coapman, E. H., vice president, Southern	30,150.00
Cobb, Gilbert H., division freight agent, Penna	5,400.00
Cobb, R. D., secretary and auditor, St. L. SW	5,070.00
Cobb, Cobb, McAllister, Fernberg & Heath, attorneys, Lehigh Valley	16,845.00
Cobb, Wheelwright & Dillo, attorneys, Great Northern	11,000.00
Cochran, Charles E., assistant general attorney, Union Pacific	6,000.00
Cochran, Guy, chief surgeon, Los Angeles & S. L	5,250.00
Cochrane, Jno. T., receiver, A. T. & N	12,000.00
Cocke, Lucian H., general attorney, Norfolk & Western	9,030.00
Cockrum, John B., general attorney, Lake Erie & Western	10,000.00
Coe, C. W., superintendent, W. & L. E	5,000.00
Coftin, Scott, assistant general solicitor, Fla. East Coast Fla. Ea. C. F. Co	5,000.00
Cogan, J. J., general manager, C. C. & C. Sp	6,875.00
Cole, W. R., chairman of board, N. C. & St. L	4,353.35
Coleman, B. Dawson, president, Cambria & Indiana	10,000.00
Coley, Francis C., first assistant general passenger agent, N. Y. N. H. & H	5,500.00
Collins & Corbin, attorneys, Erie	9,000.00
Collins, E. S., president, chief engineer, general manager, Sheffield & Tionesta	12,000.00
Collins, M. J., general purchasing agent, A. T. & S. F	10,000.00
Collins, W. R., purchasing agent, Erie	7,500.00
Colston, Edward, general counsel, C. N. O. & Tex. Pac	7,000.00
Compton, C. B., freight traffic manager, L. & N	7,450.00
Comstock, E. D., general passenger agent, Bessemer & Lake Erie	7,124.80
Coneys, J. W., superintendent, P. C. C. & St. L	6,000.00
Conley, J. T., general freight agent, C. M. & St. P	7,500.00
Conn, George C., freight traffic manager, Pere Marquette	6,726.66
Conn, J. J., assistant general purchasing agent, A. T. & S. F	5,000.00
Conneely, Emmett K., assistant to president, P. & L. E	6,000.00
Connell, James M., general passenger agent, A. T. & S. F	5,766.65
Connell, Joseph A., district attorney, C. B. & Q	11,333.32
Connell, Malcomb R., auditor of disbursements, N. Y. C	6,000.00
Connelly, M. S., assistant freight traffic manager, Penna	9,600.00
Conner, Henry P., assistant treasurer, Penna	8,700.00
Connor, Walker C., jr., general eastern agent, St. L. S. F	5,000.00
Connors, F. E., assistant to vice president, A. T. & S. F	6,900.00
Connors, Maurice S., general manager, Hocking Valley, W. & J. Belt, Pomeroy Belt	10,050.00
Conrad, A. L., assistant general auditor, A. T. & S. F	6,900.00
Conrades, Edwin H., president, St. L. T. & East	7,500.00
Constans, O. A., freight traffic manager, B. & O	10,810.00
Conway, Barret, assistant secretary, C. & N. W., Belle F. Valley	5,010.00
Cook, A. R., principal assistant engineer, Northern Pacific	5,000.00
Cook, Frank E., superintendent New York, Pullman	6,000.00
Cook, J. W., division superintendent, Norfolk and Western	5,100.00
Cook, Thos. J., general freight and passenger agent, Toledo & Ohio	5,200.00
Cook, Royal E., assistant general freight agent, Penna	5,100.00
Cooke, Delos W., vice president, Erie	25,826.67
Cooke, Robt. B., assistant to traffic manager, N. Y. P. & N	9,000.00
Cooke, R. W., industrial agent, Penna. West	5,100.00
Cooke, Walter P., president, N. O. Gt. Northern	9,840.00
Cooley, N. W., general manager, Uintah	7,269.13
Coon, J. W., special agent, D. & H., Hudson Coal Co	6,000.00
Cooper, Chas. K., assistant treasurer, A. T. & S. F	7,250.00
Cooper, C. P., assistant to vice president, Southern	5,000.00
Cooper, S. Ira, assistant manager, Southern Pacific	5,250.00
Cooper, Thomas, assistant to president, Northern Pacific	25,000.00
Cooper, W. S., general superintendent, C. M. & St. P	6,000.00
Copeland, Edw. L., secretary and treasurer, A. T. & S. F	12,750.00
Coppage, T. B., vice president and general manager, St. L. & S. F	6,055.52
Coppell, Arthur, vice president, Denver & Rio Grande	14,583.33
Copperstone, David C., auditor of disbursements, Penna	6,000.00
Corbett, W. M., president, K. C. Term	9,333.33
Cornatzar, J. N., general passenger agent, St. L.-S. F	6,000.00
Corser, Caleb, superintendent, Copper Riv. & N. W	6,255.00
Corthill, A. B., chief engineer, Boston & Maine	10,000.00
Costello, Martin J., assistant traffic manager, Great Northern	6,400.00
Costin, Earl M., general superintendent, C. C. C. & St. L	8,400.00
Cott, Wm. N., assistant secretary and treasurer, Hocking Valley	6,100.00
Cotter, S. E., general manager, Wabash Ry	12,000.00
Cotter, Wm., president and general manager, St. L. & O. F. Manufacturers	12,000.00
Cottingham, G. R., auditor, G. H. & S. A., H. E. & W. T., S. P. Term., T. & N. O. R. R., Direct Nav. Co	7,040.09

Cottingham, I. A., special engineer, M. L. & T	$4,769.00
Cottingham, J., solicitor for Oklahoma, A. T. & S. F	6,000.00
Couffer, John D., general western freight agent, P. C. C. & St. L	5,100.00
Couffer, U. G., freight claim agent, Pennsylvania West	5,100.00
Coughlin, W. G., engineer maintenance of way, Pennsylvania	8,400.00
Countryman, M. L., general attorney, Great Northern	12,000.00
County, A. J., vice president, Pennsylvania, Long Island, Wash. Southern	17,400.00
Courtenay, W. H., chief engineer, L. & N	5,250.00
Coverdale, Wm. High, chairman of board, P. & W. V	8,450.00
Covert, Chas. S., auditor of passenger traffic, Pennsylvania West	6,720.00
Covert, Edw. L., chief claim agent, P. C. C. & St. L	5,000.00
Covert, Wm. T., principal assistant engineer, Pennsylvania	4,043.85
Cowden, D. O., tax attorney, Southern Pacific	5,000.00
Cowhig, W. M., general superintendent of transportation, Southern	4,958.25
Cowles, C. A., general agent, Norfolk & Western	5,400.00
Cox, H. W., real estate agent, Term. R. R. Assoc. of St. L., St. L. Mer. Br. Ter., Wiggins Ferry Co., St. L. Trans. Co., E. St. L. Conn., Ill. Dred. & Const. Co	5,500.00
Cox, R. M., general manager and treasurer, N. C. O	5,000.10
Coxe, Jo. W., comptroller, Norfolk & Western	10,000.00
Coykendall, Edw., president, Ulster & Del	6,000.00
Craig, A. L., general passenger agent, Chicago Gt. Nor	5,000.00
Craig, Wm. J., passenger traffic manager, Atlantic Coast Line	7,200.00
Cram, Wingate F., cl. of corp., treas., Bangor & Aroostook	5,370.00
Cramer, J. L., secretary and Treasurer, Pere Marquette	7,500.00
Cravath & Henderson, counsel, New York division, B. & O	10,000.00
Cravath & Henderson, general counsel, St. L.-S. F	20,000.00
Cravath & Henderson, general counsel, Missouri Pacific	14,583.31
Crawford, Chas. P., comptroller, Erie	9,250.00
Crawford, D. F., general manager, Pennsylvania West	15,000.00
Crawford, John H., freight traffic manager, D. L. & Western	9,833.30
Crawford, Joseph E., chief engineer, N. & W	8,400.00
Crane, Cyrus, district attorney, K. C. Southern	6,000.00
Cronin, H. J., secretary and auditor, C. & East Ill	7,000.00
Crosby, Geo. H., vice president and secretary and treasurer, C. R. I. & P., P. & B. V., Ark. & Memphis	19,260.00
Crosby, Edward B., general coal freight agent, Philadelphia & Reading	7,000.00
Crosby, G. W., freight traffic manager, C. B. & Q	12,000.00
Cross, W. J., associate counsel, B. & O	6,300.00
Crow, W. R., general manager, Erie	5,000.00
Crowder, Dr. Thomas, director of department of sanitation and surgery, Pullman	8,500.00
Crowell, J. W., general auditor, Bangor & Aroostook	5,000.00
Crowley, P. E., operating vice president, N. Y. C	25,000.00
Croxton, D. T., president, Cuyahoga Valley	11,666.62
Crush, W. G., general passenger and ticket agent, Mo. Kans. & Tex. of Tex	5,000.00
Cullen, Geo. A., manager and traffic manager, D., L. & W	8,843.32
Cuthbert, Allen B., principal assistant engineer, Pennsylvania	5,400.00
Culp, J. M., vice president, Southern	5,456.02
Cumming & Harper, general counsel, Georgia	7,200.00
Cummins, A. A., treasurer, Pullman Co	7,797.63
Cunningham, A. O., chief engineer, Wabash, Mo. & Ill. Br. & Belt Ry	6,180.00
Cunningham, J. L., superintendent motive power, Pennsylvania	4,769.65
Curry, Howard M., mechanic superintendent, Northern Pacific	9,000.00
Cushing, Hopkins & Lamb, counsel, Erie	13,000.00
Cushing, Wm. C., chief engineer maintenance of way, P., C., C. & St. L	8,875.00
Cutter, M. B., president, Tonopah & Goldfield	15,000.00
Cutts, Geo. T., comptroller and chief accounting officer, Mo. Kan. & Tex	12,000.00
Cyr, J. W., superintendent of motive power, C. B. & Q	6,750.00
Daley, D. B., freight claim agent, Lehigh Valley	5,000.00
Dalton, B. J., chairman valuation committeee, M. K. & T	5,900.00
Dalzell, Fisher & Hawkins, district solicitors, Pennsylvania Co., P. C. C. & St. L	10,000.00
Daly, C. F., vice president, N. Y. Central, P. & L. E. R. R., Mich. Cen., T. & O. Cen	35,000.00
Daly, John W., passenger traffic manager, N. Y. Cen. lines, N. Y. Cen., Mich. Cen., P. & L. E	12,000.00
Daniels, F. B., general solicitor, the Pullman Co	19,000.00
Darlow, E. R., president, B. & S	35,300.00
Davant, T. L., vice president, traffic, Norfolk & Western	17,500.00
Davidson, A. J., general superintendent, S. P. & S. Ry., Oregon Trunk, P. & E., Oregon Elec., United Rys. Co., S. & I. E. R. R., G. N. Pac. S. S	6,000.00
Davidson, G. M., chemist and engineer of tests, Chicago & N. W., C. St. P. M. & O	8,500.00
Davis, James O., general attorney, Chicago and N. W	15,000.00
Davies, W. H., comptroller, Del. & Hudson, Sch. Ry. Co., C. & L. P. Ry., C. & C. Valley	6,370.00
Davis, C. McD., general freight agent, Atl. Coast Line	5,100.00
Davis, Frank H., vice president and treasurer, Minn. & St. L	6,399.97
Davis, F. S., general western freight and passenger agent, N. Y. N. H. & H	6,000.00
Davis, J. J., vice president and general manager, Galveston Wharf Co	8,125.00
Davis, J. M., vice president, charge of operation and maintenance, B. & O	24,000.00
Davis, John R. W., engineer maintenance of way, Great Northern	6,000.00
Davis, R. S., vice president and general manager, S. A. & S. W., L. & P. Ry., W. & L. C., S. L. B. & S	8,400.00
Davis, Robert W., freight traffic manager, B. R. & P	8,500.00
Dawes, Chester M., general counsel, C. B. & Q., Col. & So. Ry	8,708.29
Dean, J. W., general superintendent, Missouri Pac	7,200.00
Dean, Richmond, vice president, the Pullman Co	30,000.00
De Bernardi, Albert, first vice president and general manager, K. C. M. & O., K. C. M. & O. Ry. of Texas	5,333.33
De Forest, Henry W., vice president and director, Southern Pacific	$13,270.00
De Forest, Robert W., vice president and general counsel, Cen. R. R. Co. of N. J., L. & W. B. Coal Co	18,000.00
Deimling, J. F., chief engineer, Michigan Central	5,250.00
Delano, Lyman, vice president, Atl. Coast Line	11,113.37
Delf, A. E., comptroller, D. S. S. & Atl. Mineral Range R. R	6,000.00
De Long, Richard J., assistant general passenger agent, Pennsylvania	5,700.00
Demarest, T. W., superintendent motive power, Penna. R. R. Co. western lines	6,000.00
Deming, Laurent C., assistant secretary, A. T. & S. F	6,250.00
Dempsey, T. A., superintendent dining cars, C. R. I. & P	6,000.00
Denegre, Leovy & Chaffe, general attorneys, Southern Pacific, M. L. & T. R. R. & S. S	15,000.00
Denegre, George, district attorney, L. & N	5,000.00
Denison, George P., general manager, Oahu Ry. & Land Co	7,200.00
Dennan, John G., district attorney, I C	8,000.00
Denney, C. E., assistant to president, N. Y. C. & St. L	7,366.66
Denney, Dr. J. A., assistant superintendent and medical director, C. B. & Q	5,000.00
Depew, Chauncey M., chairman board of directors, N. Y. C	25,260.00
Devans, Edward J., general superintendent, B. R. & P	6,500.00
Deverell, A. C., superintendent motive power, Great Northern	6,397.75
Deverell, Frank A., assistant general auditor, B. & O., C. H. & D., Dayton Union Ry., Dayton & Union R. R., C. F. & Ft. W. Ry	6,745.00
Deverent, E. M., treasurer, B. & O	7,200.00
Dewar, W. P., treasurer and purchasing agent, M. O. & G	5,000.00
Dewey, F. E., receiver, G. F. & A. Ry	3,000.00
D'Heur, Allard, manager fuel-oil department, Southern Pacific, Kern T. & Oil Co., Asso. Pipe Line Co	10,120.00
Dice, Agnew T., president, Phila. & Read	35,000.00
Dick, Homer T., receiver and general solicitor, C. & E. I	7,500.00
Dickenson, E. R., general auditor, D. & R. G	5,150.00
Dickerson, F. T., assistant to president, Cen. R. R. of N. J	7,200.00
Dickinson, John R., assistant to general solicitor, C. M. & St. P	9,000.00
Dickinson, W. F., general attorney, C. R. I. & P	7,206.66
Dickson, J. B., general superintendent transportation, D. & H	4,629.03
Dickson, J. B., general manager, Erie	3,333.30
Didier, Paul, assistant engineer, B. & O	5,400.00
Diehl, William H., stock transportation agent, A. T. & S. F	5,500.00
Dike, Chester T., general suprintendent, C. & N. W., P. R. C. & N. W., P. & Fort B	6,676.67
Dike, Henry B., assistant to president and general solicitor, M. St. P. & S. St. M	8,300.00
Dillingham, B. F., president, Oahu Ry. & Land Co	10,000.00
Dimmick, S. D., assistant to vice president and manager, D. L. & W	7,291.64
Dinan, Daniel W., general superintendent, N. Y. C	7,800.00
Dines, Tyson S., general counsel, Denver & S. L	8,580.00
Dinkey, John Franklin, auditor and treasurer, B. R. & P	15,000.00
Dinsmore, McMahan & Dinsmore, local attorneys, M. K. & T. of Texas	7,080.00
Dixon, George Dallas, vice president in charge of traffic, Pennsylvania	30,000.00
Dobson, W. E., general auditor and traffic manager, Cambria & Ind	5,000.00
Doggrell, John H., superintendent of transportation, St. L. & S. F	6,000.00
Dodsworth, Wm. H., general agent, C. M. & St. P	5,400.00
Dohany, J. Walter, assistant general attorney, Mich. Cen	6,000.00
Donaldson, John Smiley, assistant comptroller, Pennsylvania	8,541.75
Donnelly, Charles, assistant general counsel, Northern Pacific	20,000.00
Doran, Joseph I., general counsel, Norfolk & Western, Virginia-Carolina, N. R. H. & W., W.-S. Southbound	20,310.00
Doran, N. S., secretary and auditor, K. C. M. & O	5,000.00
Dorety, F. G., attorney, Great Northern	7,000.00
Dougherty, Curtis, chief engineer maintenance of ways and structures, Southern	5,500.00
Douglas, Alexander, consulting auditor, St. L. & S. F	12,200.00
Douglass, Dana C., general manager, Maine Central	9,000.00
Douglas, H. T., jr., chief engineer, Chicago & Alton, Joliet & Chi., Miss. Bridge Co	5,720.00
Douglas, James, president, E. P. & S. W	7,550.00
Doulin, W. M., assistant treasurer, P. & L. E, Monongahela, P. C. & Y	4,869.00
Dow, Harvey G., assistant general freight agent, Great Northern	6,600.00
Downing, I. S., general master car builder, C. C. C. & St. L	6,000.00
Downing, W. C., general superintendent, Pennsylvania	10,125.00
Downs, Harry H., chief claim agent, N. Y. C	5,000.00
Downs, L. A., general superintendent, I. C	6,374.98
Drake, W. A., general manager, A. T. & S. F	9,400.00
Draper, Charles A., purchasing agent, N. Y. O. & W	5,124.98
Dresser, Hermon L., chief engineer, D. M. & Northern, U. S. Steel Corp	7,149.00
Drew, J. G., vice president, Missouri Pacific, Sou. Ill. & Mo. Bridge Co	19,933.33
Droege, John A., general superintendent, N. Y. N. H. & H	8,115.59
Drury, M. J., superintendent shops, A. T. & S. F	5,000.00
Duddleson, T. J., superintendent, Nevada Northern	6,000.00
Dudley, F. M., general attorney, C. M. & St. P	10,000.00
Dudley, Dr. P. H., consulting engineer, N. Y. C. Lines	7,500.00
Duffy, John, assistant secretary, Lehigh Valley	5,562.47
Duke, J. B., assistant comptroller, Southern, Ga. S. & Fla	6,235.55
Duke, Nathaniel, assistant freight traffic manager, Del. L. & Western	9,833.30
Dumble, E. T., consulting geologist, Southern Pacific, Rio Bravo Oil Co., East Coast Oil Co	12,020.00
Duncan, W. M., president and director, Wheeling & L. E	15,560.00

Dunglinson, George, jr., assistant to general manager, Norfolk & Western	$5,447.73
Dunkle, H. O., assistant to president, Erie	10,000.00
Dunlap, C. K., traffic manager, So. Pac. Lines of Tex	9,015.00
Dunlap, Robert, western solicitor, A. T. & S. F	13,500.00
Dunlop, Patrick T., general superintendent motive power, St. L. S. F	10,000.00
Dunn, Theodore L., assistant to general manager, Maine Central	5,000.04
Dupuy, George A., special attorney, I. C	7,125.00
Durbrow, C. W., attorney, Southern Pacific	7,200.00
Durham, E. M., jr., chief engineer of construction, Southern	5,833.34
Durham, George, superintendent motive power and cars, W. & L. E	5,000.00
Durkee, W. P., auditor, C. B. & Q	6,000.00
Dutton, Alfred S., auditor freight accounts, Michigan Central, Tor. H. & Buff., T. H. & B. Nav. Co	5,042.75
Dyer, J. H., assistant general manager, Southern Pacific	10,020.00
Dynes, O. W., commerce counsel, C. M. & St. P	10,000.00
Earl, George H., third vice president, Northern Pac., Colo. & Sou., N. P. Term. Co. Ore., N. W. Improvement Co	7,932.50
Earling, A. J., president, C. M. & St. P., P. S. & W. H., S. P. A. & W., B. & N., T. E	75,319.00
Earling, H. B., vice president, C. M. St. P., S. P. A. & W., P. S. & W. H., T. E	20,000.00
Easley, F. J., assistant general manager, D. & R. G., Peoria Ry. Terminal	9,515.60
Eaton, B. E., general counsel and director, G. & S. I	7,500.00
Eaton, George H., assistant freight traffic manager, Boston & Maine	7,000.00
Eaton, William D., attorney Iowa district, C. B. & Q	8,666.60
Eckels, Charles P., superintendent New York division, Erie	5,083.28
Edmonds, A. S., assistant freight traffic manager, Missouri Pacific	2,758.05
Edson, J. A., president, K. C. S	25,000.00
Edwards, J. L., traffic manager, A. B. & A	5,000.00
Edwards, Thomas O., auditor Pacific systems, Southern Pacific, Associated Oil Co., associated Pipe Line Co	10,670.00
Egan, A. H., general superintendent, Y. & M. V	6,624.99
Eich, Henry C., superintendent motive power, C. G. W	3,860.00
Ekin, John J., general auditor, Balt. & Ohio	7,600.00
Ekstrom, Axel, consulting electrical engineer, D. & H. Co. H. V., Schenectady, Plattsburg Trac. Co., United Traction Co	6,175.00
Eldredge, A. B., president and general counsel, D. S. S. & A., M. R. R. R. Co	9,000.00
Eldridge, W. T., president, general manager, and treasurer, Sugarland	12,000.00
Eldridge, P. C., general superintendent, C. M. & St. P	6,000.00
Ellick, A. G., assistant general attorney, Union Pacific	7,000.00
Ellinwood & Ross, general attorneys, Arizona, El Paso & S. W	6,420.00
Elliott, F. S., general superintendent, Great Northern, D. & S. Bridge Co	7,200.00
Elliott, George B., general counsel, director maintenance of electrical construction, Atlantic Coast Line, A. L. & I. Co., W. Ry. Bridge Co., L. & N., Belt Line, C. & W. C., So. Car. Pac., C. U. S. Co., N. W. Ry., S. C. E. Car L. & Imp. Co	13,343.57
Elliott, Howard, director, president, chairman, N. Y. N. H. & H., C. N. E., N. E. S. S. Co., N. B. & M. V. S. S., H. & N. Y. Term. Co., W. St. Ry., B. St. Ry., N. Y. & S. Ry	37,381.69
Elliott, Howard, chairman board of directors, N. Y. O. & W	5,190.00
Elliott, Howard, chairman executive committee, Northern Pacific	18,180.00
Elliott, J. H., general manager, Texas & Pacific	10,010.00
Elliott, W. H., signal engineer, New York Central	5,050.00
Ellis, Schulder & Lucas, attorneys, D. & R. G	5,000.00
Ellis, George A., assistant counsel, Union Pacific	7,500.00
Ellis, J. H., secretary and acting treasurer, L. & N. R. R. Co., L. H. & St. L	5,770.00
Elmer, William, superintendent Schuylkill Division, Pennsylvania	5,568.30
Elsey, Charles, treasurer, Western Pacific	5,040.00
Elston, A. C., general superintendent, N. Y. S. & W	5,416.58
Ely, R. C., receiver, N. M. C. Ry	4,475.00
Emerson, George H., general manager, Great Northern	16,021.44
Emery, John M., manager marine department, D. L. & W., Harlem Transfer Co	8,883.30
Engel, E. J., assistant to president, A. T. & S. Fe	15,000.00
English, Lee F., attorney, A. T. & S. Fe	6,500.00
English, W. L., superintendent of Agr., St. L. & S. F	4,812.50
Ennes, Stanton, general manager, W. M	10,000.00
Enright, J. E., superintendent M. P. & C. Department, D. & R. G	4,666.64
Enslow, Fitzpatrick & Baker, counsel, West Virginia, C. & O	10,000.00
Erb, Newman, president, Ann Harbor M. & L. S	6,808.36
Erdall, John L., general attorney, M. St. P. & S. S. M., W. C. Ry., W. Exp. Co., N. A. Tel. Co	7,750.00
Ericson, E. G., principal assistant engineer, Pennsylvania	5,000.00
Ernst, Carl J., assistant treasurer, assistant secretary, land commissioner, C. B. & Q	6,000.00
Etter, sr., W. K., general superintendent western district, A. T. & S. F	6,300.00
Eustis, P. S., passenger traffic manager, C. B. & Q	12,000.00
Evans, George E., fourth vice president, L. & N., L. H. & St. L	10,020.00
Evans, H. T., auditor, C. I. & L., Monon Coal Co., K. & I. Ter	5,124.00
Evans, J. F., general auditor, Western Pacific	6,000.00
Evans, T. W., assistant general manager, New York Central	12,000.00
Evans, W. F., general solicitor, St. L. S. F	25,000.00
Everett, F. W., superintendent Syracuse Division, New York Central	5,460.00
Everman, J. W., general manager, St. L. S. W., St. L. S. W. of Tex., Am. Ry. Assn	4,291.65
Every, W. F., general claim agent, Northern Pacific	$5,000.00
Ewing, Caruther, division counsel, Southern	5,000.04
Ewing, Charles H., vice president, Phila. & Reading	19,166.70
Eyman, F. P., freight traffic manager, C. & N. W	15,000.00
Eysmans, J. L., general freight manager, Pennsylvania	7,953.30
Fabian, W. J., cashier, C. B. & Q	5,600.00
Fahey, J. K., general superintendent, G. & S. I	4,677.00
Fahnestock, James F., treasurer, Pennsylvania	20,000.00
Failing, W. H., claims attorney, Central of Jersey	5,000.00
Fairlamb, John F., auditor, New York Central	8,000.00
Falck, Frederick McG., general manager, P. & R	7,500.00
Falconer, R. C., assistant chief engineer, Erie	5,000.00
Fallis, B. G., general superintendent, Southern	5,000.00
Farnham, Frank A., counsel in Massachusetts, N. Y. N. H. & H	9,768.34
Farnham, Robert, assistant engineer, Pennsylvania	5,100.00
Farrell, H. E., president and vice president, P. & W. Va.; W. S. B	9,000.00
Farrell, J. D., president, Union Pacific; O.-W. & Nav. Co	30,030.00
Farris, W. E., vice president and general manager, N. O. Gt. N	10,030.00
Faucette, W. D., chief engineer, S. A. L	5,000.00
Faulkner, E. O., manager, A. T. & S. Fe	7,500.00
Fay, C. S., traffic manager, S. P. in La	7,798.37
Fay, Thornwell, assistant to receiver, I. & Gt. N	9,400.00
Faye, H. K., traffic manager, Western Pacific	3,333.30
Feakins, George W., assistant to president, El P. & S. W	5,333.27
Fechtig, F. H., purchasing agent, A. C. L	6,600.00
Fee, Charles S., passenger traffic agent, S. P	10,580.00
Felt, C. F. W., chief engineer, A. T. & S. F	9,000.00
Felton, S. M., president, C. G. W	40,259.96
Fenton, A. M., general freight agent, C. St. P. M. & O	5,708.31
Ferguson, H. H., vice president and general manager, Ill. Term	12,000.00
Ferguson, John I., general passenger agent, C. & N. W	5,287.50
Ferguson, Robert B., auditor of dis., D. L. & W	5,700.00
Fernald, George H., sr., special agent, B. & A	5,000.00
Fernald, George H., jr., counsel, B. & A.; P. & N. A. Corp	7,010.00
Fernald, Gustave S., general attorney, the Pullman Co	19,000.00
Ferris, Henry C., receiver, M. O. & G	7,800.00
Ferris, J. L., auditor of passenger accounts, N. Y. C	6,000.00
Ferry, Clark B., vice president and assistant secretary, C. M. & St. P	10,099.96
Fetner, W. H., general master mechanic, Cent. of Ga	4,687.50
Field, H. H., general solicitor, C. M. & St. P	18,000.00
Finch, F. N., manager, Camas Prairie	5,000.00
Finch, H. C., general manager, Genesee & Wyo	7,700.00
Findley, P. G., general freight agent, Michigan Cent	3,925.00
Finegan, Leo, superintendent, B. & O	5,300.00
Finerty, J. F., assistant general counsel, Gt. Northern	7,000.00
Finley, William H., chief engineer, C. & N. W	15,000.00
Fisher, J. B., superintendent freight transportation, Pennsylvania	8,100.00
Fisher, P. L., general auditor, E. J. & E	3,500.00
Fitzgerald, R., president and director, C. J. Ry. Co	16,030.08
Fitzgerald, Wm., assistant general freight agent, C. & O	5,000.00
Fitzmaurice, R. D., assistant general superintendent, N. Y. N. H. & H	6,227.41
Fitzsimmons, E. S., mechanical superintendent, Erie	5,000.00
Flanary, A. B., master of chancery, M. K. & T	7,800.00
Fleming, David B., superintendent Buffalo division, N. Y. C	5,050.00
Fleming, Fleming & Hamilton, counsel, S. A. L	5,299.92
Fletcher, Robt. V., general attorney, Ill. Cent	8,000.00
Flory, Burton P., superintendent motive power, N. Y. Ont. & W	6,150.00
Flowers, J. N., special counsel, G. M. & N	5,000.00
Flynn, Edw., division superintendent, C. B. & Q	4,525.00
Flynn, P. J., vice president, D. L. & W	19,883.26
Flynn, W. H., superintendent motive power, Mich. Cent	6,000.00
Fogarty, F. H., assistant general freight agent, N. P	5,000.00
Foley, Thos. J., vice president, I. C. Y. & M. V	15,833.33
Folger, Geo. H., assistant general superintendent, B. & M	4,583.34
Folles, Hogsett, Ginn & Morley, counsel Cleveland division, B. & O	10,000.00
Folson, H. E., division superintendent, B. & M., St. J. & L. C., M. & W. R., B. & Chelsea, Vt. Valley, Sullivan County, C. & P. R	9,690.00
Foque, T. A., general mechanical superintendent, M. St. P. & S. Ste. M	12,000.00
Ford, E., assistant to president, A. & V	6,172.25
Ford, E. I., superintendent Newport N. & N., C. & O	5,200.00
Ford, W. T., auditor, C. R. N. W	5,750.00
Foreacre, W. W., general manager, Southern	12,000.00
Fornstrom, H., chief engineer, Va. Ry	10,000.00
Forster, T. O. D., superintendent traffic manager, T. & Goldfield	7,200.00
Fort, Gerrit, passenger traffic manager, Union Pacific	12,500.00
Fort, V. D., assistant freight traffic manager, Ill. Cent. Y. & M. V	7,300.00
Forward, H. W., general freight agent, Erie	5,249.94
Foss, A. P., comptroller, Maine Central	7,500.00
Foster, G. H., general land agent, L. Valley	6,300.00
Foster, H. D., assistant general auditor, Chi. B. & Q	7,200.00
Foster, J. H., general superintendent, C. M. & St. P	7,000.00
Foster, W. B., general superintendent, C. M. & St. P	7,900.00
Foster, Vernon, local attorney, Ill. Cent	5,900.00
Foster, William H., general superintendent, N. Y. N. H. & H	5,525.00
Fox, Carl, attorney, Mobile & Ohio	5,000.00
Fox, Eugene, general traffic manager, E. P. & S. W. Co	8,800.00
Fox, Fred C., general manager, A. T. & S. F	16,250.00
Francis, John, general agent (passenger), C. B. & W	6,500.00
Franklin, Robert L., freight claim agent, Pennsylvania	6,000.00
Fraser, J. H., general manager, G. F. & A	533.32
Frazier & Frazier, division counsel, B. & O	5,000.00
Freeman, E., assistant treasurer, Mich. Cent	8,100.00
Freeman, Francis B., chief engineer, B. & A	7,000.00
Freeman, Thomas J., general counsel, T. & P	12,000.00
Freeman, W. R., receiver and manager, Den. & St. Lake	3,749.98
French, George L., general superintendent, Rutland	6,000.00
Fretz, T. J., general freight and passenger agent, L. & N. E	5,410.00
Freund, S. H. E., assistant general counsel, Gt. Northern	8,500.00

Frier, Thomas J., purchasing agent, Wabash	$7,200.00
Frics, A., assistant general freight traffic manager, B. & O.	10,900.00
Fripp, W. J., general manager, N. Y. C.	18,000.00
Fritch, Louis Carlton, general manager, S. A. L.	6,533.33
Frost, D. R., general attorney, N. P.	5,000.00
Fuller, Charles E., superintendent motive power, U. Pacific	8,000.00
Fuller, M. B., president, G. & W.	5,830.00
Fullerton, S. H., president, G. & S.	5,000.00
Furber, George P., claims attorney, B. & A., Ward River	6,010.00
Gage, Carl M., president and general manager, H. & B. T., R. Coal Co.	7,966.70
Gagel, Edward, chief engineer, N. Y. N. H. & H., C. N. E.	10,060.00
Gaines, F. F., special engineer, Cen. of Ga.	5,812.50
Gallagher, C. A., general superintendent, N. & S. S.	8,118.39
Galloway, Chas. Wm., general manager, B. & O. T. R. R. Ass'n, Toledo T. R. R. Co., Ky. & Ind. T., C. N. O. & T. P.	20,210.00
Gallup, David L., comptroller, A. T. & S. F.	16,250.00
Gannon, Frank S., president, {M. W. & S. / S. & A.	6,500.00 / 2,500.00
Gannon, Gilbert, assistant secretary, Ches. & Ohio, Hocking Vy.	3,416.66
Gardner, Alfred A., special counsel, Long Island	14,000.00
Gardner, A. K., attorney, C. & N. W.	7,000.00
Gardner, C. W., comptroller, M. St. P. & Ste. S. M.	15,666.67
Garrett, W. B., division attorney, Houston & T. C.	5,000.00
Garrison, John T., division attorney, Houston & T. C.	4,530.00
Gatchell, W. H., assistant vice president, Southern	5,896.78
Gatewood, E. C., executive general agent, Southern	5,000.00
Gatlin, Thomas H., assistant vice president, Southern	5,956.99
Gausewitz, H. A., general superintendent, F. W. & D. C.	5,500.00
Gay, C. E., jr., vice president and general manager, S. & A.	5,000.00
Gay, Edward A., secretary and assistant treasurer, Nor. Pac.	6,000.00
Geer, I. W., general superintendent, P. C. C. & S. L.	10,200.00
Gemmell, R. C., assistant general manager, Bingham & Garfield	6,000.00
Gemmell, W. H., general manager, M. & I.	5,083.26
Geoghegan, Thomas Denton, traffic manager, Gulf M. & Nor.	3,623.33
Getzen-Danner, O. G., tax agent, N. Y. C.	15,200.00
Gibbons, John M., attorney, N. Y. N. H. & H., C. N. Eng., N. Eng. Stmsp. Co.	7,500.00
Gilbert, A. P., general freight agent, Ches. & Ohio	5,000.00
Gibbs, Alfred W., chief mechanical engineer, Pennsylvania	10,800.00
Giles, C. F., superintendent of machinery, Louisville & Nashv.	5,250.00
Gill, Charles A., superintendent motive power, B. & O.	6,000.00
Gill & Linn, division counsel, B. & O.	10,025.00
Gilliam, Hoge, superintendent electric transportation, N. Y. N. H. & H.	5,500.00
Gillinghan, Albert J., assistant comptroller, Pennsylvania	5,574.40
Gilman, L. C., president, Spokane, Port. & S., Oregon Trunk, P. & Eastern, Oregon Elec., United Railways	30,000.00
Glazier, George M., assistant general auditor, N. Y. C., Mahoning C.	7,240.00
Glennon, Edward T., assistant vice president, N. Y. C.	17,500.00
Glessner, C. C., auditor freight claims, B. & O.	5,533.45
Glynn, W. C., assistant general freight agent, Pennsylvania	4,582.25
Golden, Michael J., assistant general freight agent, C. & N. W.	5,000.00
Goldsborough, C. S., assistant to president, Erie	7,820.00
Goodnow, C. A., vice president, C. M. & St. P., P. S. & W. H., Gallatin Vy., Tacoma Eastern	17,500.00
Goodnow, T. H., superintendent car department, C. & N. W.	5,000.00
Goodwin, E. P., general superintendent transportation, Chesapeake & Ohio	7,350.00
Goodwyn, D. M., general freight agent, L. & N.	5,416.62
Gordon, George B., special counsel, Pennsylvania	17,263.36
Gorman, J. E., president, C. R. I. & P., P. & B. V., Keokuk & Des Moines, R. I. Imp. Co.	47,715.00
Gormley, M. J., assistant to president, C. & N. W., Superior Coal Co., Consolidation Coal Co.	5,000.00
Gould, John R., superintendent motive power, Chesapeake & Ohio	7,500.00
Gowan, Marcus L., general counsel, Pennsylvania	30,000.00
Gordon, J. A., general manager, C. G. W.	10,000.00
Graham, E. M., general agent, Norfolk & Western	6,640.00
Graham, James Franklin, superintendent motive power, Oregon-Wash. Ry. & Nav.	5,000.00
Graham, T. A., assistant freight traffic manager, So. Pacific Co.	8,000.00
Grandy, A. L., assistant general manager, Pere Marquette	6,300.00
Grant, Alexander, assistant to vice president, So. Railway system	5,000.00
Grantham, Ed. L., assistant solicitor, C. M. & St. P.	5,000.00
Graves, John K., solicitor, Southern	5,000.00
Graves, Kizer & Graves, general counsel, Spokane & Inld. Empire	10,000.00
Gray, Archibald, general freight agent, Western Pacific	5,050.00
Gray, Carl R., chairman of board, Wheeling & Lake Erie	5,240.00
Gray, C. R., chairman of board, Western Md.	32,960.00
Gray, Dudley R., freight traffic manager, Western Md.	8,400.00
Gray, D. L., assistant general traffic manager, Erie	6,675.00
Gray, G. M., superintendent motive power, Bessemer & Lake Erie	10,440.80
Gray, Henry A., comptroller, Northern Pacific	12,000.00
Gray, William, general freight agent, C. B. & Q.	5,500.00
Green, James F., attorney, Mo. Pacific	6,774.45
Green, Lincoln, vice president, Southern	15,042.00
Green, W. E., president, C. W. & E.	6,300.00
Greene, Frank A., assistant superintendent, Pennsylvania	4,833.20
Greene, S. R., superintendent, Cuyahoga Valley	5,499.96
Greenfield, Hugh, purchasing agent, D. M. & N.	5,715.90
Greer, Benj. B., vice president and general manager, Colo. & Southern, C. B. & Q.	12,000.00
Greer, Lawrence, W. B. and general counsel, Western Maryland Ry.	12,000.00
Greer, S. B., assistant to vice president, C. B. & Q.	7,500.00
Grice, E. W., assistant to president, Chesapeake & Ohio	8,300.00
Grier, F. B., president and general solicitor, C. & W. C.	6,000.00
Griffin, E. O., assistant to president, St. L. & Southwestern	5,833.30
Griffin, E. R., vice president and general manager, Great Northern	$13,400.00
Griffin, I. M., freight traffic manager, Texas & Pacific	6,425.00
Grimshaw, H. B., general superintendent, S. A. L.	5,000.00
Grimshaw, Frederick Geo., superintendent motive power, Pennsylvania	4,425.00
Griswold, H. R., general freight agent, G. R. & Indiana	6,000.00
Groff, Robert H., assistant secretary, Pennsylvania	6,600.00
Gross, John M., assistant general freight agent, Pennsylvania	4,500.00
Grove, P. L., superintendent Delaware division, Pennsylvania	4,590.35
Gruber, James M., vice president and general manager, Great Northern	25,000.00
Gumbes, Jos. H., general superintendent W. P. division, Pennsylvania	8,896.75
Gunn & Rasch, legal department counsel, Northern Pacific	14,000.00
Gunn, Francis M., superintendent manufacturing department, the Pullman Co.	6,500.00
Gutelius, F. P., vice president, Delaware & Hudson Co.	11,761.68
Gwyn, James G., chief engineer, Denver & Rio Grande	6,000.00
Hackney, Leonard J., general counsel, C. C. C. & St. L.	15,120.00
Hackney, Thos., general attorney, Mo. Pac.	5,583.33
Hackett, Walter E., local treasurer, Michigan Central	5,285.50
Hadley, Everett A., chief engineer, Mo. Pac.	8,100.00
Haff, Frank E., secretary, Long Island	6,900.00
Haile, Columbus, vice president and chief T. O., M. K. & T.	18,000.00
Hainen, J., assistant to vice president, Southern	8,100.00
Haines, L. C., treasurer, Fla. East Coast	5,000.00
Hall, Edward C., general manager, E. B. T. R. & C. Co.	6,700.00
Hall, J. E., general counsel, G. S. & Fla.	6,900.00
Halliday, James O., superintendent of transportation, N. Y. N. H. & H.	6,250.00
Hallock, H. M., general manager, C. & I. M.	5,000.00
Halsted, A. S., general counsel, L. A. & S. L.	10,000.00
Halsted, H. O., superintendent of transportation, Pere Marquette	5,850.00
Hamauer, George, general manager, Ind. Harbor Belt	9,000.00
Hamblen & Gilbert, division attorneys, O-W. R. & N. Co.	6,000.00
Hamblen, C. N., general manager, Sierra Ry. of Cal.	5,080.00
Hamill, James M., district attorney, L. & N.	6,000.00
Hamilton, Arthur, general freight agent, Cent. of N. J.	6,000.00
Hamilton, Frank Hastings, secretary and treasurer, St. L. & S. F.	15,000.00
Hamilton, Geo. E., general counsel, Wash. Ter. Co.	8,000.00
Hamilton, Geo. E., division counsel, Baltimore & Ohio	11,350.00
Hamilton, H. C., general freight agent, Lehigh Valley	7,500.00
Hamilton, Thos. B., vice president, P. C. C. & St. L.	15,548.70
Hamilton, Thompson A., comptroller, St. L. & S. F.	10,163.91
Hammett, Philip M., superintendent M. P., Maine Central	5,033.36
Hammill, F. H., general superintendent, Union Pacific	1,432.26
Hammond, Geo. O., general mechanical superintendent, N. Y. N. H. & H.	5,225.00
Hamner, B. L., general development agent, Seaboard Air L.	7,000.00
Hancock, John A., assistant treasurer, C. & O., C. & O. Ry. of Ind. C. & O. N.	6,300.00
Hand, G. C., vice president, Kan. City Sou.	6,875.00
Hand, G. T., chief engineer, Lehigh Valley	6,666.64
Hand, Geo. W., val. engineer, C. & N. W.	6,000.00
Hanna, John V., chief engineer, Kan. City Ter.	6,000.00
Hannaford, J. M., president, Northern Pac.	50,000.00
Hannaford, J. M., president, N. W. Imp. Co.	5,000.00
Hansel, Charles, con. val. engineer, Cent. of N. J.	6,000.00
Hanson, Burton, general counsel, C. M. & St. P.	25,000.00
Hanson, J. B., general freight and passenger agent, D. M. & N.	7,238.70
Harahan, W. J., president, S. A. L.	40,857.00
Harden, A. T., vice president, N. Y. Cent.	35,020.00
Hardin, Geo. W., director, vice president, and superintendent, E. T. & W. N. Car.	7,660.00
Harriman, W. A., vice president, Union Pacific	10,930.91
Harrington, DeFord, Heim & Osborne, division counsel, B. & O.	9,000.00
Harrington, DeFord, Heim & Osborne, solicitors, Pennsylvania	6,000.00
Harris, Albert H., vice president, N. Y. Central, Mich. Cent., C. C. C. & St. L., P. & L. E., T. & O. C.	35,560.00
Harris, B. H., vice president and general manager, C. M. & Gary	5,500.00
Harris, George B., chairman board of directors, C. B. & Q.	15,000.00
Harris, G. W., chief engineer, A. T. & S. F.	5,700.00
Harris, H. R., vice president and general manager, Mun. Mar. & Sou. E., Lake S. & I.	9,000.00
Harrison, Fairfax, president, Southern, C. N. O & T. P., A. G. S., M. & O., C. S. & F.	50,500.00
Harrison, Fred J., superintendent motive power, B. R. & Pitts.	6,874.97
Harry, Rush N., local treasurer, C. C. C. & St. L., Day. & Union	6,600.00
Hart, E. E., chief engineer, N. Y. C. & St. L.	5,000.00
Hart, Edward, jr., western general freight agent, B. & Ohio	6,000.00
Hart, Henry J., general counsel, Bangor & Aroostook	7,200.00
Harwood, George A., engineer assistant to vice president, N. Y. Central	12,400.00
Hastings, H. S., auditor and comptroller, P. S. & Northern	3,600.00
Hastings, P. P., assistant general freight agent, A. T. & S. F.	5,000.00
Hatch, Fred. T., chief engineer maintenance of way, P. C. C. & St. L.	6,475.00
Hatch, S. G., passenger traffic manager, Ill. Cent. & Y. & M. V.	9,500.00
Hattendorf, Jos., general freight agent, Ill. Central, Y. & M. V., C. M. & Gulf	5,100.00
Havemeyer, Henry O., president-general manager, N. Y. Central	10,000.00
Havens & Havens, counsel for New York, Buf. R. & Pitts.	7,700.00
Hawkins, W. A., general attorney, El Paso & S. W.	25,000.00
Hawkins, W. P., fuel agent, Mo. Pacific	6,000.00
Hawkins, A. R., superintendent motive power, Great Northern	4,556.45

Hawks, G. F., vice president and general manager, El Paso & S. W. $15,450.00
Hawks, J. D., vice president and general manager and chief engineer, Detroit & Mack 7,500.00
Hawley, A. L., general auditor and secretary, El Paso & S. W., Nacozari, Morenci Sou., E. P. & S. W. of Tex., E. P. & N. E., Cloudcroft, E. P. & S. W. Val. Com., E. P. & S. W. Bd. Ser 12,500.00
Hay, F. L., superintendent dining and sleeping, Great Northern 5,000.00
Haydon, Andrew, legal agent, Great Northern 6,000.00
Hayes, C. B., comptroller, Mobile & Ohio, Southern, Ala. L. & Dev. Co., Mobile D. Co., Gulf Term. Co 9,845.00
Hayes, James L., general superintendent, Pere Marquette 5,000.00
Hayes, S. W., solicitor, A. T. & S. F. 6,000.00
Hayes, W. A., general attorney in Wisconsin, M. St. P. & St. Marie, Wis. Cn., Mil. Terminal, Western Express 7,300.00
Haymond, F. O., superintendent, Bingham & Garfield 5,640.00
Haynes, George B., general passenger agent, C. M. & St. P 5,000.00
Haynes, J. R., assistant purchasing agent, C. B. & Q. 5,600.00
Head, Dillard Smith & Head, district attorney, M. K. & Texas 5,100.00
Healea, T. B, solicitor, Pennsylvania, P. C. C. & St. L. 6,500.00
Heath, D. W., treasurer, Springfield Terminal (Jones & Adams Coal Co., $4,400) 600.00
Hebble, Amos S., superintending engineer, Southern Pacific 8,275.00
Heberd, E. M., assistant secretary, Pere Marquette 3,611.12
Heebner & Bedford, general counsel, Cambria & Indiana 6,000.00
Heebner, Charles, general solicitor, Phila. & Reading 12,500.04
Heigho, Edgar M., receiver and general manager, Pac. & Idaho North 6,000.00
Heiseman, C. B., general counsel, Penna. West of Pgh., Pennsylvania, P. C. C. & St. L. 20,000.00
Helbig, O. H., vice president and traffic manager, Prescott & N. W. 5,000.00
Hellen, Joseph, general passenger agent, G. H. & S. A., T. & N. O., H. & T. C., H. E. & W. T., H. & S. 5,700.00
Heller, Harry, general agent, C. B. & Q. 5,000.00
Helm, H. B., director and vice president in charge, L. R. & N. 5,000.00
Helsell & Helsell, district attorneys, Illinois Central 7,200.00
Henderson & Burr, solicitors, Pennsylvania 29,700.00
Henderson, William Albert, general solicitor, Southern 5,000.00
Henry, E. J., western traffic manager, Lehigh Valley 7,500.00
Henry, J. M., assistant general superintendent and vice president, Pennsylvania 5,520.00
Henry, W. C. A., superintendent of motive power, Pitts. Cin. C. & St. L. 6,300.00
Henshaw, William G, president, Riverside Rialto & Pac. 5,000.00
Hensley, L. J., auditor, Kans. City Southern 4,043.00
Herbel, Henry G., general attorney and counsel, Missouri Pac 8,000.00
Herbert, J. M., president, St. L. S. W., St. L. S. W. of Tex., P. B. Ark. River, Sou. Ill. & Mo. Bridge, Grays Point Term., Par. Sou. Eastern, Cent. Ark. & Eastern, P. B. Ark. River, Dallas Terminal & U. D., T. R. R. A. of St. L., Ark. & Mem. Bridge Term., Sou. Ill. & Mo. Bridge Co 20,343.36
Herman, Bernard, chief engineer maintenance of way, Southern 7,800.00
Herriman, Frank E., special assistant to president, New York Central 12,000.00
Herrin, William F., vice president and chief counsel, Southern Pacific, Cen. Pacific, Pac. Electric, N. W. Pac. 38,170.00
Hershey, J. S., general freight agent, A. T. & S. F. 5,450.00
Hess, George F., superintendent of machinery, Kans. City Southern 5,000.00
Hetzler, H. G., president, Belt of Chicago 7,500.00
Hetzler, H. G., president, Chicago & Western Ind. 7,500.00
Heuer, H. D., assistant secretary and assistant auditor, Term. R. R. Assn. of St. L., St. L. Mer. Bridge Term., Wiggins Ferry Co., St. L. Transfer, E. St. L. Connecting, Term. Hospital Dept 5,155.00
Heyman, William, foreign freight agent, D. L. & W. 5,100.00
Hibbard, George W., general passenger agent, C. M. & St. Paul (resigned July 31, 1917; annual salary, $5,000) 2,500.00
Hibbard, Isaac Lester, assistant general manager, A. T. & S. F 9,000.00
Hibbits, F. N., superintendent of motive power, Lehigh Valley 2,500.00
Hickman, Frank Moore, local treasurer, Mo. Pacific 6,100.00
Hiland, J. H., vice president, C. M. & St. P. 15,000.00
Hildum, Clayton E., auditor freight accounts, N. Y. C. (Erie) 6,000.00
Hill, J. H., vice president and general manager, Gal. H. & Henderson 10,000.00
Hill, Louis W., chairman, Great Northern 50,000.00
Hilliard, Charles W., fourth vice president, St. L. San Fran 20,000.00
Hilton, Alexander, passenger traffic manager, St. L. San Fran 10,000.00
Hinckley, A. E., superintendent motive power and machinery, Oreg. Short Line (Union Pacific) 6,000.00
Hine, Kennedy, Manchester & Conroy, company attorneys, Erie 7,500.00
Hines, Walker D., director, chairman, A. T. & S. F. 77,210.00
Hobart, T. D., general coal freight agent, Norfolk & West. 5,100.00
Hobbs, Frank Seymour, division superintendent, N. Y. N. H. & H. 5,175.00
Hobbs, George S., second vice president, Maine Central, S. Riv. & Rang. Lakes, Bridg. & Saco River, Bridg. Teleg. Co 12,100.00
Hobbs, William J., comptroller and vice president, Boston & Maine, York Harbor & Beach, St. Johns. & Lake Cham., Mont. & W. River, Barre & Chelsea, Troy Union. 16,060.00
Hodgdon, William, traffic manager, Pennsylvania, Pitts. Cin. Chi. & St. L. 16,000.00
Hodges, Harrison B., purchasing agent, Long Island 5,400.00
Hodges, W. E., vice president, A. T. & S. F. 16,250.00
Hodgson, F. D., auditor, Hocking Valley 5,339.92
Hodson, William, assistant treasurer, C., R. I. & Pac. 6,000.00
Hoehling, A. A., Jr., attorney, Sou. Pacific $6,000.00
Hoff, A. B., industrial commissioner, Erie 5,604.40
Hoff, Frank C., assistant to general manager, Pennsylvania 7,800.00
Hogan, Charles H., assistant superintendent motive power, N. Y. Central 5,700.00
Hogan, E. D., vice president and general manager, Gulf, Mobile & Northern 5,500.00
Hogeland, Albert H., chief engineer, Great Northern 15,000.00
Holcomb, H. H., assistant freight traffic manager, C., B. & Q. 7,487.00
Holden, Edward H., general superintendent transportation, Kans. City Southern 6,000.00
Holden, Hale, president and director, C., B. & Q., Colo. Sou 65,000.00
Holden, James F., vice president, Kans. City Southern 15,000.00
Holdredge, G. W., general manager, C., B. & Q. 18,000.00
Holley, W. A., assistant general freight agent, C., B. & Q. 5,000.00
Holmes, E. H., auditor, Wheeling & Lake Erie 5,000.00
Holmes, George, general attorney, C. R. R. of N. J., Lehigh & Wilkes-Barre, N. Y. & Long Branch 13,010.00
Holst, Jens. L., engineer of structures, N. Y. C. 5,200.00
Holt, A. G., assistant chief engineer, C. M. & St. Paul 5,000.00
Holterhoff, G., jr., western assistant secretary and treasurer, A. T. & S. F. 9,000.00
Hood, H. M., vice president and comptroller, Gulf, Mobile & Northern 5,000.00
Hood, William, chief engineer, Southern Pacific 14,220.00
Hooper, J. J., assistant to comptroller, Southern 4,500.00
Hope, W. C., general passenger agent, Central of N. J. 7,800.00
Hopkins, Clarence W., chief surgeon, Chicago & N. Western 8,000.00
Hopkins, L. N., purchasing agent, C. B. & Q. 12,000.00
Hopkins, William A., supply agent, Mo. Pacific 5,000.00
Horne, Pearce, superintendent real estate department, Southern 5,120.00
Horrigan, J., superintendent motive power, Elgin, Joliet & Eastern 9,552.25
Horton, Walter S., general attorney, Illinois Central 18,000.00
Hotchkiss, E. D., freight traffic manager, Chesapeake & Ohio 8,400.00
Hough, William, general auditor, Pullman Co 14,000.00
Houghton, Fred B., freight traffic manager, A. T. & S. F. 12,833.28
House, F. E., president and general manager, Duluth & Iron Range 34,645.00
How, Charles A., general purchasing agent, Mo. Pacific 10,100.00
Howard, A. R., treasurer for receiver, Internat. & Grt. North 5,000.00
Howard, E. A., vice president, C. B. & Q. 20,000.00
Howard, John, superintendent motive power, N. Y. C. 7,500.00
Howard, R. H., chief engineer maintenance way, Wabash 5,400.00
Howarth, Henry A., real estate agent, Long Island 5,400.00
Howe, Fennen, Spencer & Cocke, general attorneys, Texas & Pacific 9,499.92
Howe, Carl, traffic manager, Michigan Central 8,437.48
Howe, H. C., freight claim agent, C. & N. W. 6,000.00
Howe, Herbert D., general land and tax agent, N. Y. Central 7,275.00
Howe, Herbert D., general counsel, N. Y. Chic. & St. L. 7,548.40
Howland, T. S., vice president, secretary-treasurer, C. B. & Q. 15,000.00
Hoxie, Robert S., auditor, St. L. San Fran 8,000.00
Hubbell, Charles C., purchasing agent, D. L. & W. 9,624.92
Hubbel, Ira A., assistant freight traffic manager, N. Y. Central 7,500.00
Huckin, A. G., general freight agent, Ill. Northern, Chicago W. Pull. & So., Owasco River, Deering S. W. 6,000.00
Huddleston, R. M., special agent, N. Y. Central 5,000.00
Hudson, R. N., president and general manager, L. H. & St. L. 5,083.33
Hudson, W. R., general superintendent, C. & O. 7,910.00
Hudson, Woodward, general counsel, Boston & Maine 18,000.00
Huff, Charles C., general solicitor for receiver, Mo. Kans. & Texas, Wich. Falls & N. W. 12,000.00
Hughes & Dorsey, general attorneys, Union Pacific, Denver U. Term 14,000.00
Hughes, Andrew S., general traffic manager, Denver & Rio Grande 12,000.00
Hughes, Eds., president and general manager, R. Snyder & Pacific 6,000.00
Hughes, Gerald, general counsel, Colorado Midland 3,500.00
Hughes, John N., solicitor for Iowa, Chicago M. & St. P. 7,200.00
Hughitt, Martin, sr., chairman board of directors, Chgo. & N. W., Min. & Omaha, Chgo. St. Paul 60,460.00
Hughitt, Marvin, chairman board of directors, Chgo. St. Paul, Min. & O. 10,200.00
Hughitt, Marvin, jr., vice president, Chgo. N. Western 25,050.00
Hull, H. B., general claim agent, Illinois Central 7,200.00
Hulme, Thomas W., real estate agent, Penna. Rd. Co. 17,000.00
Humburg, Andrew P., commerce attorney, Illinois Central. 5,583.33
Humphrey, Alex P., general counsel, Southern Ky. & Ind. Term 13,650.00
Hungerford, H. L., general superintendent, Southern 6,000.00
Hungerford, L. S., general manager, Pullman Co 20,000.00
Hunt, Eden B., superintendent relief department, Penna. 6,000.00
Hunter, George D., passenger traffic manager, Texas Pacific 5,313.11
Hunter, George W., receiver, La. & N. W. 11,200.00
Huntington, C. W., president, Va. Railway 20,660.00
Huntington, Frank B., auditor, Balto. & O. Chgo. Term. 5,400.00
Huntington, G. R., general manager, M. St. P. & S. S. M. 20,000.00
Huntington, H. E., general passenger agent, Buffa. Roch. & Pitts 6,200.00
Hurst, John, assistant comptroller, Penna. Lines W. of Ptsgh 8,400.00
Hurst, W. C., general manager, Chgo. P. & St. L. 8,400.00
Hustis, G. E., general auditor, Del. Lack. & Western 10,332.32
Hustis, James H., president, Boston & Maine, C. & P. Rivers, York Harbor & Beach, St. J. & L. C. 35,200.00
Hutchens, H. E., inspector passenger transportation, Southern Railway 6,000.00
Hutchins, James C., general counsel, Chgo. T. H. & S. E. 5,000.00
Hutchinson, Joseph B., assistant to vice president (retired), Pennsylvania 5,710.00

Hutchinson, J. B., jr., acting superintendent, Pennsylvania	$5,082.10
Hutchinson, J. E., general superintendent, St. L. San Fran	7,500.00
Hyde, L. L., general freight agent, Lake Erie & West	5,000.00
Hyzer, Edw. M., vice president and general counsel, C. & N. W., C. St. P. M. & O	36,260.00
Hyzer, Edw. M., director, vice president, general counsel, C. St. P. M. & O	6,120.00
Ingalls, A. S., general manager, N. Y. C	15,000.00
Ingalls, G. H., traffic manager, N. Y. C. Lines W	13,250.00
Ingersoll, A. M., assistant to vice president, C. M. & St. P	10,000.00
Ingersoll, Charles E., president, M. V	10,000.00
Ingersoll, G. R., purchasing agent, N. Y. C	5,000.00
Ingersoll, Howard L., assistant to president, New York Central	20,000.00
Inglis, William W., vice president and manager, D. L. & W	30,030.00
Ingraham, Guthrie & Durham, district attorneys for J. Co., St. L. & S. F	5,000.00
Ingram, W. F., assistant treasurer, Southern Pac	6,000.00
Irland, Frank W., assistant secretary, Missouri Pacific	5,575.00
Isaacs, John Dove, consulting engineer, Southern Pacific	12,500.00
Jackling, D. C., vice president and general manager, Ray & G. V	5,000.00
Jackling, D. C., vice president and general manager, B. & G	5,000.00
Jackson, Charles H., vice president, Brooklyn E. D. Term	5,000.00
Jackson, Clifford L., general attorney for Oklahoma, M. K. & T	7,500.00
Jackson, O. S., general superintendent, C. T. H. & S. E	5,100.00
Jackson, William J., receiver, examiner, Chi. & E. Ills	27,000.00
Jaggard, H. A., superintendent, Penna	6,000.00
James, Arthur Curtis, vice president, El Paso & S. W	25,650.00
James, L. C., general land and tax agent, New York Cent	7,500.00
Jamison, Joseph W., general attorney for Missouri, M. K. & T	7,200.00
Janes, A. L., attorney, Great Northern	7,000.00
Jarvis, George T., vice president and general manager, Rutland	12,280.00
Jarvis, T. N., vice president, Lehigh Valley	15,100.00
Jeffers, W. M., vice president and general manager, Union Pacific	11,000.00
Jefferson, Carl S., assistant solicitor, Chi. Mil. & St. P	6,000.00
Jeffries, L. E., general counsel, So. Ry. Co., N. O. & N. E., Ala. Gt. S., No. Ala	23,083.32
Jellison, B. T., purchasing agent, C. & O., C. & O. of Ind., C. & O. N., W. P. Fuel Co	7,500.00
Jenks, C. O., assistant general manager, Gt. Nor	12,000.00
Jenks, W. J., general superintendent, N. & W	8,400.00
Jenney, William S., vice president and general counsel, D. L. & W	31,393.98
Jennings, T. O., freight traffic manager, C. & E. Ills	6,600.00
Jensch, Charles, comptroller, C. St. P. M. & O	6,108.33
Jerome, F. J., general counsel, N. Y. C	14,570.00
Jerome, W. B., general western passenger agent, N. Y. C. Lines	5,000.00
John, Elisha Barton, superintendent Renovo Division, Penna	6,193.55
Johnson, A. C., general traffic manager, C. & N. W	15,833.33
Johnson, Frank, general treasurer, M. K. & T	6,999.60
Johnson, F. L., general superintendent, C. B. & Q	7,000.00
Johnson, F. P., assistant general auditor, Missouri Pacific	6,000.00
Johnson, H., auditor, secretary, D. & I. R	10,593.16
Johnson, H. A., traffic manager, C. & So	6,300.00
Johnson, H. B., assistant comptroller, So. Pac	8,250.00
Johnson, James C., superintendent of telegraph, Penna	6,300.00
Johnson, J. M., consulting engineer, Ill. Cent., Y. & M. V., Central of Ga	6,050.00
Johnson, J. M., vice president, Missouri Pacific	17,083.30
Johnson, L. E., president, N. & W	60,090.00
Johnson, R. H., general manager, P. & P. Union	6,900.00
Johnson, S. H., freight manager, C. R. I. & P	10,333.33
Johnson, S. C., general auditor, St. L. S. W	12,030.00
Johnson, W. G., assistant comptroller, N. P	8,300.00
Johnson, W. H., manager, Penna	7,800.00
Johnson, W. O., general counsel, Chi. & Erie	8,000.00
Johnson, C. E., general manager, K. C. S	8,157.14
Johnston, J. K., division superintendent, Penna	6,600.00
Johnston, John T., assistant general freight agent, P. C. C. & St. L	5,387.50
Johnston, A. W., assistant to the president, N. Y. C. W. L	7,500.00
Joline, Larkin & Rathbone, chief counsel, Pere M	8,666.67
Jones, A. F., chief surgeon, Union Pacific	5,000.00
Jones, A. B., local treasurer, C. & N. W	7,666.00
Jones, Charles D., assistant to president, E. B. T. R. R. & C	7,050.00
Jones, C. W., general manager, C. R. I. & P	13,500.00
Jones, E. R., general attorney, M. O. & G	5,000.00
Jones, George W., district attorney, L. & N	6,000.00
Jones, Grace E., vice president, G. & S. I	516.13
Jones, Howel, land commissioner, Santa Fe Pac	8,350.00
Jones, Larz A., president and general manager, Ala. & V., V. S. & Pac., La. & M. Trans	15,150.00
Jones, M. B., president, G. & S. I	516.13
Jones, Paul, division superintendent, Penna	5,400.00
Jones, T. J., general superintendent, Wabash	5,950.00
Jones, W. F., president, Chesapeake Beach	5,000.00
Jordon, J. A., president, Green Bay & W	6,255.00
Jordon, William F., manager (improvements), New York Cent	6,900.00
Jovett, Edward S., general attorney, L. & N	7,500.00
Joyce, Henry L., manager marine department, C. R. R. of N. J	7,500.00
Jungen, C. W., manager, Southern Pacific	21,500.00
Kaderly, W. F., general superintendent, G. S. & F	5,000.08
Kahn, Otto C., assistant secretary, Union Pacific	6,000.00
Kaill, H. G., general freight and passenger agent, Union Pacific	6,000.00
Kallman, William S., assistant freight traffic manager, New York Central	9,000.00
Kann, R. C., chief clerk to vice president, D. & H. Co	5,125.00
Kappes, William P., receiver, E. & I	5,000.00
Kates, C. W., general manager, E. & L. S	5,000.00
Katte, Edwin B., chief engineer of electric transportation, New York Central	$10,000.00
Katzenbach, L. E., secretary and treasurer, director, Great Northern	10,000.00
Kay, William E., assistant general counsel, Atlantic Coast Line	7,000.00
Keany, Jos. F., general solicitor, Long Island	7,800.00
Kearney, A., assistant superintendent of motive power, Norfolk & Western	7,200.00
Kearney, Ed. F., president, Wabash	50,120.00
Kearney, Jas. R., assistant to vice president, Balti. & Ohio	7,200.00
Kearney, J. W., manager publicity, Missouri Pacific	7,000.00
Keeble, John B., district attorney, L. & N	7,083.00
Keefe, John H., assistant general manager, G. C. & S. Fe	6,900.00
Keegan, J. F., general superintendent, Balt. & Ohio	7,300.00
Keeler, D. B., vice president, F. W. & D. C. W. V. Ry	10,000.00
Keenan, Edwin C., general superintendent telegraph, New York Central	6,000.00
Keenan, W. S., general passenger agent, G. C. & S. Fe	5,450.00
Keffer, William H., general superintendent, Phila. & Reading	7,500.00
Keiser, Andrew, superintendent, Pennsylvania	7,200.00
Kelley, R. F., general traffic manager, W. & L. E	6,000.00
Kellogg, D. P., superintendent machinery, L. A. & S. L	4,875.00
Kellogg, W. L., superintendent motive power, Pere Marquette	4,296.75
Kelly, William, assistant superintendent motive power, Great Northern	5,032.00
Kemper, Ed. H., assistant comptroller, Southern (Lenoir Car Works Eastern R. R. Assn.)	6,869.95
Kempton, E. S., auditor, D. M. & N	7,122.40
Kendrick, J. W., director maintenance of electrical construction, St. L. S. F	12,000.00
Kenefick, Cooke, Mitchell & Bass, local counsel, Lehigh Valley	16,845.00
Kenefick, Cooke, Mitchell & Bass, counsel, N. O. G. N	6,000.00
Kenly, John R., president, Atlantic Coast Line	18,600.00
Kenly, R. G., general manager, M. & St. L	6,569.87
Kennedy, E. H., auditor, P. & L. E. R. R. Co	6,600.00
Kennedy, H. A., operating vice president, Minnesota Tfr. Ry	6,000.00
Kennedy, J. A. C., general attorney Nebraska, Missouri Pacific	5,000.00
Kennedy, M. C., president, Cumberland Valley	15,000.00
Kennedy, R. L., general attorney, C. St. P. M. & O	7,000.00
Kenney, William P., vice president, Great Northern, G. N. Exp	22,500.00
Kentfield, L. H., general freight agent, N. Y. N. H. & H., C. N. E., N. E. S. S	8,000.00
Kenzel, C. H., purchasing agent, E. J. & E	6,522.77
Kepler, G. W., secretary and treasurer, director, B. & L. E	7,140.72
Kerr, John B., president, general manager, director, N. Y. O. & W	20,230.00
Kerwin, Ed. E., vice president, the Virginian, N. & P. B. L., N. Term., Deepwater	10,450.00
Kestler, Fred, general superintendent, Birmingham & Sou	10,542.83
Kiesel, W. F., jr., assistant mechanical engineer, Pennsylvania	5,700.00
Kieswetter, C. W., assistant general freight agent, D. M. & N	5,179.20
Kilgallen, M. H., general manager, C. H. Term. Tfr., C. H. Land Ass'n	12,000.00
Killen, William H., land and Ind. com., M. St. P. & S. S. M	6,000.00
Kilillea, H. J., solicitor, Wisconsin, C. M. & St. P	7,200.00
Kimball, Charles L., assistant general passenger agent, Pennsylvania	5,875.00
Kimball, D. H., general claim agent, Great Northern	5,000.00
Kimbell, R. E., valuation accountant, St. L. S. W	5,583.31
King, L. H., registrar of con., New York Central	8,000.00
King, Paul H., former receiver, Pere Marquette	7,700.00
Kingsley, George A., assistant general solicitor, M. St. P. & S. S. M	5,750.00
Kingston, C. E., special agent, Pennsylvania	3,500.00
Kinnaird, L. S., superintendent motive power, C. & E. I	6,000.00
Kinsworthy, E. B., general attorney, Missouri Pacific	8,000.00
Kipp, A. R., mechanical superintendent, Chicago division M. St. P. & S. S. M	5,150.00
Kirkland, D. F., general manager, Geo. & Florida	6,000.00
Kirtland, F. W., assistant to vice president, F. E. C	7,200.00
Kirtley, G. W., assistant to vice president, Erie	3,333.28
Kittermaster, W. A., general agent, Canadian Pacific	5,100.00
Kittle, C. M., senior vice president, Illinois Central	14,335.68
Kittredge, George W., chief engineer, New York Central	18,000.00
Kleinschmidt, R. A., attorney, Oklahoma, St. L. S. F	7,200.00
Kline, Newman, division superintendent, Northern Pacific	5,225.00
Knapp, J. W., division superintendent, C. & Ohio	5,200.00
Knight, Thompson & Turner, division counsel, Seaboard Air Line, T. N., T. U. S., T. & G. S., E. & W. C	7,500.00
Knight, Ed. W., general counsel, the Virginia	12,000.00
Koch, John J., freight traffic manager, Penn. L. W. of P., Pennsylvania, P. C. C. & St. L	12,000.00
Koons, George C., assistant superintendent New York Division, Pennsylvania	6,300.00
Koons, T. B., vice president and freight traffic manager, C. R. R. of N. J	15,010.00
Koontz, F. L., secretary and treasurer, E. J. & E	6,148.08
Koontz, J. R., general freight agent, A. T. & S. F	6,900.00
Korte, George W., solicitor, C. M. & St. P	7,200.00
Kraft, William B., auditor freight traffic, Pennsylvania	6,720.00
Kramer, Le Roy, vice president, Pullman Co	24,000.00
Krausch, W. F., engineer of B. & A., C. B. & Q	5,541.63
Kreitter, J. W., superintendent, H. & D	11,934.50
Krich, Charles S., general superintendent, Pennsylvania	11,250.00
Kron, F. J., division superintendent, Pennsylvania	6,850.00
Kruttschnitt, J., chief of executive committee of board of directors, S. P. Trans. Sys. S. P	88,860.00
Kulp, C. J., treasurer, Lehigh Valley	5,505.00
Kurn, J. M., president, D. T. & I	20,000.00
Kurrie, H. R., president, C. I. & L., Belt, C. & W. I., K. & I. Term	17,851.18
Kyle, E. D., traffic manager, Norfolk Southern	7,000.00
Labau, Francis, traffic manager, N. Y. C	13,250.00

La Beaume, E. W., general passenger and traffic agent, St. Louis S. W	$6,250.00
Lacey, John W., general attorney for Wyoming, Union Pacific	6,000.00
Lacy, Jos. B., treasurer, Norfolk & W	8,400.00
Lake, C. S., inspector of transportation, Erie, C. & E., N. Y. S. & N., N. J. & N. Y., W. B. & E	1,960.00
LaLor, W. A., general passenger agent, Chi. B. & Q	5,000.00
Lamb, E. T., president, Atl. B. & Atl., Atl. Comp. Co	25,110.00
Lamberton, Edw. E., assistant manager, So. Pacific, Atl. S. S. Co	5,050.00
Lammot, Chas. M., transportation clerk, Pennsylvania	5,200.00
La Moure, Wm. T., general freight agent, Boston & Me	5,916.67
Lancaster, J. L., president and receiver, Tex. & Pacific, Trans. Miss. Tr., Union Ter. Co	20,470.00
Landis, John D., purchasing agent, Phila. & Reading	6,300.00
Landman, L. W., general passenger agent, Mich. Central	6,200.00
Lane, Chas. J., general freight agent, Union Pacific	7,500.00
Lane, Harry A., chief engineer, B. & O	8,500.00
Large, Jno. B., general freight agent, Pennsylvania	5,208.15
Large, R. H., coal traffic manager, Pennsylvania	9,500.00
Larmour, Robt. E., general freight agent, Canadian Pacific	5,050.00
Lassiter, N. H., general attorney and director, Chi., Rock Isl. G	8,400.00
Lathrop, Gardiner, general solicitor, Atch., Topeka, S. F	25,000.00
Latrobe, Gamble, general superintendent Southern Division, P. B. & W	10,350.00
Laughton, H. H., assistant to vice president, Southern	6,000.00
Lawrence, W. L., real estate agent, Del. & Hudson	5,150.00
Lawton, Cunningham, general and division counsel, Central of Ga., Ocean S. S. Co., Wadley So., Sylvania Cen., L. & Wadley	21,000.00
Lawton, Alex. R., vice president, Central of Ga. Central of Ga., Syl. Cen., L. & W., etc	11,990.00
Leach, N. M., general traffic manager, T. & P	12,000.00
Leahy, W. J., general passenger agent, C. R. I. & P	5,250.00
Learoyd, A. S., general freight agent, Del. L. & W	5,916.66
Leary, Jas. T., comptroller, B. & O	10,000.00
Le Boutillier, Geo., superintendent of transportation, Pennsylvania (western)	5,400.00
Lechlider, W. T., vice president and general manager, River Term	6,400.00
Ledyard, H. B., chairman board of directors, Mich. Central	30,240.00
Lee, Blewett, general solicitor, Ill. Central	15,140.00
Lee, G. H., general passenger agent, Lehigh Valley	10,000.00
Lee, Chas. K., assistant attorney, Gulf Col. & S. F	5,000.00
Lee, Elisha, general manager and acting vice president, Pennsylvania	18,510.70
Lee, E. H., vice president and chief engineer, C. & W. I	9,166.80
Lee, Robert E., manager mining department, C. R. I. & P	5,700.00
Lefber, A. W., vice president and general manager, Mid. Valley	12,900.00
Lehane, John F., general freight and passenger agent, St. L. S. W. of Texas	7,039.99
Lehman, F. A., assistant to vice president, A. T. & S. F	6,900.00
Leiper, C. I., superintendent New York division, Pennsylvania	7,687.00
Lemen, William W., superintendent motive power, D. & R. G	582.86
Lemle & Lemle, attorneys, Illinois Cent	5,000.00
Leonard, Rose, Zollars, attorneys, Pennsylvania (western)	5,514.96
Leonard, H. R., engineer of bridges, etc., Pennsylvania	9,600.00
Lerch, W. G., assistant to president, C. G. W	4,466.68
Levey, Charles M., president, Western Pac	25,420.00
Levy, Edw. D., first vice president and general manager, St. L. & S. F	27,600.00
Lewis, Charles T., general counsel, T. & O. C	9,000.00
Lewis, F. E., manager dining car and hotel department, Union Pac. System	6,000.00
Lewis, Frank S., general attorney, T. & O. C	5,000.00
Lewis, Harry R., general freight agent, Balto. & Ohio	7,800.00
Lewis, Tornton, assistant freight traffic manager, Ches. & Ohio	7,694.04
Lewis, William H., superintendent of motive power, Norfolk & Western	10,800.00
L'Hommedieu, R. H., assistant to vice president, Mich. Cent	7,500.00
Lilley, E. C., general superintendent, Midland Valley	5,000.00
Lincoln, F. B., general manager, Erie	4,000.00
Lincoln, H. P., superintendent, Pennsylvania	7,200.00
Lincoln, Robert T., chairman board of directors, Pullman Co	25,300.00
Lindley, C. W., general counsel, Nevada Northern	7,000.00
Lindley, E. C., vice president, director, and general manager, Great Northern	20,000.00
Linn, George, assistant manager, N. Y. C	6,000.00
Linn, William A., purchasing agent, C. M. & St. P	5,200.00
Littleton, Frank L., general attorney, C. C. C. & St. L	6,000.00
Livengood, J. G., general auditor, Missouri Pac	10,016.66
Lloyd, Stacy B., assistant general counsel, Pennsylvania	9,000.00
Lockwood, C. L., general passenger agent, Grand Rapids & Ind	5,400.00
Loesch, Scofield, Loech & Richards, solicitors, Pennsylvania	25,805.00
Lombardi, M. E., superintendent of construction and development, Southern Pacific	6,000.00
Long, L. H., vice president, Arizona Eastern	8,035.00
Longstreet, D. W., freight traffic manager, Illinois Central	9,500.00
Loomis, Archibald G., treasurer, C. M. & St. P	4,208.31
Loomis, E. E., president, Lehigh Valley	44,287.18
Loomis, N. H., general solicitor, Union Pacific	20,000.00
Loree, J. T., general manager, Del. & Hudson	5,833.33
Loree, L. F., president, Del. & Hudson	50,800.00
Loree, L. F., chairman of board and executive committee, K. C. Southern	30,825.00
Loree, L. F., chairman of board and executive committee, Wheeling & Lake E	10,320.00
Lossow, A. H., commerce counsel, M. St. P. & S. S. M	5,750.00
Louis, W. L., traffic manager, Elgin, Jol. & East	7,870.00
Love, John G., assistant general freight agent, C. M. & St. P	4,500.00
Loweth, C. F., chief engineer, C. M. & St. P	$15,000.00
Loyall, G. R., assistant vice president, Southern Ry	10,000.00
Luce, G. W., freight traffic manager, Southern Pac. Co	12,465.00
Luff, L. K., auditor of revenue, Del. & Hudson	5,300.00
Luke, I. H., vice president and general manager, Utah Ry. Co	5,000.00
Lukens, Edmund T., real estate and tax agent, Del. Lack. & Western	10,000.00
Lum, D. W., special engineer, Southern Ry	9,000.00
Lunn, Ernest, chief electrician, Pullman Co	6,800.00
Lupper, Alex M., chief engineer, S. P. & S., Ore. Trnk., Pac. & East., Ore Elec., United	5,400.00
Lutz, S. G., vice president, Chicago & Alton	9,075.00
Lyford, Will H., general counsel to receiver, Chi. & Eastern Ill	24,040.00
Lyle, John V., first assistant attorney, Oregon Short Line	5,000.00
Lyman, Alex. S., general attorney, New York Central	15,000.00
Lyman, Lewis B., assistant to general manager, C. B. & Q	5,999.94
Lynde, Samuel A., vice president and assistant secretary, C. & N. W	13,333.33
Lynde, Samuel A., vice president, C. St. P. M. & O	6,846.66
Lyon, John M., auditor of freight traffic, Pennsylvania Lines (western)	6,000.00
Lyons, D. F., assistant general counsel, Northern Pacific	8,400.00
Lyons, J. J., auditor of miscellaneous accounts, Pennsylvania Lines (western)	5,300.00
Lytle, C. E., general superintendent, D. S. S. & A., Min. Range, Mack Trans	5,712.00
McAlister, W. K., receiver, Tenn. Central	7,500.00
McAllister, Henry, jr., general counsel, D. & R. G., R. G. So., Utah Fuel	55,000.00
McAuliffe, John, jr., foreign freight agent, N. Y. Central	5,166.67
McCabe, D. T., vice president, Pennsylvania	30,000.00
McCabe, Guy S., general freight agent, Pennsylvania	8,375.00
McCaleb, William R., general superintendent of western companies, Pennsylvania	8,100.00
McCandless, Dr. W. A., chief surgeon, Ter. R. R. Asso. St. L	5,000.00
McCart, Perry, general solicitor, C. I. & L	6,000.00
McCarthy, Matthew J., superintendent of motive power, B. & O	6,600.00
McCarty & Armstrong, solicitors, Pennsylvania	6,000.00
McCarty, O. P., general passenger representative, B. & O	7,925.00
McCarty, T. E., vice president at Detroit, Pennsylvania	16,000.00
McCarty, R. J., auditor and vice president, K. C. Southern	17,200.00
McCauley, P. H., superintendent of transportation, Northern Pac	7,400.00
McChesney, W. S., president, Ter. R. R. Asso. St. L., St. L. Mer. Br. Ter., Wiggins Ferry, St. L. Trans., E. St. L. Conn., St. L. Bridge	22,450.00
McClure, J. C., assistant to president, Arizona Eastern, So. Pac. of Mex. Ariz. Eastern	5,750.00
McCormack, F. E., superintendent, N. Y. C	5,400.00
McCormack, Ira Alvin, assistant general superintendent, N. Y. C	6,300.00
McCormick, E. O., vice president of traffic, Southern Pacific	30,200.00
McCormick, George, general superintendent of motive power, Southern Pacific	7,500.00
McCrea, James A., general manager, Long Island, N. Y. & L. I. Trac., L. I. Elec	13,731.99
McCubbin, John D., jr., real estate agent, B. & O	9,580.00
McCulloch, W. T., auditor of revenue, N. Y. C	8,000.00
McCullough, Hiram R., vice president, C. & N. W	30,000.00
McCullough, J. C., division superintendent, P. C. C. & St. L	6,900.00
McCune, Frank, general manager, Monongahela Conn	6,765.00
McDaniel & Black, division counsel, Southern Railway, Cincinnati, N. O. & Texas, Pacific	8,200.00
McDonald, A. D., vice president and controller, Southern Pacific	26,250.00
McDonald, Hunter, chief engineer, N. C. & St. L	6,000.00
McDonald, Morris, president, Maine Central, Port. Term., Sandy River, Wash. County, Somerset, Rangeley Lakes & M., Ricker Hotel, Bridgton Tel., Port. Mt. Desert & M. S., Kineo	35,735.12
McEwan, Richard W., president and general manager, Morristown & Erie	6,000.00
McFeatters, F. R., general superintendent, Union	13,068.16
McGaff, J. H., mechanical superintendent, A. T. & S. F	5,000.00
McGarry, W. J., superintendent of transportation, Lehigh Valley	6,112.44
McGeay, T. J., general western freight agent, D. L. & W	5,666.64
McGill, A. M., assistant superintendent of motive power, Lehigh Valley	5,400.00
McGonagle, William A., president and general manager, D. M. & N	21,000.00
McGonagle, William A., president and general manager, U. S. Steel Corporation	18,546.00
McIlvaine, Charles L., superintendent of motive power, Pennsylvania, N. Y. P. & N	4,121.23
McIlwaine, William B., Virginia counsel, Atl. Coast Line	5,000.00
McKalip, J. C., auditor, Bessemer & L. E	6,000.00
McKalip, J. C., auditor, U. S. Steel Corporation	2,425.84
McKee, J. L., superintendent, D. L. W	1,750.00
McKeen, B., vice president, Pennsylvania lines, P. Y. & A	25,020.00
McKell, William, president and general manager, K. G. J. & Eastern	6,000.00
McKellar, Robert Lide, foreign freight traffic manager, Southern	7,000.00
McKenney & Flannery, solicitors, Pennsylvania, Phila. B. & Wash., Pennsylvania Co., Wash. Term	21,250.00
McKinstry, W. B., auditor and comptroller, Cen. of Ga., Wadley So., Ocean S. S., Empire Land, Godon Press	5,415.00
McKnight, A. H., assistant general solicitor, M. K. & T. of Texas	5,000.00
McKnight, T. H., treasurer, Pennsylvania lines	15,000.00
McLaughlin, A. C., superintendent of operations, Southern Pacific	6,000.00
McLaughlin, Samuel T., assistant freight traffic manager, B. & O	9,000.00

McLaughlin, A. A., attorney, C. & N. W., C. St. P. M. & O., Canadian Pac — $10,083.33
McMahon, Austin J., general attorney, D. L. & W — 6,524.97
McManus, P. F., general superintendent, E. J. and E — 6,000.00
McManus, P. L., assistant to president, Coal & Coke, C. I. & L., State of Ind — 5,442.00
McMaster, H. W., vice president and general manager, Wheeling & L. E — 15,500.00
McMaster, H. W., vice president and general manager, W. & L. E — 15,500.00
McMurray, William, general passenger agent, Union Pac — 6,000.00
McNamara, J. D., passenger traffic manager, Wabash — 7,575.00
McNeillie, James K., division superintendent, D. & H. Co — 1,750.00
McQuade, H. J., purchasing agent, Lehigh Valley — 7,500.00
McQuilkin, I., vice president, C. C. & O., C. C. & O. of S. C — 7,166.67
McQuillen, J. E., mechanical superintendent, G. C. & S. F — 5,700.00
McTague, Charles F., assistant general freight agent, D. & L. D — 5,366.64
MacArthur, Charles P., principal assistant engineer, Pennsylvania — 5,100.00
MacBain, Donald R., superintendent motive power, N. Y. C — 7,500.00
MacDowell, Walter, auditor of receipts, N. & W — 5,000.00
Macdowell, William G., vice president, N. & W., V. C., N. R. H. & W., W. S. U. Sta. Co., Cen. F. M. & I. Ins — 18,054.97
MacFarland, H. B, engineer of tests, A. T. & S. F — 5,000.00
Macky, H. E., manager mail traffic, M. P., T. & P., I. & G. N., St. L. S. W — 6,000.00
Mackenzie, Arthur, assistant freight traffic manager, C. R. I. & P — 6,200.00
MacKenzie, H. W., comptroller, Seaboard A. L., C. & L., Tampa Un. Sta. Co — 6,600.00
MacKie, James Steuart, treasurer, C. & O., C. & O. of Ind — 10,020.00
Mackinnon, Allan P., assistant general solicitor, B. & M — 4,916.67
Mackrille, Alfred, auditor of revenues, N. Y., N. H. & H., Cen. N. E. Ry — 6,060.00
MacLean, John E., attorney, D. & H., United Trac. Co — 6,600.00
MacMartin, James, chief engineer, D. & H Co — 6,010.00
MacNeill, A. H., attorney for B. C., G. N. Ry — 9,000.00
Macrae, George H., general passenger agent, C., St. P., M. & O — 7,500.00
Madden, Trulove, Ryburn & Pipkin, division attorneys, A. T. & S. F., P. & S. F. Ry — 6,400.00
Maguire, Arthur, chief engineer, L. A. & S. L — 5,100.00
Maguire, J. F., assistant to vice president, Lehigh Valley — 6,800.00
Maher, James T., R. W. L. and T. com., G. N. Ry — 9,000.00
Maher, N. D., vice president of operations, N. & W — 36,350.00
Mahl, F. W., director of purchases, M. E., S. P — 10,200.00
Mahl, Wm., vice president and comptroller, S. P — 5,750.50
Main, James P., general manager, D. & T., Shore L — 5,750.00
Manchester, Henry C., superintendent of motive power, D. L. & W — 11,833.32
Mangham, J. C., general freight agent, S. A. & A. P — 5,400.00
Manly, Hendren & Womble, division counsel, Southern — 7,363.19
Mann, Albert C., purchasing agent, I. C — 6,666.66
Mann, E. C., auditor of district, Lehigh Valley — 5,010.00
Mann, E. P., district attorney, St. L. S. F — 5,000.00
Manning, J. H., superintendent of motive power, D. & H Co — 7,200.00
Manning, Sam W., general New England agent, A. T. & S. F — 5,000.00
Mansfield, A. H., claims attorney, M. P — 5,583.80
Manss, W. H., assistant to vice president, B. & O — 16,000.00
Manson, E. C., superintendent of transportation, U. P., Oreg. Short L — 6,625.00
Mantell, John J., general superintendent, Erie — 5,600.00
Mapother, W. L., first vice president and director, L. & N., L. H. & St. L — 15,659.09
Markham, C. H., president, I. C — 60,555.00
Markham, M. C., assistant to vice president, M. P — 7,583.33
Marshall, John W., assistant treasurer, secretary, Pennsylvania — 6,300.00
Marshall, R. S., general superintendent, Seaboard A. L. Ry — 4,447.80
Marshall, T. H., treasurer, D. & R. G — 5,600.00
Martin, Geo. R., vice president and comptroller, G. N., Crows N. P. Coal Co — 15,500.00
Martin, George W., general agent, C. R. I. & P — 6,000.00
Martin, P. M., assistant general tax agent, N. Y. C — 6,294.50
Martin, W. L., vice president, traffic manager, M. St. P. & S. St. M — 20,160.00
Martin, W. S., president, Union Ry — 5,000.00
Mason, E. W., general superintendent, Western Pac — 6,000.00
Massey, Geo. V., pensioner, Pennsylvania — 7,261.20
Massey, R. V., superintendent, Pennsylvania — 9,562.50
Matson, J. S., general superintendent, B. & L. E — 10,440.80
Matthew, Allan P., general attorney, West. Pac — 6,000.00
Matthew, H. M., coal traffic manager, B. & O — 7,200.00
Matthews, S. C., general freight agent, P. C. C. & St. L — 7,200.00
Maxfield, H. H., superintendent of motive power, Pennsylvania — 1,916.10
Maxson, Willis Edw., general superintendent, G. C. & S. F — 8,000.00
Maxwell & Ramsey, solicitors, P. C. C. & St. L., Lebanon & N., Louisville Bridge Co — 19,700.00
Maxwell, Arthur A., real estate and tax commission, N. Y., N. H. & H — 6,125.00
Maxwell, W. C., vice president, Wabash — 16,500.00
Maxwell, M. R., general freight agent, N. Y. C — 6,416.65
May, Augustus S., treasurer, N. Y. N. H. & H., Cen. N. E., N. E. S. S., N. & N. E. Tr., Housatonic P., Westchester S., Berkshire S., N. Y. & S — 10,000.00
May, H. C., superintendent motive power, Lehigh Valley — 7,100.00
May, H. C., superintendent motive power, C. I. & L — 1,500.00
Mealiff, F. H., manager transportation ele., Mich. Cen — 5,000.00
Meeder, Frederick H., assistant to vice president, N. Y. C., Mich. Cen., Pittsburgh & L. E., T. & O. Cen., Raquette Lake — 10,040.00
Mengel, John C., master mechanic, Pennsylvania — 5,025.00
Menzies, James, freight-traffic manager, Atl. Coast Line — 7,200.00
Menzies, R. J., general eastern freight agent, N. Y. C — 6,000.00
Meredith, John W., general superintendent, Cen. of N. J — 9,600.00
Merion, J. E., assistant comptroller, Pennsylvania — 6,900.00
Merriam, E. G., assistant to vice president and general solicitor, M. P., Western C. & M. Co — 9,150.00
Merriam, Frank L., general counsel, P. Marquette — 18,000.00
Merrick, H. J., superintendent freight transportation, N. Y. C — $5,400.00
Merrill, Frank A., engineer, maintenance of way, Boston & Maine — 5,000.00
Merritt, Frank, chief engineer, A. T. & S. F — 5,200.00
Messick, Charlton, assistant general auditor, St. L. S. W — 5,285.80
Metheany, John M., secretary and auditor, G. R. & Ind., Mackinac Tpn. Co — 5,100.00
Middleton, J. A., vice president, Lehigh Valley — 30,445.00
Middleton, John A., general agent, St. L. S. F — 5,000.00
Millar, Alex, secretary, U. P — 5,405.00
Miller, Arthur, general attorney, M. O. & G — 5,000.00
Miller, Edward T., general attorney, St. L. S. F — 10,000.00
Miller, F. A., passenger traffic manager, C. M. & St. P — 8,000.00
Miller, George P., assistant superintendent D. & R. Can., Pennsylvania — 5,400.00
Miller, Haiden, freight traffic manager, M. & O — 5,500.00
Miller, Harry L., president, Interstate — 7,100.00
Miller, Henry Watkins, vice president, Southern — 15,464.60
Miller, S. F., general freight agent, C. & N. W — 10,000.00
Miller, W. L., superintendent motive power, St. L. S. W — 5,166.00
Miller, Winlock W., general freight agent, M. K. & T — 5,166.80
Milliken, James, special engineer, Pennsylvania — 4,200.00
Millis, C. J., assistant to president, Southern Pac — 5,000.00
Mills, Arthur L., receiver and general manager, F. S. & W — 9,000.00
Milner, B. B., engineer of motive power, N. Y. C — 5,250.00
Minard, Duane E., assistant general solicitor, Erie, Chi. & Erie, N. I. S. & W., B. & H., N. J. & N. Y — 6,083.32
Miner, Frederick M., general counsel, M. & St. L — 7,295.60
Minnis, James L., vice president and general solicitor, Wabash — 20,833.33
Minor, H. D., general attorney, Y. & M. V., I. C — 6,000.00
Minson, Robt. K., general freight and passenger agent, A. & N. M — 5,250.00
Minor, Geo. H., assistant general solicitor, Erie, controlled R. R. Cos — 7,520.00
Mitchell, A. G., superintendent mon. division, Pennsylvania — 7,200.00
Mitchell, E. F., chief engineer, T. & P — 4,500.00
Mitchell, R. R., general freight agent, K. C. So — 5,699.94
Mitchener, R. W., general superintendent, N. Y. C. & St. L — 5,000.00
Mohler, A. S., pensioner, U. P — 7,500.00
Moncure, William A., assistant real estate agent, Pennsylvania — 7,200.00
Monroe, J. Blanc, division counsel, Southern, N. O. & N. E., N. O. Term. Co — 5,319.00
Montmorency, F., general freight agent, C. B. & Q — 4,358.80
Montgomery, T. B., general agent freight department, C. M. & St. P — 5,000.00
Montzheimer, A., chief engineer, E. J. & E., U. S. Steel Corp — 4,500.00
Moody, Samuel, passenger traffic manager, Pennsylvania — 11,000.00
Moon, Dewitt C., assistant to vice president, N. Y. C — 8,812.50
Moore, A. A., attorney, Southern Pac — 6,000.00
Moore, B. R., superintendent of motive power, Duluth & I. R — 8,851.32
Moore, Frank H., assistant general solicitor, K. C. So. Ry — 6,000.00
Moore, G. L., engineer, maintenance of way, Lehigh Valley — 7,733.28
Moore, Ralph P., purchasing agent, Duluth & I. R — 6,367.64
Moore, S. G., president, Stanley, M. & P., N. W. Lumber Co — 6,060.00
Moore, S. W., general counsel, K. C. Term — 11,083.31
Moore, S. W., general solicitor, K. C. So — 11,166.65
Moore, Stanley, general counsel, N. W. Pac — 6,000.00
Moore, W. H., engineer of structures, N. Y. N. H. & H., Cen. N. E — 6,000.00
Moore, W. T., general foreign freight agent, Lehigh Valley — 6,216.00
Moot, Sprague, Brownell & Marcy, local attorneys, Erie, Buff. C — 13,800.00
Moran, Charles, president, N. Cal. Oreg — 6,500.00
Morehouse, Charles H., general eastern freight agent, A. T. & S. F — 5,000.00
Morgan, B. E., freight traffic manager, N. Y. C. & St. L — 8,500.00
Morgan, C. A., division superintendent, D & H. Co — 5,400.00
Morgan, Dwight C., vice president and general manager, Pittsburg & S — 7,500.00
Morison, Hugh G., general solicitor, C. C. & O., C. C. & O. of S. C — 5,000.00
Morrill, Charles H., assistant freight traffic manager, St. L. S. F — 5,450.00
Morrill, C. R., assistant general manager, So. Pac. Lines of Tex — 5,400.00
Morris, A. K., coal freight agent, Erie — 5,249.94
Morris, E. C., auditor, Pullman Co — 6,500.00
Morris, L. U., general superintendent, E. P. & S. W — 7,500.00
Morris, L. V., chief engineer, Long Island — 7,500.00
Morris, N. B., attorney, I. & G. N — 5,600.00
Morrison, Charles H., signal engineer, N. Y. N. H. & H — 5,525.00
Morrison, H. W., assistant freight traffic manager, C. R. I. & P — 7,200.00
Morrison, J. I., general auditor, Lehigh Valley — 10,085.00
Morrison, J. T., superintendent of traffic, Pullman Co., Pullman R. R — 6,000.00
Morrison, R. W., assistant treasurer, Pennsylvania — 6,000.00
Morrow, Robert T., superintendent Pittsburgh division, Pennsylvania — 9,000.00
Morrow, Thomas R., solicitor for Missouri and Iowa, A. T. & S. F — 7,000.00
Morse, Charles A., chief engineer, C. R. I. & P — 18,000.00
Morton, George, assistant general freight agent, C. B. & Q — 5,000.00
Mosby, William, assistant to president, St. L. & S. W., St. L. S. W. of Tex — 4,400.00
Motsett, Charles H., division superintendent, N. Y. N. H. & H — 4,375.00
Moser, Frank J., assistant general superintendent, Erie — 6,083.30
Mower, F. E., vice president and general manager, Cen. W. Va. & So — 4,750.02
Mudge, H. U., president, D. & R. G — 43,232.00
Mulks, G. W., assistant controller, Southern Pac — 6,600.00
Mullen, Daniel J., superintendent of motive power, C. C. C. & St. L — 6,000.00

Mulligan, M. A., superintendent M. & H. division, Lehigh Valley	$5,042.72
Mullin, W. J., general traffic manager, D. & H. Co	7,350.00
Mulroy, James R., general storekeeper, Pullman Co	6,000.00
Munn, M. D., attorney, M. St. P. & S. St. M	5,000.00
Munroe, John A., vice president in charge of traffic, U. P., Oreg. Short Line	15,000.00
Munson, John B., vice president and general manager, G. So. & Fla., H. & F. So., St. J. R. Term., J. Term., Macon Term	8,516.80
Munster, August W., purchasing agent, Boston & Maine	5,000.00
Murdock, John S., vice president, So. N. E	6,000.00
Murdoch, Turnbull, vice president and general manager, B. C. & Atl	4,150.00
Murphy, Charles P., attorney, Great Northern	7,000.00
Murphy, E. R., general auditor, R. G. & S. W	5,000.00
Murphy, J. A., attorney, Great Northern	6,000.00
Murphy, J. F., general manager, M. P	15,000.00
Murray, D. T., division superintendent, N. Y. C	5,100.00
Murray, John F., assistant chief engineer, Pennsylvania	6,300.00
Murray, James S., assistant to president, B. & O	7,200.00
Murray, S., chief engineer, Oreg. Wash. R. R. & N. Co	5,000.00
Myers, W. Heyward, vice president, Pennsylvania	25,000.00
Nance, O. H., president and general manager, M. & Pa	5,832.32
Nash, E. E., assistant general superintendent, C. & N. W	6,062.50
Nash, J. H., superintendent motive power, Ill. Cen	5,500.00
Nau, O. F., local treasurer, Ill. Cen	4,950.00
Nay, Frank, comptroller, C. R. I. & Pac., P. & B. Val., K. & D. M	15,100.00
Neafie, A. J., P. assistant engineer, Del. Lac. & W	6,000.00
Neale, S. C., attorney and chief counsel, Pennsylvania	12,000.00
Needham, E. F., superintendent L. and C., Wabash	6,000.00
Needles, A. C., general manager, N. & West	16,145.00
Neff, William N., general manager, St. L. S. W	2,400.00
Neill, Hugh, secretary to company, So. Pac., So. Pac. Mex	8,830.00
Neilson, Lewis, secretary, Pennsylvania	14,000.00
Neimyer, W. G., general agent, So. Pac	6,000.00
Nelson, H. J., district attorney, C. B. & Q	5,333.32
Nessle, J. B., general freight agent, P. & Lake E	6,600.00
Netherland, William M., assistant to vice president, Southern	4,960.76
Newbern, Robert H., superintendent, Pennsylvania	12,000.00
Newell, A. B., president, general manager, and purchasing agent, Toledo Ter	7,200.00
Newell, J. W., auditor of traffic, Lehigh Val	6,000.00
Newkirk, Thomas J., real estate and tax agent, C. R. I. & P	6,000.00
Newman, P. M., president and general manager, Sus. & N. Y., Tionesta Val., Leetonia	6,600.00
Newman, William A., freight traffic manager, N. Y. Cen	7,666.67
Newton, A. W., chief engineer, C. B. & Q	12,000.00
Nichol, J. H., Pr. assistant engineer, Pennsylvania	5,100.00
Nichols, C. L., general superintendent, No. Pac	7,200.00
Nichols, Edward T., vice president, Great No	12,500.00
Nichols, H. S. P., assistant general counsel, Pennsylvania	10,000.00
Nicholson, F. G., assistant to receiver, Chgo. & E. Ill	6,000.00
Nicholson, M., assistant general manager, Great No	4,600.00
Nicholson, Macy, assistant general manager, C. M. & St. P	1,333.32
Niemeyer, C. H., assistant engineer, Pennsylvania	6,150.00
Nokely, John W., general auditor, C. & O	6,000.00
Noonan, William T., president, B. R. & P	50,000.00
Norris, E. E., general superintendent, Southern	6,000.00
Northcutt, W. A., Com. attorney, L. & N	5,000.00
Northrop, C. B., assistant general counsel, Southern, Mobile & O., Ga. So. & Fla	10,000.00
Norton, Thomas J., general attorney, A. T. & S. F	12,500.00
Notman, George, secretary and treasurer, El P. & So	5,000.00
Nuelle, John H., general superintendent and chief engineer, N. Y. O. & W	7,050.00
Noyes, Walter C., general counsel, Del. & Hud., Windsor C. Co., Schec	15,030.00
Nutt, H. C., general manager, L. A. & S. L	18,000.00
Nutt, Robert L., treasurer and assistant secretary, Sea. Air Line, C. & Lan., Tampa Union S., Wilm. Ry. B. Co.	7,400.00
Nutting, F. H. general passenger agent, So. Pac. & S. S. Lines	7,700.00
Nye, C. M., P. A. engineer, Gr. Northern	5,000.00
Nyquist, Carl, assistant secretary and treasurer, C. R. I. & Pac., Peo. & B. Val., K. & Des M	5,306.66
Obey, G. B., general superintendent, Monongahela	5,400.00
O'Brien, Boardman, Harper & Fox, counsel, New York, Pennsylvania, Pa. T. & T., N. Y. Con. L., N. Y. N. H. & H., Long Island	26,500.00
O'Brien, J. E., mechanical superintendent, Mo. Pac	8,000.00
O'Brien, J. E., vice president and general manager, Union Pac., No. Pac. Ter	16,020.00
O'Brien, William J., general superintendent, Chicago Jct	6,500.00
O'Donnell, R. L., assistant general manager, Pennsylvania	13,096.75
Ogden, George D., freight traffic manager, Pennsylvania	12,000.00
O'Hearne, J. E., superintendent motor power, C. & Alton	6,000.00
Ohliger, Louis, superintendent, P. C. C. & St. L	6,000.00
O'Keefe, William H., assistant general superintendent, Mich. Cen	6,000.00
O'Leary, Fred L., treasurer, Wabash	5,400.00
Olyphant, Robert M., chairman executive committee, Del. & Hudson	15,000.00
Olyphant, F. M., secretary, Del. & Hudson	10,117.45
O'Malley, J. P., auditor, B. & O	5,533.45
Onderdonk, J. R., engineering tests, B. & O	5,400.00
O'Neal, C. T., general superintendent, Lehigh Val	8,400.00
O'Neill, James H., general superintendent, Great Northern	7,350.00
Orcutt, George N., vice president, Erie	15,560.00
Orr, J. W., comptroller, Pennsylvania Lines, W. Pgh	12,000.00
Orr, T. M., assistant president, Union Pac., McKeen M. C.	5,025.00
Orr, W. J., district attorney, St. L. & S. F	5,000.00
Osborn, William C., general counsel, El P. & S. W	15,000.00
Otteson, John C., vice president, secretary, and assistant treasurer, Wabash	7,200.00
Owen, A. E., chief engineer, C. R. R. of N. Y	7,200.00
Owen, G. B., chief engineer, Erie	4,658.29
Owen, Thomas, superintendent, Duluth & I. R	10,481.20
Owens, W. D., auditor, B. & O	5,000.00
Owen, W. F., president, Gulf, M. & No	15,220.00
Pace, Troy, general attorney, Mo. Pacific	7,500.00
Palmer, Jas. S., general claim agent, C., R. I. & P	$5,166.66
Palmer, Warren S., president, general manager, N. West. Pac	10,030.00
Paquette, C. A., chief engineer, C. C. C. & St. L	7,200.00
Paradise, T. F., assistant treasurer, N. Y., N. H. & H	5,000.00
Pardee, Dwight W., secretary, N. Y. Central, Boston & Albany, Mich. Central, C. C. C. & St. L., Pitts. & L. Erie, Lake Erie & West., Tol. & Ohio Cent., Toronto, H. & Buf., Mohawk Valley, Mahoning Coal	21,500.00
Parham, E. F., assistant treasurer, Southern	5,900.00
Park, J. P., general freight agent, St. L. Southwestern	7,750.00
Park, W. L., first vice president, Chic. Grt. Northern	16,590.00
Parke, P., chief engineer, Pullman Co	6,800.00
Parker, Alexander M., superintendent, Pennsylvania, W. J. & S., Camden Term. Div	6,750.00
Parker, Chas. J., principal assistant engineer, N. Y. Central	7,200.00
Parker, G. H., assistant to vice president, Delaware & Hudson	6,300.00
Parker, R. J., general manager, A., T. & S. F	13,000.00
Parker, Thos S., general attorney, Pere Marquette	5,100.00
Parker, W. A., general attorney, B. & Ohio	6,000.00
Parker, W. A., purchasing agent, Bess. & Lake Erie	6,220.40
Parkhouse, H. H., assistant to chairman, Great Northern	7,500.00
Parmelee, A. L., assistant treasurer, N. Y. Ont. & West. Pt. J. Mont. & S., Ellen & Kings	5,194.98
Parrish, Jno. B., assistant superintendent, Chesa. & Ohio	5,025.00
Parsley, O. G., traffic manager, M., Okla. & Gulf	6,000.00
Parsons, J. H. R., vice president, general manager, M's La. & Tex., Iberia & Ver., La. Western, Lake Charles & North	9,495.90
Parsons, Robt. S., assistant to president, Erie	16,414.99
Parsons, T. W., second vice president, C. H. & N	6,600.00
Patterson, Crawford & Miller, solicitors, Pennsylvania	15,000.00
Patterson, Don R., coal operation agent, Chgo. & East. Ill	6,000.00
Patterson, G. S., general solicitor, Pennsylvania	30,000.00
Patterson, J. C., assistant to general superintendent, Pullman Co	5,000.00
Patterson, M. A., general freight agent, C. R. I. & Pacific	5,160.00
Patton, Charles, treasurer, C. N. O. & T. P	5,000.00
Patton, Edw. H., agent, Southern Pacific	7,500.00
Patton, W. A., assistant to president, Pennsylvania, Phila. Bal. & Wash., W. J. & S., Phila. & Cam. Ferry, N. Y. Phila. & Nflk	12,600.00
Paulding, Charles C., solicitor, N. Y. Central	12,750.00
Paxton, Thomas, superintendent motive power, E. P. & S. W	6,666.60
Paxton, William Hamilton, general freight agent, Southern	5,000.00
Payne, J. B., assistant freight traffic manager, Texas & Pacific	4,708.26
Payne, John Barton, general counsel, Chicago Great Western	18,000.00
Payson, Albert Hy., assistant to president, A. T. & S. F	10,030.00
Peabody, C. A., director and chairman, Illinois Central, Y. & M. V., Chgo., St. L. & N. O., Cant., Aber. & Nash., Dub. & Sioux City, Miss. Valley Co., Miss. Valley Corp	13,495.00
Platt, H. V., vice president and general manager, Union Pacific, Los. Ang. & S. L	20,000.00
Pearce, H. C., general purchasing agent, Seaboard Air Line	7,500.00
Pearce, Hiram M., general traffic manager, Chgo. St. P. & O	13,000.00
Pearson, Edw. J., president, N. Y. N. H. & H	40,000.00
Pearson, Edw. J., first vice president, Central New Engl	5,000.00
Pease, Fred N., chief chemist, Pennsylvania	5,700.00
Pechin, F. R., general superintendent, C. St. P. M. & O	8,000.00
Peck, F. L., president, Miss. Central	5,000.00
Peck, G. L., fourth vice president, Pennsylvania, Ind. Union, P. Y. & A	30,030.00
Peck, George R., general counsel, C. M. & St. P	10,000.00
Peddle, C. R., assistant purchasing agent, Pennsylvania	5,400.00
Pedrick, William, jr., division passenger agent, Pennsylvania	5,400.00
Pegram, R. B., executive general agent, Southern, No. Chars. Term	6,010.00
Pelley, J. J., general superintendent, Illinois Central	5,216.60
Penfield, W. H., assistant to vice president, Chgo. Mil. & St. P	6,000.00
Pennington, E., president, M. St. P. & S. S. M., Wis. Central, St. P. Union Depot	52,723.34
Perine, David M., special agent, Pennsylvania	5,700.00
Perkins, Charles E., freight traffic manager, Mo. Pacific	8,000.00
Perkins, E. B., general attorney, St. L. S. W	10,060.00
Perkins, Edw. R., jr., president, Cleve. & Mah. Val	13,000.00
Perkins, R. C., general freight agent, Ill. Central, Y. & M. Va	5,100.00
Perrin, J. W., assistant freight traffic manager, Atlantic C. Line	5,700.00
Perry, M. J., chairman board, Norfolk South	16,080.00
Peter, J. S., director and first vice president, San A. & Aransas Pass	10,300.00
Peter, William F., general solicitor, Chgo. T. H. & S. E	6,010.00
Peters, Ralph, president, Long Island, L. I. Elec. Ry., N. Y. & L. I. Trac., L. I. Con. Elec	30,470.00
Peticolas, W. M., attorney, El P. & S. W	5,000.00
Pettibone, Frank G., vice president and general manager, A. T. & S. F., Gulf Col. & S. F	16,250.00
Peyton, John Howe, president and general manager, Nash. Chat. & St. L	12,000.00
Pfau, Julius W., engineer of construction, N. Y. Central	6,000.00
Pharr, Alexander J., comptroller, L. & Nash	5,250.00
Phelan, C. A., general manager, Mo. & No. Ark	10,000.00
Phelps, H. J., general passenger agent, Ill. Central	5,100.00
Phelps, W. G., purchasing agent, Pennsylvania	10,000.00
Phetteplace, L. H., general manager, Car. C. & Ohio	8,000.00
Phillips, C. J., general superintendent, D. L. & W., Harlem Trsfr. Co	13,833.30
Phillips, John P., district attorney, B. & Ohio, C. H. & D	5,000.00
Phippen, George B., agent for treasurer, N. Y., N. H. & H., Bos. & Prov	5,000.00
Pickens, Moores, Davidson & Pickens, solicitors, P. C. C. & St. L., Ind. & Frankfort	17,456.00
Pidcock, C. W., president, Ga. Northern	8,880.00

Pierce, A. S., treasurer and assistant secretary, Chgo. & N. W., Chgo. St. P. M. & O	$10,555.55
Pierce, Charles S., general solicitor, Boston & Maine	7,500.00
Pierce, T. M., general counsel, Term. R. R. Asso. of St. L., St. L. M. B. Term., Wig. Ferry Co., St. L. Trans., E. St. L. Con. Ry	12,000.00
Pierce, Winslow S., general counsel, Wabash	24,000.00
Pierpont, H. E., freight traffic manager, C. M. & St. P	12,000.00
Pilcher, John A., mechanical engineer, Nor. & West	6,000.00
Pillsbury, Madison & Sutro, local attorneys, A. T. & S. F	6,000.00
Pinkerton, Dr. S. H., chief surgeon, Union Pacific	5,800.00
Pinkney, H. K., president, Peo. & Pek. Union	6,060.00
Place, Ira A., vice president, N. Y. Central Lines	35,150.00
Plaisted, F. H., assistant director of traffic, Sou. Pacific	11,500.00
Plant, A. H., comptroller, Southern, Cin. N. O. & T. P., Ala. G. S., N. O. & N. E., North. Ala., Ga. Sou. & Fla., Lenoir Car Wks., Gadsden Car Wks., Ry. Fuel Co	18,053.16
Platten, John W., chairman board of directors, Gulf, M. & North	5,200.00
Pollard, H. D., director and president, Wrgtsvle. & Tennvle	5,000.00
Polleys, Thomas A., tax commissioner, Chgo. & N. W., C. St. P. M. & O	8,000.00
Pollock, Benjamin R., general manager, Boston & Maine	15,000.00
Pollock, Walter B., manager marine department, N. Y. Central, W. S., Mer. Desp. Trans., West. Transit Co	18,600.00
Pollok, Allan, superintendent, Southern Pacific	12,000.00
Ponear, T. V., comptroller, Fla. East Coast, Jack. Term. Co	5,580.00
Ponder, A. R., receiver and general manager, San A. Uvalde & G	5,000.00
Pontius, David W., general manager, San D. & Ariz	6,000.00
Porcher, Samuel, purchasing agent, Pennsylvania, Phila. Bal. & Wash., West J. & Seashore, N. Y. Phila. & Nor., Bal. Chesa. & Atlan., Md. Dela. & Va., Balto. Chesa. & At	14,000.00
Porteous, D. C., secretary, Seaboard Air Line	6,000.00
Porter, George W., assistant treasurer, N. Y. Central, Boston & Albany	7,200.00
Porter, H. T., chief engineer, Bessemer & L. Erie	10,440.00
Porter, R. L., auditor and assistant secretary, Chgo. & West. Ind., Belt. Ry. Co. of Chgo	5,000.00
Porter, William G., solicitor, C. M. & St. Paul	4,720.00
Porterfield, John F., general superintendent of transportation, Ill. Central	6,500.00
Posson, Edward, engineer of car construction, A. T. & S. F	5,000.00
Postlethwaite, E. T., assistant to president, Pennsylvania	7,350.00
Potter, Edw. C., jr., vice president, Brook. East. D. Term	5,000.00
Potter, E. F., assistant to general manager, M. St. P. & S. S. M	6,600.00
Potter, Mark W., president, C. C. & O., C. C. & O. of S. C	20,000.00
Potts, John D., general passenger agent, Chesa. & Ohio, Chesa. & O. of Ind	7,800.00
Poveleite, H. A., assistant freight traffic manager, Southern	4,949.80
Powell, Q. Z., auditor general superintendent, Pullman Co	6,500.00
Powell, Thomas Carr, vice president, Southern, C. N. O. & T. P., A. G. S., Nor. Alabama, H. & N. E., N. O. & N. E	18,600.00
Power, J. A., assistant general manager, M. L. & T. R. R. & S. S., I. & V., L. W., L. C. & N., T. & N. O., H. & T. C., H. E. & W. T., H. & S., G. H. & S. A	5,400.00
Pratt, H. R., chief engineer, West. Md	7,200.00
Pratt, S. C., assistant general solicitor, Lehigh Valley	5,005.00
Prendergast, A. P., mechanical superintendent, T. & Pacific	6,000.00
Prest, F. G., purchasing agent, North. Pacific	8,400.00
Preston, C. A., valuation engineer, Pennsylvania, Monongahela, Cumber. Valley, B. C. & Atlanta, Md. Del. & Va	8,100.00
Preston, Herbert R., general solicitor, Balto. & Ohio	7,600.00
Pribble, Hy. Clay, general claim agent, A. T. & S. F	5,166.60
Prince, H. C., comptroller, Atlan. Coast Line	6,000.00
Prince, S. R., general counsel, Mobile & Ohio,, Southern, Ala. Ld. & Dev., Warrior Sou., Gulf Term., St. L. & C	9,865.00
Proctor, Vandenberge, Crain & Mitchell, division attorneys, Sou. Pacific	5,355.58
Pryor, Thomas B., general attorney, Mo. Pacific, Ark. Central	5,200.00
Puffer, E. R., general freight agent, Chicago B. & Q	6,000.00
Purcell, John, assistant to vice president, A. T. & S. F	9,250.00
Purdon, C. D., chief engineer, St. L. S. W	6,000.00
Pusey, R. D., general passenger agent, L. & Nash	5,416.62
Pyeatt, J. S., president and general manager, N. O., Tex. & Mex., St. L. B. & Mex., Beau. S. L. & West., Orange & N. W	15,000.00
Quayle, Robert, G. S. M. P., C. & N. W., P. R. C. & N. W., W. & N. W	15,000.00
Queal, J. H., president and general manager, McCloud River	6,000.00
Quinlan, John J., V. P., A. S. & T., C. R. I. & P	5,166.65
Rains, G. S., freight traffic manager, S. B. A. L	6,000.00
Rambach, W. A., assistant freight traffic manager, Mo. Pac	5,583.30
Ramsdell, A. B., assistant general manager, C. R. I. & P	6,100.00
Ranney, F. G., treasurer, C. M. & St. P	8,333.32
Randolph, Epes, president, A. E., S. P. R. R. of Mex	26,465.00
Ranh, S. E., president, B. R. R. & S. Y	14,750.00
Rankin, S. M., superintendent of passenger traffic, P. L. W. of P	5,158.37
Ransom, J. F., general superintendent, Pullman	8,600.00
Rapelje, John W., general manager, Nor. Pac	12,000.00
Ray, Horace E., general storekeeper, A. T. & S. F	5,500.00
Ray, G. J., chief engineer, D. L. & W	13,000.00
Raymer, A. R., acting chief engineer, P. & L. E	5,550.00
Raymond, Ed., general superintendent, A. T. & S. F	7,600.00
Rea, Samuel, president, Pennsylvania	75,460.00
Read & McDonough, attorneys, K. C. S	5,000.00
Reading, R. K., S. M. P., Pennsylvania	7,800.00
Reams, S. H., vice president and general manager, D. & Sou	5,530.00
Rearick, A. C., general attorney, C. & O., H. V. Ry	10,000.00
Rearick, A. C., counsel, M. K. & T	6,000.00
Reath, T. W., general solicitor, N. & W	12,900.00
Redfern, J. N., S. R. & E. D., C. B. & Q	6,000.00
Reed, Smith, Shaw & Beal, general attorneys, P. & L. E	15,000.00
Reed, F. D., general purchasing agent, C. R. I. & P	$9,900.00
Reed, H. L., acting assistant general manager, C. R. I. & P	3,825.00
Reed, J. H., president and director, Union Pac	8,548.00
Reed, J. H., president and director, B. & L. E	23,562.00
Reed, R. R., assistant treasurer, P. L. W. of P	8,400.00
Reeder, Ed. O., assistant chief engineer, C. M. & St. P	6,000.00
Reese, D. R., general attorney, Pennsylvania, D. L. & W	6,840.00
Reeves, J. P., treasurer, C. & E. I	7,000.00
Reid, George T., assistant to president, W. Con., Nor. Pac	15,000.00
Reid, William C., solicitor, New Mexico, A. T. & S. F	5,000.00
Reilly, F. C., freight traffic manager, St. L. S. F	10,000.00
Remington, Carl, secretary, C. & Ohio, Hocking Val., C. & O. N	11,500.00
Rendell, Edward C., general superintendent, Mobile & Ohio	5,010.00
Rettinghouse, Herman, chief engineer, C. St. P. M. & O	6,000.00
Reynolds, J. F., A. of disb., Pennsylvania	6,600.00
Rex, George E., M. T. T. P., A. T. & S. F	5,000.00
Rhett, William M., assistant freight traffic manager, Ill. Cent	4,950.00
Rhoades, I. O., general purchasing agent, Southern Pac	6,500.00
Rhoads, J. J., superintendent, Pennsylvania	6,150.00
Rice, N. M., vice president, St. L. S. F	17,919.33
Rice, R., general superintendent, C. B. & Q	6,600.00
Rich, Eason, A. G. S., Union Pacific	10,000.00
Rich, Joseph C., general solicitor, G. M. & N	5,180.00
Richards, M. V., commissioner, Southern Ry. Sys	5,600.00
Richard, J. B., general superintendent, Nor. Pac	7,500.00
Richards, R. C., C. C. S. C. and G. C. A., C. & N. W	10,000.00
Richardson, G. A., vice president, N. Y. S. & W	5,090.00
Richardson, G. F., superintendent of transportation, Southern Pacific	7,500.00
Richardson, William H., general passenger agent, C. & E. I	5,000.00
Richardson, William W., general passenger agent, P. C. C. & St. L	7,500.00
Richmond, Benjamin A., general solicitor, West. Mary	5,050.00
Rickard, R. D., secretary and treasurer and director, N. Y. O. & W	10,399.99
Ricker, Ed. P., vice president, Maine Cent	6,407.34
Ridgway, A. C., vice president, C. R. I. & P	25,390.00
Ridgway, H. W., superintendent of motive power, Colo. & Sou	5,042.00
Riggs, Ed. G., executive assistant, N. Y., N. H. & H	15,000.00
Riley, L. A., director and president, Lehigh & Hudson River	5,060.00
Rine, E. M., vice president and general manager, D. L. & W	33,373.33
Riordan, D. E., assistant attorney for Wisconsin, C. & N. W	6,500.00
Ripley, H. L., valuation engineer, N. Y., N. H. & H	5,000.00
Ripley, Edward P., president, A. T. & S. F	75,400.00
Ritchie, R. R., general western agent, C. N. W	6,000.00
Riton, V. A., general superintendent eastern division, N. & West	8,400.00
Robbins, Cheney, Phillips & Greene, local attorneys, Erie	5,000.00
Robbins, F. G., general superintendent, Erie, C. & Erie	6,000.00
Roberts, Edward, president and director, East Broad Top R. R. & C	5,716.68
Roberts, James W., superintendent of freight transportation, Pennsylvania	7,200.00
Roberts, John E., superintendent car service, Dela. & Hudson Co	5,150.00
Robertson, Alexander, vice president, Mo. Pac	25,869.55
Robertson, S. B., general superintendent, Penn. Co	8,040.00
Robins, Jesse W., receiver, Trinity & Brazos Valley, Houston Belt & Ter. Ry	10,500.00
Robinson, A. F., head of engineering system, A. T. & S. F. Ry. System	5,000.00
Robinson, E. F., general manager, B. R. & P	10,333.33
Robinson, F. S., claims attorney, Chicago B. & Q	5,000.00
Robinson, L. A., comptroller, C. & N. W. Ry	15,040.00
Robinson, L. A., general passenger agent, New York Central	6,250.00
Robson, Frank E., general counsel, Michigan Central	12,010.00
Rochester, R. K., division superintendent, Pa. R. R. Co	6,300.00
Rockwell, John S., general agent, B. R. & P	6,000.00
Rockwell, Samuel, consulting engineer, New York Central	10,000.00
Rodd, Thomas, chief engineer, Penn. Lines west of Pgh. P. F. W. & C. Ry	21,080.00
Rodgers, J. G., assistant to president, Pennsylvania, West. N. Y. & Pa. Ry., Phila. Balto. & Wash., West Jersey & Seashore	11,780.60
Rodgers, J. M., statistician, Norfolk & Western	6,000.00
Rodman, William B., general solicitor, Norfolk Southern, John L. Rober Lumber Co	15,000.00
Rogers, Henry T., solicitor, A. T. & Santa Fe	4,987.92
Rogers, S. M., vice president, Elgin Joliet & Eastern	12,060.00
Rolfe, C. E., general freight agent, D. & H. Co	3,999.96
Roope, Thomas, superintendent motive power, C. B. & Q	7,200.00
Root, Elihu, special counsel, Denver & Rio Grande	5,000.00
Root, F. W., solicitor, C. M. & St. P. Ry. Co	12,000.00
Root, Jesse L., assistant solicitor, C. B. & Q. R. R	6,000.00
Rose, Donald, European traffic manager, Illinois Central	5,500.00
Rose, John C., chief claim agent, Pennsylvania	7,500.00
Rosing, W. H., special engineer, St. L. S. F. Ry. Co	5,988.00
Ross, A., superintendent, Lehigh Valley	5,000.00
Ross, Walter L., president and receiver, T. St. L. & Western	25,090.00
Rossiter, Edw. L., treasurer, New York Central	18,180.00
Rote, R. O., assistant chief engineer, New York Central	6,000.00
Rowan, Archibald H., assistant to vice president, New York Central	5,600.00
Rowe, B. J., coal traffic manager, Illinois Central	5,100.00
Rowlands, Thomas F., superintendent, Southern Pac. Co	5,020.00
Rudd, A. H., signal engineer, Pennsylvania	6,300.00
Rudduck, George B., auditor, Pennsylvania	5,100.00
Ruffer, A. E., general superintendent of transportation, Erie	4,833.28
Ruffin, J. R., freight traffic manager, Norfolk & Western	11,000.00

Ruhlender, Henry, chairman board of directors, St. L. & S. F. R. R	$40,000.00
Rumery, Ralph R., tax investigator, D. & H. Co	1,166.68
Rumsey, Frank, solicitor, Pennsylvania	7,500.00
Runnells, Clive, vice president, Pullman Co	18,000.00
Runnells, John S., president, Pullman Co	60,500.00
Russell, Arthur P., Federal counsel, N. Y, N. H. & H. R. R	8,250.00
Russel, Henry, vice president, Mich. Central	20,095.00
Russell, H. H., assistant superintendent, Pennsylvania	5,400.00
Russell, James, vice president and general manager, St. L. Southwestern Ry	2,800.00
Russell, James, vice president, Minn. & St. L., Denver & Rio Grande	9,500.00
Russell, Robert L., general freight agent, Phila. Reading	7,200.00
Russell, William A., passenger traffic manager, L. & N. R. R. Co	6,500.00
Rutherford, Morris, director, vice president, and general manager, Lehigh & Hudson River	8,060.00
Ryan, C. B., general passenger agent, Seaboard Air Line	6,000.00
St. George, William S., general passenger agent, M. K. & Tex	5,500.00
St. John, H. A., auditor and general agent, Lake Sup. & Ishp	5,404.00
Sandberg, Charles E., fuel inspector, Chesapeake & Ohio	3,687.50
Sanborn, Fred E., general superintendent, Maine Central	4,582.81
Sanders, M. T., tax commissioner, North. Pacific	5,400.00
Sanderson, William K., general freight agent, Maine Central	6,000.00
Sands, Thomas E., freight traffic manager, M. St. P. & S. Ste. M	7,500.00
Sargent, F. W., attorney for Iowa, C. R. I. & P	8,166.66
Savage, John R., general manager, Long Island	8,799.99
Sawyer, Samuel W., assistant general counsel, Kans. City Term	5,541.66
Sayles, Frank A., president, Mosh. Valley	5,000.00
Sayles, Frank A., president, U. P	7,000.00
Scandrett, B. W., general attorney, North. Pac	6,604.83
Scarritt, Scarritt, Jones & Miller, general attorneys, Chgo. & Alton	10,000.00
Schaff, Charles E., receiver and president, Mo. Kans. & Tex	43,000.00
Schaff, William F., general superintendent, N. Y. Central	7,511.27
Schaffer, William I, special counsel and solicitor, Pennsylvania	6,000.00
Schlafge, William, general mechanical superintendent, Erie, N. Y. S. & W	10,000.00
Schleyer, George H., vice president and general manager, St. L. S. F	6,750.00
Schmidt, Emil, charge of commissary, Sou. Pac	5,800.00
Schofield, William B., assistant to president, Dela. & Hudson, Chat. & Lake Placid	7,020.00
Scholz, Carl, consulting mining engineer, C. B. & Q	11,666.62
Schoomaker, J. M., vice president, Pennsylvania, Pitts. C. C. & St. L., Pgh. McK. & Yough., Pgh. Char. & Youch., Monongahela, Fair. & South., Belington & No., Perk. Brdg. & Term., Greene County R. R., Burnsvle. & East., Zville. Ma. & Parksbg., L. Erie & East	25,000.00
Schoyer, Alfred M., vice president, Pennsylvania, Pgh. C. C. St. L., Belt Ry. of Chgo., Calumet West	18,340.85
Schroll, Otto, superintendent, Pennsylvania	6,000.00
Schroyer, Charles A., superintendent car department, Chgo. & N. W	8,000.00
Schumaker, Thomas M., president, El P. & Sou. W	60,150.00
Scofield, Robert B., assistant secretary and treasurer, Del. Lack. & West., N. Y. Lack. & West	60,010.00
Scott, L. G., comptroller, Wabash	9,500.00
Scott, R. B., general solicitor, C. B. & Q	14,833.36
Scott, S. C., assistant to vice president, Pennsylvania, Tyler-Conn., Shpsvle	10,210.00
Scott, W. B., president, M. L. & T. R. R. & S. S., I. & V., L. W., T. & N. O., H. & T. C., H. E. & W. T., H. & S., So. Pac. Term., G. H. & S. A	27,245.00
Scriven, W. H., general agent at Chicago, Pennsylvania	8,400.00
Seager, Jno. L., assistant general counsel, Del. Lack. & West	6,975.00
Seager, Oscar W., superintendent transportation, Phila. & Reading	5,400.00
Sealy, John, president, Galv. Wharf Co	6,875.00
Sears, T. H., general superintendent, A. T. & S. F	6,750.00
Sebree, Conrad & Wendorff, attorneys, C. R. I. & P	4,183.30
Seddan, C. W., general superintendent motive power, Duluth, M. & No	7,438.70
Seddon, James A., master in chancery, Mo. Kans. & Tex	6,000.00
Seddon, William L., vice president, Seaboard Air Line, Nea. Dub. & Sav	13,191.64
Seeger, Charles F., general freight agent, North. Pacific	5,000.00
Seibert, James M., tax commissioner, Mo. Pacific	4,916.62
Seiders, Irwin A., superintendent motive power, Phila. & Reading	6,458.32
Sellers & Rhoads, solicitors, Pennsylvania	8,000.00
Sells, C. W., president and general manager, M. & P. P	6,180.00
Seneff, E. H., general solicitor, Pennsylvania, Pgh. Cin. C. & St. L	15,000.00
Sercombe, Fred. W. assistant comptroller, Union Pac. Oreg. Sht. Line, Oreg.-Wash. & Nav. Co	6,600.00
Sessions, D. R., claims attorney, Sou. Pac	6,000.00
Sevier, L., executive general agent, Southern, M. & O., Merid. Term., Bgham. Term., Ensley Southern	8,535.00
Sewall, E. D., vice president, Chgo. Mil. & St. P	20,160.00
Sexton, J. E., general manager, Nev. Trans. Co	6,000.00
Sexton, J. R., mechanical superintendent, A. T. & S. F	5,200.00
Seymour, Frank B., general manager, Green B. & West., Kewanee G. B. & West., Almapee & West	6,080.00
Seymour, George S., auditor of miscellaneous accounts, Pullman Co	5,000.00
Seymour, M. V., counsel, St. P. Union Depot	27,000.00
Seymour, Sam L., assistant to freight traffic manager, Pennsylvania	7,200.00
Shackelford, S. J., tax agent, Southern Pacific	6,000.00
Shafer, George S, president and general manager, Nor. & Ptsmth. Blt	6,900.00
Shallenberger, F. E., auditor Union Line, Pennsylvania	$6,570.00
Shand, Alex. C., chief engineer, Pennsylvania	13,200.00
Shaw, Edw. H., freight traffic manager, Southern	7,000.00
Shaw, R. Martin, general counsel, Chgo. Grt. Northern	18,000.00
Scheer, Edw. W., general superintendent, B. & Ohio	7,350.00
Sheldon, F. B., vice president, Toledo & Ohio Cent	13,880.00
Sheafe, C. M., jr., counsel, N. Y. N. H. & H	9,000.00
Sheaffer, Charles M., general superintendent transportation, Pennsylvania	12,000.00
Shearer, Henry, general superintendent, Mich. Central	10,000.00
Sheean, Hy. D., general attorney, B. & O. Chgo. Term	6,000.00
Sheean, James M., division counsel, B. & Ohio, B. & O. C. T	7,125.00
Sheean, James B., general solicitor, C. St. P. M. & O	15,000.00
Sheeby, P., superintendent motive power, Southern Pac	5,000.00
Sheehy, J. Fred, president and general manager, Chgo. Short Line	6,300.00
Shelton, E. M., assistant to general counsel, C. B. & Q	13,166.66
Shepard, F. J., vice president and director, Mo. Pacific, T. & P	17,330.00
Shepard. Hy. H., superintendent M. & E. div., Del. L. R. & West. Harlem Trsfr	7,666.66
Shepherd, A. B., second vice president, Monongahela Cntg	6,765.00
Shepherd, F. C., principal assistant manager, Boston & Maine	5,000.00
Shepherd, J. A., president and general manager, Trans. Miss. Term	5,000.00
Sheppard, F. L., assistant to vice president, Pennsylvania	10,200.00
Shipman, Eugene H., chief engineer, Lehigh & N. Eng	5,450.00
Shook, W. R., manager purchase and stores, Buf. Roch. & Pgh	6,200.00
Shoup, Guy V., attorney, Southern Pac	6,000.00
Shriver, G. M., vice president, B. & Ohio	30,205.00
Signer, F. E., general freight agent, Lehigh Valley	7,000.00
Sikes, C. S., general auditor, Pere Marquette	7,500.00
Simmonds, Fred L., assistant general auditor, Pullman Co	8,000.00
Simmons, William, general freight agent, South. Pac	6,200.00
Simpson, Robert E., general superintendent, Southern	6,000.00
Sims, C. S., vice president, Dela. & Hudson	8,548.32
Sinnickson, George R., superintendent, Phila. Bal. & Wash., Wash. Term. Co	7,830.00
Small, Harold R., attorney, L. & Nash	9,740.81
Small, J. W., superintendent motive power, Seaboard Air Line	7,000.00
Smart, A. G., general superintendent, Chgo. B. & Q	4,500.00
Smart, Edw. M., assistant general counsel, Chgo. & N. W	15,000.00
Smart, John R., superintendent dining service, N. Y. Central, P. & L. E., C. C. C. & St. L., M. C., Y. & O. C	6,600.00
Smith, Arthur B., general passenger agent, N. Y. N. H. & H., Cent. New Eng., New Eng. Stmshp	9,000.00
Smith, A. D., superintendent, Pennsylvania	5,000.00
Smith, A. E., comptroller, Minn. & St. L	5,125.00
Smith, A. H., president, N. Y. Central, B. & A., M. C., C. C. C. & St. L., P. & L. E., T. & O. C., L. E. & W	78,360.00
Smith, Addison R., third vice president, L. & Nashville	12,540.00
Smith, A. V. S., general attorney, Fla. East Coast	5,600.00
Smith, C. Birdsall, secretary-treasurer, Cuyahoga Valley	5,266.73
Smith, Charles F., general superintendent, N. Y. Central	9,000.00
Smith, Edward C., president, Central Vermont	12,000.00
Smith, F. M., general superintendent, N. Y. Central	6,217.76
Smith, F. Sullivan, receiver, vice president, Pgh. Shmt. & N. W	12,000.00
Smith, Frank W., jr., superintendent, Pennsylvania	6,207.50
Smith, George Harris, general attorney, Union Pacific	8,400.00
Smith, Gregory L., district attorney, L. & Nashville	7,900.00
Smith, Howard M., general passenger agent, Long Island	6,300.00
Smith, H. F., vice president, traffic manager, N. C. & St. L	10,000.00
Smith, L. D., division counsel, Southern	7,500.00
Smith, L. D., vice president, Lehigh Valley	14,583.33
Smith, Lewis S., assistant treasurer for receiver, Texas & Pacific	6,000.00
Smith, Milton H., president, L. & Nash	20,639.09
Smith, Montgomery, assistant purchasing agent, Pennsylvania	8,000.00
Smith, Nathaniel W., counsel, N. Y. N. H. & H., N. E. Stmshp Co., Bos. & Prov., Prov. War. & Bris	9,113.32
Smith, Noel W., superintendent, Pennsylvania	7,800.00
Smith, O. C., superintendent transportation, M. K. & T	5,124.90
Smith, P. F., jr., general superintendent motive power, Pennsylvania	7,500.00
Smith, R. D., superintendent motive power, Boston & Albany	6,000.00
Smith, R. E., general superintendent motive power, Atlantic Coast	6,600.00
Smith, R. K., vice president and general manager, Miss. Cen	10,000.00
Smith, R. M., general attorney, B. & O	6,000.00
Smith, W. B., general attorney, M. & N. Ark	6,600.00
Smith, William R., solicitor, A. T. & S. F	9,000.00
Smith, William R., general superintendent, Gr. Northern	5,229.00
Smith, William W., division counsel, B. & O	15,010.00
Smithers, Ernest L., second vice president and assistant secretary, L. & N	8,958.31
Smitton, George H., assistant traffic manager, Gr. Northern	5,400.00
Snapp, John L., right of way and tax agent, Gr. Northern	5,000.00
Snelling, H. G., assistant treasurer, Mich. Cen	7,500.00
Snider, Girvan N., coal traffic manager, N. Y. Cen	5,541.60
Snyder, E. M., assistant freight traffic manager, Cen. R. R. N. J	7,200.00
Snyder, G. W., assistant engineer, Pennsylvania	5,500.00
Snyder & Zieber, counsel, Phila. & R	5,000.00
Sommervilie, B. V., resident engineer, Pennsylvania Lines W. of Pttsh	7,200.00
Sommerville, D. L., division superintendent, N. Y. Cen	5,240.00
Somerville, J. A., general superintendent transportation, Mo. Pac	8,040.00
South, Charles M., assistant to senior vice president, Pennsylvania Lines W. of Pttsh., Monongahela, A. & B	6,120.00
Spangler, D. E., general superintendent, N. & W	10,500.00
Spaulding, W. B., claims attorney, St. L. S. F	6,000.00
Speaks, H. E., general superintendent, T. & O. Central	6,740.00

Speiden, Theodore S., jr., assistant general manager, N. C. & St. L	$6,000.00
Spence, L. F., director traffic, Sou. Pac	36,525.00
Spencer, Daniel S., general passenger agent, Union Pacific	5,200.00
Spencer, H. B., vice president, Southern, Lenoir Car Works, G. S. & F	19,035.16
Spencer, O. M., general counsel, Chi. Burl. & Q., Colo. & Sou	27,123.28
Spens, C. E., vice president, C. B. & Q	13,999.98
Spicer, Meade T., executive assistant, C. & O	6,300.00
Spock, Benjamin I., general solicitor, N. Y. N. H. & H., N. E. Steamship Co., C. N. E	10,166.66
Spoor, J. A., chairman of board, Chicago Junction	15,000.00
Sprague, W. B., assistant purchasing agent, C. R. & Y., Alaska Stmshp. Co., Krumcott Copper Corp., Yukon Gold Co	5,750.00
Spratt, Thomas, assistant purchasing agent, N. & W	5,670.00
Sprong, J. White, purchasing agent, D. & H	6,000.00
Sproule, William, president, S. P., Assoc. Oil Co	62,036.67
Squires, Sanders & Dempsey, solicitors, Pennsylvania Lines W. of Pitts	8,000.00
Stack, John D., general superintendent, Norfolk Sou., Goldsboro U. Sta. Co., Norfolk Ter	6,050.00
Stafford, F. O., manager freight lines, N. Y. Central	3,750.00
Stahl, Henry A., secretary of board, N. Y. Central, Fulton Chain, Raquette Lake	7,240.00
Stanage, B. H., general freight agent, St. L.-S. F	5,000.00
Stanchfield, Lovell, Falck & Sayles, local attorneys, Erie	7,500.00
Stanfiel, J. H., general superintendent, Southern	6,000.00
Stanley, H. W., receiver, Tenn. Central	7,500.00
Stanley, W. L., assistant to president, Seaboard A. Line	8,000.00
Starbuck, R. D., assistant general manager, N. Y. Central, Mut. Fire M. & I. I. Co	9,915.00
Stark, B. M. O., general manager, L. & N	10,000.00
Starr, Henry C., assistant general counsel, C. & O., C. & O. of Ind	9,040.00
Steele, John T., receiver, G. F. & A	444.43
Steele, T. F., express general agent, Southern, N. O. & N. W., N. O. Ter. Co	9,100.00
Steirr, Charles St., superintendent, Central R. R. of N. J	5,866.64
Steinberg, G. H., treasurer, Ter. R. R. Assn. of St. L., St. L. Mer. Bridge, Wiggins Ferry Co., St. L. T. Ry. Co., E. St. L. Con. Ry., Ill. Dredging & Constr. Co., Ter. Hosp. Dept	5,000.00
Stembel, C. P., general superintendent, The Virginian	2,000.00
Stenger, E., general superintendent, Union Pacific, St. J. & G. I	8,200.00
Stephens, E. S., general freight agent, C. & E. Ill	5,400.00
Stephens, J. R., assistant to receiver, Missouri Pac	12,000.00
Stephenson, E. F., assistant secretary, N. Y. Central, B. C. R. R. Co., B. C. Exten., Clearfield Bit. Coal Corp., N. Y. & Harlem	7,040.00
Sterley, W. F., general freight agent, Ft. W. & Denver City	5,000.00
Stetson, F. L., general counsel, Nor. Pac	5,000.00
Stevens, F. W., general counsel, N. Y. Central, C. C. C. & St. L., Cin. Northern, Mich. Central, Indiana Harbor, Boston & Albany, Pitts. & L. E., Toledo & O. Cen. Zanesville & W., Lake Erie & W., Rutland	15,000.00
Stevens, G. H., general agent, N. Y. Central	5,000.00
Stevens, George W., president, C. & O	31,873.26
Stevens, H. E., chief engineer, Nor. Pacific	10,000.00
Stevens, J. P., general manager, C. & O., F. & J. Bdge. Co., C. & C. E. R. & T. & B. Co., Nfk & Pots. B. Line	11,100.00
Stevenson, B. C., general traffic manager, T. St. L. & W., D. & T. S. L	9,070.00
Stevenson, S. M., general eastern agent, N. & W	6,900.00
Stevenson, W. T., general freight agent, C. C. C. & St. L	6,000.00
Stewart, D. C., superintendent passenger transportation, Pennsylvania	7,200.00
Stewart, James A., general passenger agent, C. R. I. & P	6,000.00
Stewart, J. B., general manager, Bangor & A. Nor. Tele. Co	8,000.00
Stewart, Jos. B., traffic manager, N. Y. O. & W	6,249.97
Stewart, W. T., vice president and general manager G. & S. I	8,000.00
Stickney, S. C., assistant to vice president, Erie	15,000.00
Stidger, John G., secretary and treasurer, W. & L. E	5,000.00
Still, H. E., general western freight agent, Nor. Pac	7,000.00
Stillman, Chas. C., director and vice president, Union Pac	6,345.28
Stillwell, Jas., assistant general counsel, Pennsylvania, P. C. C. & St. L., P. L. W. of P	7,500.00
Stinson, Earl, engineer maintenance of way, Balti. & Ohio	5,400.00
Sinson, Charles H., freight traffic manager, Wabash	10,000.00
Stirling, H. J., auditor, Union Pacific	7,500.00
Stockton, Ed. A., deputy comptroller, Pennsylvania	10,666.55
Stohr, S. E., general freight and passenger agent, St. J. & G. Island	5,400.00
Stokely, J. T., division controller, Alabama, Southern, Nor. Ala., E. Sou	9,600.00
Stokes, Walter, general counsel, Tenn. Cent	10,000.00
Stone, A. J., vice president, Erie	29,070.00
Stone, C. E., passenger traffic manager, Great Nor	7,000.00
Stone, C. L., passenger traffic manager, Mo. Pac	10,000.00
Stone, Edward T, purchasing agent, M. St. P. & S. S. M	6,000.00
Stone, H. L., general counsel, L. & N	12,000.00
Storey, W. B., vice president, A. T. & S. F	32,950.00
Stotesbury, E. T., chairman of board, Phila. & Read	10,180.00
Stout, F. D., president, Mo. Sou	5,000.00
Stow, F. T., superintendent, Delray Con	6,575.45
Strachan, W. H., superintendent, Nor. Pac	5,825.00
Strawn, S. H., general solicitor, C. & A	17,500.00
Strickland, S. G., general manager, C. & N. W	15,164.98
Stringer & Seymour, attorneys, C. R. I. & P	7,312.50
Strohm, C. B., superintendent transportation, A. T. & S. F	5,750.00
Strong, A. H., general attorney, Pennsylvania	20,000.00
Stubbs, J. G., general freight agent, Sou. Pac	5,400.00
Sturgis, C. I., general auditor, C. B. & Q	15,000.00
Sturr, A. B., assistant to fourth vice president, Pennsylvania	10,200.00
Sudborough, Charles B., general freight agent, P. C. C. & St. L	6,600.00
Sullivan, Henry, purchasing agent, G. R. & I	$5,037.50
Sullivan, L. F., comptroller, C. & Ohio, Hocking Valley	11,000.00
Sumner, Eliot, superintendent of motive power, Pennsylvania	5,400.00
Sutton, F. W., auditor, E. J. & E	5,070.00
Sweeney, J. C., general solicitor, N. Y. N. H. & H	10,166.66
Sweet, A. E., vice president, D. & R. G	16,850.00
Sweringen, O. P. Van, chairman of board, N. Y. C. & St. L	6,260.00
Swift, Douglas, general attorney, D. L. & W	5,775.00
Swobe, D. M., vice president and traffic manager, McCloud River	6,000.00
Skinner, W. D., traffic manager, S. P. & S., Ore. Trunk, Pac. & East., Ore. Elec., United	8,400.00
Slagle, E. R., sales manager, Pullman Co	9,500.00
Slade, Geo. T., first vice president, Nor. Pac	35,120.00
Sloan, H. M., assistant to president, C. R. I. & P., P. & B. V., K. & D. M., Belt of Chicago	12,200.00
Taff, Joseph A., geologist, Southern Pacific	6,000.00
Tait, Edwin E., president, director, and general counsel, Pittsburgh & Shawmut, Allegheny River Min. Co	15,000.00
Talbot, J. O., assistant general auditor, Perre Marquette	5,000.00
Talcott, Harry R., assistant chief engineer, Balto. & Ohio	5,400.00
Talcott, William E., assistant general land and tax agent, New York Central	7,275.00
Tarbet, William L., land and tax commissioner, Ill. Cen. and Y. & M. V	7,200.00
Tatnall, Henry, vice president, Pennsylvania, Phila. Balto. & Wash., West. J. & Seashore	35,200.00
Taussig, J. E., vice president, Wabash, Chi. & West. Ind. Belt, Kansas City Ter. & Amer. Refrigerator Transit Co	17,900.00
Tayloe, William H., passenger traffic manager, Southern	7,500.00
Taylor, Bushrod W., general agent, P. C. C. & St. L. R. R	6,000.00
Taylor, Edw. B., vice president, Pa. lines west of Pgh., Akron & Barberton Belt	31,235.00
Taylor, E. S., assistant in president's office, The Pullman Co	4,833.32
Taylor, Frank W., superintendent of motive power, Mo. Kansas & Texas lines	6,000.00
Taylor, G. W., assistant to vice president, Southern	8,100.00
Taylor, jr., Henry, general solicitor, C. & O	10,800.00
Taylor, Herbert A., general attorney, Erie	10,010.00
Taylor, J. A., comptroller, C. R. R. Co. of N. J	7,810.00
Taylor, J. W., assistant to president, C. M. & St. P	8,500.00
Taylor, Louis S., comptroller, the Pullman Co	18,000.00
Taylor, R. V., vice president and general manager, Mobile & Ohio, So. in Miss	17,095.00
Temple, Edward B., assistant chief engineer, Penn. (Eastern)	8,100.00
Temple, Horace Jewel, general superintendent, So. Pac. of Mexico	5,750.00
Templeton, Brooks, Napier & Ogden, division attorneys, Galveston, Harrisbg. & San Antonio	7,500.00
Terhun, Nicholas, assistant secretary and assistant treasurer, Great Northern, Paducah & Ill. R. R. Co	10,000.00
Terry, Cavin & Mills, solicitors, Gulf, Colo. & Santa Fe, S. W. Lbr. Co. of N. J	15,000.00
Terry, W. A., assistant freight traffic manager, New York Central, Mich. Central, Ptg. & Lake Erie, Toledo & O. Cen	10,000.00
Tewesbury, Elmer M., general superintendent, So. Buffalo Ry. Co	9,000.00
Thayer, F. C., superintendent, Pa. Lines west of Pitts	5,100.00
Thayer, Walter, general coal freight agent, Pennsylvania	8,553.30
Thiehoff, McF., assistant general manager, C., B. & Q	7,650.00
Thom, A. P., general counsel, Southern	6,000.00
Thomas, Charles L., freight traffic manager, Balto. & Ohio	10,800.00
Thomas, DeLos, general freight agent, Norfolk & West	7,200.00
Thomas, Essex, superintendent, Union	6,208.56
Thomas, E. B., chairman of board, Lehigh Valley	50,880.00
Thomas, E. Perry, assistant district attorney, Louisville & Nash	5,000.00
Thomas, G. G., superintendent relief department, Atlantic Coast Line	6,200.00
Thomas, Isaac Biddle, assistant purchasing agent, Pennsylvania	7,000.00
Thompson, Barwise & Wharton, general attorneys, Ft. Worth & Denver City	8,300.00
Thompson & Slater, general agents, Chicago, Burlington & Quincy	5,000.00
Thompson, Arthur W., vice president, Balto. & Ohio	30,510.00
Thompson, Fred L., assistant chief engineer, Illinois Central	6,000.00
Thompson, George, general attorney, Texas & Pac	7,500.00
Thompson, R. B., assistant treasurer, Penna. Lines west of Pgh	6,000.00
Thompson, W. O., superintendent of rolling stock, New York Central	6,000.00
Thompson, Wm. W., treasurer, Louisville & Nash	7,800.00
Thomure, Felix J., second vice president and general manager, Miss. River & Bonne Terre	5,720.00
Thrall, Herbert P., inspector, Southern Pac	8,000.00
Thropp, W. B., general superintendent, Quincy, Omaha & Kans. City	7,200.00
Thwaites, Ernest, superintendent, New York Central	5,100.00
Tillman, Bradley & Morrow, division counsel for Birmingham, Seaboard Air Line	1,455.00
Tillman, Bradley & Morrow, assistant district attorneys, Louisville & Nashville	10,000.00
Tillman, Bradley & Morrow, division counsel, Atlanta, Birmingham & Atl	5,000.00
Timmerman, Louis F., secretary and treasurer, West. Md	6,000.00
Tinling, A., assistant general freight and passenger agent, Northern Pac	5,000.00
Titus, A. P., general manager, Chicago & Alton	7,525.00
Titus, Hazen J., superintendent of dining-car department, Northern Pacific	7,000.00
Tisdale, A. R., solicitor, Boston & Maine	5,000.00
Tobin, T. J., auditor and assistant secretary, Wabash	7,200.00
Todd, Percy R., president, Bangor & Aroostook	30,395.00
Tollerton, Wm. J., general mechanical superintendent, Chicago, Rock Island & Pac	10,000.00

Tomlinson, J. M., vice president and comptroller, N. Y., N. H. & H., C. New Eng., New Eng. Steamship Co., New Bed. Marthas Vineyard & Nantucket S. B. Co	$14,070.01
Tonge, J. H., superintendent, Cumberland Valley	5,000.00
Torbert, Alfred C., secretary and treasurer, Gulf, Colo. & S. Fe	6,000.00
Torrey, Frank A., general superintendent of motive power, Chicago, Burlington & Quincy	12,750.00
Towne, W. J., assistant general manager, C. & N. W	10,125.00
Townsend, F. B., vice president, Minneapolis & St. L	7,295.60
Townsend, Oscar, general freight agent, Chicago Great Western	6,000.00
Trabue, Doolan & Cox, district attorneys for Kentucky, Illinois Central	27,720.00
Trenholm, Arthur W., vice president and general manager, C. St. P. M. & O	17,000.00
Trevvett, Arthur J., assistant secretary, C. & O., White Sulphur Springs (Inc.)	5,110.00
Trimble, Robert, chief engineer, Penn	8,875.00
Tripler, Henry E., assistant real estate agent, Pennsylvania	7,200.00
Tristram, F. H., general passenger agent, Wabash	5,000.00
Trowbridge, W. S., auditor, Boston & Albany	6,000.00
Truden, James L., general superintendent, Boston & Albany	8,000.00
Trump, Michael, special assistant to general manager, Pennsylvania	10,200.00
Trump, William D., general manager, Detroit Ter	6,000.00
Trusdale, William H., president, D. L. & W	75,399.88
Trussell, Arthur J., secretary, St. L. Southwestern	6,000.00
Tunell, George G., commissioner of taxes, Southern	7,500.00
Tunstall, Robert B., division counsel for State of Virginia, Southern	7,200.00
Turnbull, A. R., president, Atlantic & Carolina	5,600.00
Trumbull, Frank, chairman of board, C. & O., Hocking Valley	26,738.97
Turner, Avery, vice president, A. T. & S. F	5,000.00
Turner, L. H., superintendent of motive power, Pgh. & Lake Erie	6,600.00
Turner, William Jay, vice president and general counsel, Lehigh & New Eng	7,660.00
Turner, James J., senior vice president, Penna. Lines West, Ind. Union	40,620.00
Turner, John F., general auditor, Boston & Maine	6,166.67
Turner, W. F., comptroller, S. P. & S., Oregon Trunk, Pacific & Eastern, Oregon Elec., United Rys., Spokane & Inland Empire, Great Northern Pac. S. S. Co., Ruth Realty Co	9,000.00
Turney, John R., assistant attorney, St. Louis Southwestern	4,583.24
Tuthill, Job, chief engineer, Perre Marquette	3,720.00
Tye, Peeples & Tye, division counsel, Nashville C. & St. L	8,400.00
Tye, Peeples & Tye, district attorneys, L. & N	6,000.00
Tyler, W. T., general manager, St. L. Southwestern	6,370.95
Tyler, W. T., assistant to first vice president, Northern Pacific	900.54
Tyter, James D., general superintendent, Boston & Maine	7,491.67
Udell, C. B., treasurer, S. P. L. of Texas	5,010.00
Uhlman, F. C., general auditor, West. Maryland	6,000.00
Underwood, E. M., general controller, S. B. A. Line	4,000.00
Underwood, F. D., president and chief engineer of construction, Erie	77,950.00
Untermyer, S., general controller, K. C. S	10,000.00
Upthegrove, D., general solicitor, St. L. S. W	12,100.00
Urquhart, G. C., real estate agent, Pennsylvania	7,200.00
Ustick, F. H., general superintendent, C. B. & Q	7,200.00
Utley, E. H., vice president, general manager, and director, B. & L. E	20,867.12
Utter, H. L., secretary and treasurer, Mo. Pac	12,000.00
Van Alstine, C. H., solicitor, C. M. & St. P	6,000.00
Van Cott, Riter & Farnsworth, attorneys, Denver & Rio Grande	14,193.96
Van Deventer, A. K., treasurer, Southern Pac	14,250.00
Van De Water, William G., auditor, Delaware, Lackawanna & Western	5,920.00
Van Doren, R. N., attorney, Chicago & North Western	7,000.00
Van Ummersen, Richard, general freight agent, Boston & Albany	7,000.00
Van Varick, Upson M., treasurer, El Paso & Southwestern	5,250.00
Van Winkle, J. Q., assistant to vice president and general manager, Cleveland, Cin. Chi. & St. L., Muncie Belt, Dayton & Union, Indianapolis Union	7,500.00
Vanzandt, J. S., treasurer, Pennsylvania	5,200.00
Vasterling, Paul F., chief surgeon, Missouri Pac	8,000.00
Vaughan, George W., engineer of maintenance of way, N. Y. Central	7,500.00
Vaughan, R. H., general manager, C. & O	6,000.00
Veazey & Veazey, attorneys, Great Northern	10,000.00
Veitch, C. W., treasurer, Texas & Pac	6,000.00
Veitch, J. R., assistant traffic manager, C. M. & St. P	5,000.00
Venning, J. C., general ore & coal agent, Pa. Lines west of Pittsburgh	6,000.00
Vilas, Charles A., valuation attorney, C. & N. W	5,000.00
Vilas, G. B., general superintendent, Chicago & N. W	9,125.00
Vinnedge, C. A., secretary and auditor, Terminal R. R. Assn. of St. L., St. L. Mer. Bridge Ter. Ry., Wiggins Ferry Co., St. L. Transfer Ry. Co., Ill. Dredging & Constr. Co	9,470.00
Visscher, H., treasurer, Kansas City So	5,000.00
Vogt, Axel Samuel, mechanical engineer, Pennsylvania	6,900.00
Vollmer, W. G., assistant to president, Missouri Pacific	5,325.00
Voorhees, Henry B., general superintendent of transportation, Balto. & Ohio	8,100.00
Vosburgh, T. F., passenger-traffic manager, New York Central	7,500.00
Vredenburgh, Wall & Carey, local counsel, Pennsylvania	10,000.00
Wacker, Charles H., president and treasurer, C. H. Ter. T	5,000.00
Wade, Festus J., receiver, M. & N. A	7,500.00
Wadleigh, Frank A., passenger traffic manager, D. & R. G	7,500.00
Wadsworth, Paul, freight traffic manager, D. & H. Co., N. Y. & H. T	6,708.29
Waggener, B. P., general solicitor, Missouri Pacific	12,000.00
Waggener, William P., general attorney, Missouri Pacific	5,000.00
Wagener, J. A., superintendent, D. M. U	$5,100.00
Wagner, Samuel T., chief engineer, P. & R	7,500.00
Wagstaff, George A., superintendent, A. & N. M	5,250.00
Waid, G. S., vice president and general manager, T. & N. O., H. E. & W. T., H. & T. C., D. Nav. Co., H. & S. Co., So. Pac. Ter., G. H. & S. A	10,030.00
Waite, Morison R., general solicitor, B. & O	8,789.95
Wakeley, L. W., general passanger agent, C. B. & Q	6,500.00
Walden, H. P., purchasing agent, Pullman	5,000.00
Waldo, Frank O., auditor, Mich. Cen., T. H. & B., T. H. & B. Nav	10,570.95
Waldo, G., general freight agent, G. H. & S. A., T. & N. O., H. E. & W. T., H. & T. C., H. & S. R., So. Pac., A. S. S. Lines	5,005.00
Walker, Bertrand, general counsel, N. Y. Central, I. H. Belt Co., C. C. & St. L	12,000.00
Walker, Charles A., treasurer, Del. & H	12,000.00
Walker, Charles C., superintendent passenger traffic, C. & O	7,500.00
Walker, F. B., superintendent E. C., C. M. & St. P	4,649.94
Walker, George A., assistant treasurer, Pennsylvania	8,700.00
Walker, George H., assistant general attorney, N. Y. C	6,500.00
Walker, H. J., general accountant, P. L. W. of P	6,000.00
Walker, Paul E., attorney, C. R. I. & P	8,500.00
Walker, W. W., vice president and general manager, D. S. S. & A., M. R. R. R., Mac. Trans	15,000.00
Wall, Garrett B., assistant to president, C. & O. Ry., C. & O. of Ind., C. & O. N., H. Val	10,840.00
Wallace, C. L., assistant to receiver, T. & P	7,500.00
Wallace, J. C., assistant auditor, C. C. C. & St. L	5,400.00
Wallace, Ralph H., general passenger agent, N. Y. C	6,167.14
Waller, Claude, general counsel, N. C. & St. L	11,700.00
Wallis, James T., general superintendent motive power, Pennsylvania	12,000.00
Walsh, Charles E., assistant purchasing agent, Pennsylvania	5,833.30
Walsh, J. S., chairman of board, T. R. R. A. St. L., St. L. M. B. Ter., W. Ferry Co., St. L. T., E. St. L., Con. Ry., St. L., B. Co	6,000.00
Walters, Frank, general manager, C. & N	10,124.99
Walters, Henry, chairman board of directors, At. Coast L	7,916.00
Walters, Henry, chairman board of directors, L. & N	15,778.37
Wann, Fred A., general traffic manager, L. A. & S. L	10,000.00
Wardrop, W. M., division superintendent, Pennsylvania	6,000.00
Warfield, Benjamin D., district attorney, L. & N	7,500.00
Warner, G. K., treasurer and assistant secretary, St. L. S. W	9,000.00
Warnock, H. R., general superintendent motive power, C. M. & St. P	4,441.00
Warren, Harry M., electrical engineer, D. L. & W	6,966.64
Warriner, Samuel D., president, L. & N. E	5,000.00
Warrington, J. B., division superintendent, Phila. & R	5,400.00
Waterhouse, Arthur E., deputy comptroller, A. T. & S. F	5,750.00
Waterman, G. O., secretary and treasurer, Cen. R. R. of N. J., L. & W. C. Co., N. Y. & L. B., B. S. Con	8,830.00
Waters, D. E., receiver, Pere M	1,500.00
Waters, J. J., superintendent motive power, Pere M	5,000.00
Watkins, Joseph M., auditor of revenues, B. & O	5,666.80
Watkins, Rawson F., treasurer, D. & R. G	1,000.00
Watrous, W. C., general superintendent transportation, G. No	5,787.10
Watson, Young & Conmy, division counsel, No. Pac	8,500.00
Watson, James D., assistant to president, St. L. Sw. Tex., Val. Ter., Grays Pt. Ter., M. St. Wh. Co	7,418.42
Watts, Horace E., general freight agent, Wabash	6,000.00
Watts, Legh R., consulting counsel, S. A. Line	10,000.00
Watts, Thomas, attorney, Erie	9,000.00
Weatherwax, H. B., vice president, D. & H., C. Trans. Co., L. Geo. Steam., Bluff Point Imp., Ft. Wm. H. Hotel, C. O. & I. Co., N. N. Y. Dev. Co., U. Trac. Co., H. Val., T. & N. E., P. Trac. Co	8,520.00
Webb, A. G., superintendent division of construction, N. Y. N. H. & H	5,000.00
Webb, H. H., superintendent, Mo. Pac	5,020.00
Webb, William A., vice president and C. O. O., M. K. & T. Lines	18,000.00
Webster, G. W., secretary, M. St. P. & S. S. M	5,433.33
Webster, James, freight traffic manager, N. Y. C. Lines, N. Y. C. West, Mich. C., P. & L. E., T. & O. Cen	10,833.33
Webster, John F., treasurer, C. & M., B. & M., P. Val., Sullivan Co	5,200.00
Weeks, Edson J., general passenger agent, P. & R	7,500.00
Weinsheimer, A. S., secretary, Pullman Co	7,000.00
Weir, J. M., chief engineer, K. C. So	4,566.60
Welch, J., assistant general auditor, C. M. & St. P	5,000.00
Weller, H. C., superintendent, N. & W	5,100.00
Weller, James E., general western freight agent, Pennsylvania	6,000.00
Wells, May & Sanders, attorneys, Ill. C., Y. & M. V	15,449.88
Wells, A. G., general manager, A. T. & S. F	18,750.00
Wells, W. H., chief engineer construction, Southern	9,000.00
Welsh, F. S., agent and G. S. S. Y., N. Y. C. Lines	7,341.67
Welsh, John W., vice president, Ill. So	7,200.00
West, J. L., freight traffic manager, M. K. & T	10,000.00
West, Samuel H., general attorney, N. Y. C	12,020.00
Whalen, Wm. H., district superintendent, So. Pac	5,400.00
Whaley, A. R., pensioner, N. Y. N. H. & H., Cen. N. E. Ry	13,936.66
Wheeler, B. T., chief engineer., Maine Cen	8,000.04
Wheeler, Herbert, general manager, P. & A. R. & N., B. C. Y., B. Y. Nav. Co., A. Y. Nav. Co	10,000.00
Wheeler, Herbert R., treasurer, B. & M	6,500.00
Wheeler, Wm. G., general solicitor, C. & N. W	15,000.00
Wheelwright, J. H., president, C. & Pa	9,000.00
Whitaker, Frank M., vice president, C. & O., C. & O. of Ind., C. & O. N., H. Val. Ry., L. & J. B. Co., C. & O. N	13,280.00
White, Edw. J., vice president and general superintendent, Mo. Pac	16,790.00
White, R. A., general auditor, N. Y. Cen., M. C. R. R., C. C. C. & St. L., Rutland, P. & L. E., L. E. & W., T. & O. C., I. H. B	15,000.00
White, Wm. H., president and director, R. F. & P	12,200.00
Whitehead, Chas. N., vice president and assistant to receiver, M. K. & T	19,500.00
Whiten, E. T., assistant general manager, Pa. Lines	10,650.00

Whiting, F. V., general counsel and attorney, N. Y. C. Lines, M. C., C. C. C. & St. La., T. & O. Cen	$11,500.00
Whitman, E. S., ch. engineer, M. St. P. & S. Ste. M	6,000.00
Whitmer, R. F., president, C. W. Va. & So	5,000.00
Whitmore, John G., general attorney, B. R. & P	5,000.00
Whitney, A. J., general superintendent, Pennsylvania	8,473.30
Whitted, E. E., general solicitor, Colo. So	8,500.00
Whitted, E. E., attorney, C. B. & Q	5,000.00
Whittington, A. G., general manager, I. & G. No	7,500.00
Wickersham, Charles A., president and general manager, W. Ry. of Ala., A. & W. P., At. Ter., Ga. R. R	12,230.00
Wickham, H. T., vice president and general comptroller, C. & O	15,000.00
Wicks, George E., general freight agent, B. & A	5,000.00
Widdicombe, Robert H., committee attorney, C. & N. W	5,000.00
Wierman, Victor, special agent, Pennsylvania	7,200.00
Wiggin, Charles H., superintendent motive power, Boston & Me	6,500.00
Wiggins, W. D., valuation engineer, Pa. Lines, W. Pt	6,237.50
Wight, Charles S., general freight representative, B. & O	15,000.00
Wight, Pearl, company receiver, T. & Pac	18,000.00
Wight, Sidney B., general purchasing agent, N. Y. C	15,000.00
Wilbur, Rollin H., vice president and general manager, L. & N. England	11,570.00
Wilcox, Nelson J., attorney, C. M. & St. P	10,000.00
Wild, Fred, jr., freight traffic manager, D. & R. G	6,600.00
Wilde, C. W., assistant superintendent, P. B. & N. Eng	6,456.97
Wildhack, W. A., auditor, C. C. C. & St. L., C. No. R. R., Peoria & E	7,200.00
Willard, Daniel, president, B. & O., Reading & A., C. R. R. of N. J., Wash. So., Wash. Ter	75,480.00
Willard, N. W., chief clerk to president, A. T. & S. F	6,300.00
Willcox, J. Taney, assistant secretary, Pa. R. R	4,725.00
Willcox, P. A., assistant general counsel, Atlantic Coast Line	7,000.00
Willer, H. E., assistant to vice president, N. Y. Cen., Mich. Cen., P. & L. E., T. & Ohio	7,916.67
Williams, Cora B., president, Ga. Fla. & Ala	6,000.00
Williams, Henry R., vice president, C. M. & St. P	31,117.00
Williams, J. C., assistant to president, So. Ry. Co	6,000.00
Williams, Leonard O., assistant secretary and treasurer, St. L. & San F. Ry	4,533.33
Williams, D. P., assistant general counsel, Pennsylvania Co., P. C. C. & St. L	8,000.00
Williams, R. J., superintendent motive power, Pere Marq	5,200.00
Williams, Thomas H., superintendent, So. Pac	5,150.00
Williams, Warner E., general manager, M. K. & T	7,500.00
Williams, W. H., vice president, Del. & Hud. Co	20,636.66
Williams, William H., chairman board of directors, Wabash	16,240.00
Williams, Walter S., general superintendent, Ill. Cen	5,075.00
Williams, V. C., division freight agent, Pennsylvania	5,400.00
Williamson, F. E., division superintendent, N. Y. Cen	5,400.00
Willis, E. M., assistant to president, N. Y. N. H. & H., Boston Ter., Old Colony, Union Frt	5,780.00
Willoughby, J. E., chief engineer, Atlantic Coast	8,400.00
Wills, E. C., assistant general manager, Mo. Pac	3,410.82
Wilson, Dabney & King, general attorneys, Int. & G. No	16,000.00
Wilson & Rector, solicitors, Hocking Val	11,499.99
Wilson, Donald, general freight agent, Long Island R. R	6,000.00
Wilson, F. H., general superintendent, N. Y. Cen	9,000.00
Wilson, Garret H., superintendent electrical division, N. Y. Cen	5,100.00
Wilson, H. Rush, A. G. L. and T. agent, N. Y. Cen	7,125.00
Wilson, Walter V., assistant general auditor, C. M. & St. Paul	5,000.00
Wilson, W. H., auditor, Dis., Norfolk & W	4,700.00
Wilson, Wm. H., assistant first vice president, No. Pac	10,000.00
Wilson & Wilson, attorneys, P. & Lake Erie	5,000.00
Winburn, W. A., president, Cen. of Ga., Wadley Sou	21,855.00
Winchell, B. L., director of traffic, Union Pac	36,000.00
Winders, C. H., attorney, No. Pac., No. Exp. Co., N. W. Imp. Co	9,000.00
Windsor, Jno. E., coal traffic manager, C. T. H. & S. E	6,000.00
Wingate, George W., assistant general counsel, Long Island	7,500.00
Winston, B. C., G. C. agent and tax commissioner, Wabash, M. & I., B. & B	7,450.00
Wise, John S., secretary and treasurer, No. Penn	5,000.00
Wishart, William C., statistician, N. Y. Cen	6,800.00
Wolfenden, William E., general passenger agent, Pere Mar	5,000.00
Wood, Benjamin T., assistant to president, St. L. San Fran	10,000.00
Wood, Fred H., general attorney, So. Pac	15,750.00
Wood, George M., assistant general freight agent, N. Y. N. H. & H	5,083.34
Wood, John M., assistant to treasurer, Penna	5,200.00
Wood, William B., general manager, G. R. & Ind	10,000.00
Woodruff, Robert E., superintendent transportation, Erie	4,499.98
Woodward, Clayton N., general superintendent, N. Y. N. H. & H	7,500.00
Woodward, P. H., secretary to president, Long Island	5,100.00
Woodworth, James G., secretary-vice president, No. Pac	22,500.00
Woolford, C. W., secretary to Co., B. & O	8,600.00
Wooten, H. O., vice president and traffic manager, R. S. & Pac	6,000.00
Worthington, B. A., president, Cin. Ind. & W	15,000.00
Worcester, H. A., vice president and general manager, C. C. C. & St. L., C. U. Dep. & Ry. Co. Cin	22,395.00
Worthington, Cochran & Browning, counsel, C. & O., C. O. & No	7,500.00
Worthington, Frank H., superintendent, P. C. C. & St. L	6,000.00
Worthington, F. M., division superintendent, So. Pac	5,000.00
Worthington, W. A., vice president and assistant to chairman, So. Pac., La. West	13,520.00
Woulfe, F. J., general freight agent, Lehigh Val	7,000.00
Wright, James F., assistant general counsel, S. Air Line	4,166.64
Wright, C. C., general solicitor, C. & N. W. Ry	15,000.00
Wright, Edward J., general superintendent, N. Y. Cen	9,000.00
Wright, James B., district attorney, L. & N	4,200.00
Wright, R. H. C., traffic manager, Pennsylvania	$16,000.00
Wyche, T. J., chief engineer, Wes. Pac	7,166.67
Wykes, A. J., treasurer, Ill. Cen., Yazoo & M. V	5,040.00
Wynn, F. S., secretary, Southern, M. & Ohio	9,687.50
Yeomans, George G., general purchasing agent, N. Y. N. H. & H., Cen. N. Eng., N. Eng. S. S. Co	12,000.00
Yohe, James B., general manager, P. & L. Erie	15,000.00
Young, Bertram, auditor, D. & L. West	5,410.00
Young, C. B., mechanical engineer, C. B. & Q	4,474.95
Young, E. E., general superintendent, C. B. & Q	6,600.00
Young, R. C., chief engineer, M. M. & S. E. Ry., L. S. & I	5,400.00
Young, J. H., president and director, Norfolk So., J. L. Lbr., N. & P. Belt Line, Nor. Ter. Ry	26,020.00
Yungman, Edgar, assistant general passenger agent, Pennsylvania	5,700.00
Zipf, A. F., traffic manager, P. & A. Ry. & Nav., B. Yukon Ry., B. Col. & Yukon, Am. Yukon Nav	6,583.35

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST.

Abbott, Emory W., assistant general freight agent, Boston & Maine	3,000.00
Andrews, E. S., commercial agent, Pere Marquette	3,700.00
Baker, Botts, Parker, & Garwood, attorneys, Southern Pacific	30,030.00
Ball, Thomas H., S. C. in chancery, I. & G. N	7,500.00
Barrett & Harper, attorneys for receiver, Ga. & Florida	5,200.00
Barrett & Hull, general counsel, Ga. and Florida	5,499.96
Bates, C. H., attorney, Union Pacific	5,000.00
Beny, G. A., general manager, Ga. Fla. & Ala	1,249.98
Beall, Phillip D., receiver, Ga. Fla. & Ala	821.51
Bingham, John W., general freight agent, I. H. B. R. R	5,000.00
Bissonnet, G. E., assistant comptroller, Union Pacific	7,200.00
Blaisden, Ralph, auditor, O. W. R. R. & N. Co	6,000.00
Bogle, Graves, Merritt & Bogle, division attorneys, O. W. R. R. & N. Co	7,500.00
Bradt, H. S., asistant comptroller, Union Pacific	6,675.00
Buckley, M. J., general superintendent, O. W. R. R. & N. Co	8,000.00
Bunch, John H., general freight and passenger agent, C. R. & N. W	6,000.00
Carey & Kerr, general counsel, S. P. & S	22,500.00
Carr, G. H., attorney, C. G. W	7,500.00
Carter, Ledyard & Milburn, general counsel, D. & R. G	55,000.00
Carthell, A. B., chief engineer, Boston & Maine	10,000.00
Clark, Henry W., counsel, Union Pacific	15,679.00
Coleman, R. B., general manager, Ga. Fla. & Ala	5,000.00
Collins, William H., general manager, F. J. & G	6,000.00
Cotton, W. W., counsel, O. W. R. R. & N. Co	17,400.00
Creighton, G. W., general superintendent, Pennsylvania	9,000.00
Crosby, F. V. S., treasurer, Union Pacific	7,500.00
Crouse, J. L., superintendent of shops, N. Y. N. H. & H	3,333.34
Denison, D. M., freight traffic manager, M. & St. L	4,750.00
Dickinson, J. M., receiver, C. R. I. & P	120,732.90
Drennan, J. G., general attorney, Illinois Central	8,000.00
Edenborn, William, director and president, L. R. & N. Co	6,000.00
Elder, Alex H., assistant general counsel, C. R. R. of New Jersey	4,083.33
Falsom, H. E., division superintendent, Boston & Maine	4,500.00
Farbet, W. L., L. and tax commissioner, Illinois Central	7,200.00
Farraday, W. H., assistant purchasing agent, Pennsylvania	6,000.00
Filler, R. W., general superintendent, Hawaii Con	6,000.00
Freinstran, H., chief engineer, Va. Ry. Co	9,999.96
Gage, Foley & Gilbert, attorneys, Southern Pacific	11,100.00
Gillick, James T., general manager, C. M. & St. P	7,583.30
Goddard & Clark, attorneys, C. B. & Q	5,000.00
Gowen, Francis I., general counsel, Pennsylvania	30,000.00
Grace, J. W., superintendent, P. B. & N. E	10,123.63
Green, F. W., assistant to president, St. L. S. W	2,812.50
Griffith, James A., land commissioner, Union Pacific	5,000.00
Griggs, H. M., coal and ore transportation manager, N. Y. C	6,625.00
Guir, W. T., general traffic manager, Lehigh Valley	12,005.00
Hanbold, Ernest F., manager clearing house, N. Y. C	5,166.66
Harmon, Judson, receiver, C. H. & D. R. R	
Harris, James H., principal assistant engineer, Pennsylvania	4,144.50
Hart, P. C., general manager, C. M. & St. P	12,000.00
Hess, J. L., president, F. J. & G	10,000.00
Hickey, G. L., superintendent of transportation, Union Pacific System	5,000.00
Huntley, R. L., chief engineer, Union Pacific	6,500.00
Holbrook, E., special engineer, Union Pacific	3,333.36
Jeffery, E. T., chairman of board, D. & R. G	20,166.66
Jonah, Frank G., chief engineer, St. L.-S. F	8,919.00
Jones & Miller, attorneys, Chicago & Alton	10,000.00
Joyce, M. W., general attorney, M. & St. L. R. R	3,064.52
Kallwright, E. J., chief engineer, S. D. & A	7,200.00
Keely, E. S., vice president, C. M. & St. P	20,000.00
Kennedy, T. B., assistant to president, Cumberland Valley	4,500.06
Koutschback, R. A., assistant general attorney, N. Y. C	5,000.00
Knickerbocker, F. H., general superintendent, Oregon Short Line	7,200.00
Krebs, Conrad F., general auditor, C. G. W	5,000.00
Lawrence, C. K., chief engineer, Central of Ga	5,400.00
Loftin, Scott M., comptroller, F. E. C	5,580.00
Long, S. C., general manager, Pennsylvania	16,000.00
Lovett, A. S., chairman executive committee, Union Pacific	104,104.16
Lupfer, Alexander M., chief engineer, S. P. & S	12,400.00
Lyon, A. N., general superintendent, Kanawha & Michigan	4,750.00
McCrea, J. A., general manager, Long Island	13,731.00
McKenna, E. W., member conference committee, C. M. & St. P	20,000.00
McPherson, E. S., vice president, Spokane Inter	3,600.00
McKenzie, Kenneth A. J., chief surgeon, O. W. R. & N	8,000.00
Manchester, A. E., superintendent motive power, C. M. & St. P	2,048.39
Martin, Hugh E., assistant attorney, Mo. & Kan. K. C. Sou. Ry	6,000.00
Mays, Wilk, May & Sanders, district attorney, Ill. Central	6,700.00

Moon, S. G., president, Stanley, Merrill, Philips	$6,000.00
Morse, W. F., vice president and general manager, D. & St. L	12,000.00
Nuelle, J. H., general superintendent and chief engineer, N. Y. N. H. & H	7,050.00
O'Brien, Jarvis P., attorney, Boston & Me	5,020.00
Oriatt, D. C., general superintendent, N. Y. N. H. & H	4,165.60
Owens, Dr. W. W., chief surgeon, Central of Ga	5,400.00
Payne, S. R., manager, N. Y. C. R. R. Co	7,000.00
Pidcock, D., vice president and general manager, Ga. Northern	6,210.00
Platt, H. V., first vice president and director, S. A. & St. L	5,000.00
Price, Thomas, assistant secretary, U. Pac	5,405.00
Ransom, William A., assistant vice president, U. P	4,321.66
Reeves, J. A., general freight agent, U. P	6,000.00
Rendell, E. C., general superintendent, M. & O	5,010.00
Ringling, John, president O. N. M. & P	10,000.00
Rockwell, F. R., assistant general manager, D. & Rio Grande	2,400.00
Rose, William John, division freight agent, Penna	6,000.00
Rourke, G. W., assistant general manager, C. R. I. & P	7,200.00
Robinson, Frank W., traffic manager, O. W. R. R. & Nav. Co	9,000.00
Scandrett, H. A., assistant director of traffic office, U. P	15,000.00
Schiff, Mortimer L., director and executive committee member, U. P	5,451.45
Scheer, O. W., general superintendent operating department, B. & O	7,300.00
Scholz, Carl, manager mining department, C. R. I. & P	6,250.00
Seger, C. B., vice president and comptroller, U. P	37,016.87
Scott, William H., vice president and general manager, Sou. Pac., Cen. Pac. L. Co., Rifled Pipe Co., N. W. Pac	23,766.67
Sisson, C. H., secretary and treasurer, Raritan River	5,800.00
Sloan, H. M., assistant to president, C. R. I. & P., P. & B. V., K. & D. M. Belt Ry	12,200.00
Sloan, George T., first vice president, Northern Pac	35,120.00
Slagle, E. R., sales manager, Pullman Co	9,500.00
Smith, Rufus B., receiver, C. H. & D	10,000.00
Skinner, W. D., traffic manager, S. P. & S	8,400.00
Snyder, G. F., solicitor, Can. Pac	3,124.95
Spencer, A. C., general attorney and assistant secretary, Oregon-Wash	9,650.00
Stager, O. W., superintendent transportation, P. & R	5,400.00
Starr, A. B., special assistant and vice president, Pa. west	10,200.00
Stein, C. H., division superintendent, Cent. of N. J	5,966.64
Stetson, F. L., general counsel, Sou	15,000.00
Stewart, G. S., general superintendent, Great Northern	3,806.45
Stimbel, C. P., general superintendent, Va	2,000.00
Stradley, Carl, chief engineer, U. P	5,700.00
Strohm, C. B., superintendent of transportation, A. T. S. F	5,130.00
Thompson, H. B., attorney for Idaho and Wyoming, Oregon Short Line	5,000.00
Thwaites, Ernest, superintendent Toledo division, N. Y. C	5,100.00
Toller, Hogsett, Ginn & Morely, counsel, B. & O	10,000.00
Twitchell, Ralph E., receiver, N. M. Central	1,600.00
Van Alstyne, D., assistant to president, N. Y. N. H. & H	1,875.00
Walsh, J. W., vice president and assistant treasurer, Ill. Sou	7,200.00
Warfield, S. Davies, chairman of board, S. A. L	50,000.00
Waterhouse, Frank, foreign freight agent, Union Pacific	24,000.00
Weidenheimer, William H., inspector of transportation, C. M. & St. P	416.66
Weston, Charles W., assistant treasurer, Union Pacific	5,356.69
Whitney, W. A., general manager, Utah-Idaho Cent	5,000.00
Wildin, G. W., general manager, N. Y. N. H. & H	11,249.99
Williams, Grant, assistant G. F. S., C. M. & St. P	5,000.00
Williams, R. B., jr., president, Cent. N. Y. Sou., Ithaca Tract. Co	7,000.00
Williams, Sidney, assistant vice president, Union Pacific	12,000.00
Wilson, Charles C., vice president, O. N. M. & P	5,000.00
Winston, Strom & Shaw, general counsel, Chicago Jct	7,500.00
Young, Charles D., superintendent motive power, P. B. & W	5,700.00
Ziegler, George, secretary, P. & R	9,000.00
Zimmerman, F., vice president, C. I. & L., K. & I. Term	10,033.96

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM RAYBURN,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 31, 1920.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, with the recent amendments to the war-risk insurance act the law to-day is the most liberal for all soldiers, both disabled and not disabled, ever passed for war veterans in any country.

Mr. Speaker, this law is a source of great pride to me, as I feel that I may without immodesty say that I have had as much and probably more to do with making it what it is than any other Member. When the bill was first introduced and referred to the committee of which I am a member, I was designated by the chairman to take full charge of the legislation on the floor of the House. It will always be one of the greatest joys of my life that I have in this way been able to do something for the soldiers of the late war in liberally providing for the disabled and for the dependents of those who gave their lives for their country.

I appreciate beyond expression the many compliments that I have received here and elsewhere on my work on the law. I here insert in the RECORD a letter that I received at the time of the passage of the bill from the then Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. William G. McAdoo:

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY,
Washington, September 17, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. RAYBURN: May I not congratulate you heartily on the fine service you have rendered to your country and to the enlisted men and officers in the Army and Navy and to their dependent families during this war with Germany, in securing the passage by the House of Representatives of the so-called war insurance and compensation bill?

It is a splendid achievement, and reflects credit upon the American people as well as upon you and your colleagues, who have secured the passage of this just and humane law by the House of Representatives.

With all good wishes, I am,

Cordially, yours, (Signed) W. G. MCADOO.

My good friend from Alabama, Mr. BANKHEAD, who has taken unusual interest in this measure, was kind enough to say the following of me and which appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD last September:

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman, this body does not, in the main, encourage personal compliments from one Member to another. Without trespassing, I trust, upon that standard of propriety, I feel that I am expressing the sentiment and judgment of the entire membership of the House in commending by highest praise the invaluable services rendered in the preparation and passage of this fine legislation by our colleague, Hon. SAM RAYBURN, of Texas. [Applause.] No one will believe that this expression is prompted by any spirit of invidious compliment. Upon the contrary, I feel sure that every member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee will cordially join in the sentiments of appreciation I am trying to express.

The gentleman from Texas to whom I have referred, from the inception of this great system of insurance and compensation for our soldiers and their dependents, has been recognized as an expert upon its purposes and its administration. In making the contribution of his time and splendid mental talents to the now largely perfected system, he has not only honored his district and his party but, what is infinitely more important, he has rendered to the disabled soldiers and to that vast multitude of the dependents of our honored soldier dead a distinct, outstanding, invaluable public service. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I could add many such as the above from those who know of this law here and elsewhere, but I fear it would be trespassing on time and space, and for myself it is not necessary as all of the reward that I could ask is that I have a full consciousness of having sought to the limit of my ability to take care of those who have given themselves so freely to the service of their country.

Full Recognition, a Port, Arms, and a Loan, Not a Mandate for Armenia.

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD C. LITTLE,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 24, 1920.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 11960) making appropriations for the Diplomatic and Consular Service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, Gen. Ludendorf said in his memoirs recently that if they had been able to secure fuel in their last big drive they would have reached Paris and beaten the Frenchmen, but that the lack of fuel oil for their machines had made it impossible to succeed. He said that was due to the fact that the immense oil fields at Baku had slipped from their hands and fallen into the hands of the Armenians. On this part of the map to which I am pointing is the city of Baku, which is the seat of the greatest oil fields anywhere outside of the United States. When the Russian Army on the front next to Germany collapsed, you will remember that all of the soldiers started for home. There were in the army then something like 160,000 Armenians, and they also started for home. They went across into Asia, along the railroad that runs to Baku through a mountain valley there next to the Caspian Sea, and they reached Baku on the road to Armenia. Bagratooni, who was chief of staff to Kerensky at one time, found himself in the mêlée at Baku.

That country is inhabited by Tartars, who are all Mohammedans, and Bagratooni, a very brilliant man and a powerful organizer, conceived the theory that it was a good deal easier and safer for him to rally his soldiers and take his stand there than to sit around and chew his thumb. So he collected those Armenian soldiers, who were assembled there, 12,000 strong, and with 3,000 Russians formed an army of 15,000, and took possession of the city of Baku, and nobody on this side of the world

knew what he was doing there for weeks. But he defeated the Turks and defeated the Tartars, and by terrific fighting held the city and the oil fields during that great drive, in which the Germans claim they would have been successful if it had not been that he choked off their fuel supply. If that is true, and Ludendorf says it is—and I suppose he is as good a witness on that point as anybody—then we are indebted to Bagratooni and his Armenian Army for the German defeat on the western front.

History tells us that when Allenby was around Jerusalem, and when he took Damascus, he had 8,000 Armenian soldiers in his army, and he said that if all the Turkish Army had been there he could not have beaten them, but that thousands of them were in Armenia trying to beat the Armenians. They had assembled 30,000 or 40,000 men who did splendid fighting, and held thousands of those Turks from fighting Allenby. Twice they turned the scales, and we owe these men who fought there some consideration. That is why I have asked you for 15 minutes.

They have formed a little country from Russian Armenia. Their capital is there at Erivan, a thriving city about 20 miles from Mount Ararat. This place here—north—is Tiflis, a city of 200,000 people, the capital of Georgia. Here is Baku—on the east—which is now in a Mohammedan country. The European conference, I understand, has announced Azerbaijan—Tartars—and Georgia, two nations, as free and independent nations; down here [pointing south on map] is Persia.

I thought that I would make a motion here to-day, including in one amendment Turkey and Armenia and Georgia, but I realized that if Armenia is attached to the Persian Legation it will be much preferable. There is no railroad to Persia's capital, Teheran, and there is very little for an American to do there. We maintain a minister there, who comes from the district I have the honor to represent, and there is about as little to do there as at any place to which we send a minister anywhere on earth.

Our minister to Persia ought to be transferred from the city of Teheran, which is away from any railroad or sea, and placed at Erivan in Armenia. The ministry should read "Minister to Armenia, Georgia, and Persia." My amendment now offered is to perfect that plan. The countries are contiguous. The railroad runs from Erivan to Tiflis, to Batoum on the Black Sea, and to Baku on the Caspian. You can go by rail to Baku and sail from there by boat to the Persian coast, and then by automobile on a Russian-made road to Teheran. The road runs to Tabriz, the second city in Persia, where we have many enterprises. A minister at Erivan would be at the business center of four nations—Armenia, Georgia, Persia, and, if Azerbaijan is to be permanent, a fourth. We will then have at Erivan a minister to Armenia, Persia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, instead of one at Teheran, and it will not cost a dollar more than we are now expending.

Such recognition would go very far to stop the Turkish Government's murder of Armenians, and if we assure them a seaport at Trebizond or the Mediterranean, Armenia would need no more from Christendom but financial aid. This would be some acknowledgment of what Armenian soldiers have done for our Allies.

If Andranik is not entitled to a little courtesy from this Republic, why did you not tell him so when he took his sword in hand and proceeded to fight the enemy? For years he fought them. He fought them in 1904, and they ran him out, and subsequently his life was not safe. When this war began he went back there. You did not give him a gun nor ammunition, nor did any other civilized nation.

Mr. JUUL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. JUUL. Is this what the gentleman proposes to do, simply to give an ambassador to one State the additional title of minister or ambassador to certain other countries?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. JUUL. I do not see how that will cost this country a dollar.

Mr. LITTLE. It will not cost a cent. All that will be necessary for the committee to do is to have the point of order withheld, if it is not too late to do that. These people refused to treat with the Turks. Why did they not make the point of order then against Andranik? Bagratooni fought them there until they shot one leg off of him, and he is limping around this town now on one leg, seeking to get a little consideration from you. He is one of the greatest military chieftains in this war. He was Kerensky's chief of staff in this war. He is now here, and when he asks to have his country given some little recognition you make a point of order. Andranik, like Marcos Bozzaris, fought without soldiers and without ammunition. He fought with an independent command in Armenia. When he got done fighting Germany and Turkey they said, "For God's sake choke off that little Armenian mountain chief." He established his Government at Erivan, under the shadow of Mount Ararat, where Noah lodged. He did that without any encouragement from anybody. Why did you make a point of order on this now? The Turks gave way. He has beaten them to a standstill, and they got tired fighting him.

I know that the British Empire has not given to his country this recognition that I suggest, but they are not in the same position that we are. You must remember that there are just about as many Moslems under the British Empire as there are Christians. I do not blame the British Government so much for their policy. Almost half of their subjects are Moslems. But our people are Christians. Ours is not a Moslem country. The statesmen of this Republic are not afraid of what the statesmen of England fear. We are not afraid of insurrection here. But the British statesmen are afraid of insurrection in their Arabian countries and in Egypt and among the millions of Mohammedans in India, and they must go slowly in protecting Armenia against the Turks and the Tartars who surround them, or at least they so think.

Mr. BEGG. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. BEGG. Has the executive department recommended this?

Mr. LITTLE. No; it has not. I do not know why the President of the United States takes the view he holds, but I suppose he takes a view similar to that of England. It may be that the influences and circumstances by which he is surrounded tend to make him believe he can not cut loose from the views of Clemenceau and Lloyd-George. I think perhaps he would be glad if we went ahead and relieved him of a little responsibility in this matter and took a different view of this question from the view entertained by Great Britain and France. France is understood to desire to get possession of all this territory [indicating on map] around the Mediterranean. Right here, in Cilicia, there are 200,000 Armenians. The French are going to take control of that. I am not now urging that we put an army in there nor to do anything except to say to Armenia, "We will treat you as well as we do Persia. You will have the man we send to Persia sent to your country. We will have a minister there to recognize your Christian nation." That will be the effect of this amendment, and no more.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LITTLE. With pleasure.

Mr. SNYDER. What will the Persians say about that?

Mr. LITTLE. The Persians will have nothing to say about it. They have indeed very little to say about their own country. For years either the Russian or British influence has dominated Persia and controlled its Government. Our business with them is of no importance and their business with us is of less. There is no reason why we should maintain an embassy there. Erivan is on a railroad line that makes it a better city for Persians to reach than their own capital in all probability. If we continue at Teheran we will not assist in any development of the country or get any results. From Erivan among the Armenians, who are great business men as well as great soldiers, commercial influences will soon extend to all parts of Persia. It would be a vast benefit to Persia to make the change and transfer our minister from Teheran to Erivan, for it will open up a new world to them. It is the Armenians who opened up the big oil fields at Baku and carried on most of the big business enterprises in the Turkish Empire for centuries. The Armenians are always a helpful people in any community, in any country, and this change to Erivan, their capital, will really help Persia as much as it will Armenia, except that it carries with it their recognition as a Republic.

If we had recognized the independence of the Republic of Armenia two years ago and given them a little financial aid for military purposes so that they could equip their armies and maintain them, they would now have a hundred thousand men in arms and have long since driven the Turks out of Trebizond, as they did, and out of Cilicia, and brought peace and the beginning of prosperity to all that wretched country. In 60 days they could raise, mobilize, and equip 60,000 of the best soldiers in the world under Andranik and Bagratooni right now, and whip the life out of the Turks, if they could secure financial assistance. Armenia has never asked for a mandate with a great army from America or any other country. All they ask is enough help to enable them to stand on their feet and shake the Turks' grip from their throat before the Russian Soviet has a chance to overrun their country.

A regiment or two of marines perhaps, a few American officers perhaps, and a few millions of money we have spent in other places, are all the Armenians want.

Why do not our congressional committees call before them and give hearings to Andranik and Bagratooni? Why do not the Secretary of State and the President of the United States give audience to these fighting men who had as much to do with our final success as any similar body of ten times their number anywhere on earth? If our Government had recognized them a year ago the Turks would have felt that we meant business, that Christianity was back of them, and that it was dangerous to murder an Armenian. All they needed was a policeman's badge from Christendom. They enrolled beneath the star of Bethlehem 1,600 years ago when our ancestors were pagans in the woods. If this is a Christian people, we should act like Christian people. The bankers at Paris can dicker in the tobacco trade at Trebizond and seek to control what should be the Armenian ports on the Mediterranean; Great Britain, which is almost as much of a Mohammedan Empire as it is a Christian Empire, can pause before the possible wrath of a Moslem world, but America has a higher code of morals and a loftier aspiration and a mightier responsibility.

Armenia seeks no mandate. All she needs is thorough recognition, a port by the sea, and a military equipment to fight their own battles. The Georgians and the Armenians are rivals in the east. If an effort were made to give Armenia access to the sea through Georgia and its port of Batum, one would simply precipitate further rivalry and final warfare. If Armenia is to be free and maintain herself, if the east is really to become a Christian east and a prosperous east, America should stand shoulder to shoulder with this little nation, not by a mandate, but in a way the Armenians ask, by giving her a seaport and material equipment and $50,000,000 worth of seed for the next crop, which is the only charity that they ask. You must get over the idea that the Armenians are helpless beggars crying for aid. They have never asked any armies from anybody. They have done a thousand times as much for Christendom in the last five years as Christendom ever did for Armenia.

Armenia is not asking any mandate. Give her arms, now lying idle; ammunition, now stored; economic aid; an American minister at Erivan; and a door to the sea of her own, untrammeled by Georgia or France. The cry of Ajax is Armenia's.

> Dispel this cloud, the light of Heaven restore;
> Give me to see, and Ajax asks no more.

If Ludendorf and Allenby tell the truth, the war would not have been won when it was but for the fight that these martial mountaineers, these Scotchmen of the Orient, put up at Baku, in Karabagh, and in Turkey itself. Give them their seaports on the Black Sea or the Mediterranean, and in a year they will have railroads built to whatever ports you give them and be in touch with the world. If Christianity gives them a little money, Armenia will take care of itself, just as she has done so far wherever she could get the ground to stand on and draw a long breath and start a fight against the Turks and Tartars.

But a little longer, a little more of neglect from Christendom, and Armenia will after all these ages be no more, and Christendom will cry with Lady Macbeth, when it is too late, "There is blood upon these hands." Is it possible that after all these half dozen years of sacrifice and struggle Christendom will forget that little nation which was the pebble upon which the enemy slipped and fell? Is it possible that the only nation which came out of this great contest having won its freedom sword in hand from our foes shall now be denied the ordinary justice that business common sense suggests? Mr. Chairman, I would not wish to be the man upon whom could be fixed the responsibility of denying the recognition for Armenia which my amendment would carry, and for one I am determined that my conscience shall not bear that burden. If America longer turns a deaf ear to these people, not all the waters in the rough, rude seas can wash the blood of the Armenians from the hands of Christendom.

Mr. ROSE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. ROSE. The newspaper dispatches indicate that France wants to take possession of these territories. I understand they claim that it is a sort of Alsace-Lorraine proposition. What have you to say about that?

Mr. LITTLE. France never had any rights in Cilicia. It is a big thing when you attempt to interfere with France and England about these matters. The French and British have troubles of their own, and naturally they seek to control the trade of the East, even if the Armenians suffer. But America has no such difficulty. The committee should wave the point of order and permit us to send an embassy to Armenia and give them a real standing, or they must share with the State Department the responsibility for our neglect to accord the safety for Armenia our action would assure. They should allow us to insert here an appropriation that will provide for some recognition of and send a representative to the Christian State of Armenia. It is 16 centuries, gentlemen, since that nation became a Christian nation. Either the United States is a Christian Nation or it is not. If it is not, let us quit making a bluff that this is a Christian Nation. I do not pretend to be as much of a Christian as some of you, officially, but I am enough of a Christian to believe that those people who for 16 centuries have upheld the banners of Christianity in the Orient should receive American arms and recognition now. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kansas has expired.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

What the Radicals Are Advocating.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY U. HARDY,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 8, 1920.

Mr. HARDY of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I desire to extend my remarks by giving just a few more of the views of the radicals of this country. The radicals are scattered through quite a number of groups. Perhaps the I. W. W. is the largest group. The Socialist Party has been split up into three groups—Socialists proper, or the right wing; Communist Labor, pretty radical; and Communist Party, left wing, extremely radical. There are dozens of other radical federations, societies, leagues, and groups. Attorney General Palmer says 472 radical papers spread the doctrines of the radicals through the United States, 222 printed in 23 different foreign languages, 106 in English, and 144 coming in from foreign lands.

And now I wish to give you some brief samples of what these radicals stand for, told in their own words. If you read between the lines you will see some things not in the type, although the written words are pretty frank.

The Communist Party has issued a manifesto in which it says:

> The Communist Party recognizes that the American Federation of Labor is reactionary and a bulwark of capitalism.
>
> Councils of workers shall be organized in the shops as circumstances allow for the purpose of carrying on the industrial union struggle in the old unions, uniting and mobilizing the militant elements, these councils to be unified in a central council wherever possible.
>
> It shall be a major task of the Communist Party to agitate for the construction of a general industrial union organization embracing the I. W. W., W. I. I. U., independent and secession unions, militant unions of the American Federation of Labor, and the unorganized workers on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle.
>
> The Communist Party shall keep in the foreground its consistent appeal for proletarian revolution, the overthrow of capitalism, and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> Communism does not propose to "capture" the bourgeois parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it.

Let Mr. Morris Hillquit, who is a prominent Socialist, and came near being elected mayor of New York, speak of his party. He says:

> The split in the ranks of American socialism raises an interesting question of policy. What shall be the attitude of the Socialist Party toward the newly formed "communist" organization?
>
> The division was not brought about by differences on vital questions of principles. It arose over disputes on methods and policy, and even within that limited sphere it was largely one of emphasis rather than fundamentals.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> Let us center our whole fight upon capitalism, and let us hope our communist brethren will go and do likewise.

The official publication of the bureau of information of soviet Russia recently made this announcement:

> Mr. Morris Hillquit has accepted the post of counselor of the Russian soviet bureau in the United States. Mr. Hillquit will be in charge of the legal department of the bureau. * * * Mr. Hillquit has been in close touch with Mr. Martens and his bureau from the very day of Mr. Martens's appointment.

A brief extract from Vincent St. John's History of the I. W. W. will give you a little idea of its aims:

STRUCTURE OF THE I. W. W. AND METHODS.

In its basic principle the I. W. W. calls forth that spirit of revolt and resistance that is so necessary a part of the equipment of any organization of the workers in their struggle for economic independence. In a word, its basic principle makes the I. W. W. a fighting organization. It commits the union to an unceasing struggle against the private ownership and control of industry.

There is but one bargain that the I. W. W. will make with the employing class—complete surrender of all control of industry to the organized workers.

The experience of the past has proven the mass form of organization, such as that of the Knights of Labor, to be as powerless and unwieldy as a mob.

* * * * * *

As a revolutionary organization the Industrial Workers of the World aims to use any and all tactics that will get the results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organization to make good in their use. The question of "right" and "wrong" does not concern us.

No terms made with an employer are final. All peace so long as the wage system lasts is but an armed truce. At any favorable opportunity the struggle for more control of industry is renewed.

The Industrial Workers of the World maintains that nothing will be conceded by the employers except that which we have the power to take and hold by the strength of our organization. Therefore we seek no agreements with the employers.

Failing to force concessions from the employers by the strike, work is resumed and "sabotage" is used to force the employers to concede the demands of the workers.

The future belongs to the I. W. W. The day of the skilled worker is passed.

Eugene Debs, convict and Socialist candidate for President, wrote in his own book:

It is a question not of reform, the mask of fraud, but of revolution. The flag, the only flag of freedom, we reaffirm it and on this day pledge anew fidelity—come life, come death—to the blood-red banner of the revolution.

The Appeal to Reason says:

Labor demands all the products of its hands—and it is going to have them, let the consequences be what they will. It may cause the slaughter and massacre of millions. None has a right to live who will not help to produce the wealth that sustains the people of the planet.

The Workers' Council of Butte recently ran a full-page advertisement in the Butte Daily Bulletin, a portion of which is given here:

The working class of all countries must unite and down this brutal, cunning, robbing capitalist class.

The working class must act as a class. Fight en masse. Class action and mass action are the same.

Are you with us, fellow workers? This is a call from your mates in the factory—your comrades in oppression.

Are you a coward or a red-blooded rebel? If you are a cowardly cur, then do your master's bidding, help him to crush your class, stab the whitened bosom of your sisters and wives, and hold your children in the hell of capitalist slavery.

If you are a rebel and hate your master's bloody, greedy rule, then arouse your fellow workers to action. Raise your banner high. The day is here. Push back the tyrants. Rip their hypocritical masks from the faces made horrible by their greed. Down with them, you sons of freedom!

No compromise! No reforming slavery! No more red herrings and sops to quiet our voices!

Down with capitalism! All power to the working class! We have nothing to lose but our chains; we have a world to gain!

Come on, you sons of toil, be you an artisan in the factory or a worker at the plow! Come on! Down with capitalism! Up with the glorious commonwealth of the workers! Come on!

Victory to the working class; down with capitalism.

WORKERS' COUNCIL OF BUTTE.

(Paid advertisement.)

Here is a new code of morals suggested by the International Socialist Review:

THE NEW MORALITY.

The new morality says:
Damn interest!
Damn rent!
Damn profits!
Damn agreements!
The power must be taken out of the policeman's club!
How?
Anyhow!
Why?
Because it hurts our class and is therefore immoral.

The guns mustn't point our way if they aren't spiked, because they are liable to go off and hurt us, and that would be immoral.

So we must spike the guns or turn them round. Anyhow, and because it hurts our class and is immoral.

If we go on strike we must strike quickly, sudden, and certainly. Don't give the boss time to think or prepare plans. He might get the better of us and that would be bad for us and immoral.

Strike when he has a big order which he must fulfill. It will hurt him more and us less, and that is moral.

Tie up the industries in town, all the industries in all the towns, in the whole country, or in the whole world if necessary. The strike will end quicker and we will starve less, and that's good for us, and therefore moral.

Don't strike for more than you have a right to demand.

You have a right to demand all you have power to enforce.

I could quote from dozens of platforms and manifestos, from hundreds of papers and people, and fill a thousand pages with these exhibits, but we will let it go with these few samples, surely enough to indicate that honest labor may well guard its ranks against anarchistic leaders, and that real dangers confront our land from red radicalism.

The Negro in the War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. KING,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 2, 1920.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, I heartily join in all encomiums upon the entire Army of the United States engaged in the late trans-Atlantic war, and I desire at this time to say a word in highest praise for the heroic part the black soldiers of this Nation played therein, and to congratulate them for their noble efforts in behalf of America.

Adjutant General P. C. Harris informs me that more than 384,000 colored enlisted men served in the Army during the period of hostilities. Of those approximately 368,000 entered the service under selective-service regulations; approximately 5,300 were members of the National Guard in Federal service; 5,571 were members of the Regular Army at the outbreak of hostilities, and approximately 5,800 were enlisted as volunteers, and were assigned to duty in accordance with the needs of the service.

Some 180,000 colored soldiers served with the American Expeditionary Forces, and it has been estimated that approximately 35,000 of these were members of organizations that were actually under the enemy's fire. Of this number 561 were killed in action or died of wounds received in action, and 1,378 were wounded.

No statement I have heard better expresses the fighting spirit of the black soldier than the words of Maj. Clark L. Dickson of the Three hundred and seventy-second Infantry. Maj. Dickson stated:

These soldiers have made a name for themselves in France that will never be forgotten. They trained for two months near the Argonne and then went to the Argonne front—and say, tell the people that these boys fought like hell from that time on until the end of the war.

While these negro boys were displaying this remarkable courage and valor on the field of battle in Europe, others were working in munition factories, steel plants, and armor shops producing the materials which enabled the United States and its allies to win the war. To them belongs a great share of credit for the overwhelming defeat of the Teutonic powers.

In this connection I desire to state that there are millions of negroes in the United States who are law-abiding, peaceful, and vital factors in our great industrial life, and by their daily life and conduct reflect credit upon their race and contribute to the upbuilding of the communities in which they live.

The Farmer and the City Dweller.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE MacGREGOR,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 31, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 13931) entitled "A bill to authorize the association of producers of agricultural products."

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, there are many questions vitally affecting the American people, but none is more important than food. I fear that the people of the Nation as a whole are blind to the serious situation that is confronting them.

The boys are leaving the farm, farmers are unable to hire men to work the farms, and the prospect is that this fall the people will find that food prices will go sky-high.

This will cause greater discontent and perhaps serious disorder in our midst. For years there has been an antagonism between the city and the farm. There should never have been any antagonism because each is dependent upon the other. The city is more dependent than the farmer.

One great problem that we must solve is the elimination of the great cost in getting food from the farmer to the city dweller. There must be a greater degree of cooperation between the farmer and the city man to this end.

A group of men in the city of Buffalo known as the food section of the Wholesale Merchants and Manufacturers' Association have taken the intiative in this important matter; and, to the

end that other cities may pattern after Buffalo, I take the liberty of inserting a declaration of principles of the association for the guidance and information of the Members of the House:

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES FOR THE GREATER FARM PRODUCTION CAMPAIGN OF THE WHOLESALE MERCHANTS AND MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF BUFFALO.

We believe the time is here when there should be a better understanding and cooperation between the people in the cities who are consumers, manufacturers, and distributors of the products of the farm, and the people on the farms who are the producers and the backbone of the Nation.

We are of the opinion that the farmer is the most independent factor in our modern American life; that he does not need charity nor condescension; that for the welfare of the Nation there should be a spirit of frankness and helpfulness between those in urban communities and those outside.

We believe that unless the farm can be made to offer equal chances for education, emolument, and advancement compared with other major occupations, the present high type of American farmer may pass away and be succeeded by an inferior type detrimental to the best interests of the country; and to work toward securing these advantages to people in rural communities shall be part of our problem.

We recognize that fully one-third of our population is essential to the production of foodstuffs for the other two-thirds, and it therefore is essential that we must spend on our tables an amount sufficient to insure adequate compensation to the farmer that he may enjoy those cardinal benefits of our American Constitution—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We assume that the most important part we can play in this situation is that of educating the people of the city to a better understanding and sympathy with the farmer and his problems to the end of getting the needed cooperation between city and country. It is apparent that civilization can not properly function on a six-hour day, and that the farmer should not be called upon to do all the honest labor needed. To bring about a better conformity between farm labor and city labor conditions and an equalization of the burden borne by each shall be our aim.

We hope to work with the farmer in easing his labor problems, improving his means of transportation, fighting legislation aimed against him, and making it easier for him to manage farm finances.

The Right of Farmers to Organize.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY T. RAINEY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 31, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 13931) to authorize the association of producers of agricultural products.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, this bill is a substitute for the Capper-Hersman bill. It authorizes farmers, planters, ranchmen, dairymen, or fruit growers to act together in associations, corporate or otherwise, with or without capital stock, in preparing for market and in marketing in interstate and foreign commerce the products of their members. I predict that it will pass the House by a very large majority, indeed, and that it will also pass the Senate. It will be signed by the President and will become a law. This gives to farmers the rights which are in effect exercised under the law by all the branches of industry with which they come in contact. The farmer is the only producer who is now compelled to accept for his products exactly what a combination of wholesalers and middlemen are willing to pay and no more. He is also compelled to pay for his farm implements—his machinery of all kinds—exactly the price a combination of manufacturers tells him to pay, and he is permitted to pay no less.

ALL OTHER LABORERS ORGANIZED.

The farmer is a skilled laborer, the highest skilled laborer in the modern scheme of civilization. All other laborers are permitted to organize and do organize. They are permitted to bargain collectively and do bargain collectively, and to-day 5,000,000 laborers are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, fixing their own wages, and the amount of wages they fix is reflected in the increased cost of farm implements 8,000,000 farmers are compelled to buy.

During the war three-fourths of our soldiers came from the rural sections of the country. Exemptions given to farmers upon the theory that they were engaged in an essential occupation were few indeed. Boys who had worked a few weeks in boiler factories clinching rivets were regarded as skilled laborers whose work was essential and were exempted. Farmers did not complain. They produced bread grains and food animals on a scale heretofore unprecedented in the history of nations. They were told that "food would win the war," and food did win the war. Other laborers refused to work over eight hours a day. The farmers worked eight hours during the war, but they worked eight hours in the morning and eight hours in the afternoon of every day, assisted by their boys who were too young to go to war and by their wives and daughters.

FARMERS PRODUCING NOW AT A LOSS.

Responding to commands from Washington they speeded up the production of foodstuffs until now the production of foodstuffs exceeds the demand, and with our foreign markets shut off prices have declined until farmers are producing food animals and dairy products at a loss. I know what I am talking about. I am a farmer myself, and farming and dairying is my only occupation.

FARMERS CONFRONTED WITH ORGANIZATIONS.

To-day when the products the farmer produces are ready for the market he finds himself confronted with organizations of numerous individuals—organizations permitted by the law of the land—in control of the railroads of the country. In the Pennsylvania Railroad system alone in January of this year there were 100,000 stockholders. There are hundreds of thousands of railroad owners all over the United States who fix the charge to the farmer for transporting his produce to the markets of the country, and they are permitted to fix the charge under the direction of an agency of the Federal Government. When the farmer gets his food animals to Chicago, or Kansas City, or St. Louis he finds himself confronted with a combination of packers who pay for produce of this character just what they are willing to pay and no more. He is compelled to accept the price they make, and they make, all of them, the same price every day. One packer will buy the produce of many thousands of farmers at his own price. The farmer buys all of his implements from a combination of manufacturers, which has been slowly forming for many years. There is no competition now in the markets in the matter of the sale of farm machinery and farm implements. He pays just what they tell him to pay.

FARMERS HAVE SUBMITTED UNTIL NOW TO THESE CONDITIONS.

For a long time the farmers of the land have submitted to the exactions and the conditions imposed by all these organizations, which are considered necessary in order to sustain the complicated machinery of civilization, until at last the farmer is ready to organize and in his own interest to demand the opportunity, with his own organizations, to confront the organizations which are opposed to him and to bargain and deal collectively with the organizations which bargain and deal collectively with him.

FARMERS NEVER STRIKE.

Farmers never strike. I am wondering what would happen if they did; but with the present prices for farm produce, you can not expect farmers to work and to labor and in time of peace to produce food animals and bread grains at a loss. Unless the farmer is given this opportunity to organize and to obtain a fair living wage for the work of himself and his family, he will produce less and less of food animals, and less and less of bread grains, and the sections of the country to suffer from this inevitable situation will be the great cities and their thickly populated suburbs.

MOVEMENT TOWARD THE CITIES.

Of course, there is a movement from the farm toward the cities. Boys go to the cities to obtain the higher wages offered in the cities and to participate in the pleasures and in the comforts possible in the cities. They go to the cities in order to work less hours per day than they are required to work on the farm. The movement toward the cities is one of the alarming features of our present-day civilization. It is absurd to expect the farmer to be compelled to compete with the wages paid in the cities as the result of the demands of organized labor. To-day the wages of farm labor go ever higher and higher. The farmer can not produce and meet the conditions which confront him, including the price of labor on his own farm, unless he is permitted to organize and to bargain collectively in this age of collective bargaining.

FARMING, BIGGEST BUSINESS IN THE WORLD.

Farming is the most important business conducted in the world, and we are the greatest agricultural nation in the world. Our farms under intensive cultivation are capable of producing more than they now produce for our increasing population, but if we are to get a movement back toward the farm from the crowded centers, we must be able to make farm life more attractive. The farmer's wife is entitled to the conveniences in her house that the more fortunate dwellers in cities possess. She is entitled to running water, to sewerage, to electric lights, to all the modern conveniences which make life in the cities attractive and easy. The farmer, himself, is entitled to power machinery and to the numerous conveniences which a larger income would make possible in this day of progress.

RIGHT TO ORGANIZE AND TO ELIMINATE WASTE.

The right to organize and to eliminate the waste between the farmer and the actual consumer will in the end result not only in larger profits for the farmer but will result in decreased prices to the consumer. Produce from the farm for which the farmer receives $1 reaches the consumer now at a cost of $2 or more than that. Much of the cost of distribution is waste. Organizations of farmers can do much toward eliminating the waste which occurs somewhere between the farmer and the consumer in the cities, waste which benefits no one but which ought to be eliminated.

THIS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

I have stood always for measures which benefit the great farming section of our population, and I expect to vote for this measure. It is a step in the right direction—a long step in the right direction—but only the first step. In this period of unrest, which permeates this Nation and the entire world, we depend first of all upon the sanity and the patriotism of the farmers. I predict that the small measure of relief granted by this bill will not be refused. I expect this bill to pass the House by one of the largest majorities any measure has received in the House in recent years.

The United States Railroad Labor Board, Sitting at Chicago, Should Not Delay Action. Profiteers Should be Prosecuted and Punished. Railroad Employees Must Have Quick Relief.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WELLS GOODYKOONTZ,

OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 28, 1920,

On the conference report on the bill (H. R. 12775) to amend an act entitled "An act making further and more effectual provisions for the national defense and for other purposes, approved June 3, 1916.

Mr. GOODYKOONTZ. Mr. Speaker, a previous Congress, of which I was not a Member, and of which the Democrats were in large majority, during the period of the war passed a bill taking over the railroads, agreeing to return them to the owners when the war was over and to pay the owners a rental equal to the average earnings for the three years prior to the war.

As a Member of this body I believed it my duty to carry out the agreement so made. I therefore voted for the great appropriations necessary to pay the rentals and also the deficit—loss in operation—of over $1,000,000,000, and also voted for the bill authorizing the President to return the roads to the owners according to the agreement previously made. But the point I am coming to is this, Mr. Speaker—I have just returned from my district, and while there I had occasion to make some inquiry of railroad employees as to how they were getting along, and I found that many of these men were not making much more than enough to pay their grocery bills. The men need a raise and need it badly. They must have help and have it quickly. The people of this country do not want labor to be borne down. The men who toil with hands and brain represent the great majority of our people. They must not be pauperized in order that the profiteer may satiate his greed. At Williamson, W. Va., my wife paid, for not more than enough food to feed my family for one day, $8.50. Here are some of the costs: A loaf of bread 15 cents; a pound of sugar 35 cents; one cucumber 35 cents; 2 grape fruit 45 cents; a steak, no larger than ones hand, 90 cents.

Railroad men in West Virginia are of the best of men, but unless their wages are raised or the profiteers strangled, I can not say what course they will pursue. Having in mind that I ought to lend my efforts in their behalf, and I am only one of 435 Members of this body, I sent by wire, on Friday of this week, the following message:

UNITED STATES RAILROAD LABOR BOARD,
Chicago, Ill.:

Four months have now elapsed since the transportation act became law, and wage demands of railway employees remain unsettled. As Representative in Congress of employees of the Norfolk & Western, Baltimore & Ohio, Chesapeake & Ohio, and Virginian Railroad Companies, I respectfully, but earnestly, insist that you proceed with the greatest possible speed in the readjustment of the wages of the men whom I have the honor to represent. The executives have conceded that the employees are entitled to relief, and my own investigation fully confirms that view. A just and speedy settlement of the great question before you would be appreciated not only by my constituents but by all others as well. An award of the character mentioned, aside from doing justice to the men, would have a sedative effect upon public nerves. The men in my district have been patient and long-suffering, but they should not be expected to remain so very much longer. Appreciating your difficulties and responsibilities, may I express the hope that a favorable award may soon be forthcoming?

WELLS GOODYKOONTZ.

In reply to this message, I received from the board the following letter:

UNITED STATES RAILROAD LABOR BOARD,
Chicago, Ill., May 29, 1920.

Hon. WELLS GOODYKOONTZ,
Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your telegram of the 28th, addressed to the board, insisting that we proceed with the greatest possible speed, received and laid before the members of the board for their information.

I assure you that the board is proceeding with all energy that it is capable of and with all speed that it is possible to exercise consistent with sound judgment and discretion.

We note you say you appreciate the difficulties and responsibilities of our position. I hope you do, but am sure you could have no adequate idea of the full extent of the difficulties nor the complications that surround us unless you were in our position and had seen and know what we do. It is quite difficult to take a step without danger of creating more dissatisfaction and disturbance than now exists. Every member of the board fully and keenly appreciates the necessity for as prompt relief as possible, but we also see and realize the complications and difficulties that surround the matter. I can assure you that as soon as the board can arrive at any solution which will give even temporary relief that can be afforded in a shape that will not do harm, the board will act.

Yours, very truly,

R. M. BARTON, *Chairman.*

Mr. Speaker, there are about 110,000,000 people in the United States, divided into about 22,000,000 families. Each of these families must have food to eat, clothing to wear, and fuel in winter to keep them warm. These—food, clothing, and fuel—are fundamental necessities, absolutely essential to human existence.

The constantly mounting cost of living, with no signs of abatement, has served to create an intolerable condition and in the minds of the people a feeling of alarm and resentment that bodes no good for the Republic, which, if not corrected, will lead to anarchy, revolution, and ruin.

When a person suffering with pain applies to a physician for relief the doctor proceeds to make a diagnosis, recognizing the disease from its symptoms. This involves a discovery of the cause of the disease; and having made the diagnosis and discovered the cause, he applies the remedy. In like manner must we proceed in respect to the ailment of the body politic, the collective body of people living under an organized political government. The procedure, however, is simplified from the fact that we already know what the disease is, for unmistakably it is "the high cost of living," virulent in form, malignant in character. Its symptoms are sharply defined, and these, without blinking, stare at every householder in every business transaction. We see its manifestation in the purchase of groceries, such as butter, eggs, bacon, and sugar; dry goods, especially woolen and cotton garments; and in shoes, hardware, drugs—everything. Not long since my wife and I, in order to make some little purchases, went into a large department store in the city of Washington. The prices were astonishingly high, and my attention was drawn to the troubled countenance of the almost innumerable shoppers who were there to purchase the necessaries of life; there was written upon almost every face a tragedy. Many of these shoppers were wives and mothers compelled to keep their purchases within the limits of the breadwinner's income.

The burden has fallen with greatest force upon the men who work for wages, the salaried man and woman, including teachers and ministers; also upon professional men. What the disease is we well know; but the question is, What caused it and why is it not remedied?

Mr. Speaker, to those of us who have "eyes to see and ears to hear" the cause is well known, and the reason why the cause is not removed is equally well known. That cause is the profiteer. The profiteer in time of war has become the profiteer in time of peace. Congress can not help the situation; its function is to make the laws; the Executive alone has the power to enforce them. No legislative body on the earth ever gave to a head ruler, by comprehensive law, more power than Congress has given unto President Wilson. No monarch that has sat upon a throne was ever clothed with any greater authority than that with which our President was and still is invested. The war, in legal theory, has not ended. The Lever Act, which gave the President unlimited authority as respects food and fuel, including price fixing and prosecution of profiteers, is still in force.

Last summer, after the Congress had been in session almost continually for four years, the Members voted to take a short recess in order to get a much-needed rest and to return to their homes and find out the views of their constituents upon

public questions. Upon being informed that this had been done the President, without consultation with Members of the House, and, as I am told, not even with the minority leaders, demanded that the Members stay in session to pass a law, which he later recommended in his message, giving the Attorney General more power in relation to the prosecution of profiteers in the necessaries of life. The House of Representatives reversed its action, and the Congress stayed in session and enacted into law the measure referred to, notwithstanding the Members thought that the President and his Attorney General had already on hand statutes broad enough to send every profiteer in this broad land to prison. Armed with the old law and the new law, the latter written by his own hand, what did the Attorney General do? Nothing; practically nothing! In the words of one of the Senators, "the Attorney General has set a few mouse traps when he should have been setting bear traps." Flying the black flag of piracy, with their felonious fingers in the pockets of the people, the profiteers have plied their trade unmolested and unafraid. Not only has there been a lack of prosecution of profiteers, but the opportunity for their successful operation in holding up and gouging the people has been created by the administration, as I shall now proceed to show.

Among the factors contributing to the high cost of living there has been mentioned the fact that, by reason of the war, large bodies of men had been consuming and not producing. I concede the proposition to be true. Again, that there is an inflation of the currency, which proposition is likewise true, but this is a condition the administration could have remedied if it had wanted to. We have one case of where a reserve bank rediscounted for a member bank paper in volume ten times equal to the member bank's capital. The purchasing power of the dollar has become very weak. A dollar will now only buy about one-third of the commodities that it could have bought four years ago. The Government should stop its printing presses and call in some of its regional bank currency.

But what to my mind is the one great reason for the high cost, the one that affords the profiteer his opportunity to rob the people, consists in the fact that heads of departments and of bureaus in the Government, by "policies"—administration programs—relating to the disposition in France and the refusal to dispose of in this country, of military supplies, have guarded and protected the profiteer while he committed his depredations by extorting from the people an outrageous price for everything the people had to buy.

The Government, not knowing how long the war would last, undertook to lay in a large supply of practically everything the country produced, and the buyers went out—some of them losing their heads—and bought up what was in many, if not in most, cases the total national production, with the result that when the armistice was declared there were on hand billions of dollars worth of food and other supplies. Had the Government officials released these supplies at reasonable prices to the public that action would have put the profiteer out of business.

Again, the profligacy and, in many cases, almost if not wanton waste of supplies has contributed to the artificial shortage.

Mr. Speaker, I have not the time to dwell upon this phase of the matter, but I trust I may be pardoned for referring to a few cases—out of a thousand cases just as bad—particular instances which clearly show how the profiteer has been protected and the people punished by the so-called "policies" of the administration.

At the conclusion of the war the Army had on hand, in France, 22,000,000 pounds of sugar, 74,000,000 pounds of bacon, 6,000,000 pairs of shoes, and nearly 2,000,000 blankets. These are only a few of the things that were turned over to the French. The money value of the articles so sold amounted to $259,000,000 for food, $323,000,000 for clothing, $310,000,000 for automobiles, and $352,000,000 for hospital supplies. The total value of the goods delivered to France was $2,000,000,000. The price paid by France was $400,000,000. We therefore got 20 per cent, or one-fifth of their value, for these staple articles.

In ascertaining the values as above given the War Department made an allowance for depreciation, disregarding the fact that since the goods were bought the prices had greatly enhanced in value. The dock supplies and much permanent improvement were thrown in for good measure.

In addition to the goods sold—practically given away—in France, the War Department had on hand in the United States the following supplies: 38,536,000 pounds of bacon, 39,000,000 pounds of roast beef, 36,000,000 pounds of corned beef, 42,000,000 cans of tomatoes, 39,000,000 cans of baked beans, 20,000,000 cans of corned beef hash, 42,000,000 cans of string beans, 38,000,000 cans of corn, 32,000,000 cans of peas, 27,000,000 pounds of sugar, 5,250,000 pounds of oleomargarine, and 1,250,000 pounds of butter. This enormous supply of foodstuff the War Department purposed at first to dispose of in Europe, the Secretary claiming that there was "only a limited market in the United States." Congress, however, passed a resolution to the effect that these goods be disposed of in the United States. A few of the goods have been put on sale, and in small quantities dribbled out, at high prices, at certain points in such manner as not to affect "the stability of the market."

The foreign sales were under the management of Hon. C. W. Hare, director of sales, who, under the Secretary of War, was drawing a salary of $25,000 a year until Congress cut it down to $12,000. I omitted to say that Hare sold at a very low price a large supply of foodstuffs and clothing to the Belgians. Of the clothing so sold may be mentioned 22,000 overcoats, 412,000 trousers, 500,000 shoes, 165,000 leggins, 1,100,000 heavy socks, and 36,000 coats.

Had Congress not intervened, the entire Army supply would have been sent to Europe, and there sold or given away in order to avoid the effect of turning these goods loose upon the American market and the breaking up of the game of the "gentlemen" who are now gutting the American people.

The War Department, having generously sold to the French sugar and bacon, beef and corn and beans at 20 cents on the dollar, might at least have sold similar goods to the American people at the same figure.

I must close, but before doing so let me speak of one other article—shoes. The father who has to provide shoes for a half dozen children knows that something is wrong, and that he is being denied relief. The cause of his grievance is due first to the action of the War Department in buying up all the leather in the country and the making of nine saddles for every Cavalry horse; and, secondly, to the failure of the Attorney General to prosecute importers, manufacturers, jobbers, and others whose profits, in many cases, for a single year were sufficient to equal the capital employed.

For the reasons I have assigned the United States Railroad Labor Board should act with all haste possible.

Association of Producers of Agricultural Products.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILTON H. WELLING,

OF UTAH,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 31, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 13931) to authorize the association of producers of agricultural products.

Mr. WELLING. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for the pending bill. The opponents of the bill have failed to show that its enactment will injure any proper business interest in the country.

The foundation of all our prosperity depends upon the agricultural happiness and well-being of our people. The farmers of America are its most indispensable asset. They represent our surest protection against unsafe thinking and radical action. The red flag of anarchy and discontent does not and will not fly from the homes of those who own and cultivate the soil.

It has been asserted that these men will combine to charge an extortionate price for farm produce. I think it will have the opposite effect. One of the chief elements to-day in the high cost of farm products to the consumer is the multiplicity of transactions between the point where the food is produced and the ultimate consumer.

The individual producer to-day who offers the products of his farm to the market has very little to say about the price he shall receive. He immediately becomes the victim of a group of speculators, who assemble what he offers for sale with what his neighbors offer of a similar sort, and these men who produce nothing proceed to juggle the market and charge the consumer much more than he would pay if he conducted his business with the farmer or the representative of the cooperative farm organization. Whenever an individual farmer seeks to sell his products he meets in the market place the representatives of vast aggregations of organized capital, that always determine the price of his products.

The products of the farm are usually perishable, and the individual farmer has not the facilities by himself alone of reaching the consumer before his products have spoiled. Nobody realizes this so well as the forces who, with abundant

capital, have organized their business to take every advantage of the farmers' need in this regard. The remedy lies in permitting and encouraging the farmers to cooperate in building storage facilities for the protection and preservation of their products until they can ship them to the markets direct and thereby eliminate the waste and added expense now involved in our present expensive methods of distribution.

I belong to the largest and most successful cooperative farm organization in my State to-day. Its influence has always been helpful to the farmers and also to the consumers of the products of the farm.

It is the most helpful agency in the county in which it is located in stabilizing the price of farm products and educating the farmer in obtaining a just and fair return upon the capital he has invested and the industry and thrift he has practiced.

While this bill confers on farmers certain privileges, it can not properly be said to be class legislation. Business corporations have under existing law all the powers and privileges sought to be conferred on farm organizations by this bill. Instead of granting a class privilege, it aims to equalize existing privileges by changing the law applicable to the ordinary business corporations so the farmers can take advantage of it. Instead of granting to farmers a special privilege, it aims to take from the business corporations a special privilege by conferring a like privilege on farm organizations. It is no answer that farmers may acquire the status and secure the rights of a business corporation by deeding their farms to a corporation. That is neither practical nor desirable from any standpoint. Without doing that they can not associate themselves together for the mutual profit of the members without being threatened with prosecution.

The Par-Check Clearing System.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. P. NELSON,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 1, 1920.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make a brief, plain, and businesslike statement as to the par-check collection proposition, for, as many of you know, I have been a country banker for a long period of years. I am now president of two State banks in the rural districts of my home State, and one of these banks is a member of the Federal Reserve System.

This exchange charge under discussion is the result of a bad practice begun many, many years ago. In the early days and up to even within 15 to 20 years ago it was customary for people in the smaller sections to purchase a bank draft at the bank to pay bills for merchandise, and so forth, bought in the centers; but as competition grew between the banks in the rural districts, and as the bankers cultivated and invited bank accounts subject to check, it was customary in the solicitation between the banker and his customer to say, "Open up an account with us, and your check on our bank will be just as good at the county seat or in the city as your check would be drawn upon the bank in the larger places." And in this way the smaller banker drew to his own counter bank accounts that might have gone to larger centers. Then it developed that these checks drifting to the centers would come around through city correspondent banks by letter to the bank upon which they were drawn and the bank would then impose a charge—sometimes more, sometimes less—many banks making it as much as they thought the city bank would stand. Of course, you understand, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, the depositor who gave the check originally knows nothing about this charge. He supposed when he made the check and paid the bill that the one who received the check would get 100 cents upon the dollar, and up to this time, generally speaking, he still thinks so.

The country banker securing this exchange or fee, having had this privilege for so long a time, naturally thinks he is entitled to it and dislikes to give it up. The city bank does one of two things—it either absorbs the charge made and charges this fee to expense and forgets it, because they want to keep the country banker's favor and deposit account, or else he bravely and justly charges it to the man who deposits the check—wholesaler, jobber, or whoever else he might be. The wholesaler or jobber will either absorb it, like the banker did, or else he will add it to the next bill of goods that goes out and will collect it in that way. In the long run, Mr. Speaker, it comes out of the public in one way or the other. Therefore, the question at point is whether this is a just charge or not. For my part, I believe it is a situation evolved from a bad practice, and am in full accord with the Federal Reserve Board and Federal reserve banks in their effort to clear this situation up in as quick and just a manner as possible, so that these checks given may circulate without any charge as freely as possible to expedite commerce and to impede as little as possible what I choose to call the main circulating currency medium of our country.

In round numbers, the total actual money of all kinds circulating in this country at the present time is about $7,000,000,000. The total deposits in the national banks of the United States are around $16,000,000,000 and in the State banks around $22,000,000,000, the grand total deposits in all banks of the country being about $37,500,000,000. It will, therefore, be seen by this brief, plain statement of actual existing facts that the checks upon bank accounts constitute over five-sixths of the circulating medium of the country as it relates itself to bank accounts.

Anything that can be done to annihilate time and distance as well as cost in the transfer of funds between points in this country is not only a great but a real service to our commercial and economic life.

The marked increase during the past year in the volume and amount of checks cleared through the Federal reserve banks shows that member banks are depending more and more upon the facilities afforded by the Federal reserve banks. The daily average number of items handled by the Federal reserve banks during the 30 days ending December 15, 1919, was 1,412,737, as compared with a daily average during the same period in 1918 of 912,752, and the daily average during the entire 12 months of the year of 1919 was 1,110,791, as against 612,731 during the year 1918. For the monthly period between November 16 and December 15, 1919, the daily average amount represented by the items handled by all Federal reserve banks was $631,650,320, as compared with $524,407,631 for the same period in 1918. The daily average value of items increased from about $190,000,000 in 1917 to $420,980,209 in 1918 and $524,960,916 in 1919, an increase of nearly 25 per cent during the year 1919 as compared with the year 1918.

Quoting from the annual report of the Federal Reserve Board, I desire to remind you gentlemen of the House that the Federal Reserve System, in the gold-settlement fund, made up of deposits of the Federal reserve banks, now in deposit in Washington, cleared between the 12 districts of our country in 1919 about $74,000,000,000 and the intradistrict clearings on transactions within the districts themselves was in the neighborhood of $135,000,000,000. We have heard a good deal about what would constitute a minimum charge, namely, one-tenth of 1 per cent, and you can readily understand that if this charge had been made upon these transactions last year that some one would have had to pay a sum of at least $135,000,000, based upon this charge.

I do not care to go into the discussion as to who ought to pay this, but wish to state here emphatically that I believe that the Federal Reserve System has performed one of the greatest services in the handling of finance that this country has ever seen and has made a distinct step in advance as to the check-clearing program.

In my judgment it would have been impossible to have performed our task during the great World War and to care for our own extraordinary needs if it had not been for the operation of the Federal Reserve System. It has proven its ability to expand under these unusual conditions, and we are now going through the experience of a contraction or deflation so important to return to a normal condition. Personally, I have the utmost confidence that the system will function and prove its ability to meet all the complex economic and financial conditions under which we live at the present time. We should give our first attention to some of these situations incident to this important matter rather than to the details that have been presented to us by a small minority of the banks of our country. I have listened with interest to the hearings before the committee and have heard nothing from the bankers as to an appreciation of the position they occupy with the public. Many of them do not seem to appreciate that they are quasi-public institutions, that the people are depositing money with them, and in making their checks and sending them all over the country they create what is called in the banking business a tremendous "float," and all the time these bankers are lending these deposits out at 6, 7, and 8 per cent. These checking accounts, you understand, do not draw interest like savings accounts, and to my mind they ought to be very glad and willing to remit for these checks without charge.

By way of suggestion, as a practical proposition I trust that the Federal Reserve Board and Federal reserve banks will create at the earliest possible date in all the States many clearing districts. I mean by that that in any city where any considerable number of bank accounts are kept that the banks of that city will cooperate with the Federal Reserve System in establishing a clearing district and by use of the telegraph make their clearings nightly at the Federal reserve bank of their district. I believe that something of this kind would bring about the annihilation of two days or more of the checks in this "float." For instance, in my own State the city of La Crosse could be used as a clearing center for at least 125 banks, in the capital city of Madison perhaps 70 banks, and at Grand Rapids 40 or 50, and in other points like Superior, Wausau, and Green Bay, wherever any considerable number of banks keep their accounts, every effort should be made to create clearing districts. I believe also that this would be the means of lifting a great burden from the Federal reserve banks in the operation of their transit departments. It would be mutually helpful in bringing about adjustment of the present very vexatious exchange problem.

When that has been worked out and accomplished then, Mr. Speaker, every city bank should be compelled to credit on receipt and collect at par all items sent them on all points, because most of the city banks can utilize the Federal Reserve System in their clearings and ought to be able to participate in the telegraphic advices. In any event the city banks, because of the tremendous float out against them, ought to be willing to do their part. It is not only incumbent upon the country banker but is even more so upon the city banker to expedite this matter of the collection of checks. That is one of the causes of the grievance of the small country banker, that the city banker is getting the larger and greater benefits and at the expense of the country banker. The city banker being close to the Federal reserve bank can use the system more freely and quickly than the country bank in the outlying district can. They can absorb and hide, if necessary, some of the charges that they make, which the country banker can not do. Therefore I wish to contend, Mr. Speaker, here to-day that in order to expedite the clearings and to cut down time and distance and expense the Federal Reserve System might well establish the clearing points in each State where any number of country bankers are now keeping reserve accounts and might develop a par clearing system, a little more neighborly and a little closer to all the smaller or country banks, which would cut down the time of credit of clearings from one to three days. The Federal Reserve System might absorb telegraph and postage charges necessary to expedite these collections, bringing about the debits and credits necessary so that the city banker could, as I have suggested above, practically eliminate the charge he is making on some of his customers and because of the much larger amount of items out against him in the float of the country put everything upon a par basis in his bank as received. Of course, there may be some trifling losses here and there. There will always be in any considerable transaction of this kind and magnitude, but the banker ought to be willing to absorb this for the general good and efficiency of the service to the public. From figures which I have obtained from the Federal Reserve Board, as of date April 15, including nonparring branches of banks and private bankers, the reports disclose that there are in the United States 2,167 banks upon which the Federal reserve banks can not collect at par, either directly or through agencies. Of the above total the fifth (Richmond) district shows 786, divided as follows:

North Carolina	456
South Carolina	330

The sixth (Atlanta) shows 1,210, divided as follows:

Alabama	199
Florida	132
Georgia	529
Louisiana	101
Mississippi	106
Tennessee	143

The eighth (St. Louis) shows 60, all in the State of Mississippi. The twelfth (San Francisco) shows 111, divided as follows:

Arizona	20
Washington	36
Oregon	55

It will thus be seen that out of approximately 30,000 independent banks of the United States there are only 2,167 banks that are not upon what is called the "par check" list. When you realize that under our system of banking, where every banker is independent, we have very little of the branch banking system, you will see that this is a remarkable achievement. It is a most difficult task to secure the cooperation of all these independent units in this way. Unless it shall be done by the Federal Reserve System in some real effective, efficient way it never can be done. Therefore we should give our best attention to improving this system and not tear down or disturb what has already been accomplished. I am satisfied that the smaller bankers of our country will cooperate as they have in every other movement of this kind, as was evidenced by their patriotic and enthusiastic support of our country during the stress of the war, if the city banks will give their cooperation and not insist upon some of the charges and practices that they now are insisting upon.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, as I have tried to state in this simple, plain, matter-of-fact way, I desire to go on record as being opposed to any bill or any amendment that will insist on all the banks of the country going back to the old system of exchange charges on checks, which, taken as a whole, is a step backward in our banking operations. We have made too much progress and have accomplished too much to take any such backward step now. Only two possible solutions are open to us, Mr. Speaker. One is for the approximately 3,000 nonmember banks to join the other 27,000 banks in the par-check clearing system and place the entire banking system of America, as it ought to be, on the par list. The other is for all banks, both member and nonmember banks—State, National, and private—to make a certain scheduled exchange charge. Personally, I certainly hope, Mr. Speaker, that all our banks—private, State, and National—will have the forward vision and all go on the par-check clearing system. The banks owe it to the depositing public, whose interest they primarily should serve—as well as their stockholders—to make all checks clear at par everywhere within our national borders. But we must insist on the square deal to all banks, and treat large and small banks, country and city bankers, alike.

The Army Reorganization Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. ANDREWS,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 28, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 12775) to amend an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provisions for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916, and to establish military justice.

Mr. ANDREWS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, as we now have quite definite figures as to the size of the standing Army authorized by the reorganization bill, we can approximate its cost.

The Secretary of War, on behalf of the Federal administration, submitted estimates and recommendations for an Army of 576,000 enlisted men and 28,000 officers. Under existing conditions the annual cost of an Army of that size would be $1,152,000,000. The administration also insisted upon the adoption of universal compulsory military training, which would have added several hundreds of millions of dollars more to the expenditures of the Regular Army.

When asked why so many enlisted men and officers would be required, the Secretary and Chief of Staff replied that 275,000 to 300,000 men would be needed in Europe to enforce our obligations under the League of Nations. This point is emphasized anew by the recent official request made by the President to Congress for authority to accept a mandate for Armenia. The granting of that request and the assumption of such a mandatory would necessarily require national and military forces sufficient to control the Turkish Empire. Nothing but real physical force would be sufficient to maintain order and enforce law in the land of the Turks.

An Army on foreign soil would be much more expensive than it would be at home. Thus it is clearly disclosed that the Federal administration desired to reorganize the Army and conduct compulsory training that would have required at least $2,000,000,000 per year.

The Republican Congress replied to those demands by authorizing in its Army reorganization bill a standing Army of 280,000 enlisted men and 17,800 officers. The annual cost of an Army of 280,000 enlisted men will be approximately $560,000,000. Thus it appears that the Republican Congress has given to the country a standing Army that will cost less than the proposed

Democratic Army by $592,000,000, to which must be added the hundreds of millions of dollars that would have been required for compulsory military training. This is practical retrenchment.

These figures illustrate the measure of difference between the requirements to maintain an autocracy and the appropriations that will be needed to support a Republic, which we intend to restore on the 4th of next March.

Let those who appear as counsel for the defense of the administration explain the reasons for their excessive demands made with respect to a standing army.

The various bills that have been proposed for the establishment of compulsory military training would require a very large increase of Federal expenditures each year.

Our military and naval resources are fully adequate to existing needs. The armies and navies of the Central Powers were overthrown and destroyed in the recent war. The nations of Europe have been pressed to the verge of bankruptcy.

Nation building must be the occupation of the European countries for a long time to come. In view of such conditions there is no necessity for compulsory military training in this country at present. Instead of increasing our annual expenditures, we should reduce them as rapidly as possible. A retrenchment in our expenditures is absolutely necessary to the reduction of taxation, which ought to be brought about without undue delay.

It will be necessary to expend vast amounts of money in caring for the disabled soldiers, sailors, and marines of the recent war. That duty is first and imperative. Some wise provision should be made soon to restore in part the losses sustained by those who were called to the colors during the recent World War. Before beginning to spend billions more to prepare for an imaginary war we should do something for the boys who won the last war. If a bill should be brought before the House to establish compulsory military training, I will vote against it. I will do all I can to reduce expenditures and thus prepare for a reduction in taxation.

All the energies of our people should be directed as urgently as possible to the tremendous task of reconstruction. We have done our part during the period of the war and now our domestic affairs should be restored as speedily as possible to healthy, normal conditions. The millions of young men who served our country so valiantly during the period of the war are passing back into the avenues of business life and should receive every possible encouragement and assistance.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CALEB R. LAYTON,

OF DELAWARE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 1, 1920.

Mr. LAYTON. Mr. Speaker, the bill under consideration is known as House bill 13931 and has for its object the authorization of the producers of agricultural products to organize for their own protection and benefit. I shall not detain the House long in presenting my views on this bill. I deem it my duty, however, to declare them.

As I conceive it, there is no special privilege granted in this measure. The only purpose is to restore to the farmer a natural right which the antitrust law is regarded as depriving him of. If there be any special privileges at all there should be a special privilege for the farmer before any other class of men. But there is no special privilege. The farmer seeks only to be allowed a natural right which every class of people enjoy and employ every day. Physicians get together all over the land in their various communities and establish fee bills. Lawyers do the same. Banks raise and lower as they please their discount rates. The manufacturer has his association in which he establishes the wholesale price of his products. The retailer everywhere has the same cooperative association. Stripped of all regulations, it is a primary and sensible thing to do for any class engaged in any particular enterprise. It has been the common-sense course pursued by men in every calling. The fact is the farmer in this country has been remiss for generations in not organizing, as all other occupations have done, and in consequence he has come to be regarded as one who should not organize and receive the benefits from such cooperation.

It has only been a few years, especially since the war began, when the farmer received anything commensurate with his risk, his labor, and his investment. The present price of his production depends upon an inadequate supply, occasioned by the shortened production of the world.

A few years ago the average farmer in the United States was the most hopeless and poorly paid of any man in the country. The man who dwells in a city, rides in his limousine, robes himself in his finely spun garments, and who works for eight hours a day, or even the laboring man engaged in the various industrial pursuits, who gives eight hours to labor—neither of them has any conception of a farmer's life with its unremitting toil and constant risk. The farmer takes his chances with storms and hail and frost and drought. He has little or no protection against the ravages of insects or of disease in his poultry or his cattle or sheep or hogs. After toiling for months he may see the whole fruit of his labor destroyed by a single storm.

Hitherto, whatever he grew some other power fixed the price of his crops. The commission merchant robbed him and the retailer profited selfishly from him. On the other hand, when he went to market to buy himself the things he needed the merchant fixed the price of the things the farmer bought and the manufacturer that of his plows, his harrows, his mowers, and his reapers, and every implement that he employed on his farm. And so with the manufacturer of his fertilizer. Everything he bought he had to pay a price fixed in advance by some one else. Everything he sold of his own production some one else fixed the price which the farmer was compelled to take, the price fixed by another than himself. It was a poor game, in which he generally got the worst end of the bargain. It has only been by reason of the automatically high prices growing out of the World War that he has begun to realize a proper profit from his pursuit. The time has gone by when the farmer will be content with a state of affairs in which the value of the productions of his labor shall be determined by other people, while he himself takes the price as fixed by others. He is no longer content to be put in the class of boobs, to be looked down upon as the menial class of our national life, a man fit only for raising the foodstuff and the material for clothing.

He does not demand a Shylock share, but does want—and should have—more of the values of his productions than he has been receiving. He does not want to raise potatoes for a dollar a barrel and see the retailer of this city get 30 cents a peck for those same potatoes. I have witnessed this fact right here in this city before the war. The potatoes in question were grown at Norfolk, with the Potomac River flowing to the very doors of the consumer, making the cheapest transportation in the world. And yet the grower received a dollar a barrel and some one else $2.60.

Mr. Speaker, gentlemen may talk and insinuate that this bill is class legislation and, upon academic lines, oppose it, but the fact is there are other special laws upon our statute books called class legislation; and I only desire to say that if this bill is to be defeated, then in all justice those other statutes should be repealed. But, Mr. Speaker, let us get the true view of this matter—a proper perspective—so that the natural as well as the righteous proportions of the subject may be clearly discerned.

From the beginning of time, when "Adam delved and Eve span," the sons of the soil have been the great conservators of human life. If a nation ever died, it was always by conquest or by the failure of its agriculture. The bosom of our mother, the earth, is the source of all our basic natural strength, and has been so for every people upon the earth who ever arrived at power and distinction. From her generous bosom flow the indispensable provisions for man; from her we get food; from her we get clothing for our bodies; from her the material for what we call home—the house of shelter. Without her provisions we would starve, freeze, and go shelterless. Personally, I yield to the man who tills the soil the first place in the ranks of man's nobility. Without him we would all perish, though we had the gold of a Golconda and the gems of a Kimberley.

> Out in the storm, with its cold, icy breath
> Bringing you nearer and nearer to death,
> What, man, is your gold, though piled high and higher,
> Compared to the warmth of a sheltered fire?

And I venture to predict, Mr. Speaker, that if the time ever comes in our national life when the farmer is regarded as a lower order of man, if he is looked upon as worthy merely of a contemptuous consideration, and carelessly esteemed as a factor in our national life and stability, that time will mark the hour when this Nation begins its downward course to extinction.

Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for this bill with not only a clear conscience but a satisfied judgment. I see in it a fine purpose and beneficial results. I believe that through the association and the cooperation which this bill will permit the farmer to

make there will follow not only a greater intelligence in the handling of his production but an uplift to the pursuit, and in this way check the course of that dangerous stream which now flows from the farm to the cities. Something must be done whether in this way or in some other to make pastoral life more attractive than the wide, white way of our cities and towns, and I believe that this bill is the beginning of that very desirable result.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. AYRES,
OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 1, 1920.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I am not as favorably impressed with this measure as I am with what is known as the Capper-Hersman bill, but I have long since learned that in this body you can not get legislation just as you would like it, and have to take the best you can get. It is better, I hope, than no legislation at all. I am ready to do anything within reason to encourage agriculturists and to check, if possible, the abandoning of the farm for the city.

Experience, as well as statistics, teaches us that practically every city of any consequence in most any section of the United States is overcrowded; and by reason of this, living conditions are almost intolerable; but notwithstanding this, people continue to pour into the cities. This increase is not due to immigration from foreign lands but from the farms. Higher wages and shorter hours have lured not only the farm hand but many young farmers to the city, and to such an extent it is alarming.

There has been a prevelant idea for some time among city folk that the farmer is growing rich, that he is one of the profiteers. That this is a mistaken idea needs no better evidence than that the urban population is rapidly decreasing while the city population is fast increasing. There is no mistake that the farmers are not now making money. This is due to a number of causes, some of which can not be remedied by legislation, but some could no doubt by good State laws, and if need be by national laws.

We can, by legislation, bring about a condition of economy of distribution of farm products, which means greater profits to the farmer and cheaper food to the consumer. To bring about such results means organization on the part of the farmers, and also all the assistance that can be given by both State and National Governments.

When I was a member of the Post Office Committee I offered an amendment to the appropriation bill to provide sufficient funds to enable the Post Office Department to establish and operate enough motor-vehicle routes to thoroughly demonstrate what could be done by the Government in delivering produce direct from the producer to the consumer, but it was defeated and the department was compelled to operate on a very small scale, but to such an extent, however, as to show that the producer gets far more for his produce and the consumer gets it for much less than he could otherwise.

For instance, on the 26th of August, 1919, a truck load of cantaloupes, consisting of 75 crates, was brought from Easton, Md., to Washington, a distance of 107 miles, at a cost of transportation of $21.44. The total postage derived from that trip was $50.25, a net gain for the Post Office Department of $28.81. These cantaloupes were sold to the consumers here at 5 cents each. At that time such cantaloupes were retailing at 15 cents and 18 cents each. This transaction saved the consumers here in Washington about $390, gave the producer a better price, and the Government lost nothing, but gained a little.

October 16, last, a truck load of eggs, consisting of 64 crates, was brought to Washington from Warsaw, Va., 248 miles' transportation, at a cost of $30.70. The total postage derived by the department was $39.68. These eggs were sold to the consumer for 57 cents per dozen, while eggs were selling here at retail for 70 cents per dozen. I could give many more incidents of this kind, but what is the use? As long as express companies and railroads are able to convince statesmen it would be foolish and a tremendous loss for the Government to embark in such an enterprise, it will never be done.

A lot of fellows had to be educated that parcel post would be a great blessing to the people. The express companies and railroads contended it would not, and a lot of Congressmen had to be defeated before it could be demonstrated. The same might be said of the rural-route system. It takes time, if nothing else, to educate some men. This will come about some day. In the meantime something else will have to be done; that is, a law permitting the producers to sell collectively their produce without danger of prosecution.

Those from large cities opposing this kind of legislation ought to take a broader view of the matter. You forget that the farmer can not at this time compete with the factory and other institutions in the city in bidding for labor, and this is intended to equip him so that he can. I do not think you need to fear the farmer will form a trust, but he must organize for the purpose of enabling him to market his produce on a paying basis or cease to do business. It is not fair to presume he will continue to do business at a loss, and he is not going to do it, either. Just for this reason many are quitting, as heretofore stated, and many more will quit, and the sooner some of you fellows here in the East get out of your heads the foolish idea that you have to oppose all legislation advocated for the benefit of the farmer the sooner you will bring about a condition, I hope, at least, that will prevent bread lines and hunger riots in your cities.

This measure gives them the right to organize and do business as an organization. In the opinion of many good lawyers they have had this right under the Clayton amendment to the Sherman antitrust law; but owing to the fact some have been arrested under the provisions of the Sherman antitrust law, it is thought best to make this exemption clause specific by separate legislation.

I can see no objection to this, and was very much in hopes the Judiciary Committee of both the Senate and the House would report out the Capper-Hersman measure, which, I think, is preferable to the present measure; but I have discovered in this House, and especially in this Sixty-sixth Congress, you had better take what you can get and be glad to think you can get anything.

Farmers' organizations all over the country have passed resolutions calling for the passage of the Capper-Hersman bill. I have also received one or two sets of resolutions condemning the present or so-called Volstead act, but under the circumstances feel that we had better take it for the present and be glad that this much has been granted.

Senator CAPPER has done all in his power to have the Judiciary Committee of the Senate jar loose his bill, and Representative HERSMAN and his friends, of which I am one, have done all in their power to have the Judiciary Committee of the House do likewise, but to no avail. The best is the present measure, and if this will in the least take care of the matter let us take it. Of course, it is at the closing hour of the session and may never see daylight in the Senate but suffer the same fate as the Capper-Hersman measure; that is, get chloroformed in the Judiciary Committee—and sleep. But let us hope not.

Postal Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, there is no branch of the Government service that means more to the business interests of this country than the Post Office Department. Almost every activity in this Nation depends for its success on the efficient handling of the mail of this country.

Without going into the intricate details of this great and important service, it is sufficient to say that the efficiency of this department must be due to the high order of service rendered by the post-office clerks, railway clerks, and letter carriers.

It was a matter of common observation during the war that the post-office clerks and letter carriers were burdened to the limit of endurance in handling the vast volume of mail which the war created, together with the sale and delivery of war-savings stamps, for which they received no additional remuneration. They did this work with a spirit that won the admiration of the American people as a whole. And they did it although it required many hours of overtime, for which they received no extra pay.

In connection with the legislation now proposed I wish to submit a few facts which have been compiled by the United

National Association of Post Office Clerks, showing the compensation of post-office clerks and letter carriers compared with salaries paid for similar service in other fields of endeavor.

The average pay of skilled labor and mechanics in this country is 81 cents per hour. Whenever this class of workmen put in overtime they are allowed time and one-half. In many instances the rate of pay for this class of labor for work performed after 6 p. m. and prior to 7 a. m. is at the rate of time and a half. As a rule when skilled labor works after 12 o'clock noon on Saturdays double time is allowed, which is also true when work is performed on holidays and Sundays. There are many employers now who have arranged systems of profit-sharing and other forms of protection advantageous to their employees.

When we come to consider the post-office clerks and letter carriers we find that their average pay per hour is 48½ cents, but in no instance do they enjoy the benefits which are accorded to skilled labor. The post-office clerks and letter carriers when they work in excess of eight hours only receive the regular rate, and the same is true with reference to Saturday afternoons, holidays, and Sundays. There is no profit-sharing incentive to stimulate their interest, nor are they given the benefit of holidays for recreational purposes. It must be remembered, too, that they are not granted sick leave with pay, as is the case with other employees.

There is a very large responsibility resting on these men, and the highest form of service is demanded from them, not only by the business man but by every householder in the land. I am in favor of this measure because I believe it will hold many good men in the service and attract others to it. As a nation we can not afford to let this important service break down by any shortsighted policy that fails to recognize the value of the service rendered by these men and the necessity for paying them a compensation that will enable them to live, educate their children, and save money for the future.

One Hundredth Anniversary United States Botanic Garden.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. NELSON,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 8, 1920.

Mr. NELSON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, May 8, 1920, marked the one hundredth anniversary of the United States Botanic Garden, located just west of the National Capitol in the city of Washington. A century ago the use of 5 acres of land was granted by Congress for a botanic garden. Later the area was extended so that at the present time the space devoted to both Botanic Garden and propagating purposes for public use is approximately 12½ acres. Of this, slightly more than 11 acres are included in the fenced area.

At the time the present site was selected, and even for many years thereafter, the garden was not the beauty spot that it is to-day. Most of the ground was low and marshy and exposed to the coming and going of the tides of the Potomac. Tradition has it also that the garden was the site of the early execution grounds of the city and that no less than five men were hanged there.

Up to the time the area now occupied by the garden was granted to the Columbian Institution for the Promotion of Arts and Sciences no effort had been made to develop the Mall as a park connection between the Capitol and the White House, as was originally intended, and which in time will no doubt be extended to the Lincoln Memorial, now nearing completion some 2 miles west of the Capitol. A number of years ago, in a movement looking to the restoration of the Mall to its original status, Congress paid the Pennsylvania Railroad $1,500,000 to remove its tracks.

Doubtless every visitor to the National Capital has enjoyed the Botanic Garden, especially in the summer season, but it is hardly probable that many are familiar with its history or know that it has frequently been a "bone of contention." Those who contend that the present location of the garden is inappropriate refer to the fact that the space was designed by President Washington and Maj. L'Enfant as an open approach to the Capitol. It is urged that it was not intended that this tract should be shut off by walls and fences as at present but should be subject to ornamentation and fountains. The location of the Grant Memorial, now after some 10 or 15 years nearing completion—it is to be hoped—was a step in this direction.

North of the main conservatory near the center of the garden is the famous fountain, sculptured by Augusti Bartholdi, which is described by many art students as the most beautiful in America. This was purchased by the Congress at the close of the Philadelphia Centennial (1878), where it had been on exhibition. The basin is 93 feet in diameter and the fountain throws a jet to a height of 65 feet. Spaced in the basin are a number of fancy sprays.

The fountain when in full play presents a beautiful effect, especially when reflecting the rays of the sun. It is wired with electricity, and, when lighted, presents a wonderful spectacle.

Owing to the limited supply of water and the necessity for conservation in lighting, the fountain has not been employed to its best artistic possibilities.

The greenhouses contain one of the finest collections of palms in the United States. This collection could not be replaced for many thousands of dollars. In fact, many of the palms are priceless. The greenhouses, however, are old and entirely inadequate and can not be properly heated. During the winter the palms and other plants for exhibition purposes have to be crowded into the houses and even piled on top of each other, rendering it impossible to show to advantage the really remarkable collection that has been gathered at great expense by the Government and by private contribution during the last 100 years.

In addition to greenhouses at least four times as large as those now in service, and of thoroughly modern construction, they should be heated from a central heating plant.

Permit me to call to your attention an editorial which appeared in the Agricultural News, a fortnightly review of the imperial department of agriculture for the West Indies:

> We have seen that botanic gardens in their origin were based on utility. This is perhaps the best distinction that can be made between their function and that of the public garden or park, where plants are grown primarily for purposes of ornament or shade. The essential difference is apt to become blurred, especially in the case of botanic gardens situated near to towns, and needs to be reemphasized from time to time. There is no reason why botanic gardens can not or should not be ornamental, but this should be strictly subsidiary to their main purpose.
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> What, then, are the proper functions of a botanic garden, large or small, in the neighborhood of a great city or in a small tropical island? First, there is the scientific function. New plants are introduced from other climates and other lands, and these are grown and studied so as to discover whether they are capable of adaptation to their new surroundings and whether they are likely to be of value, economic or aesthetic.
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> Second only, perhaps, to plant introduction should be the maintenance, so far as it is possible, of a representative collection of the more interesting and useful plants of the surrounding country, and especially of species allied to those in cultivation. The latter are of great interest to the taxonomist, to the plant breeder, and to the pathologist because of the likenesses and differences they exhibit in comparison with the species grown for use. In a cotton-growing island, for example, nothing could be more appropriate or more useful, so far as botanic gardens go, than a representative collection of the native cottons, many types of which are in process of extermination, owing to increasing strictness regarding close seasons. With them, it is quite conceivable, may be lost characters or qualities which would some day prove highly valuable.
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> Again, botanic gardens afford botanical students opportunity for research in plant biology and pathology. One can hardly place a limit to the benefits that agriculture and horticulture have derived and may derive from researches in this direction. Our modern science of genetics, for instance, is derived from the studies of Mendel in a monastery garden in the last century. By work on the lines indicated by his discovery races of useful plants are being multiplied and modified so as to be more exactly suited to the variable conditions in which economic plants are grown and to produce far greater crops than their ancestors. Studies which lead to such results can best be carried on in botanic gardens, where there ought to be found a greater amount of material and more scientific appliances than are possible in most private establishments.
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> Besides the scientific function of botanic gardens, there is their educational aspect. In an article on this subject in Science it is well remarked that the notion that knowledge can be acquired from books is too prevalent; the idea that one can read about nature and thus acquire knowledge of nature is as misleading as to suppose that one can acquire knowledge of business by reading about business. We must distinguish between information and knowledge. Information may be obtained by reading, but knowledge can only be acquired by contact with and experience of realities. Hence botanic gardens open to the public a source of real knowledge of plants; and there is no more pressing problem to-day than to learn how to grow plants and how to grow them in increasing quantities and of increased value in every possible situation. If made without insight into plant nature, efforts in this direction pass through a period in which knowledge is acquired through painful experience, very often with failure as the ultimate result.

As indicating the interest taken by Senators and Members in the garden, Senator RANSDELL, during the memorial proceedings for the late Senator Broussard, said:

> He was extremely fond of flowers, plants, and trees. He paid frequent visits to the Botanic Garden in this city, claiming that it rested his mind and body to look at and study "plants that God put on this earth for our benefit as well as our pleasure." On one occasion, while admiring some orchids in company with his particular friend, George W. Hess, superintendent of the United States Botanic Garden, he placed

his hands upon one of them and fondled it, saying, "To my mind there is nothing more beautiful in this world than a baby and a flower." He said of trees, "To love trees intelligently we must know them; we must be able to call them by name whenever and wherever we meet them. This is fundamental to any friendship."

Looking to a possible removal of the garden, various sites have been proposed. Rock Creek Park, containing 1,606 acres, in the northwestern suburbs of Washington, has been suggested. Another proposed site is Mount Hamilton. This tract, unfortunately, not accessible to many, fronts on the Anacostia River for a distance of about 9,000 feet, and contains 483 acres.

In advocating the Mount Hamilton tract it has been suggested by some that the Government would, following the purchase, then have ample grounds for experimental work, including the growing of various common vines, shrubs, and trees, largely fruit trees and berry-bearing vines. In answer to this, it may be said that the Government now has available the agricultural experiment farm, the tract at Rockville, Md., and hundreds of acres of reclaimed land in the Potomac flats.

We would look upon the destruction of the present garden and the removal to a site such as the Mount Hamilton tract as a serious mistake and inexcusable blunder, which many years and no reasonable sum of money could remedy. To convert the Mount Hamilton tract, much of it exceedingly rocky and poorly suited to the purpose proposed, into an ideal garden would cost more than the most optimistic can expect Congress to sanction. While we are not advised as to the purchase price of this land, it would probably be from $400 to $500 per acre, and even at these figures the large amount would represent but a beginning.

We see no urgent reason why the purchase of the Mount Hamilton tract, with a view to converting it into a great national botanic garden, should be urged at this time. If there is money available, some of it should first be spent in improving the present Botanic Garden. In this connection, I would suggest that the average Member of Congress, busy as he is, might well afford the time to visit this garden, enjoy its rare plants and flowers, and appreciate its possibilities. Once this is done all thought of removing the garden, starving it by inadequate appropriations, or destroying it by unfriendly legislation will cease.

It is true that when compared with the gardens of other cities and countries the Botanic Garden at Washington seems insufficient and is deserving of much more liberal support. The Royal Botanic Garden of Kew contains 288 acres. In addition, the 24 botanic gardens of the British Empire are closely associated and identified with Kew. Berlin has 1,325 acres in its botanic garden; Paris has 75 acres; Edinburgh has 58 acres; Glasgow 40 acres; Rio de Janeiro has 2,000. Shaw's Garden in St. Louis contains 80 acres and New York has 400 acres.

It may be said, though, that much that the National Botanic Garden in Washington lacks in size is made up in other ways. Here are many rare plants and historic trees. As far back as 1836 the naval appropriation act made provision for sending a surveying and exploring expedition to the Pacific Ocean and South Seas. This expedition consisted of six Government ships, which started out in 1838 and returned in 1842, bringing a large collection of natural history specimens which were later arranged and classified so as to be of the largest educational value. Specimens collected before and since that time have resulted in the assembling of a very rare and valuable collection of plants and trees. One of the largest single contributions came from the expedition of Commodore Perry to Japan. The visitor, as he is shown over the grounds, sees scores of historical trees. In the conservatory is an old date palm which from time to time has thrust its head through the skylight.

The geographical location of Washington and conditions as regards moisture and temperature are ideal for the growing of a very large proportion of the trees and plants native to America; hence it is especially desirable that a really national garden be provided for. Not everyone knows that there is danger of a great many of our once common trees and plants being entirely lost unless some special effort is made to save them. Then, too, the trees, shrubs, and flowers found growing wild in Maryland, Virginia, and bordering States should be preserved. Holly, once so plentiful and still comparatively abundant, is now ruthlessly destroyed at the holiday season. Dogwood, one of the most attractive of our profusely flowering forest trees, should be saved for future generations. The time may come when these among the most beautiful of our native trees will be very rare indeed. With the passing of these and all such berry-bearing trees and shrubs go the mocking bird and many other birds whose songs have added to the joy of living.

No recommendation looking to the removal of the National Botanic Garden, should such removal mean the destruction of the present garden, should be favorably considered at this time. Any attempt to change the location would result in the loss of rare trees, shrubs, and plants, many of which could not be replaced at any price. Some of these were years ago secured at great expense to the Government. This is notably true of the collection of palms and various other tropical trees and plants, the largest of which could not safely be removed. As everyone who knows anything about the difficulties to be experienced in moving even the hardiest of large trees, the attendant risk is always great. A number of years ago, when the miserably located Grant Memorial was agreed upon, it was necessary to remove one of the most famous trees—"the peace tree"—to another part of the grounds. This tree was successfully transplanted, but for the job the Government paid $5,000. This fee had been agreed upon with the understanding that if the tree did not live nothing was to be paid for the work. The tree referred to is but one of the many of great historic interest. On the grounds are trees planted by Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, and many others whose names are famous in America and abroad. Then, too, there are scores of rare trees famous for their unusual symmetry and beauty.

Still another objection to be urged against the removal of the Botanic Garden is that it would be inaccessible to thousands of people, especially the poor, cripples, and invalids who now enjoy it. One has only to take a trip through the grounds on any fair day in summer to verify the truth of this statement. Again, the average visitor who comes to Washington, even though his time may be very limited, is able to look in on the garden. While it is true that the grounds are far too small, this is no valid reason why the garden, in part at least, should not be continued in the present location. Additional acreage might well be secured in the immediate vicinity; then if a very much larger tract is needed for propagating and other purposes, it should be secured elsewhere.

The present garden, which is carefully looked after by Superintendent George W. Hess, needs but to be seen and studied in order to be appreciated. Mr. Hess, who was formerly connected with the Boston Public Gardens and who is recognized as one of America's leaders in his chosen profession, is a man of rare executive ability and possesses a genuine love for plants and flowers. It is Mr. Hess's ambition to see the United States Botanic Garden developed to be the best garden in the whole world; to be the model for others. To this end there must be more space, either by extending the garden in its present location or by providing more adequate grounds elsewhere.

In the proposed development and enlargement of the Botanic Garden the superintendent contemplates not only the establishment of an arboretum but also a botanical museum, if authorized by Congress, and he hopes to have provided an auditorium where weekly lectures can be given, and every advantage afforded to students of plant life in the National Capital. The superintendent is also anxious to have sufficient space so that practical gardening can be taught and where instruction can be given to school children in the best method of planting and caring for useful, ornamental, and other plants.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. W. LARSEN,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 12775) to amend an act entitled "An act making further and more effectual provisions for the national defense and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.

Mr. LARSEN. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I ofttimes wonder whether the average citizen of this country realizes the efforts that are constantly being made to impose unjust burdens of taxation upon the masses of our people, and to deprive them of the God-given liberties to which they are entitled, and for which our forefathers bled and died upon crimson fields of battle.

When we review the legislation attempted in the Congress during the past few months, and consider that which is too often accomplished, we no longer wonder that discontentment exists throughout the length and breadth of this country. We no longer wonder that dissatisfaction prevails in almost every home. The wonder is that the people do not rise up in righteous indignation and demand removal from office the would-be as-

sassins of liberty and free speech who pretend to legislate for their benefit.

Mr. Speaker, I realize the language which I use is strong, but I speak advisedly when I say it is true. If anyone doubts it, he has but to review the legislation recently presented and insisted upon in the Congress, especially the various bills culminating in H. R. 12775, which it is proposed shall constitute the military program of this Nation.

First, there was proposed a standing Army of more than 500,000 men, with about 36,000 officers. There was proposed a permanent conscription and compulsory military training system, which alone would have cost the Government $900,000,000 per annum. The proposed scheme, in the aggregate, would have cost $2,000,000,000 annually. Think of the outrage, gentlemen, that was not only proposed but insisted upon by leaders of the Congress.

The Wadsworth bill in the Senate, which received the sanction of that powerful branch of the Congress, not only contained a provision for permanent conscription, applicable to all wars and national emergencies, to be put into operation upon Executive order, without sanction of the Congress, but also a system of compulsory military training which would have taken the young men from every home, regardless of family conditions, individual or parental desire, and placed him into the Army for training. It sought to federalize the National Guard, and would have prevented the governor of any State from calling out the State troops without order from the President, no matter what emergency may have arisen.

All of this nefarious legislation would doubtless have become a part of the organic law of the land, except for the righteous indignation of public opinion, and the faithful service of a Democratic minority in the Congress.

But we will turn from attempts at legislation to actual accomplishments, and consider some of the provisions of the bill which those interested have succeeded in putting through both branches of the Congress.

The bill passed on Friday last week and forwarded to the President for approval creates an Army of 280,000 enlisted men, and, in round numbers, 18,000 officers—about 1 officer for every 15 men. In the name of God, what do we expect to do with so many officers? Has anyone suggested their legitimate use? Is it not a fact that the principal duty of many will be to sign the pay roll once a month and draw an unearned salary? By the provisions of the bill we shall have about twice as many officers as are necessary and as was ever heretofore permitted under permanent legislation of the Congress. The provisions of this bill under Government estimate make necessary an appropriation of approximately $500,000,000 per annum. Bear in mind this is for military purposes alone, and is exclusive of appropriation for the Navy.

But we will consider the measure a little further. We will refer to the Articles of War, the military law by which it is proposed to try any soldier who may be charged with a violation of rules.

Article 54 and those following and embraced in section 1 of said articles, generally speaking, provide that those convicted by court-martial shall be punished in the discretion of the court. It may be imprisonment for one day, for life, or it may be the death penalty; no one knows. No State would tolerate such laws to be enforced against those in civil life, and none would trust its officers, though elected by the people, with such wide discretionary power to punish violations of penal statutes.

Article 62 of said section provides that any officer who uses contemptuous or disrespectful words against the President, the Vice President, the Congress of the United States, the Secretary of War, or the governor or legislature of any State in which he is quartered shall be dismissed from the service and suffer such other punishment as a court-martial shall direct. It further provides that any person subject to military law—this includes the private soldier—who so offends shall be punished as a court-martial shall direct. This article, in my judgment, violates Article I of amendments to the Constitution of the United States, in that it constitutes an abridgment of the freedom of speech. It not only violates the Constitution, but it is antagonistic to every principle of democratic government. Any private citizen may criticize the President, the Vice President, the Congress, or other officer named. Why should the soldier be deprived of the right? The Constitution makes no exception, and I do not believe our military forces have so conducted themselves in times of peace or on the field of battle that they should be denied this right. Under the provisions of this article it is possible that one may receive the death penalty for a mere utterance of words considered contemptuous or disrespectful to an officer. Surely the American people are not ready to give consent to the enactment of such law.

Under the provisions of article 64 express authority is given for the infliction of the death penalty upon one who wilfully disobeys any lawful command of his superior officer. No matter how trivial the offense, the penalty may be death. Surely the American people remember the depredations committed by tyrannical officers under the guise of military discipline and law enforcement upon private soldiers during the late war. May the God of our fathers deliver the Republic from such an evil day as will justify the enactment of such law.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SYDNEY ANDERSON,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 1, 1920.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the following:

MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS BY HON. ANTHONY J. GRIFFIN, OF NEW YORK, AT THE AMPHITHEATER, ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY, VA., MAY 31, 1920.

"To those who served their country in its hours of trial and dedicated their lives to uphold its honor, a grateful Nation has set apart this day in loving tribute to their memory. Three generations gather here to express their devotion to the glorious dead and to the cause for which they died.

"Nearly three score of years have elapsed since our beloved land was drenched in the blood of civil strife. Brothers faced brothers and bore the brunt of battle to uphold the principles for which they stood. Time has erased the animosities of the age in which their struggle culminated. The flag of our country, which was carried to victory by our forefathers at Yorktown, New Orleans, and Monterey, soon again became the cherished emblem of a united people. The wounds of ancient strife are healed, and to-day our united country shows no trace of the conflict which once divided it.

"Year by year, with constantly thinning ranks, the veterans of that great struggle gather upon this day to renew old memories and to pledge themselves anew to the flag for which their comrades died. Venerable fathers, we salute you! We love your gray hairs and watch your steps with true devotion. We revere your patriotism and admire your example. We pledge ourselves, as true Americans, to cherish the high ideals for which you made your sacrifices. May your lives, like noble barks upon a placid stream, pursue the even tenor of their course, floating gently onward to the goal amidst the plaudits of your countrymen.

"A generation passed, and the sons of those who settled their grievances by the hearty handclasp of Grant and Lee at Appomatox rallied with spontaneous ardor to carry the flag to victory at Manila and Santiago.

"Comrades of the Spanish War, you also we salute! Spurred by no spirit of sectional jealousy, animated by no strong personal or national grievance, but inspired only by sympathy for a people struggling to attain its freedom, you threw yourselves into the conflict to uphold the highest and noblest ideals of our Nation. Your courage and devotion made the struggle short. You can not crowd upon your banners the names of many battles; but those which your valor won will ever remain your country's proudest heritage.

"Another generation passed. Again the tocsin of war sounded and the sons of those who gave freedom to Cuba came trooping forward from all parts of our land to extend a helping hand to stricken Belgium. The fear and horror of militarism strengthened their arms, inspired their hearts, and spurred their souls to deeds of glorious devotion.

"When the World War burst like a thunderclap from a clear sky it brought in its wake all the barbarites of medieval warfare—cities and towns bombarded without notice; bombs dropped from the skies on churches, hospitals, and homes; hostages taken and killed for the infraction of tyrannous and captious rules of war; poison gas and flame throwers to scald, to choke, to burn, and to torture were used for the first time by so-called civilized nations. In short, paganism revived and murder rampant throughout a maddened world.

"This was the war in which you younger men of our day were called upon to take a part. And right valiantly you bore your burdens. Our entrance upon this great war found the foe flushed with success and the Allies almost in despair. Impatiently, for long months, our boys in khaki were kept behind the

lines, training day by day for the great test when the signal should be given for them to measure their strength and courage with the foe.

"At last when Pershing gave the word like young lions unleashed they rushed into the line. Like adamant they stood against the human flood. From that instant the policy of the war was changed. A new factor had entered the fray, and the day for masterly retreats and orderly retirements passed away forever. The new order was onward, ever onward! Our beloved boys in khaki sprang forward at the call. The veteran Prussian troops gave way, beaten and discomfited. Columbia's sons proved themselves worthy of the best traditions of their sires and, by their deeds of valor, wrote in their blood the most brilliant page of American history.

"Veterans of sixty-one, comrades of ninety-eight, let us both unite in tendering the laurel to those worthy scions of our race. Let our heads be bowed in offering our tribute of respect and admiration to those sturdy men of our land whose bodies lie in hallowed graves upon the battle fields of France.

"Comrades of the World War, three generations salute you. The fates were kind at your birth in giving you the opportunity to take part in this historic conflict. You have added new prestige to the American flag and new glory to your country. Your names will shine among our Nation's heroes and serve as an inspiration for generations and generations of Americans yet to come. You have made the name of America revered and honored. Nations liberated by your valor and the sacrifices of your noble and heroic dead will record for all time your praises in their annals. You have confirmed our right to stand as the Good Samaritan among the nations of the world."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM D. BOIES,
OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 29, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 13931) to authorize association of producers of agricultural products.

Mr. BOIES. Mr. Speaker, judging from some of the speeches made in opposition to this bill, one can not help but conclude that there are some men who are not aware that the food that nourishes their bodies and sustains their lives comes from the farms of this country. They are not aware that the business of farming is the largest and most important single industry on the face of the globe. They do not appear to appreciate the fact that all the real success of other lines of business are primarily dependent upon the success of the farmers. Perhaps no criticism should attach to these gentlemen from the great industrial centers of the East. They have no knowledge of farm produce except as they have seen it on the platter and come in contact with it at the end of a fork or the side of a spoon.

It would be of great benefit to these gentlemen, and really helpful to the country, if they would make a visit to the great Mississippi Valley and learn what farming is and where the materials for their meals come from.

We of the West have fed them so well and so regularly that they have come to regard the question of food supply as a sort of inheritance, and have forgotten all these years to remember the western farmer in their "return of thanks."

We invite you to come West and witness the farmer and all the members of his family working from 14 to 16 hours a day, 8 or 9 months of the year, in order to maintain themselves in a business way, and while so doing producing the food for the Nation.

If you will come and get this first-hand information, and it should ever occur again that anyone attempts to handicap agriculture by an infamous "daylight-saving law," you will have more consideration for the hand that feeds you than you have had in the past.

We know you have called us "hayseeds" and cartooned us in fantastic garb, with whiskers, chewing at a straw or a spear of grass. For this and some other things we have forgiven you long ago, because you do not understand that the western farmer is as far removed in personal appearance from that picture as the people of Massachusetts are from the belief in "witchcraft."

Seriously the farmer is only asking Congress to afford him the opportunity to transact his business in such manner as will allow him a fair return upon his invested capital and a reasonable recompense for the long hours of service he is required to give to his business. He can not succeed with an 8 or 10 hour workday, and anyone offering any such testimony is not a competent witness and can not qualify as such.

The farmers of this country are entitled to graduation from the class of mere delivery boys. They have been kept in fourth grade long enough and now demand the right to stand on an equal footing with all "big business," to have some say as to how and to whom they shall market their produce.

Whenever the farmer buys from the merchant, big or little, he has always been obliged to ask: "How much?" And he has paid the price. When he has had anything to sell he has been obliged to ask: "How much will you pay to-day?" And he has been required to accept. No other man, or class of men, stand in such business relation in this country at this time.

The farmer does not expect to unduly profit by the enactment of this law, nor does he expect that the cost to the consumer will be enhanced. But he does believe that this bill, if passed by Congress and signed by the President, will eliminate two or three fellows who have stood guard, in their own interest, interlopers if you please, along the pathway from the farmer to the ultimate consumer, and appropriated a good share of the profits that rightly belonged to the farmer. There never was any excuse for some of these "middlemen," except that they found it profitable—"easy money"—to appropriate a goodly per cent of the fish that the farmer had caught and strung, as it were, when the farmer's back was turned.

The farmer's business is not like that of any other kind. It is not of one kind, like the manufacturer of clothing or steel rails. The produce from the farm flows to the market every day in the year and meets in competition with the produce of millions of farmers from the four corners of the earth. If it were possible for the farmer to store his produce it would not avail him anything, because the transportation facilities are not sufficient, and never will be, to enable him to market his produce quickly at a time when he might have influenced the market by hoarding. One great drawback is that the farmer is suffering mightily on account of a woeful lack of facility to get his goods on the market. He is usually the last man to secure a hearing. Hunger is about the only thing that opens the avenues to him.

The farmer's advocates have not occupied positions through which legislative benefits might be secured at all in keeping with the advantages resulting from the efforts of men favoring the general business of the country.

It has been contended that the Secretary of Agriculture is clothed with too much power; that he is likely to unjustly favor the farmer. In the first place, no man in that position could afford to be unfair or neglect to do his duty; and, in the second place, it is hoped that the day has passed when any dishonest man can remain long in office.

The Nation Should Be Aroused to the Danger of Peyote.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY L. GANDY,
OF SOUTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 1, 1920.

Mr. GANDY. Mr. Speaker, during the Sixty-fifth Congress the House passed a peyote prohibitory bill, but consideration thereof was not had in the Senate. That there was then and is now an urgent need for legislation on the subject is apparent to everyone who has given study to it. I have heretofore and in this Congress introduced legislation to prohibit the traffic in peyote, including its sale to Indians, introduction into the Indian country, importation and transportation, and providing penalties therefor. This legislation is urged by the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the Anti-Saloon League, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and scientists and publicists the Nation over.

Peyote or mescal is the button-shaped top of a cactaceous plant. Webster's Dictionary gives the following definition:

Mescal (meskal). [Sp. mezcal, fr. Mex. mexcalli.]

1. Either of two cactaceous plants of the genus Lophophora (L. lewinii and L. williamsii), having rounded stems or joints covered with ribbed tubercles, the tops being called mescal buttons from their appearance. The plant is used as a stimulant and antispasmodic,

especially among the Mexican Indians, who also employ it as a mild intoxicant in various ceremonials. Its effect is said to resemble that of Indian hemp. Among the alkaloids extracted from mescal are anhalonine, mescaline, and pellotine.

2. A colorless intoxicating drink distilled in Mexico from the leaves of various species of Agave, or Maguey.

3. Any plant which yields the liquor. The mescal magueys are probably quite numerous; they have thinner leaves than this yielding pulque.

The Indians of Mexico have been using mescal, or peyote, for many generations. "Medicine men" among the tribes there long ago used mescal, or peyote, in certain superstitious or alleged religious ceremonies, and as time passed its general use spread. Sometimes the users chew the dry "button," and sometimes a drink is brewed much as tea is made. The use is habit forming and larger portions are required to produce the same effect as one becomes more and more addicted thereto.

From the Mexican border the use of peyote or mescal has gradually spread over all the Indian country. I do not want to be understood that in the North any large percentage of the Indians are addicted to this drug, but I want to make it clear that there are to-day many users of it on most every reservation in the country, and on some reservations practically all the adult members of the tribe are using it. Within the past few years its use has spread to the district in South Dakota which I have the honor to represent in the House, and the so-called religious ceremonies incident thereto seem to be a cloak for what among the whites would be referred to as a drinking party or a carousal. These affairs are attended by Indians of both sexes, and the records of the United States court in South Dakota in the case of Harry Black Bear will disclose in no uncertain language the real character of these peyote-consuming meetings. The Indian referred to was arrested and tried in order that it might be definitely determined whether there is any applicable law on the subject. Although there was no question but what peyote had produced intoxication, and the jury so found, the court held, on motion in arrest of judgment, that there is no law of the United States under which the defendant could either be punished for the use of peyote or mescal or for its introduction on the Indian reservation.

It is true many Indians apparently in excellent health will be pointed to in an effort to show that the use of peyote or mescal is not harmful. Doubtless those are the moderate users thereof. The excessive users show the full effects of the drug, as shown by the testimony in the Black Bear case. Enfeebled in mind and body, they pay the penalty for partaking of this poisonous substance which the Congress has not yet prohibited.

I have heard it argued that this drug is immune from prohibitory action by Congress because it is now often used in certain alleged religious ceremonies, but it takes a far stretch of the imagination to believe that the religion is based upon that article which is used in the "communion." Peyote would have to be the religion itself if it is to be sacred under that clause of the Constitution which guarantees freedom of religious worship. The plain truth is, this so-called religious use is a camouflage for the protection of this one intoxicating drug, the use of which among the Indians of the United States is not prohibited by statute.

Scientists who have investigated and studied mescal or peyote and its use tell of its harmful effects. The drug Lophophora Williamsii has been identified with the Aztec narcotic, the so-called "Sacred Mushroom," or Teonanacatl; also with the Peyotl Zacatecensis or the Devil's Root of ancient Mexico, and the "Mescal Buttons," of Texas. In recent times this drug has been carefully studied by chemists, and among them Heffter, who in 1896 obtained from the bean four alkaloids—anhalonine, mescaline, anhalonidine, and lophophorine. With three of these alkaloids extensive experiments have been made on various animals. The general effects produced by anhalonine include tremor, opischotonos, followed by convulsions, rapid breathing, and inability to move. Mescaline produces tremor, dilated pupils, violent convulsions, stiffening of extremities, opischotonos, rapid breathing, death. The third alkaloid produces restlessness, violent tremor, very rapid breathing, convulsive twitchings, tetanic convulsions, opischotonos, cessasation of breathing.

In order to ascertain its physiological and psychological actions, the whole bean has been eaten by many investigators. They have found that peyote dilates the pupils, slows the pulse, and weakens the heart action. There is muscular depression, sometimes so much that the subject is hardly conscious of having arms and legs. Time is lengthened; a minute is like an hour, and an hour is like a whole night. Things seem far away. Common sounds seem wonderful, so that one note struck on the piano seems like a whole chord. Each note produces a new series of wonderful colors. Clothed in these kaleidoscopic colors all kinds of animals and objects are seen, some beautiful and alluring, and some grotesque and fearful, but it is the colors constantly coming and going that make the most fascinating and satisfying appeal. Every intelligent person must realize that such violent sensations can be indulged in only at the expense of the mind and body.

Dr. Wiley, former chief chemist of the Agricultural Department of the United States, says of peyote:

It is an evil, and nothing but an evil.

Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, after thorough experimentation with himself, says:

I predict a perilous reign of this mescal habit when this agent becomes obtainable. The temptation to call again the enchanting magic will be too much for some men to resist after they have set foot in this land of fairy colors, where there seems so much to charm and so little to excite horror or disgust.

Dr. Richardson, of Denver, says of peyote:

So far as its results on the human economy are concerned, from a pathological standpoint, alcohol is altogether the safest and least harmful. The alcoholic subject may, by a careful system of dietetics, escape physical and mental weakness, but the mescal fiend travels to absolute incompetency. It is a vicious thing.

Havelock Ellis writes:

It has every claim to rank with hasheesh and the other famous drugs which have produced for men the joys of an artificial paradise.

Prof. Roswell P. Angier, of Yale, wrote to Robert D. Hall, whom he used for experimentation with the drug:

Peyote is deleterious in its influence, even in the small doses which you took. I have little doubt that in large doses the influence would be worse.

Prof. E. B. Putt, of the North Dakota Agricultural College and Government Experiment Station, writes:

I should not care to repeat the experiment with a dose exceeding four mescal buttons. The muscular paralysis is so complete that one might cease breathing, thus ending the experiment.

Such scientific evidence leads solely to the conclusion that peyote or mescal is bad for mind and body and is poisonous. The Nation should be aroused to the danger of the use of this cactus "button," which is now without the condemnation of law. In numerous localities the use is not confined to the Indians. To be effective any law which is passed must prohibit the traffic in this drug, including its sale to Indians or introduction into the Indian country, its importation into the United States—for a large part of the supply now used in this country is imported from Mexico—and its transportation either by mail or otherwise.

I beg your indulgence while I read you a clear, concise editorial on the subject from the Outlook.

Peyote, also called mescal buttons, is a cactus imported from Mexico. It produces results upon the user somewhat analogous to those produced by opium and by hasheesh. The few defenders of its use present three arguments against its prohibition:

1. That it has some medicinal uses, as opium has.

2. That it destroys the appetite for whisky. This is also questionable, the witnesses on this subject being about equally divided. But there is practical agreement that if it has such an effect the remedy is worse than the disease.

3. That it has become an instrument used in the religious worship of the Indians, and that it is not legitimate to interfere with their religious worship. If it were true that any practice employed in religious worship can never be interfered with, there would be nothing to prevent setting up in any of our cities a pagan temple with prostitutes offering themselves under the name of religion as ministers to lust.

The reports from the field of the effect of peyote on its users contain three or four accounts of the personal experience of those who have made use of it. We select one of these accounts, given by an Indian, partly because it is less technical than those given by scientific experiments, partly because its naïveté furnishes a good illustration of its so-called religious effect on members of the Indian race:

"Now, the first peyote that I took I drunk something about four cupfuls of tea. And its effects on me, that I seen, I do not want them again. I thought myself, that must be the devils. Why, their ears stuck out above their heads, and they made all kinds of faces; they made fun of me, and turn over again and sometimes and dance around me. They stuck their tongue out and made fun of me. I never paid any attention to them. I stayed right with my peyote and I prayed God. That is the first time.

"And then had effect once again. There was my girls—they was not married. I have three of them. When we was in there, the peyote meeting, why the peyote took effect on me, and I was praying myself, 'And for the homeless and for the poor,' and the fire was blazing up bright. I saw a ladder come from heaven and set right down at the end of the fireplace. Ladder was just as fine as could be made. And I seen two little fellows—about so tall—(Mr. W. indicates to Mr. L.)—come out of the fire. They wore black suits and black hats both of them little fellows; they went up to heaven on that ladder, and never came down."

We hardly need say to our readers that this is not religion, that it has no tendency to promote religion, that it has exactly an opposite tendency, since it leads the user to imagine that religion is something else than living a pure, honest, upright, kindly, and reverent life. There is a practically unanimous testimony from all missionaries, and apparently from all those interested in the moral and religious welfare of the Indian, that its intoxicating effects seriously interfere with the religion of good morals. It is equally deleterious ethically and physically. It excites the sexual passions. In the words of one of the writers, "its use among some of the Indians is more of a drunk and carousal than a religious service." Our space does not allow us to quote at length from these official reports. We must content ourselves with stating the substance of these reports in single sentences. According to the practically unanimous testimony of these witnesses,

peyote has the same poisonous effect as liquor or as opium—effects so marked that it is called "dry whisky." While producing abnormal awakening of the imagination, it saps the nervous energy and will power and gradually destroys energy, clearness of thought, and persistent purpose. It does not produce violence, as does alcohol, but is followed by a greater stupor. It unfits the user for the discharge of ordinary industrial and business functions; injuriously affects the stomach, the liver, and the heart, producing dizziness and nausea, destroying the mucous coating of the stomach. It has in some instances produced blindness, led to suicide, and caused death. Probably nowhere in the country has there been a better opportunity for a study of the effects of peyote on the Indians than in Oklahoma, and as far back as 1899 Oklahoma passed a statute prohibiting its use on any Indian reservation or Indian allotment and its sale to any allotted Indian in the Territory, except as a medicine prescribed by a professional physician.

The use of peyote, promoted partly by financial interests, partly by unscrupulous Indian leaders opposed to anything which promotes Indian civilization, and partly a debasing superstition, is working a widespread evil among the Indian tribes which can be prevented only by prompt and vigorous legislative action.

Decoration Day Address by Hon. Edward C. Little, at Pittsburgh, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERICK N. ZIHLMAN,

OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 1, 1920.

Mr. ZIHLMAN. Mr. Speaker, on Decoration Day two years ago my colleague from Kansas, Col. EDWARD C. LITTLE, who was in many battles in the Philippines as lieutenant colonel of the famous Twentieth Kansas, rode with me to the National Cemetery on the Battle Field of Antietam and delivered the annual Decoration Day address there which has been made by so many distinguished men. This year he was invited to speak on Decoration Day with Gen. John Pershing at the Arlington Military Cemetery, but had already arranged to speak elsewhere and was the orator of the day in Memorial Hall, at Pittsburgh, Pa., where he addressed some 5,000 people, almost a third of whom were the veterans of the war in Europe. The services and the long procession in this great city of a million people were this day held under the auspices of the Allied War Veterans' Memorial Day committee, participated in by all the soldiers' patriotic societies, and the oration was worthy of the occasion. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting the Decoration Day address delivered on May 31, 1920, at Memorial Hall, in Pittsburgh, Pa., by my colleague, Hon. EDWARD C. LITTLE, of Kansas.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

COL. LITTLE'S ADDRESS.

In your capital at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania has assembled the battle flags of its regiments and thus preserved, unwritten and unspoken, perhaps the grandest record of valor and patriotism on exhibition anywhere in the world. When I visited them I looked for the flag of the Tenth Pennsylvania. My great-great-grandfather, Maj. Theophilus Little, of the New Jersey troops in the Revolutionary Army, who lies buried in the hills of Sullivan County, took part in many engagements in which it participated 140 years ago.

That regiment and the Twentieth Kansas, of which I was a member, served in the same brigade and fought together in many battles in the Philippines, beneath the Southern Cross, on the other side of the world. On Decoration Day, 1899, those regiments camped side by side on the plains of Pampanga, and for the second time I come to celebrate this day with them and honor the graves of our comrades of the Nation's wars, an illustrious line that in the Tenth Pennsylvania goes back to Valley Forge.

In spite of that brilliant and ancient record, the flag of that gallant regiment was not permitted to be unfurled in battle on the plains of Europe in the last war, but that famous regiment, like all the rest, was either renumbered or disintegrated and dissolved into other organizations by those in authority. The deeds of those brave lads on the plains of France challenge the history of the centuries in the splendor of their valor. As one obscure legislator of the Union, it is my earnest hope that before my time in Congress shall have ended we will restore and renew the laws under which those flags were collected at Harrisburg and make sure that when again Pennsylvania and Kansas march side by side into battle their flags shall return to their statehouses, covered with new laurels, to be revered and reverenced for a thousand years by generations of descendants of those you assemble to-day to pay tribute to.

Twenty-one years ago, on the 29th day of March, 1899, Pennsylvania and Kansas troops crossed the bridge over the Rio Guiguinto in the Philippines. Pennsylvania swung to the right and Kansas to the left of the high railroad bank, 3 miles from Malolos, the insurgent capital, running into a fierce ambuscade and the hottest fight that occurred in the islands. The railroad embankment was so high I could see nothing of the men on the right of the track and only knew that they were there in triumph when the short fight was over. On our side we dropped behind the best available rice dike and returned the fire of the enemy, concealed in the woods a few hundred yards away, until patience ceased to be a virtue and then I ordered a charge into the woods, and the Battle of Guiguinto closed in victory for the American soldier as the last rays of the setting sun dipped into the Pacific. Most of that Pennsylvania regiment was recruited close by this city of Pittsburgh, and I never pass through here without calling to mind our comrades of that day and that fight.

There are bonds of all sorts in this world of ours,
Fetters of friendship and ties of flowers,
  And true lovers' knots I ween.
But there's never a bond, old friend, like this,
  We drank from the same canteen.

The rich and the great sit down to dine,
And drink to each other in sparkling wine,
  From glasses of crystal and green.
But I guess in their golden potations they miss
The warmth of regard to be found in this,
  We drank from the same canteen.
From the same canteen, my soldier friend,
  We drank from the same canteen.

When the searchlight of history analyzes the tale of this great European war, the deeds of the American Army there will stagger belief. For half a century Germany, Russia, Austria, and Hungary had squandered billions and the time of millions of men preparing for conquest. With that money and that labor they could have made Europe a garden from the Mediterranean to the Arctic seas, and every man in Europe could have owned his own home. When that bogus war lord, the German Kaiser, his armies trained to the minute, was all ready, he launched his mighty thunderbolt to overrun and devastate a continent, a hemisphere, and perhaps a globe. Five million raw volunteers from Australia, Canada, South Africa, and the British Isles swarmed into France to the aid of the French Republic, and said to the rolling billows of the German hosts that had been gathering head for two generations, "Here shall thy proud waves be stayed." For four years they held the prepared soldiers at bay.

Then the tramp of 2,000,000 civilian soldiers from America shook the valley of the Rhine, and men fresh from the pursuits of civil life forever ended the Kaiser's career of crime and dream of conquest, toward which he had been shaping up his armies for 50 long years. At Cantigny, Belleau Wood, Chateau-Thierry, and the Argonne the Prussian hosts, equipped to a shoe string and trained by compulsion for decades to the arts of war, were swept from the field like bubbles before the blast of a winter's hurricane. The American boys cut the barbed wire, shattered the concrete fortifications, charged in the open the machine-gun batteries which swept the earth like hailstones, pierced the ranks of the Prussian guard, broke the impregnable Hindenburg line, and their mighty army that had challenged four continents for the empire of the world sued for peace.

Nineveh the mighty had fallen. The deeds of our soldiers whom we meet to-day to honor had become a part of the imperishable renown that has come to this Republic by the glory of its sons on a thousand battle fields before. So this day we lay our most beautiful garlands on another row of graves that stretches from the Rhine to the sea. By their sacrifices and by these tokens of ours we again dedicate this great Republic to the purpose that Mr. Lincoln gave us at Gettysburg, in Pennsylvania, that a government of the people and for the people and by the people shall not perish from the face of the earth.

We confront now the question of whether those who died for us across the sea have died in vain or whether the plans which destiny shaped shall be successfully completed. In fear and trembling, in anxiety and hysteria, in disorder and riot, but with high hopes and lofty aspirations, a redeemed world is looking into a new era. The shackles have fallen from a dozen nations, who as yet walk staggering in the dark, the blind leading the blind, watching with eager eyes for the golden rise of a sun that set in storm on the forests of the Argonne.

From the Baltic to the Caspian Europe is an armed camp. From Vladivostok to the Rhine there is no safe place in which the son of man could lay his head. What is the trouble in Europe? Our soldiers have come home and gone to work, and

their presence brings us pride and pleasure, not fear and trembling. When our own Civil War closed Gen. Grant sent the Confederates home with their horses and their side arms and said, "Let us have peace." The millions of veterans who saved the Union laid down their arms and entered the walks of industry, because they were soldiers in war only and were citizens, and citizens only, in time of peace. The victors of Gettysburg and Antietam, of Shiloh and Vicksburg, of Pea Ridge and Franklin dissolved into our industrial system as quietly as a raindrop disappears on the broad bosom of the Mississippi. Why is it that a dozen little nations are at war in Europe? Why is it that every city in Germany and Russia awakens every morning to a bugle call and the tread of marching feet?

For two generations the European nations have been engaged principally in the business of making soldiers, and they must now pass a generation in unmaking them before they can have peace. You can not set nations back in the middle ages and arm them to the teeth without reaping the dragon's teeth of discord, hatred, war, and woe. This is no Christendom that devotes the best energies of its best men to such wasted and desecrated time. The armies of the Czar and the Kaiser are the darkest cloud that menaces the future happiness of the world. When this war began I ventured to say that there never could be peace in Europe till there were no longer kings in Europe. But it is now evident that the dynasty of military domination must always outlast its nominal head and will not be terminated until the tyrants' soldiers themselves have forgotten that they are soldiers and learned that they are citizens. If you turn a country into an armed camp for generations and make savages of its men, you can have no government but that of a military caste and a military despotism, which is all the people have in most European countries now.

At the close of this war the people established a republic in Germany. Every few months those trained soldiers who never disband march down the streets of Berlin, overthrow the government, precipitate a reign of terror and a riot of violence throughout all Germany, between the setting and the rising of a sun, because the Kaiser taught them to be soldiers. In Russia, Lenin holds under his standard the soldiers and the officers of the Czar, and so dominates that great country by his vicious military maladministration, which allows no man to select his own employment, permits no family to preserve its own home, and in effect makes a peon of every son and daughter of the serfs the Czar himself freed 60 years ago. Lenin has shown that liberty is safe in no country that in time of peace awakens every morning to the tread of armed men. If the European soldiers had not been professional soldiers, trained by compulsion for years to the arts of war, they would long since have gone home and gone to work as did ours, and Europe would be at rest and already see the golden rise of the sun that set in storm on the forests of the Argonne.

Nineteen hundred years ago the names of Jesus Christ and Julius Cæsar appeared at the beginning of this epoch, enunciating certain great theories which struggled for the control of mankind. One of them was right and one of them was wrong, and that question was settled, I hope and pray for all time, by the boys we sent to France. At the charge of the American soldiers, scepters broke, crowns crumbled into dust, empires vanished like breath into the frosty morning air. The other day a veteran of 98 years, from the Mexican War, joined a post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars out West, and marches at the head of the column of the great societies of peace the boys have organized.

The farmer at Concord Bridge fired the shot that was heard round the world. The Artillery at Gettysburg broke the chains from 4,000,000 slaves and established this as one mighty free Nation. The Springfields and the Mausers at San Juan and Guiguinto freed the Philippines and Cuba from Spanish tyranny. The guns that roared at Cantigny, Belleau Wood, Chateau-Thierry, and the Argonne shook the kings of Europe from their thrones and drove its emperors from their palaces. America spent 100,000 lives and $30,000,000,000 that forever hereafter forts may be dismantled, armies discharged, and peace rule the world. That is the final culmination of the great fight between Jesus Christ and Julius Cæsar that has endured for 19 centuries. Is it possible that here in this Christian Republic there is anyone who desires to reopen the case for Julius Cæsar and put Jesus Christ on trial again? What kind of an example would that be to put before the nations of Europe, distracted, divided, and devastated by the relics of Prussianism that linger?

> Oh, that some sweet bird from the south
> Might build its nest in the cannon's mouth,
> 'Till the only sound from its rusty throat
> Were the wren's or the bluebird's silver note.

But suppose we consider this from the standpoint of military prowess and achievement alone. Was this war won by those victims of compulsory military training who were sent to a march on Paris that ended in a battle in Berlin among themselves, or was this war won by the lads from free America who shouldered their rifles at the call of duty and entered the war actuated by the love of liberty and the determination that the world should live in peace and freedom from military despotisms? The Czar of all the Russias and his family sleep in unknown graves. The Kaiser, forsaken by God and man, shakes and trembles in his rat hole. Shall the men who beat his armies into the dust accept his fallacious theories, adopt his vicious policies, and shoulder upon their descendants for a thousand years the burden of such vast sums as Europe has squandered to sustain a military caste? Is that to be the conclusion of 1,900 years of contest between Julius Caesar and Jesus Christ, the answer to those who ask in the night, What is the outcome of this mighty contest? Or shall we on this day, bequeathed to us by the men who saved the Republic, reverently lay the spring blossoms upon the graves of the gallant boys who sleep in the hills of Pennsylvania or in the poppy fields of France, in the proud consciousness that their sacrifices to begin an era of perpetual peace and safety were crowned with success? To do less, my friends and comrades, would be to forget the purpose for which this holy day was established, the desire to honor the graves of the dead who died to preserve in safety governments of the people, for the people, and by the people. This war has proven that for military purposes the military traditions of a free people handed down from generation to generation of free men, exemplified by the records of such regiments as the Tenth Pennsylvania and the Twentieth Kansas, are more valuable than military castes and military despotisms established by the edicts of the war lords of military empires.

Who won this war, anyway? Soldier serfs or citizen soldiers? A few months ago, in the Liberty Hut at Washington, I heard De Valera, the magnetic Irish orator, address an immense audience, arousing much enthusiasm. After a while we all learned that somewhere in that great crowd there sat an American doughboy. Though few of us saw him, we knew just what kind of a lad he was—about 21 years old, about five feet eight inches in height, and 150 pounds in weight, with four gold bars on his sleeve, all of which we realized when he made his brief speech. De Valera, in the course of his argument, remarked that whether you concede that the Americans won the war, you will at least admit that they were the determining factor thereof. Again he presented this view to point his argument, saying that whether the Americans won the war, at least they were its determining factor. Neither of these aroused a responsive enthusiasm, and the audience was a bit restless when, for the third time, the orator repeated the statement, "The American soldiers were at least the determining factor in the European war, even if we do not say that they won the war." Then, from out somewhere in that vast audience, a brisk, definite, decided, genial, but judicial voice announced the decree that will be found on the pages of history, as that voice from the ranks of the land that fought in France answered for all of us, as he said, "I'll say we did."

As one American citizen whose ancestors first landed in this country just 300 years ago this year, I believe, after three centuries of its history, that the experiment those men projected on the Western Hemisphere has reached the highest order of success and that the system that European civilization undertook to maintain has gone down in a colossal collapse not equaled by any in the annals of mankind. If that is true, the doughboy's answer in the Liberty Hut was right, and when they ask me whether the American soldiers won this war, I am ready to say with him, "I'll say they did." Fellow citizens, what do you say?

But, fellow citizens and fellow soldiers, every victory achieved since 1865 by their sons was made possible by the sacrifices and the triumphs of the soldiers for whom this day was primarily set aside. Almost 60 years have come and gone since the advance guard of that greatest Army of Volunteers defiled past the Great White Throne, keeping time to the music of the spheres on every golden brick in the hallowed streets of the new Jerusalem. As our flags and sons come home in glorious triumph from that continent from which we spring, there lingers with us only the thin and vanishing rear of the column which saved the Union. They tell us that there is an end for all things mortal, that some day the silver stars may dim, the luster of the stripes may fade, the hallowed flag be withered in the dust, the graves of the Nation's dead go ungarlanded and forgotten. Some day the ghosts of the Grand Army of the Republic and the spirits of the men who died beyond both seas,

with unseen arms reversed, and specter banners trailing in the dust, will march to the muffled music of fairy drums in the funeral procession of the last comrade of the last post of the Grand Army of the Republic. The men who went beyond the seas to make a mock of military despotisms will be able to maintain the Republic in honor and safety, and bequeath unsullied the glories of the past to the citizen soldier of the future, and them we designate and appoint to fire the last salute above the grave of the last of those venerable men whose valor shines with eternal luster on the flag of this Republic.

Now foreign wounds are stopped, peace lives again;
That she may long live here, God, say Amen!

The Right of Farmers to Organize Marketing Associations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. SUMMERS,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 31, 1920.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, a great many seem to believe that the American farmers are wonderfully favored by the present prices of all commodities and that the bill which we are now considering—a bill which would authorize them to organize associations for the purpose of selling the products of their own farms—is going to give them still further favors at the expense of the consuming public.

Careful analysis of the opposition to this measure will reveal, however, that it is not the suffering consumer who is protesting, but, rather, the representatives of the big industrial centers of the East, who have not given enough time and study to the proposition and have jumped to the conclusion that the middleman's present fat profits and commissions on all of our products are hanging in the balance.

That the farmers present financial condition is not nearly as good and their future prospects are far from being as bright as some of my colleagues have asserted, also that their right to form cooperative marketing organizations will not disturb legitimate business but will rather do away with extravagant waste of time and energy, to the benefit of the producer and consumer, are points with which I will especially deal.

In the first place I desire to call your attention to a quotation from the New York Journal of Commerce, which is published essentially for the business interests. This journal's views are in refreshing contrast to the false and misleading articles that have appeared so frequently in some of the daily newspapers of the great cities of the East. The quotation follows:

> Great reduction in wheat acreage in various parts of the West is regarded by many investigators as largely due to an unusually severe winter and the movement of labor from the farm to the city. These factors undoubtedly have their important influence. According, however, to indications drawn from many sources there is an even more potent factor in the farming situation, namely, that the "stabilized" price for wheat fixed by the Government is not now on the whole profitable. If it be not productive of a net income to the farmer he can not be blamed for cutting down his acreage any more than the proprietor of an unprofitable factory can be blamed for reducing output.
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> According to reports from Kansas there was an estimated loss of 43 cents an acre for the State as a whole on its last year's crop of wheat, without allowing anything for depletion of soil or depreciation of equipment. This estimate is based upon an aggregate said to amount to about 500,000 acres investigated. It does not accord with the general opinion that the farmer has been wonderfully favored, but in this connection it should be borne in mind that the farmer is often apparently prosperous in cash when, as a matter of fact, he has been coining his resources into money and really living upon his capital. Whatever may be thought of the situation in Kansas or elsewhere, the general nature of the condition to which the farmer has been exposed during the last year would naturally raise a serious doubt regarding the duration of his prosperity, even if such prosperity be regarded as real at the present time. Excessively high wages, shortage of labor, and an enormous increase in the cost of all those things which are necessary to the operation of a farm, such as wire, tools, fertilizer, and lumber, have cut away the large margin of profit which the farmer enjoyed at the opening of the war.

By the statements of representatives of various farmer organizations at the hearings in the Judiciary Committee on the Capper-Hersman bill, for which this measure is a substitute, it was brought out that the object sought to be accomplished by this bill was not the elimination of the middleman, but the object was to enable farmers to organize in order to get better prices, and in many instances this object will be attained by a more direct method of placing the products in the hands of the consumer at less cost to the latter than is now possible owing to the frequent waste of time and energy in our present system of merchandising.

As an example of one of these instances permit me to here insert the observations of a small boy in White Salmon, Wash., a town of my district.

This bright young lad, the son of a well-known lawyer of White Salmon, was on his way home from school and stopped in at his father's office.

"Say, dad," he said, "why are they bringing in White Salmon tomatoes on the Portland, Oreg., steamboat?"

"You must be mistaken," said the father.

"No, I am not," replied the youth. "I came round by way of the dock and the steamer had just arrived from Portland and they were unloading a lot of tomatoes that were grown down there on Mr. ———'s place. I know, 'cause I saw his label on the boxes and was out in his garden one day and saw those same boxes."

"Well, well," said the lawyer, proud of his son's perspicuity, "that is peculiar. Let us go down and see about it," and off they went to investigate.

At the dinner table that night the result of their investigation was reported to the family, and here is the story in brief:

Fine, big, half-ripe tomatoes, grown within a quarter of a mile of White Salmon, had been picked and packed in crates, sold to a commission agent in White Salmon, hauled down to the commission warehouse, resold to a commission house in Portland, 100 miles down the Columbia River. They were then hauled down to the dock, loaded onto the boat, and shipped to Portland, where they were unloaded, hauled to a warehouse, resold to a merchant in White Salmon, hauled from the warehouse back to the boat, loaded thereon, shipped to White Salmon, unloaded, hauled to the merchant's store, and from there delivered to White Salmon homes at fancy prices. The family had some of the very same tomatoes on the table that evening, but the good housewife, when she heard their history, said: "Never again; I'll send down to the gardens next time."

The same facts are true in regard to Kennewick cherries, which were handled by express on the railroad to Spokane, 140 miles away, and returned to Pasco, which is 1 mile from Kennewick. The cherries reached the consumer after having traveled 280 miles and having been handled no less than 10 times.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am not opposed to legitimate business profits and am not blaming the White Salmon tomato grower or the Portland commission merchant. They were simply the victims of circumstances. But why could not the tomato or rather the vegetable growers of White Salmon organize and sell their tomatoes and vegetables themselves to the merchants of White Salmon or to anyone else who wanted them? Business would not thus be curtailed or restricted. It would simply be an elimination of wasteful energy, all of which costs money that is added to the consumer's bill and is an important factor in the present high prices.

Whenever the farmer purchases an article from any merchant he has always been obliged to ask, "How much?" And he has paid the price. When he has had anything to sell he has been obliged to ask, "How much will you pay to-day?" And he has been required to accept it or let his produce rot. The law of supply and demand will always prevail and will always act as a protective influence, so that a farmers' cooperative marketing association, authorized in this bill, will always be limited thereby in its efforts to secure fair prices. There may also be more than one such organization in a community, so that competitive influences will also prevail.

The farmer does not expect to unduly profit by the enactment of this law, nor does he expect the cost to the consumer to be enhanced. But he does believe that this bill, if made law, will eliminate two or three fellows who stand guard in their own interest—interlopers, if you please—along the pathway from the farmer to the ultimate consumer and appropriate a good share of the profits that rightfully belong to the farmer.

Restore to the farmer some of these profits, and the great dangers of our increasing urban population will be lessened, and conditions such as now prevail in the State of Michigan, where there are 18,000 idle farms, will not continue to spread further over our farming districts. Production would be speeded up and more land cultivated, because fewer of our farm boys would be headed for the cities to obtain higher wages and participate in the pleasures there afforded.

Farming is the most important business in the world, and we are the greatest agricultural nation in the world, but our lands are capable of producing more than they now produce, and if we are to further encourage the back-to-the-farm movement we must make farm life more attractive by allowing the farmer to receive prices sufficient to enable him to purchase modern conveniences and thrive with his city cousin.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, let me say that I have always conscientiously stood for measures which benefit the great farming and fruit-growing section of our population, and I expect to vote for this bill. It is a step in the right direction; a step that will have a much greater influence than most of us realize; a step that will assist the farmer in obtaining a fair price for honest labor, that will not increase costs to the consumer, that will further encourage the greater and more intensive cultivation of our lands, and will not unduly disturb legitimate business enterprise.

I desire to append hereto for insertion in the RECORD a copy of this bill, which follows:

An act (H. R. 13931) to authorize association of producers of agricultural products.

Be it enacted, etc., That persons engaged in the production of agricultural products as farmers, planters, ranchmen, dairymen, or fruit growers may act together in associations, corporate or otherwise, with or without capital stock, in collectively processing, preparing for market, handling, and marketing in interstate and foreign commerce such products of their members; and such producers may organize and operate such associations and make the necessary contracts and agreements to effect that purpose, any law to the contrary notwithstanding: *Provided, however*, That such associations are operated for the mutual benefit of the members thereof, as such producers, and conform to one or both of the following requirements:

First. That no member of the association is allowed more than one vote because of the amount of stock or membership capital he may own therein, or,

Second. That the association does not pay dividends on stock or membership capital in excess of 8 per cent per annum.

SEC. 2. That if the Secretary of Agriculture shall have reason to believe that any such association restrains trade or lessens competition to such an extent that the price of any agricultural product is unduly enhanced by reason thereof, he shall serve upon such association a complaint stating his charge in that respect, to which complaint shall be attached, or contained therein, a notice of hearing, specifying a day and place not less than thirty days after the service thereof, requiring the association to show cause why an order should not be made directing it to cease and desist from so restraining trade or lessening competition in such article. An association so complained of may at the time and place so fixed show cause why such order should not be entered. The evidence given on such a hearing shall be reduced to writing and made a part of the record therein. If upon such hearing the Secretary of Agriculture shall be of the opinion that such association restrains trade or lessens competition to such an extent that the price of any agricultural product is, or is about to become, unduly enhanced thereby, he shall issue and cause to be served upon the association an order reciting the facts found by him, directing such association to cease and desist therefrom. If such association fails or neglects for thirty days to obey such order, the Secretary of Agriculture shall file in the district court in which such association has its principal place of business a certified copy of the order and of all the records in the proceeding, together with a petition asking that the order be enforced, and shall give notice to the Attorney General and to said association of such filing. Such district court shall thereupon have jurisdiction to affirm, set aside, or modify said order, and may make rules as to pleadings and proceedings to be had in considering such order.

The facts found by the Secretary of Agriculture and recited as set forth in said order shall be prima facie evidence of such facts, but either party may adduce additional evidence. The Department of Justice shall have charge of the enforcement of such order. After the order is so filed in such district court and while pending for review the district court may issue a temporary writ of injunction forbidding such association from violating such order or any part thereof. The court may, upon conclusion of its hearing, enforce such order by a permanent injunction or other appropriate remedy. Service of such complaint and of all notices may be made upon such association by service upon any officer or agent thereof engaged in carrying on its business, and such service shall be binding upon such association, the officers, and members thereof: *Provided*, That nothing contained in this section shall apply to the organizations, or individual members thereof, described in section 6 of the act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved October 15, 1914, known as the Clayton Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EARL C. MICHENER.

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 31, 1920.

On the bill (H. R. 13931) to authorize the association of producers of agricultural products.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, the bill now under consideration (H. R. 13931) accomplishes what was aimed at in the Capper-Hersman bill. The objectionable features of the Capper-Hersman bill have been eliminated, while the present bill gives to the farmer all the benefits intended by the proponents of the Capper-Hersman bill. This fact is best evidenced by the fact that Senator CAPPER has introduced into the Senate this bill as a substitute for his original bill, while Congressman HERSMAN is advocating the present bill. Personally I am fully convinced that the change of the form of the legislation is not only advisable but necessary. Class legislation should not be tolerated, and in the end always proves injurious to the very class intended to be the beneficiary. If I was convinced that this was class legislation, no man on the floor of the House would be more outspoken against its enactment. The truth is that by this law the farmer is simply assured that he can do the things now permitted to be done by other corporations. The farmer already has the right under the law to form cooperative associations for the purpose of producing and marketing his products. However, these association are not permitted to have capital stock. Experience has shown that these associations, in many instances, can not be successfully operated without capital stock. It is not the purpose of this law to permit the forming of these associations with a view to earning large dividends for the stockholders. The bill provides that 8 per cent on the amount invested shall be the maximum. So far as the State of Michigan is concerned, I am confident that a 6 per cent return on the amount invested would have been sufficient; however, this is not a local bill; and in many States in the Union the interest rate is much higher, and the farmer should not be asked to receive a less return on the money actually invested than the current rate for like investment in the community where the investment is made.

The intent is that the principal profit made by the association shall inure to the benefit of the members and not to the benefit of the association. Regardless of the amount of stock owned in the association, all members have equal votes. In other words, the farmer who is able to loan $100 to the association in the form of capital stock, and whose purpose it is to secure an equitable market for his products, will have as much to say about the operation of the association as the farmer whose finances are such that he can loan $5,000 for the same purpose. The members of these associations must be genuine farmers, and not investors. Stock will not, and can not, be sold to the investing public. As a general proposition all corporations engaged in commerce have but one object—to pay dividends on the investment. Under the terms of this bill capital stock is a mere incident, necessary in order that the purposes for which the association is formed may be realized. There will be no watered stock. On the other hand, every dollar represented by stock will be actually used in carrying on the business of the association.

The enactment of this law will in no way affect existing or future legislation by the several States. This legislation only limits the right to operate in interstate and foreign commerce. That is the only power that Congress can confer upon such associations.

It has been urged in this debate by the opponents of this measure that the object sought to be accomplished by this bill was not the reduction of the cost of distributing the products of the farm. I deny this. And it is insisted that the object of the law is to enable the farmer to organize to get better prices. We could admit both of these propositions and still find abundant justification and actual necessity for the enactment of the law. That the farmer is at a disadvantage in dealing with the men who buy his products, and especially the large corporations dealing in food products, can not be denied, and it is imperative that the only practical method is through associations and common selling agencies.

Under present conditions the farmer has practically nothing to say about what he is to receive for his products. On the other hand, the manufacturer has all to say. Months in advance of placing the article on the market the manufacturer determines, to the penny, just what it will cost him to produce the article. All overhead is included. In the well-managed business concern the overhead even includes taxes, and to this amount the manufacturer adds his profit. As has been said, he does business on a "cost-plus" basis. If labor demands a high reward, that amount is added to the article sold. The manufacturer is not the loser. The consumer pays the price. In this way the manufacturer is able to operate at a profit. If he demands an unreasonable profit, then he is a profiteer. If he combines for the purpose of controlling the market and thereby unreasonably enhances his profit or prevents competition, he violates the law and should be prosecuted. On the other hand, the farmer's occupation is such that he has in the past had but little to say about the price he is to receive for what he sells. His market is necessarily limited. Individually his production is so small that he can not choose his market; he must take what is offered. His only hope is in collective bargaining.

Under the present system, and without the benefits of this law, he can not successfully bid against industry for labor needed to carry on his farm. One of two things must happen—

the farmer must be assured of a fair return upon his investment and for his labor, or the farmer will not produce.

As a public benefactor he has ever been in the forefront. The parting of the ways has come. In popular vernacular, he only demands a "living wage," and it is the duty of this Congress to see to it that means are provided whereby this can be secured to him. His day is not an eight-hour day. His pay check does not come rain or shine. Wind and weather may ruin the season's crop. Yet, by reason of his method of doing business, he does not ask to be made good for these losses. The books are closed each season. All he asks is the right to live and to let live. I have no fear of actual farmers conspiring to unreasonably control the market. If he can show the actual cost of production, then the price of that product should be that cost plus a reasonable profit. The people in the city are wont to criticize the price paid for foodstuffs without considering the cost of production. Recently the Federal fair-price committee, composed of retail grocers and retail meat dealers in the city of Detroit, determined that the milk producers of the Detroit area must sell milk for $2.75 per hundred pounds, f. o. b. Detroit. This was an arbitrary price arbitrarily arrived at. The producers were able to show that it was costing $4.26 per hundred to produce this milk, and it was necessary for the producers to invoke the injunction to prevent extermination. It is interesting to note that while this committee was asking the farmers to sell their milk for one-third less than the cost of production, the retailers in the city of Detroit were selling potatoes for $7.50 per bushel, and these same potatoes were sold by the farmers of Michigan last fall at from 90 cents to $1.25 a bushel. Round steak was retailing in the city of Detroit at 60 cents a pound, while the farmer was selling this same beef on hoof at from 9 to 12 cents a pound. This is a concrete illustration of why the present law is demanded. The farmer is not getting his share of the money paid by the consumer. Legitimate middlemen are necessary, but gambling brokers and speculators in foodstuffs are parasites, and the sooner they are eliminated the sooner the producer and the consumer will come into their own.

It has been urged in debate that "this bill bears all the earmarks of the dangerous propaganda that is being put forth by the Nonpartisan League, which is fostering principles and ideas that are inimical to our Government, and which is seeking to put into practice things which will tear down the institutions of this Government." I am unalterably opposed to this organization and its socialistic tendencies and deny that this law in any way relates to this organization. The action of such organizations can only be forestalled by sane, progressive, and reasonable measures like the one now under consideration.

We can talk about keeping the boys on the farm; we may talk about the beauties of farm life, the healthy climate, the independence of the farmer; but the modern American boy will not remain on the farm and work from 12 to 15 hours a day for less than one-half the wage he can receive in the city for eight hours' work. Sentiment means nothing to him.

A recent survey made in the State which I have the honor in part to represent shows that 8.74 per cent of the farms of the State are wholly idle this year—approximately 1,668,000 acres. The total male population over 15 years of age on the farms in the State is 230,000, or 82.5 acres to be worked by each man or boy; 18,232 acres are idle this year as compared with 11,831 last year. This condition is due to lack of farm help. The trend is toward the city—less work and higher wages. I might say, however, that in the district which I represent only about 3 per cent of the farms are idle. These are real farms, splendid, fertile land, highly productive, and fully equipped. A large percentage of the men on farms are past 50 years of age. There are 30,300 vacant houses on farms; 10,000 of these have been vacated within the last year. Of the 276,000 men on farms three years ago, 46,000 have since left, 20,000 of them during the last year. As a result there will be a decrease of 15.8 per cent in the average of cultivated crops this year. The number of dairy cattle has decreased 11.3 per cent during the last year—and this is one of the great dairy States. The conditions in Michigan are typical of the conditions throughout the Union. Something must be done, and must be done soon, if we are to retain enough men on the farms to produce food and clothing for our great city population.

Demagogues may talk; idealists may theorize; political parties may resolve; and Congress may legislate—but none of this will perceptibly reduce the high cost of living. The war has made many changes, but the economic law of supply and demand still stands, and our only salvation is in economy and production. While it is essential to our national well-being that our industries prosper and that our factories flourish, it is essential to our very existence that our farms operate. It is necessary that we produce meat, potatoes, and bread in order that we may manufacture automobiles, sofa pillows, and furniture. This can only be brought about by making it possible for the tiller of the soil to compete in a commercial way with these other dependent industries, and collective bargaining on his part, without fear of unwarranted interference, will do much to bring this about.

It is the organized middlemen who oppose this law. They well know that farmers, by cooperation, can reduce the cost of food distribution. The cause of the farmer in this case is the cause of the consumer. Even if the farmer does receive a little more for his product, the consumer will buy that same product much cheaper. Therefore the benefit is mutual. The bill now before Congress absolutely protects against profiteering and extortion on the part of the agriculturist.

The gentleman from West Virginia vehemently urges that "the country would see organized under the terms of this act gigantic food and clothing trusts, vested with power to charge whatever their sweet will dictated, and to grind under their iron heel every family in the land." The same gentleman, who represents a large coal-mining district, insists that no farmer or farmer organization has asked him to support this bill. His erroneous conception of the purposes and possibilities of the bill is only exceeded by his lack of familiarity with the desires, wants, and necessities of the real farmer. If he had taken the trouble to make any investigation he would find that every great agricultural organization in the country had been represented at the hearings before the Judiciary Committee. The National Grange, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the Dairymen's League, the National Board of Farm Organizations, all are urging this measure.

Section 2 does not limit the protection afforded by any existing law. In fact, it gives an additional protection. At any time the Secretary of Agriculture shall have reason to believe that any of these associations restrain trade or lessen competition to such an extent that the price of any agricultural product is unduly enhanced by reason thereof, he is empowered to act—to investigate and to enforce his orders. The courts of the United States are open to him. The public is fully safeguarded. It is true that the producer can not be harassed, threatened, and prosecuted without an investigation, at which the producer will have an opportunity to be heard without being dragged into the courts solely for the purpose of annoyance and intimidation. The farmers of my district will welcome this provision; the farmers of the Nation will welcome it. They do not claim immunity from the law, but they do insist on, and are entitled to, the protection of the law.

The Farm Loan Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADOLPHUS P. NELSON,

OF WISCONSIN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920.

Mr. NELSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the present condition of the food supply of this Nation, and the status of food production in this country, taken together with the fact that Europe is largely dependent upon the United States for food, is such that Congress—this Congress—is charged with a tremendous responsibility.

Legislation is demanded to relieve the strain now placed upon agriculture as an industry. I fear that the situation is much more serious than we here in Washington are able to appreciate.

For several months past agricultural colleges of the various States, together with the county agents, working in close touch with the farmers in practically every county of the principal agricultural States of this country, have been gathering information as to the condition of agriculture as an industry, as to the status of food production, and as to the ability of the farmer under present restraints and limitations to meet the demands which the Nation and the world are making upon him for food. The mass of information which these agencies have gathered and compiled is so great and is of such a serious nature, and the conditions disclosed are so widespread and general, as to cause genuine alarm. I will not take the time of the House nor space in the RECORD to submit a complete analysis of such information as has been compiled. That work has been done by others. I will cite merely a few instances to indicate the trend of events as shown by these reports.

Within a radius of 10 miles of a county seat in the best agricultural region of Kentucky there are 27 vacant farmhouses standing idle, with no one living in them.

In a certain Iowa county, within a radius of 10 miles of the county seat there are 2 dozen vacant farms. It is estimated that there are 50,000 fewer men on the farms of Iowa to-day than before the war.

One locality in Indiana reports that within a mile and a half there are 5 vacant houses.

In New York, the agricultural department of Cornell University reports 24,000 vacant farmhouses in that State.

The December estimates of the United States Department of Agriculture show that there were 11,719,000 acres less of winter wheat planted in the fall of 1919 than the year before.

A January report of the Department of Agriculture shows that the number of hogs in the United States had fallen off 1,675,000 head, about 8.7 per cent.

February figures from Iowa show that State had suffered a loss of 433,000 hogs, 28,000 milk cows, and 86,000 beef cattle.

The same report shows that Illinois had 50,000 less beef cattle and 401,000 less hogs.

Kansas reports 30 per cent less hogs.

Missouri also shows decreases.

There must be some very vital and powerful factors at work to produce such tremendous changes.

I take it that one of the causes for this condition is the scarcity of farm help. Harry O'Brien, a well-known investigator and writer upon agricultural subjects, discusses this phase of the situation in a recent issue of the Saturday Evening Post. He says:

> An Iowa farmer of whom I know paid a farm hand $65 a month all last winter, when he had no work to be done, just to keep that farm hand for the day when there would be work. In addition to wages, he gave him his milk, his firewood, a garden, use of an automobile, and his house rent free.

Mr. O'Brien cites another instance:

> When an Ohio farmer who had 13 dairy cows from which he sold milk for Cincinnati consumption saw his boys go off to town to work for $45 and $60 a week, he sold off 5 cows and kept just what he could milk himself and do his other work.

There is no use for me to multiply instances or incidents. The evidence is compelling that farming, with its long hours of drudgery and low wages, is not attractive to labor. The evidence is also compelling that if the farmer is to secure sufficient help to till the land and thus produce the food required by those who live and work in our cities he must compete in the amount of wages paid with the industries of the cities.

Clearly the farmer must have access to money at low rates and on convenient terms if he is to meet this situation.

And yet, with this awful condition confronting agriculture, and through it confronting the Nation, threatening the welfare of all our people, Congress has been unable to grasp the situation in a statesmanlike way and to agree upon remedial legislation.

The farmer needs credit. This condition of agriculture calls for a complete and adequate system of finance adaptable and suitable to the needs of the farmer, which needs are far different from those of the business man in the city. While there is great need for short-time credit, I shall not now discuss that phase of the problem, but will confine myself at this time to a discussion of long-time credit. In 1916 we passed the farm-loan act to give the farmer long-time loans upon his land—loans for 33 years at low rates of interest, the principal to be repaid in very small or semiannual payments. This is known as the amortization plan. It was a wonderful piece of legislation. Under this law loans aggregating $387,000,000 have been made to farmers of the United States at low rates of interest, 5½ and 6 per cent net to the farmer, no commissions being charged and no commissions being permitted.

I think the record of the Federal and the joint-stock land banks in the short time they have been in operation shows that these institutions are rendering a great service to agriculture and to the Nation as a whole.

These banks, according to the title of the act creating them, were expected "to equalize rates of interest on farm loans." And there is abundant evidence that interest rates have been reduced in every high-interest section of the United States. That is a very important service for these banks to have performed. They have done more than merely to save a handsome sum in interest for all who borrowed of these banks. Their mere presence in the farm-loan field supplied the competition necessary to reduce the rates of interest for all farmers who borrow, no matter of whom they borrow. It has been estimated that the farmers of America already have been saved a total of not less than $30,000,000 in interest and $20,000,000 in commissions by the operations and as a result of the competition of the banks created by the farm-loan act.

And that fact has aroused the bitter opposition of the old-style, commission-charging farm-mortgage broker. When any campaign becomes bitter, the bars are let down for all manner of misrepresentation and false statement. Often, under these conditions, false issues are raised which prejudice a case before it is fairly opened for discussion.

Congress can not act intelligently on the various bills, a dozen in all, which have been introduced as amendments to the farm-loan act, unless Congress is correctly informed as to the operations of the various agencies which have been created by this act to aid and encourage agricultural development. So many false issues have been raised, so much effort has been expended by the enemies of the farm-loan act for the purpose of throwing dust into the eyes of Congress and for the further purpose of arousing dissensions among the friends of the farm-loan act that it is important that we should be on guard against these insidious attacks.

Before we can properly appreciate the service which the banks of the farm-loan system are rendering, we must consider the condition in which the farm-loan business of this country had been up to the time of the passage of the farm-loan act. It is quite natural for the inquiring mind to ask, "Where did the farmer get his money before the farm-loan act was passed?" I take it that most Members of this body are familiar with the fact that the money loaned to farmers on farm mortgages throughout the United States aggregates about $4,000,000,000, according to the best authorities. Of the $4,000,000,000 of farm mortgages, the life insurance companies held $1,100,000,000; the savings banks, State banks, trust companies, and commercial banks $1,000,000,000; eleemosynary institutions $400,000,000; local loans of farmer to farmer, or brother to brother, or father to son, $1,250,000,000; all other farm-mortgage loans $250,000,000.

Thus we see that the farm-loan business is a considerable business.

It is important for us to inquire how the farmer secured his mortgage loan from these various sources. As all know, the farmer did not deal direct with the insurance companies, neither did he deal direct with the eleemosynary institutions, and seldom did he deal direct with the savings banks, the State banks, the trust companies, and the commercial banks.

Almost without exception, in securing money from any of these institutions the farmer was compelled to deal through a broker. True, the broker styled himself a "farm-mortgage banker," but just as a rose by any other name would smell as sweet, so the man who lives by charging a commission on mortgage loans is a broker, no matter what fanciful name he creates and adopts for his business. It has been the practice of the farm-mortgage brokers to charge a commission on the loans they have made to farmers ranging from 1 per cent to 4 and 5 per cent.

The practice was something like this: The life insurance companies and other institutions having funds to invest in farm mortgage securities selected the best agricultural sections of the United States as the territory in which they could safely lend their funds.

Next, these institutions proceeded to organize that territory. Generally one agent or banker was given the exclusive right to make loans for a particular life insurance company in a particular State or in territory contiguous to a particular city or commercial center. This man usually considered himself a "farm-mortgage banker."

He in turn proceeded to organize his territory by appointing agents in various county seats and other trading centers throughout the territory assigned to him. This agent or subagent might be a justice of the peace, or a fire insurance agent, or a small-town lawyer, or, as frequently was the case, a country banker. Then the life insurance company would supply money for prime first-mortgage loans at 5, 5½, or 6 per cent net to the life insurance company. But the poor "mortgage banker" had to live. So he charged a commission.

But this was not all. The poor justice of the peace, fire insurance agent, country lawyer, or country banker, as the case happened to be, also had to live. And he also charged the poor farmer an additional commission. Of course it all may have been named in the contract as a single commission, amounting to a certain per cent of the loan, but in practice the commission was divided so that all the little parasites along the line might live by taking a toll out of the poor farmer.

The result of all this was that, while the life insurance companies were getting 5, 5½, or 6 per cent net for their loans, excepting in the far West and far Southwest, where the rates were somewhat higher, the poor farmer was paying 6, 6½, 7, and 8 per cent, excepting in the far West and Southwest, where the net rate to farmers went as high as 10 per cent.

But this was not all. The farmer might have struggled through all this if it had occurred to him only once or twice in a lifetime. However, under the old system, loans on farm mortgages were made for short periods, many of them for only three years and none of them for more than five years. The average was about four years. Thus we see that the farmer had to go through this matter of commissions every four or five years if he was unable to pay off his mortgage at its maturity. He not only had to pay these recurring commissions, but every time he renewed his mortgage he had to pay new abstract, new appraisal and inspection, and new registration fees. All this operated to increase the cost to the farmer.

Into this system, which was cumbersome and very unsatisfactory, there crept all manner of abuses until a vicious circle enveloped the farmer and placed a burden on agriculture which it could not carry.

Then we had a long period of agitation, with various proposals made to relieve this situation and correct the abuses. Two investigating committees went to Europe to study rural-credits systems in the older countries for the purpose of adapting such principles and practices in the making of long-time loans to farmers as might be suitable to the conditions in this newer country.

The farm-loan act is the result of this long and careful study of the entire subject of farm loans.

Briefly, the great benefits of this system are to be found in these facts:

(1) The farmer may now borrow money at a reasonable rate without paying commissions to anyone. The law forbids any of the banks created by or authorized by the farm-loan act to charge the farmer a commission.

(2) That the farmer may now borrow his money for a long period of years—20 to 35 years—and repay the principal in small annual or semiannual installments, thus escaping all renewal charges, appraisal and inspection fees after the first year.

It is proper for an inquiring mind to ask just how this is done. Under the farm-loan act a Federal land bank or a joint-stock land bank is permitted to invest its capital in farm mortgages. Then the bank is permitted to deposit the mortgages it has purchased with a registrar of the United States Government, who inspects the mortgages and appraises the land.

If the mortgages are properly executed and the value of the land is as represented, the bank is then permitted to issue bonds running 20 or 30 years against these mortgages to the amount of their face value. The bank then is permitted to sell these bonds in the market to investors. The bank then lends this money secured by sale of bonds on still other farm mortgages. The new mortgages are deposited with the appraiser and news bonds are issued. This operation may be repeated twenty times by the Federal land banks and fifteen times by the joint-stock land banks. This is the way the money is raised under the farm loan act.

Mr. Speaker, this law is based upon the experience of hundreds of years of operation in this and older countries. It is a good law. It emancipates the American farmer and releases him from the clutches of the loan shark.

Mr. Speaker, I say to you that it is the purpose of the enemies of the farm loan act to so cripple it by indirect attacks that it will cease to function. The men who profited for years by lending money to farmers at high rates of interest, plus exorbitant commissions, are conducting an organized campaign to put the Federal farm loan system out of business, so that they once more may control the field of farm loans and again may fatten themselves at the expense of the American farmer. These selfish interests have brought a suit, which is now pending in the Supreme Court of the United States, contesting the constitutionality of the farm loan act. Furthermore, these same selfish interests have circularized Congressmen, as well as bankers and farm papers, with their propaganda, seeking to befog the issue. And these same selfish interests have insidiously attacked first one division of the farm loan system and then another division.

Congressmen, of course, are aware that the farm loan act provides for a dual system of banks.

One branch of the system is operated upon a mutual or semi-cooperative basis. These banks are known as the Federal land banks. They are 12 in number and now have a total capital stock of $24,000,000. Quite contrary to the popular conception among Congressmen, the major portion of this $24,000,000 of capital stock was subscribed by the farmers themselves. It is true that in the beginning, as has been stated, the Government subscribed approximately $9,000,000 to the capital stock of these banks. However, since that time $1,200,000 of the Government's subscription, I am told, has been refunded to the Government, so that to-day, of the $24,000,000 of outstanding capital stock of the 12 Federal land banks, the farmers themselves have subscribed $16,760,000, or almost $17,000,000. At this point it may not be out of place to say that within a few years the entire amount of the Government's subscription to the capital of these banks will be retired. Then the stock of these banks will be owned entirely by borrowing farmers. I offer this statement of facts at this time and in this connection in order to disabuse the mind of any uninformed Member of an impression somewhat prevalent that these banks are Government institutions, with their entire capital furnished by the Government, which report has served to arouse a great deal of prejudice in certain quarters against these institutions.

The other branch of the dual system of banks, created and authorized by the farm loan act, received no Government aid. The banks of this branch of the system are known as joint-stock land banks. Their capital is subscribed by private individuals. However, these joint-stock land banks are subject to the same rigid supervision by the Government as the Federal land banks. It has been said by the enemies of the farm loan act that the joint-stock land banks are operated for profit. This is true. But no enemy of the farm-loan system has been fair enough to tell you and to tell the people that the profits of the joint-stock land banks are limited by law. No critic of the farm-loan system has been fair enough to tell you that the rate of interest which a joint-stock land bank may charge is fixed by law, in the same manner, and under the same regulation, as the rate to be charged by the Federal land banks.

Of all the men who have attacked the joint-stock land banks, not one has been fair. They have said that under the law a joint-stock land bank might lend money for any purpose. They have assumed that this statement would be accepted as truth because the law does not specifically prohibit joint-stock land banks from lending money for other than agricultural purposes. However, I am convinced that all these men knew that the title of the farm loan act declares that it is the purpose of this law to provide money "for agricultural purposes." I am also convinced that the men who attack the joint-stock land banks know that these banks could not lend money for any other than agricultural purposes unless the law gave them specific permission to do so.

And I am sure that every man who has made this statement to Members of Congress and in the public press has been fully aware that the Farm Loan Board has made a ruling to remove all doubt as to the meaning of the law on this point, and that in this ruling the Farm Loan Board has refused to approve any loans of joint-stock land banks not made for purely agricultural purposes.

Furthermore, the enemies of the Farm Loan System have sought to break down public confidence in the act itself by conveying the impression that the joint-stock land banks were making "enormous" and "outrageous" profits and that, as a result, these institutions were springing up in great number, like mushrooms, all over the country. One statement made and widely circulated was to the effect that one of the joint-stock land banks had made a profit of 30½ per cent. If that were true, or anything like it had been true, it would have been sufficient cause for alarm. But what was the fact? The statement was so "outrageously" untrue that the Farm Loan Board issued a statement setting forth the fact that the profit that had been made by the particular joint-stock land bank in question was not 30½ per cent, nor anything like 30½ per cent, but a quite modest earning of only 9½ per cent.

Now, what is the fact as to the number of these joint-stock land banks that were springing up over the country? Mr. Speaker, only 31 joint-stock land banks have been chartered in the entire United States. And three of these have since surrendered their charters.

Why, Mr. Speaker, it is a notorious fact that there are in this country 6,000 mortgage bankers, many of whom are merely brokers for the great life insurance companies, but all of whom are lending money to the farmer without any restrictions placed upon the interest rates they may charge or the commissions they may charge. Mr. Speaker, these are the enemies of the farm loan system. They have been crafty. They have been unfair. They have resorted to insidious methods. And above all they have been extremely industrious. There is a reason. These selfish interests make their attacks bitterly as they do because they have felt the keen competition of the banks of the farm loan system, and because these selfish interests have been forced by this competition to reduce their rates of interest and to reduce or eliminate their commission charges.

Mr. Speaker, some years ago Gen. Edward S. Bragg, of my State, served as a delegate from Wisconsin to the Democratic national convention which gave Grover Cleveland the nomina-

tion for his second term as President of the United States. As some of you may recall, Mr. Cleveland was bitterly assailed by his enemies in that convention. Gen. Bragg, in seconding the nomination, said of Grover Cleveland, "We love him for the enemies he has made."

Mr. Speaker, one of the most direct and convincing proofs we have had as to the efficacy of the farm loan system is found in the character of the opposition to it. I frankly admit that if I did not understand anything else about the farm loan act, I still should hold it in very high regard because of the enemies it has made.

The enemies of the farm loan system are attacking the system as a whole. Do not forget that their object is to get rid of the entire system. Their attack at this session has been centered on the joint-stock land banks. But do any of you suppose that when they have killed the joint-stock land banks they will be satisfied? Indeed they will not. They will begin their attack anew on the system as a whole, centering at the next session upon the Federal land banks. The point I would have Congress understand is that the attack now made with such vigor upon the joint-stock land banks is only a part of a great general fight to break down the farm loan system as a whole, and that if the enemies succeed in crippling the joint-stock land banks they then will attack with renewed vigor the Federal land banks.

For that reason I want to return for a moment to the consideration of one or two specific instances of misrepresentation by the enemies of the farm loan system.

I desire to submit a letter from the Farm Loan Board correcting a statement that has become current about the earnings of these banks. This letter was addressed to Guy Huston, of Chicago, president of the American Association of Joint-Stock Land Banks, and in effect says that the statement that any joint-stock land bank has made 30½ per cent is false, and that a correct statement of earnings of the particular bank referred to would have been but 9½ per cent per annum, a great difference. I submit this letter from the Farm Loan Board because this seems to be the only effectual way of dissipating the prejudice created by the first and erroneous statement.

I read:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
FARM LOAN BUREAU,
February 28, 1920.

Mr. GUY HUSTON,
President American Association of Joint-Stock Land Banks,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: The secretary of your association has to-day stated to the Farm Loan Board that an incorrect statement as to the earnings of your institution, in which it was quoted as earning 30½ per cent per annum, is being widely circulated in a campaign against joint-stock land banks, and he stated further that the fact that the Federal farm-loan act imposes no limitation upon joint-stock land banks, as to the amount and purposes of loans, or the vocation of the borrower, is being widely circulated in the same campaign. He has asked us to give you a statement on these points, with leave to give publicity to such statement. We willingly comply.

It is probable that the statement as to your earnings grew out of the misinterpretation of a memorandum issued from this office in which that figure was given as covering your earnings for a period of 22 months. Subsequently, this statement was supplemented by the following memorandum, dated January 8, 1920:

"With reference to memorandum, dated June 18, 1919, showing earnings of the First Joint-Stock Land Bank of Chicago as at the close of business May 31, 1919, the following information is respectfully submitted:

"On page 1 of the above-mentioned memorandum the average amount of capital stock invested in this bank for the period from organization to May 31, 1919, was shown to be $299,148.15. This amount is correct, as shown by the records of this bureau, such records being compiled from certificates of the First Joint-Stock Land Bank of Chicago. Since preparing the above-mentioned memorandum, however, it has been called to my attention that these certificates were not made at the time the funds were actually collected on account of this stock subscription, but at some subsequent date prior to the issuance of bonds against such stock, and that the average capital investment on May 31, 1919, was actually $354,340.

"Earnings of this institution at that time were shown to be $61,208.60, which would represent 17.3 per cent on the average investment for the period from organization to May 31, 1919, or about 9½ per cent per annum on average capital invested.

"Respectfully submitted.

"H. HISE,
"Chief Land Bank Examiner."

The above memorandum correctly states your earning as reported to this office and verified by examination of your institution.

In reference to the amount of loan, the board has made a specific ruling as follows:

"Maximum loan to one borrower: No loan to a single borrower made by any joint-stock land bank in excess of 15 per cent of its capital and surplus will be approved as security for a bond issue, and in no case will such approval be given of any loan in excess of $50,000."

As to the purpose of loan, the board's position was defined in a circular, from which the following is a quotation:

"PURPOSE OF THE LOAN.

"The general purposes of the act, however, are so clearly defined in the title, 'To provide capital for agricultural development,' and this purpose is so generally understood and accepted that the board feels it is inconsistent with the purposes of the act and sound public policy that loans should be made by joint-stock land banks except for the purposes enumerated in the act or other purposes related to agricultural development.

"You are, therefore, requested to confine your loans to such purposes and advised that the board can not approve loans which are made for the purpose of speculation or other purposes entirely foreign to agricultural production."

In justice to the joint-stock land banks it should be further stated that these suggestions of the board have been cheerfully accepted, and we think very nearly universally complied with; and the legislative committee of your association recently went on record before the Banking and Currency Committee of the United States Senate as approving these limitations and favoring their incorporation in the farm-loan act.

You are at liberty to give such publicity as you may desire to this statement.

Respectfully, yours,
W. W. FLANNAGAN,
Secretary Farm Loan Board.

I am disappointed to find that some Members of Congress view the farm-loan act as a sort of glorified "poor law" for the relief of paupers, and to view the duties of the Farm Loan Board as being for the most part those of dispensing small charity to small farmers. On this point let me read an utterance made some time ago by a former Secretary of the United States Treasury. He said:

The American farmer is not a pauper seeking alms. Neither is he a ward of the Government to be treated as an irresponsible child.

Up to the time of the passage of the farm loan act the system of farm credits in operation in this country was exceedingly cumbersome. It was so cumbersome that it could not furnish the kind of service the farmer required at any price. That is, it could not furnish loans on the long-term amortization plan. Also the entire field of farm credits was without anything more than the most primitive—and therefore futile—regulation as to rates of interest and commission charges.

After an exhaustive study of the needs of this country and after another exhaustive study of the credit systems of European countries, Congress decided to adequately finance agriculture as a great underlying industry essential to the life of the Nation.

Congress did not contemplate any petty remedies. It did not contemplate charity for the small farmers. It did not contemplate a special privilege for the big farmers.

But Congress did contemplate establishing a practical system of rural credits by which the farmer would be enabled to secure as a right—not as a favor—adequate funds at reasonable rates.

Some of those who now are fighting the Federal and joint-stock land banks forget what were the conditions which prevailed before the passage of the farm-loan act. To get this matter before us in brief form I shall read from a widely known farm paper published by the present Secretary of Agriculture, E. T. Meredith. The paper I read from is Successful Farming, and the article I read was written by W. G. McAdoo, former Secretary of the Treasury. It is as follows:

THE FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACT—ARE THE PROPOSED CHANGES CONTRARY TO THE FARMERS' INTERESTS?

[By W. G. McAdoo, formerly Secretary of the Treasury.]

The attacks now being made in the courts and in the Congress of the United States on the farm-loan act, and the great system of agricultural credit banks thereby created, indicate a purpose on the part of the majority leaders to yield to the pressure and influence of the farm mortgage brokers and to destroy or so cripple the Federal land banks and the joint-stock land banks that the farmers of the country will again be put at the mercy of usurers and mortgage sharks.

A suit was recently brought at Kansas City, Mo., attacking the constitutionality of the farm-loan act. Judge Van Valkenburg, at Kansas City, decided in favor of the constitutionality of the farm-loan law. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the case was recently argued. If the Supreme Court should sustain the constitutionality of the farm-loan act, then the only danger to the farm-loan system is from Congress.

Prior to 1913 there was a severe money stringency at crop-moving seasons. The farmers suffered severely from these annual money squeezes. Inability to get sufficient credit on reasonable terms to harvest their crops and to hold them after harvest for a reasonable time so that they could market them gradually and get the benefit of fair prices resulted each year in the enforced dumping of the crops on the market in a short period of time, with the result that prices fell frequently below the cost of production, entailing grave losses and hardships upon the farmers. Credit was largely controlled by a powerful group in New York commonly referred to as "Wall Street." Doubtless every farmer remembers that in the fall of 1913 the Treasury Department for the first time in its history disregarded "Wall Street" and made direct deposit of Government money in banks in the crop-moving centers throughout the country on condition that the same be lent to farmers for crop-moving purposes at reasonable rates. This broke up the annual crop-moving squeeze, and since 1913 nothing has been heard about tight money and the difficulty of moving the crops.

But this was not enough. The administration realized that unless remedial credit legislation was promptly enacted what the Treasury had gained in breaking the selfish control of credit would be lost. Therefore the Federal reserve act was passed, and while it created a great system of commercial credit, it made provision only for the essential short-time credit needed by the farmer. It put the farmer's six months' notes, given for agricultural purposes such as growing crops or carrying his matured crops when in the form of staple products, upon the same favorable basis as the notes of merchants and other business men when given for commercial purposes.

The farmer's notes of this character were made eligible for rediscount in Federal reserve banks just as were the business man's notes. What does this mean? It means that every national bank can now lend money to the farmer for agricultural purposes or upon the security of staple agricultural products, with full knowledge that it can rediscount such notes in Federal reserve banks upon the same favorable terms that it can rediscount the merchant's paper. This makes the farmer's paper just as desirable to a national bank as the merchant's paper, and opens up to the farmer a vast field of essential short-time credit.

PROVISION FOR LONG-TIME LOANS.

But this was not enough. The farmer also needed a system of agricultural credit under which he could borrow on a mortgage on his farm for a long term of years and at low interest rates and be relieved of high charges for commissions, attorney's fees, and other exactions which, in times past, have made the cost of money borrowed on mortgage, where he was able to get it at all, so high that he could ill afford to bear it. The farmer could rarely borrow on mortgage for a longer period than five years. Frequently he could borrow for a much shorter time only. He had to submit to arbitrary valuations of his property which were not infrequently lower than was justified and he had to take the money upon any terms the lender imposed upon him. The small farmer who wanted to borrow on mortgage, $1,000 or less, found it very difficult to get it on any terms. There was little or no credit on farm mortgage for the small borrower.

The need of mortgage credit to the farmer is very great, because he can not make permanent improvements on his land, or buy machinery, or raise cattle or fruit trees or other crops which take a long time to mature, or clear his land, or tile it, or lime it, and get returns from the additional investment unless he has a long-time loan. It became necessary, therefore, to create a farm-mortgage system which would give the farmer, first, the long-time mortgage loan covering a period of as much as 40 years and repayable on the amortization plan, namely, in annual installments of, say, 1 per cent; second, a low rate of interest, which would be uniform throughout the United States, so that farmers everywhere would share equally in the benefits of the system. This could be accomplished only by the creation of land banks with power to sell a standard form of bonds based upon the security of the farm mortgages they purchased from the farmer. By making these bonds safe and attractive to investors the land banks would be able to command a constant supply of money by sale of their bonds and thus be able to lend upon the security of the farm mortgage.

It was essential that the mortgages given by the farmer and the bonds issued by the banks upon the security thereof should be exempt from all United States, State, and local taxation. Without this exemption, it would be impossible to sell the bonds of the banks at such reasonable rates of interest that the banks in turn could lend money to the farmers on mortgages at a reasonable rate of interest. Consequently, the Congress of the United States, upon the recommendation of the President, passed the Federal farm loan act in July, 1916. Under this law the country has been divided into 12 districts and a Federal land bank has been established in each. These Federal land banks are not permitted to lend more than $10,000 to a single borrower, and they can not lend except upon the cooperative plan through a farm loan association which the farmers have to organize. It was necessary, therefore, to provide another class of banks which could make loans to farmers desiring to borrow in excess of $10,000. Therefore, the act provides for the organization of what is called joint-stock land banks. These banks are permitted to lend direct to a single borrower in any amount up to $50,000. The joint-stock land banks, like the Federal land banks, issue their bonds against the security of the farm mortgages they take. The joint-stock land banks are required to lend on the long-time amortization plan at rates of interest regulated by the Federal Farm Loan Board at Washington, just as in the case of the Federal land banks. The entire system is under the supervision and control of the Farm Loan Board established in the Treasury Department at Washington. Thus a great system of agricultural credit is created, the short-time loans being supplied by the Federal Reserve System and the long-time amortization mortgage loans by the Federal Farm Loan System.

THEIR NEED IS APPARENT.

Although the Federal land banks have been in operation but little more than two years, they have made loans to farmers throughout the United States aggregating $285,000,000 at 5 and 5½ per cent interest, plus 1 per cent per annum for amortization, so that at maturity the principal will have been paid in full if the interest and amortization charges shall have been regularly paid as they became due.

The joint-stock land banks have made direct loans to farmers amounting to something like $41,000,000, at low rates of interest, and on the amortization plan it is evident from the manner in which the farmers are making use of the system that it is serving a genuine need. All of the Federal land banks are now established on a profitable basis, and this farm credit system, conceived in the spirit of helpfulness and cooperation, if not destroyed, can perform a notable service for American agriculture.

The provision that the bonds issued by the Federal and joint-stock land banks and secured by farm mortgages shall be exempt from taxation, and that the rates of interest shall be regulated by the Farm Loan Board and be uniform in all the States, makes it possible for the farmer having good security, even though he lives in a sparsely settled State, to secure credit on just as reasonable terms as the farmer who lives in the most populous and settled State.

But those private money lenders and brokers who for years have fattened at the expense of the American farmer have fought bitterly this tax-exemption feature, because they are now forced into competition with the land-bank system and compelled to lend money on reasonable terms. Threats that the tax exemption on farm mortgages and land-bank bonds would be knocked out by the present Congress have been confidently made by the farm-mortgage brokers of America. The attacks recently made by two of the leaders of the House of Representatives and by one of the leaders of the Senate should serve as a warning to every farmer and citizen interested in the maintenance and success of the land-bank system that they must resist the attempts of these selfish interests if they want the farm-loan system to be preserved.

Representative J. W. FORDNEY, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, and Representative MCFADDEN, a member of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House, have made speeches recently in opposition to the tax-exemption clause, and these speeches are being widely circulated by the farm-mortgage brokers of America.

Senator SMOOT has introduced a bill in the Senate to force the liquidation of the joint-stock land banks, and Mr. MCFADDEN has introduced a similar bill in the House of Representatives. If the joint-stock land banks are thus destroyed and the tax exemption on farm mortgages and land-bank bonds is repealed, the farm-mortgage brokers and private money lenders will again have a monopoly on the field of long-time agricultural credit, and the farmers of the country know what that will mean in high interest rates, commissions, attorneys' fees, and other charges on the original loan and large commissions on each renewal if the farmer succeeds in getting a renewal. The cost of money to the farmer will be increased and all the old abuses will be restored; the mortgage bankers will not grant the long-time amortization loans which the farmer can gradually pay off so that the principal of the debt will be liquidated at maturity. Farmers will have to take short-time loans on such terms as the farm-mortgage brokers and lenders choose to make. In other words, the old system of farm loans with its insufficiency of credit, its usurious rates of interest, its high commissions, and injustices leading only too frequently to the tragedy of foreclosure and loss of everything will be restored.

FAIR PLAY FOR FARMERS.

Why should farmers not have the benefit of exemption from taxation on farm mortgages and the bonds issued by the land banks against these mortgages? What is a mortgage anyway? It is merely an evidence of indebtedness. Why should the Government of the United States tax the evidence of the farmers' indebtedness? What is the bond of the land bank but an evidence of indebtedness issued on the security of the mortgage of the farmer and by means of which the bank is enabled to get the necessary money from investors to lend to the farmer on his mortgage? If a tax is imposed on the Federal and joint-stock land bank bonds, who will pay it? The borrowing farmers, of course. They will pay the higher interest rates which the bonds will have to carry if the tax exemption is removed, because the banks will have to charge the farmers a higher rate of interest on their mortgages. If the farmer has paid taxes on his mortgaged farm and on his income as well, why should he be asked to pay taxes on his debt? The mortgage on his farm and the bond issued by the land bank are both mere evidences of indebtedness, resting upon the land upon which the farmer pays taxes.

Why should this tax exemption, which makes the land-bank system successful and enables it to give the farmer sufficient agricultural credit on long time and at reasonable rates of interest, provoke the hostility of leaders in the Congress when a similar tax exemption has been granted in favor of rich and powerful national banks? We have heard no complaints about this tax exemption. No one challenges it or complains of it. But if the farmers of the United States are given a similar exemption, then it becomes an "outrageous" thing.

The national banks of the United States own all the stock in the 12 Federal reserve banks, which have an aggregate capital of more than $86,000,000. These national banks are permitted to receive 6 per cent preferred dividends on their Federal reserve bank stock, and, in addition, every dollar of that stock and the income therefrom is exempt from all Federal, State, and municipal taxation. All State and municipal bonds issued throughout the Nation are given full exemption from Federal, State, and local taxation. There are millions of these securities in the hands of the wealthy classes. Why should they have the benefit of exemptions which withdraw hundreds of thousands of dollars of their income from all Federal, State, and local taxes? Certainly, a tax exemption which will permit the farmer to get credit on reasonable terms is no more heinous than a tax exemption in favor of the stock holdings of the national banks in the Federal reserve banks and in favor of wealthy people who invest their money in State and municipal and county bonds, the income of which can not be taxed one cent by Federal, State, or local governments.

In order to establish successfully the great commercial credit system represented by the Federal reserve act and the great agricultural credit system represented by the Federal farm-loan act I think that the Congress was justified in granting exemptions from taxation of the stock held by the national banks in the Federal reserve banks and of the farm mortgages and bonds of the Federal and joint-stock land banks; but if the exemptions from taxation in favor of the agricultural credit system are to be repealed, then with equal justification the exemptions from taxation in favor of the commercial credit system should be repealed.

Apparently, in the eyes of these selfish interests, the farmer is entitled to no consideration; and it is equally apparent that in their eyes capital and wealth are entitled to every consideration.

The agricultural class, upon whose prosperity and welfare the life of the people of the United States depends, will not now consent to see this great land bank system destroyed for the benefit of those who for years have taken advantage of the farmer's necessities by selling him credit at extortionate rates of interest and on extremely hard and unsatisfactory terms.

I do not say that there should be no amendments to or changes of the farm loan act. The system is new and the test of experience will undoubtedly show that beneficial amendments of the law may from time to time be made. For instance, I think it would be wise to amend the law so that joint-stock land banks shall not be permitted to make loans on farm lands, except to farmers who will actually engage in the cultivation of the soil and for live stock, equipment, improvements, etc., just as in the case of the Federal land banks. I also think it would be wise to limit the loans which a joint-stock land bank may make to any one borrower to not more than $50,000; this, however, is already covered by a regulation of the Federal Farm Loan Board and may be sufficient for the purpose. These amendments are necessary to prevent the funds of the joint-stock land banks from being used for the buying up of farm lands with money borrowed from the banks by those who will not improve or cultivate it but merely hold it for an advance in values. Our new and admirable agricultural credit system must not be prostituted to speculative ends.

The Federal Farm Loan System must be preserved. The tax exemption on the mortgages given by the farmers to the Federal land banks and the joint-stock land banks and upon the bonds issued by these banks must be continued so that the great basic industry of agriculture, upon which rests the prosperity of all, will not be burdened unnecessarily. The business of food production is fundamental. No one must be permitted to collect one cent of unjust tribute from it.

The farmers of the United States and all citizens interested in the welfare of the Nation must assert themselves vigorously against any effort on the part of selfish interests in or out of Congress to destroy this great land-bank system which furnishes for the first time in the history of America adequate agricultural credit to the farmers at reasonable rates and on just terms.

The Federal farm-loan act was the farmer's declaration of independence against usury and insufficient credit, as well as against unjust exactions of private money lenders and brokers.

Mr. Speaker, the farm loan act was not passed as a party measure. The agitation for such a law began under a Republican administration. The appropriation for the study of conditions in this country and Europe by a United States commission was made by a Republican Congress, and the law making the appropriation was signed by a Republican President, Mr. Taft. It just so happens that in the whirligig of politics, a

Democratic President, Mr. Wilson, named the commission which made the study of and the report on the rural credit systems of European countries. It is a mere accident of politics that the Democrats had a majority of Congress when it came time to pass this legislation. Such a measure was promised in the Republican platform of 1912. The bill was passed by a big vote in its favor without any reference to party alignment. Therefore, speaking as a Republican, I have not hesitated to quote a former Democratic Secretary of the Treasury.

As I said in the early part of these remarks, I have laid particular stress upon the attack against the joint-stock land banks because they are an important part of the farm-loan system, and because the evidence is overwhelming that the attack on the joint-stock land banks is only a part of a general attack to break down the farm-loan system as a whole.

Mr. Speaker, we have a joint-stock land bank in Wisconsin, and it is adapted to our peculiar needs. The Bankers' Joint Stock Land Bank of Milwaukee is performing a valuable service by supplying the capital we need for the development of the northern part of Wisconsin. We have 9,000,000 acres of hardwood cut-over lands in the northern counties of my State—9,000,000 acres of good farming land, adapted to dairy farming; 9,000,000 acres of undeveloped land that is as fertile and that will be as productive as the land in the southern counties of Wisconsin, where we have developed the dairy industry until now it produces milk, butter, and cheese valued at $200,000,000 a year.

Mr. Speaker, I want to see the northern part of Wisconsin as fully developed as southern Wisconsin. We can not develop these lands without the aid of outside capital. And that is why I do not want anything done to cut off our supply of outside money. That is why I do not want any action taken by Congress that will deprive us of the services of the joint-stock land bank. The men who control and operate the Bankers' Joint Stock Land Bank of Milwaukee have brought to Wisconsin to be used in agricultural development a total of more than $10,000,000. Of this amount approximately $5,000,000 has been made available within the last two years by the organization and operation of the joint-stock land bank.

I submit these facts and have engaged in this discussion that the character of the service performed by joint-stock land banks may be known and understood.

Repeal War Measures.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. EVANS,
OF MONTANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920.

Mr. EVANS of Montana. Mr. Speaker, this resolution purports to repeal the war measures and doubtless will repeal some of those measures. It will be noted, however, that it specifically retains the Lever Act, and as to others it is ambiguous and uncertain. Notwithstanding these defects I shall support the resolution on the theory that if I can not get a whole loaf I will take half a loaf.

This measure, like every other measure that has been considered in this House recently, has been brought up under a rule that denies any change or amendment. Members must vote for this particular resolution just as it comes from the committee, without the dotting of an "i" or the crossing of a "t," or they must vote against the whole proposition. I am compelled to vote for this makeshift because I can get nothing better. No man can tell from the reading of this resolution just what laws are repealed. The only positive and affirmative statement in the resolution is that the Lever Act and the trading-with-the-enemy act are not repealed. I have tried to ascertain if this measure repeals the espionage act, but no man here can give me definite assurance on that question.

Mr. Speaker, on the 28th day of April last I introduced in this House a bill framed in positive and unequivocal terms repealing all of the so-called war measures. That bill, like others introduced with the same end in view, was pigeonholed and has slumbered from that day to this, and now, within three days of adjournment, this equivocal measure is brought in to be passed without amendment. What the people want is the repeal of all war-time restrictive and repressive measures. They want to get back to normal. They have waited for more than a year, devoutly hoping for this. They want to be protected in the right of free speech and free expression through their own voices and through the public press of the country. The espionage law was probably necessary during the war, but it should have died with the signing of the armistice.

It was abused during the war and has been abused since the war. Many wrongs have been committed under that law. Some people, moved by patriotic fervor during the war, lost their bearings and, through the processes of the law and the courts, inflicted many hardships on individuals, which injustice they did not merit. Another class of people, Mr. Speaker, to whom I can not be so charitable, taking advantage of the patriotic fervor and excitement engendered by the war, constituted themselves guardians of the community and the country. Men with little standing in their own community, posing as superpatriots, busied themselves by practicing a system of espionage on their neighbors, arresting, harassing, and mobbing them in an effort to ingratiate or reinstate themselves in the minds of the just, patriotic, and fair-minded people of the community. These are the people who brought this law and who bring all law into disrepute. I have no doubt, Mr. Speaker, there are hundreds of men now languishing in jail, convicted in the excitement of war and under conditions as I have related, that should be released.

In Montana, which I have the honor, in part, to represent, the highest courts, both State and Federal, are now releasing men, realizing that convictions were made where excitement, and not law and justice, held sway. Let us repeal these laws. Let us get back to normal.

The war is over. As Gen. Grant said at Appomattox. "Let us have peace."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAVID J. O'CONNELL,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920.

Mr. O'CONNELL. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I am going to vote for this bill not because it is in any way adequate but because it is all we can get at this time. Nearly 2,000 of my constituents have written me urging a better wage for these loyal public servants.

Over the entire country a tidal wave of appeal is rolling to sweep the Government into swift action on behalf of the 285,000 employees in the service of the post office. As a request of workers for better wages and better working conditions, this instance is unique. It is unique in that the heaviest volume of appeal is aimed at the employer—the Government—not by the workers but by the consumers, by a vast proportion of the population of the United States. The consumers, I venture to assert, have never been known to indorse and urge an increase of wages when there is question of it, let us say, about meat or coal. They feel shy and hesitant in such a case. It may be because they feel they know where the increase is coming from. But the consumers in the case of the post-office employees—or, to put it more definitely, the beneficiaries of the Postal Service, the people at large—are indorsing and urging fair and proper compliance with the needs of post-office workers, whether they toil under the terrific pressure of offices and carrier routes in great cities or on the remotest, arduous rural routes between Maine and California.

Yet the people know that in the case of postal salaries increases must be added to the general charges of the Government. Nevertheless they are clamoring for an increase of such salaries, regardless of any partisan feeling, as far as they themselves are concerned or those to whom they make appeal. The astonishingly rapid growth of the sentiment, as well as its apparent unanimity, has excited suspicion in some candid minds. Also, as is the psychological law, so direct and forceful a revelation of an idea has stimulated minor opposition thoughts and impressions. "If these post-office people are so terribly underpaid," it is asked in some quarters, "how have they got together the money to raise such a rumpus? It must have cost a fortune." It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that the conscientious objectors who view the matter in this light have had their vision dazzled by too close reading of the high cost of being a presidential possibility. They overlook the fact, which you know, that for about a year a searching study of the matter of postal salaries in all branches of the service in all parts of the country has been made under the direction of the Joint Postal Commission. These skeptics seem also to

realize that an inquiry of such far-reaching and thorough ramification has made the subject of postal salaries a household word not only in the homes of postal employees but also in the homes of their relatives and friends and acquaintances. Propaganda? By no means! If you call such talk propaganda, then we are a Nation of propagandists, for if there is one topic on which we all, from the richest to the poorest, have been propagandists these many months it is the paralyzing after-war cost of living.

But the heaviest denunciation to which postal employees have been subjected by scornful critics has not been due to the fact that they have received so much support from the people at large, but from the press. Mr. Speaker, the experience of this Government with the press during the war should make even the most exacting mind careful in criticism. When anything was required of the press in the way of publicity the publishers and editors of the country were only too willing to lend their every facility and energy toward the great work of national solidarity on the one objective—to win the war. Through the press great industrial and business organizations, it will be recalled, were enabled to throw the weight of their influence and material effort toward the same end. The press and these same individuals and organizations acted likewise in the colossal campaigns of charity that have been engineered for war-ravaged populations all over Europe. To-day America is a name that is mentioned with a prayer of gratitude in every country in Europe, because it has helped those who needed and who deserved help. No criticism was ever directed against the efforts made to succor these impoverished and needy aliens, even by those superior economists who look upon the post-office employees asking for more pay with much of the indignation and amazement Mr. Bumble displayed when Oliver Twist asked for "More." But these critics are not satisfied with objurgation for the postal employees, who are merely seeking a living wage. They must needs see some nefarious collusion between them and organs that have espoused their cause. It is insinuated that the postal employees will in future be bounden, body and soul, to the support of such organs. To allay the fears of such critics, it should be pointed out that none of the publications which have ever supported drives in behalf of needy aliens counted on receiving in return the quid pro quo of a various subscription list, divided into some such form as this: Belgian section, Armenian section, Jewish section, Serbian section, Red Cross section, Knights of Columbus section, and so forth. What is more, to anybody who knows the slightest about the theory and practice of publishing—and there are many here who have such knowledge—an insinuation of this character is self-destructive through its inherent nonsense.

And while we are on the subject of the theory and practice of publishing, it might be well to remind ourselves of the fact that one of its first principles is to record events and tendencies. It does not create tendencies, but records them and makes them known abroad. Now, the two chief tendencies about the problem of the Postal Service are these: First, the inhuman wage status of the workers, and, secondly, the alarming defection of experienced workers from the various branches of the service, who are being forced out by their inability to live on their present pay.

But an increase in wages will do the post-office workers no good, in the judgment of superior economists, who say that we must wait until there is a general deflation in the land and we all return to a condition where you get more than your money's worth and not less for every dollar you spend. These superior economists tell the post-office employees to wait, and seemingly expect them to wait on an empty stomach. I think even a superior economist would object to working out the highest theories of his economy on anything less than adequate food, clothing, and shelter. These economists say wages and salaries have been notably increased in various lines of business and industry, yet the cry is still heard of the impossibility of making both ends meet. All increases, it is said, are wiped out by the superincrease of the cost of food, clothes, and shelter. They also say that many people are feeling not the pinch of poverty, but the results of their unbridled extravagance in the era of easy getting and easy spending. I shall not stop to analyze the correctness of such a statement on this occasion, because I am concerned with the condition of a multitude of workers who individually or as a class have had no opportunity to indulge in any extravagance—except, perhaps, in the extravagance of hope, which is the one sustaining extravagance of the militant soul. A number of reports have been drawn up by the postal commission which contain an encyclopedia of figures and narratives that are as irresistible in their logic as they are affecting in their human documentary evidence. It is not necessary to do more than glance at some revelations of these records in order to be persuaded of the utter need and the undeniable deserts of the postal employees.

Perhaps nothing could make us see better their condition than to compare their lot with that of some other wage earners, as shown in a memorial to the Joint Commission on Postal Salaries, presented by Branch 2, United National Association of Post Office Clerks of Brooklyn, N. Y. In this we learn that, while a bricklayer receives an average of $10 per day, a post-office clerk receives an average of only $3.48 per day. No one will question the intelligence, judgment, and general efficiency required of the bricklayer. But it must be admitted that a post-office clerk requires these qualities in a superior degree, and is obliged every hour he works to exercise a sense of initiative and responsibility that is indispensable to the conduct of so flexible and complicated a work as his. Again, our $3.48 a day post-office clerk is offered in contrast to the plumber who receives $7, the painter who receives $8 a day, and the window cleaner who earns from $5 to $6 a day. If we take the matter by hours we see the plodding, persistent post-office clerk receiving 43½ cents per hour, contrasted with the longshoreman's hourly pay of from 75 cents to $1. The low compensation of the postal employees, as compared with the compensation received by the workers just mentioned and various others, strikes one more impressively when we take into consideration what the Government, as an employer, asks of applicants for work, as may be judged from the requirements for mail clerks and carriers. In an argument and brief of the National Association of Letter Carriers submitted to the joint congressional commission we read the following:

> There are few occupations for which the applicant must satisfy such rigid requirements. The letter carrier must be a citizen; he must satisfy physical requirements which closely parallel those required for enlistment in the Army or Navy; his references as to character, experience, and ability must be of the best; he must pass a competitive civil-service examination with a grade of at least 70 per cent; and, finally, he is required to furnish a $1,000 bond as a guaranty of his responsibility. Having satisfied all these requirements, he receives, as a rule, appointment as a substitute.
>
> During his four years as a substitute, and after receiving his appointment as a regular carrier, his duties are complex and responsible, demanding a quick and retentive memory. The carrier's work must be done with infinite accuracy, because he is the last link in the chain of the post-office system for handling mail, and he is the man who is penalized for all errors. He must not only learn the distributive scheme of his route, memorizing several thousands of names and associating those names with the labeled compartments of the post-office distributing case, but he must also assimilate for instant use the Postal Rules and Regulations, which are contained in a book of 800 pages. In time he becomes a veritable postal encyclopedia. He is the responsible fiscal agent of the Government, handling money and valuable mail. He may have to be everything from chauffeur to diplomat, as well as one arm of the Government's information service. He must be honest, sober, loyal, and industrious, as well as neat in his attire. His job also tests physical endurance, requiring him to walk many miles a day with a heavy pack, often through the most difficult weather conditions.
>
> In short, the letter carrier is a carefully selected, highly efficient, and unusually responsible public servant, whose duties are peculiarly arduous. These facts should certainly place him among the highly paid workers of the country.

But it is not only clerks and other lower-grade employees who are underpaid, for one of the astounding things revealed by the study of the pay conditions of the postal employees is that in some instances men in the service of the Post Office receive less than was paid to the same class of employees 40 years ago. For example, in a brief submitted by the Association of Supervisory Employees of the New York post office we read that "in 1881 the four heads of divisions who ranked next to the assistant postmaster received $4,000 annually. In successive waves of attempted economy they were reduced, notwithstanding the tremendous increase in their responsibilities, until their basic salary to-day is only $3,200 each." To sum up the startling contrast between the salaries of post-office employees and workers in other fields of endeavor, I quote from the table compiled by the United National Association of Post Office Clerks, which shows the following:

	Average salary per hour.
Skilled labor:	
Mechanics, etc	$0.81
Trained and expert employees:	
Banking and fiduciary institutions, insurance and brokerage concerns, railroad and steamship lines	.80
Unskilled and common labor	.55
Clerical employees of State	.68½
Municipal	.67
Post-office employees	.48½

Mr. Speaker, I am perfectly aware that our superior economists have an argument to demolish all these figures and the significance of them, and this argument is that the post-office employees ought to get out of the post office if they are not satisfied with wage conditions. In fact, we hear it said that no man with any spirit would work continuously in the post office or any other branch of the Government service.

I may say, incidentally, that I do not think the advice of economists, superior or inferior, will lessen or increase this movement of the retirement of the best workers from the Post Office Service. They are guided and driven by the inexorable law of human need. But those who do get out, it must be remembered, are only in the minority. The great majority have been so long in the service that they are absolutely unfitted to engage in any other occupation. So the superior economist wins again with his argument that if they can not get out and can not better themselves, why, let them stay where they are and cease to bother us with clamor and repining. But there is another aspect of this question that concerns the Government in a purely selfish sense. As an employer and as the sole controller and owner of so vast an organization as the Postal System of these United States, it would be courting suicide to permit the growing decline in the efficiency of this great machine. The postal system in all parts of the world has from the beginning almost exclusively been the property and charge of the State. The capacity and completeness of this system is in no small measure an index to the civilization of the State itself. To be negligent of such a member of the body politic of the Nation is to be guilty of two of the most dangerous tendencies in any national system—ignorance and sloth. For full and complete communication between mind and mind throughout the world and in all parts of these United States, we are finally to the heaviest degree dependent on the message of light that comes to us through the mails. It is true not only to-day, but it has been true for more than 20 centuries. In about the year 460 B. C., Herodotus, the father of history, wrote of the Persian system of posts that "neither heat nor cold nor rain nor snow nor sun nor night can stay these couriers on their appointed rounds." That tradition of fidelity to trust, of determination in the performance of such trust, despite the severity of the elements and the chance obstacles of every fateful hour, is adhered to after all these centuries now in our day, whether the worker for the post office be in one of our great centers handling messages of vast import to whole masses of busy populations, or whether he be an R. F. D. carrier climbing some mountain trail to a lonely cabin and bearing for its occupant a few letters and newspapers, a whole store of the treasures of life in the great world outside.

Collective Marketing.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS W. HARRISON,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 31, 1920.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, the bill under discussion, as amended, reads as follows:

A bill (H. R. 13931) to authorize association of producers of agricultural products.

Be it enacted, etc., That persons engaged in the production of agricultural products as farmers, planters, ranchmen, dairymen, or fruit growers may act together in associations, corporate or otherwise, with or without capital stock, in collectively processing, preparing for market, handling, and marketing in interstate and foreign commerce such products of their members; and such producers may organize and operate such associations and make the necessary contracts and agreements to effect that purpose, any law to the contrary notwithstanding: *Provided, however*, That such associations are operated for the mutual benefit of the members thereof, as such producers, and conform to one or both of the following requirements:

First. That no member of the association is allowed more than one vote because of the amount of stock or membership capital he may own therein; or,

Second. That the association does not pay dividends on stock or membership capital in excess of 8 per cent per annum.

SEC. 2. That if the Secretary of Agriculture shall have reason to believe that any such association restrains trade or lessens competition to such an extent that the price of any agricultural product is unduly enhanced by reason thereof, he shall serve upon such association a complaint stating his charge in that respect, to which complaint shall be attached, or contained therein, a notice of hearing, specifying a day and place not less than 30 days after the service thereof, requiring the association to show cause why an order should not be made directing it to cease and desist from so restraining trade or lessening competition in such article. An association so complained of may at the time and place so fixed show cause why such order should not be entered. The evidence given on such a hearing shall be reduced to writing and made a part of the record therein. If upon such hearing the Secretary of Agriculture shall be of the opinion that such association restrains trade or lessens competition to such an extent that the price of any agricultural product is, or is about to become, unduly enhanced thereby, he shall issue and cause to be served upon the association an order reciting the facts found by him, directing such association to cease and desist therefrom. If such association fails or neglects for 30 days to obey such order, the Secretary of Agriculture shall file in the district court in which such association has its principal place of business a certified copy of the order and of all the records in the proceeding, together with a petition asking that the order be enforced, and shall give notice to the Attorney General and to said association of such filing. Such district court shall thereupon have jurisdiction to affirm, set aside, or modify said order, and may make rules as to pleadings and proceedings to be had in considering such order.

The facts found by the Secretary of Agriculture and recited as set forth in said order shall be prima facie evidence of such facts, but either party may adduce additional evidence. The Department of Justice shall have charge of the enforcement of such order. After the order is so filed in such district court, and while pending for review, the district court may issue a temporary writ of injunction forbidding such association from violating such order or any part thereof. The court may upon conclusion of its hearing enforce such order by a permanent injunction or other appropriate remedy. Service of such complaint and of all notices may be made upon such association by service upon any officer or agent thereof engaged in carrying on its business, and such service shall be binding upon such association, the officers, and members thereof: *Provided*, That nothing contained in this section shall apply to the organizations or individual members thereof described in section 6 of the act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved October 15, 1914, known as the Clayton Act.

This bill is substantially what is known as the Capper-Hersman bill, and is accepted by the patrons of that bill as a substitute.

The bill is criticized by those who represent constituencies antagonistic to agricultural interests—first, as class legislation in favor of the farmer, and second, in their tender regard for the farmer they are fearful that it will enable those inimical to the famer to combine against him for his undoing.

A very casual consideration of the bill will demonstrate the feebleness of both criticisms.

First. Those who are permitted to form these cooperative associations must be "farmers, planters, ranchmen, dairymen, or fruit growers." So that all danger of hostile organizations is practically eliminated.

Second. The object of the associations is to permit, without interference on the part of antitrust laws, collective preparation for marketing and marketing the products of the farm.

The general public and consumers are protected against profiteering on the part of the farmer by these features of the bill:

First. The association is operated only for the mutual benefit of the members, as such producers.

Second. No member shall have more than one vote.

Third. That dividends shall not exceed 8 per cent.

Fourth. The Secretary of Agriculture is given the power to proceed against such associations where their operations bring about an unduly enhanced price of agricultural products.

So that the bill simply authorizes the farmers to organize for cooperation in handling their own farm products, and the consuming public is amply protected from the abuses of such cooperation.

When the farmer goes into the market to buy he is confronted on every hand by great combinations in the articles he must have.

The transportation trade, the fertilizer trade, the agricultural-implement trade, the binder-twine trade, the meat-packers' trade, the trade in all kinds of materials, including the trades using his products as raw materials, work exclusively in great combinations, with the highest priced legal talent employed to keep them within the limits allowed by law.

The individual farmer must cope with these combinations at great disadvantage. This bill, which encourages the farmers to cooperate in the production and sale of their products, must be fruitful of good results.

The agricultural production of this country is by far the most important of all its industries, and directly dependent upon it are more of its citizens than in any other one industry. It is practically unorganized in its effort to secure fair treatment in the markets of this country. The natural result of this is that at present the farming interests are suffering and farm production is on a decline.

The farmers of the country never strike, and their day of toil is not numbered by hours nor brightened by philanthropical schemes of recreation. They must endure the surly blasts of the winter storm and the heat of the summer sun, that the rich and the poor may have sustenance, and they are in no position to profit in the necessities and sufferings of humanity. The profiteering hog will exact out of the farmer the products of his toil at less than living cost, and then grind the face of the poor with the high cost of foodstuffs. It is not the farmer who is receiving the big cost of food. In many lines of production he is working at a loss.

This abnormal condition demonstrates the propriety of the proposed legislation, which will enable cooperative associations of farmers to bring their products, without intermediary, to the table of the consumer.

Surely there is something very abnormal in such a condition. The demands growing more insistent and production less profitable, statistics show the farmer, on all things he must sell, is getting on the average less than 65 per cent advance upon the price he received in 1914, and is paying 185 per cent increase on the price of 1914 for what he buys, including clothing, implements, labor, and so forth.

When the war broke out a fervent appeal was made to the patriotism of the farmer to increase production, and he responded nobly. He was hampered by a price limit being placed on his wheat and by his labor being taken from him and by vexatious laws like the daylight saving act, but in spite of this, God knows how, production was enormously increased.

I sought very earnestly to have farm labor in the selective draft law placed on the same footing as the labor in the munition plants and the shipbuilding plants, but was only partially successful. Through my earnest protest the farm was not absolutely stripped of its essential and necessary labor, but a very strict construction was placed on what constituted necessary labor. A large per cent of farm labor was taken.

Statistics gathered from reliable sources show that a large per cent of the labor has not returned to the farm, and the colored labor of the South which has returned has greatly decreased in efficiency. The workday is shortened and even then the work done is less per hour.

This is not remarkable. City life is more stirring and attractive to youth. Apparently in shortened hours of work and increased pay per day the city labor is better remunerated than farm labor. I use the word "apparently" advisedly, for I believe at the end of a year the farm laborer will find himself better off than his city brother, even though he receives less. He has better living conditions and better opportunities to save.

To all thoughtful people the condition of the American farmer is one of constant concern.

Many helpful laws were enacted during the Wilson administration. The Federal reserve act, giving this country the greatest banking system ever enjoyed by any country; the farm-loan bank act; rural credits; and the Federal aid to public roads are conspicuous instances of such legislation.

The records of Congress will show that in each and all of these matters I have been instrumental in lending a helpful hand, and with the study of conditions, knowledge acquired thereby, and experience in legislation I hope to be of still greater service.

Cooperative associations such as this bill contemplates have been tried under State laws and found very effective. With this legislation such associations will become of very general application and, I believe, will be of very great practical benefit to agricultural interests.

Entertaining these views, I heartily favor the bill and urge all farmers to take advantage of its provisions.

Improvement of the Tombigbee River.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EZEKIEL S. CANDLER,
OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 1, 1920.

Mr. CANDLER. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I obtained unanimous consent to extend my remarks on the subject of the Tombigbee River, but I fail to find it in the RECORD and I can not locate the date. I therefore ask unanimous consent again.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the subject of the Tombigbee River. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CANDLER. Mr. Speaker, under above leave granted to me by unanimous consent of the House of Representatives to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the subject of the Tombigbee River, I desire to present and call attention to a petition which I received urging the improvement of this river, and urge upon the House and the Committee on Rivers and Harbors the justness as well as the importance of the improvement of this historic stream, and the making of an adequate appropriation by Congress for that purpose. The petition to which I refer is the following, which is signed by a number of most excellent and progressive citizens of Itawamba County, Miss., who are familiar with the situation and know and realize the importance of the proposed improvement.

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI,
Itawamba County.

To the honorable Congress of the United States:

We, the undersigned citizens of said county and State, petition your honorable body to cut off the short bends and straighten and deepen the channel of the Tombigbee River, in the interest of commerce.

We feel absolutely sure the benefits to be secured by the improvement of this river would fully compensate not only this locality but the country at large for the necessary appropriation to do the work required. The improvement of this river would open up to commerce and trade a very large and productive territory.

Respectfully submitted.

I. L. Stovall; J. H. Stovall; W. B. Stovall; P. O. Stovall; H. R. Christian; E. G. Rogers; S. P. Howard, manager Fulton Bros.; J. G. Brown; Clem Moore; J. M. Gray; J. T. Anthony; A. G. Moore; F. G. Guthrie; W. E. Harrison; W. B. Smith; J. O. Smith; J. W. Wheeler; L. C. Wallace; C. Cooley; G. T. Woldridge; S. M. Christian; J. I. Been; H. L. Shields; T. J. Phillips; J. P. Thornbery; S. H. Turner; C. D. Sheffield; H. M. Fastry; T. A. Winters; J. V. Vanney; S. R. Donald; T. W. Christian; D. S. Comer; F. H. McCullough; T. E. Shields; I. F. York; J. V. Gebey; J. A. Hood; B. G. Moore; M. E. Moore; W. T. Davis; D. W. Walton; J. W. Guerby; C. W. Brown; E. S. Hare; E. G. Moore; J. S. Comer; W. G. Orr; J. A. H. Green, J. T. Seater, M. D.; E. B. Gaither; J. G. Narmey; T. F. Fikes; J. T. Gregory; A. T. Cleveland, attorney; Z. D. Wheeler; R. E. L. Gillentine, deputy sheriff; J. E. Sandlin; G. W. Gilliland, chancery clerk; A. D. Graham, editor News; A. M. L. Whitehead; J. C. Whitehead; C. R. Seuter; D. L. Lee; J. G. Seuter; W. P. McNeece; F. W. Fikes; J. H. Gilliland; W. H. Janlin; L. L. Reed; B. M. Pearce, sheriff; Dr. Sheffied; S. E. Stovall; R. B. Hasel; A. B. Sanderson; C. L. Sheffield; J. D. Christian; D. B. Moore; H. H. Murphy, jr.; G. T. Sheffield, M. D.; J. E. Sheffield; D. D. Duvall; J. S. Murphy; W. I. Beren; S. J. T. Ailes; J. E. Sims; H. E. Sheffield; O. S. Brown; J. A. Watson; S. W. Brays; H. L. Frank; A. W. Loden; W. G. Donald; John Laben; W. O. Hiester; Lee Renn; W. M. Guthrie; H. G. Moore; A. Graham, M. D.; J. M. Thomas; J. I. McNeece; K. F. Seuter; N. J. Seuter; W. G. Jarrell; J. H. Beacon; W. D. Roberts; C. S. Alverson; J. W. Scott; W. R. Wilemar; C. G. Sandlin; R. S. Roden; A. M. Wood; J. M. Sproelling; H. L. Gillespie; G. W. Chatham; J. P. Riggs; C. D. Halley; U. S. Graham; W. M. Kennedy; L. A. Lollar, jr., circuit clerk; Neil S. Brown; G. L. Dulaney, postmaster, Fulton, Miss.; J. C. Cain; W. L. Orr, M. D.; J. R. Riggs; J. W. Hugber; W. G. Whitehead; J. W. Wood; I. L. Sheffield, attorney; L. Armstrong; G. W. Carroll; H. B. Stephens; James M. Brown, attorney; M. C. Benson, attorney; J. W. Powell; V. J. Steele; C. A. Pierce; E. B. Boozer; J. F. Friday; T. E. Googe; S. G. Rues; J. N. Brown; S. T. Graham; B. W. Moore.

With the view of securing the improvement of this river and opening it up for all-the-year-round navigation in the interest of commerce, on April 12, 1920, I introduced the following bill:

A bill (H. R. 13575) to provide for the survey of the Tombigbee River, in Alabama and Mississippi, and the survey of a canal connecting the Tennessee and Tombigbee Rivers.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to cause a survey and estimate to be made of the Tombigbee River, in Alabama and Mississippi, from Demopolis, Ala., to Columbus, Miss., and from Columbus, Miss., to Aberdeen, Miss., and from Aberdeen, Miss., to Walkers Bridge, Miss., with the view to dredging said river or improving same by constructing locks and dams to secure a depth of 6 feet from Demopolis to Columbus, and 6 feet from Columbus to Aberdeen, and to a depth of 4 feet from Aberdeen to Walkers Bridge, and a survey and estimate for a uniform channel of 4 feet, making the survey and estimate separately in each instance for the sections in said river between the points mentioned above, to determine the feasibility and probable cost to improve said river, and each section between said points, to accommodate the commerce of said river, both present and prospective, and to report to Congress with his recommendations thereon as to the best method to improve said river, the depth of channel necessary, and the probable cost to improve each section mentioned above, and the advisability of such improvement, taking at all times in view the present and prospective commerce.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of War is hereby further authorized and directed to cause a survey and estimate to be made of a canal to connect the waters of the Tennessee River with the waters of the Tombigbee River at the most feasible points on each of said rivers in the interest of and for the improvement of navigation so as to secure an adequate and continuous channel for water transportation of commerce, present and prospective, from the Tennessee River through such a canal and to be connected with the channel of the Tombigbee River and on through the Alabama River to the Gulf of Mexico; to determine the feasibility and probable cost of such a canal in connection with the improvement of said river to accommodate the commerce, present and prospective, and to report to Congress with his recommendations thereon as to the best method to make said improvement, the depth of channel necessary, and the probable cost of the construction of such a canal, and the probable cost of the improvement of said river, each project separately, and then both taken together, taking at all times in view the improvement of navigation and the present and prospective commerce.

This bill provides for the survey of the Tombigbee River in Alabama and Mississippi, and the survey of a canal connecting the Tennessee and Tombigbee Rivers. In the first section of the bill the Secretary of War is directed to cause a survey and estimate to be made of the Tombigbee River, by different sections of the river mentioned, in order to secure a uniform channel of at least 4 feet in depth to accommodate the commerce of

said river, both present and prospective, and to report to Congress with his recommendations thereon as to the best method to improve said river, the depth of channel necessary, and the probable cost to improve each section mentioned, and the advisability of such improvement, taking at all times in view the present and prospective commerce. This river has already been improved by the Government of the United States by constructing locks and dams therein at proper distances all the way from the mouth of the river up to Demopolis, Ala. The last lock was constructed near Demopolis and now backs the water up the river above Demopolis and the mouth of Warrior River 16 miles, and the purpose of this bill is to continue exactly this same character of work on up the river to the head of navigation thereon so as to secure navigation all the year round in each and every year.

The second section of this bill provides for a survey of a canal connecting the Tennessee and Tombigbee Rivers at the most feasible points on these rivers so as to enlarge the possibilities of trade and open up to commerce a very large territory by reason of the connection of the Tennessee and its tributaries with the Tombigbee. A glance at the map will readily reveal the great possibility of such an improvement. It would make a system of waterways composed of the Tombigbee, the Tennessee and its tributaries together with the great father of waters, the Mississippi River. In this time of great congestion in transportation facilities we need to develop all of our waterways and natural channels for transportation to meet the ever-increasing demand for the transportation of our wonderful resources.

I earnestly suggest and urge upon Congress and the Committee on Rivers and Harbors the most serious consideration of this proposed improvement. The agitation for a canal to connect the Tombigbee River and the Tennessee River with a view of furnishing this great system of water transportation, all of which would thereby be connected up with the Gulf of Mexico and thence through that great gulf out to the Atlantic Ocean and thence to the markets of the world, began as early as 1874. The time has come when it is necessary to utilize all our transportation facilities by water and by rail to meet the necessities of the hour in the wonderful and marvelous and ever-increasing development of trade in this Republic, coming as it does in a continuous stream from the products of manufacture, agriculture, mine, and forest. The consummation of this improvement would bring a new area in development. It would help to meet the evident necessity, arising in this large and productive territory, for transportation of the wonderful resources of this territory to the markets of the world which would be open to them as soon as transportation would be thus provided. This certainly would bring great prosperity to all this territory and give an unbounded impetus to manufacture, agriculture, mine, and forest. The present and prospective commerce I feel sure would fully justify the expenditure by the Government of the necessary funds to inaugurate and carry to completion this wonderful system of water transportation. Therefore, I shall unceasingly and persistently urge upon Congress and the Committee on Rivers and Harbors a full and earnest investigation and consideration of this proposed improvement until I hope I shall be able to demonstrate its feasibility and importance and thereby justify and secure an appropriation adequate to carry it to a successful realization and conclusion.

Reclassification of Salaries of Postal Employees.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS H. CULLEN,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920.

Mr. CULLEN. Mr. Speaker, a little more than 14 months ago a joint commission was appointed to make a report to the Congress on the reclassification of salaries of postal employees. It was recognized at that time that the condition in the Postal Service in so far as it related to salaries was becoming acute and that relief should be granted.

The report and bill have at last come before the House for consideration, and, to my way of thinking, it is a clear disappointment. No substantial increase has been granted commensurate with the high cost of living, and, in my judgment, will not allay the unrest among the employees.

Mr. Speaker, I have received innumerable letters from the business men of my district and from people in all walks of life, pleading and urging that legislation be enacted during the present session that would give these underpaid employees a living wage with which to support themselves and their families, and relieve the situation which has been forcing scores of competent and experienced men to seek employment elsewhere and thus demoralizing the Postal Service, especially in the large centers.

The salaries of these public employees, Mr. Speaker, have for years been inadequate. Long before the cost of living began to soar these men have found it hard to make ends meet on their salaries. Now that the cost of living has doubled, many of them have been forced to leave the service, while the others, filled with hope and expectation that Congress would enact legislation granting them relief, have remained. But, alas! they ask for a loaf and you give them a slice.

I hope the Senate will see the wisdom of amending the bill so that it will provide for a just and decent salary. If not, I feel that the Government will be the loser. They are human the same as the rest of us, and they will not be able to live as they should on the miserable increase in pay provided for in this bill. They did not ask for charity; they asked for justice.

Postal Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EARL C. MICHENER,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, no man in this body can justify a vote against this bill. True, some of us feel that greater increases should be granted to certain employees. However, we should not criticize unless we are fully satisfied that the facts and circumstances warrant such criticism. The salaries provided for have been determined upon after careful consideration by the Joint Commission on Postal Salaries. This commission has labored for months. Hearings have been held in all parts of the country. Every branch of the service has been carefully gone over, and those representing each branch of the service have been given hearings. The result is that this bill represents the unanimous judgment of the members of the commission. Time forbids extensive debate. No amendments to the measure as presented can be made, and it is a question of voting for this legislation as presented or voting against the legislation in its entirety. I do not condemn the report, because I am personally acquainted with the Members of this body who served on the commission. I know them to be the real friends of the post-office employees, and am pleased to accept their conclusions.

It must be remembered that this service now embraces approximately 300,000 men and women. The last Post Office appropriation bill provided for the expenditure of $462,000,000, and without a doubt this amount will be increased to $1,000,000,000 within the next 15 years.

Three increases have been provided for since June 30, 1918. On that date the minimum pay of postal clerks and carriers was $800 and the maximum pay was $1,200. On July 1, 1918, the minimum was increased to $1,000 and the maximum to $1,500. On October 9, 1919, an increase of approximately $200 was given to every employee in the service.

It will be observed that a man who was getting $800 on June 30, 1918, by virtue of this last-named legislation—which was retroactive—drew $1,200 from July 1, 1919, and every man was paid in proportion. The bill now up for consideration allows a minimum pay of $1,400 per year and a maximum of $1,800 a year for clerks and carriers. Therefore, the man who was getting $800 in June, 1918, receives an increase of $600 a year, while the man who is getting $1,800 under this bill also gets an increase of $600 a year. To the original base pay was added the bonus, which amount becomes the base pay under this bill, and added to the bonus and former base pay is added $200 on the average. This is a blunt, short way of stating just what the bill provides. Of course, there are those in the service who will not be satisfied with these increases. I believe, however, that the majority of the employees will appreciate the fairness of this raise.

The annual cost of the legislation effective July 1, 1918, aggregated $40,000,000; the annual cost of the increase given on October 9, 1919, amounted to $35,000,000; the annual cost of increase provided for in this measure will involve an expenditure of approximately $40,000,000, making in all an additional increase in salaries since July 1, 1918, of $115,000,000, so that every clerk and carrier will receive $600 per annum more than he did on June 30, 1918.

In this connection it should not be forgotten that the present Congress recently enacted the civil-service retirement law, insuring all employees of the Postal Service against want when they are no longer able to perform their respective duties as postal employees.

The present standard of high prices must be lowered; the future will see the cost of living reduced. Sound logic forbids our attempting to raise all salaries to meet present abnormal conditions. We must all economize and produce, and thereby make the cost of living fit fair wages. It goes without saying that the standard established by this legislation will never be reduced when the present high tide in the cost of living recedes.

I am hopeful that with this increase and the civil-service retirement law in effect this department will be able in the future to maintain the past high standard of the personnel of the service.

The Post Office Department to-day is the only branch of the Government that comes in direct contact with every home. As a general rule the postal employee represents the best type of citizenship. His duties are at all times the most responsible. He is much respected in the community. There are no better Americans than the rank and file of the men in this service. In season and out of season these employees are on the job. Laboring under a great handicap, these men carried on this work during the trying period of the recent war. They did not strike; they did not complain. They worked early and they worked late. With more work to do and less men to do that work, they were never found wanting.

During my term in Congress it has been my privilege to vote and work for every measure looking toward the betterment of the Postal Service and the paying of a living wage to these efficient and painstaking employees. I have received hundreds of letters from men in all walks of life, all urging the justice and necessity of these increases. I have not received a single protest or suggestion that this legislation should not be enacted. This in itself is the best testimonial to the character of these men and the services they are rendering. I therefore unreservedly and enthusiastically support this measure.

Federal and Private Control of Railroads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. ANDREWS,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 2, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 14335) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes.

Mr. ANDREWS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, on December 28, 1917, President Wilson took charge of the railroads of the country under authority granted to him by the Army appropriation bill approved August 28, 1916. The act of March 21, 1918, known as the Federal-control act, prescribed the conditions upon which the railroads were retained and operated by the President through directors general appointed by him. The terms of the Federal-control act were outlined in the main by the message delivered by the President at a joint session of the House and Senate. It also authorized the President to return the roads to their owners at such time as he might choose. In the absence of any action by the President returning the roads, they were to go back to their owners automatically under that law at the end of 21 months after the issuance of the proclamation of peace. On May 19, 1919, the President notified Congress that he would return the roads by the 1st day of January, 1920, and on December 25, 1919, he issued a formal proclamation directing the return of the roads to their owners on the 1st day of March, 1920. Accordingly the roads were returned on that date.

Thus three very important points are clearly disclosed:

1. That the President upon his own motion took charge of the railroads of the country.

2. That they were operated by him from January 1, 1918, to March 1, 1920, two years and two months, through his Directors General, McAdoo and Hines.

3. That the roads were, upon his own motion, ordered back to their owners.

In our study and discussion of the railroad question we should not overlook these facts. They are very significant. If we deliberately disregard them we are bound to reach wrong conclusions. They clearly show that the President was personally responsible for taking control of the roads, for their management during Government control, and also for the tremendous financial loss resulting from their operation by the Government; i. e., $1,375,000,000 for the period of 26 months, with more to follow. Attention is invited to these facts not for the purpose of criticism but for the distinct purpose of refreshing our memories with respect to the true history of the case.

Note also that under Federal control the volume of business was much larger, passenger and freight rates were largely increased, and the service rendered by the roads was much poorer than it had ever been before. Some say that these unfortunate things were brought about by subordinate railroad officials, who sought to discredit Government control and management of the roads for the purpose of forcing their return to their owners. In response to that criticism we should remember that under the law the President had absolute and unlimited authority to discharge anybody instantly who was guilty of such conduct.

Of course, the President could, through his Directors General, McAdoo and Hines, have administered proper discipline at the time for any and all of the mismanagement and the disgraceful wastefulness of the resources of the roads and the demoralization of the forces. If crews and section men and other employees were increased beyond the actual needs of the roads, McAdoo, as Director General, was responsible for it. To say that he did not know anything about it is to plead ignorance of things that his duty demanded that he should know and correct. It is not difficult to ascertain facts in numerous cases concerning the profligate waste of the funds of the roads.

Let us summarize the operations of the roads. The Federal Government gave to the country poorer service at higher rates than had ever been known before. It also increased the financial loss to the National Treasury $1,375,000,000. The taxpayers of the country have been compelled to put up that money; part of it has been secured through loans made by the citizens to the Federal Government at a rate of interest averaging about 4½ per cent.

In this connection recall the fact that part of the funds secured by the Government at 4½ per cent from the citizens was used to pay guaranteed incomes of 22 per cent on some roads, 10 per cent on some, and as high as 64 per cent on one.

I endeavored to secure the adoption of an amendment providing that "such guaranteed incomes should in no case exceed 6 per cent on the actual outstanding capital stock of the carrier." The average net rate of dividend guaranteed by section 1 of the Federal-control act of March 21, 1918, was 11.27 per cent on the outstanding capital stock of the roads. My amendment would have reduced that rate nearly half and saved hundreds of millions of dollars to the National Treasury.

These are a few of the leading facts disclosed by the record of Government control and operation of the railroads.

It is not strange, therefore, that approximately 85 per cent of the people of the country have demanded the return of the railroads to their owners and to private control and management. This transfer, however, could not be made without additional financial responsibility on the part of the Federal Government. The financial credit of the roads had been largely destroyed during the period of Federal control. They could not go out into the market and finance their enterprises as they did before the war. Business had been readjusted, confused, interrupted, absorbed, and in some cases destroyed. A rebuilding process must follow. In fact, the Federal Government has assumed in this business a measure of responsibility to stand behind the roads with financial resources for a short period of time so that they can safely reestablish themselves, stabilize their own credit in the financial markets of the Nation and the world.

We clearly realize that the Federal Government must literally buy its way out of this business and thus help all the people of the country to escape a financial panic. Several men have appealed to me to aid in perpetuating Federal control for a period of two or five years more. They plead with Congress to do so. They were sincere in that belief, and they thought that it would be for the best. But Congress could not stop it even if it had seen fit to enact a law making an extension of two or five years more.

The President, who had served notice that he would return the roads on the 1st day of January, 1920, and afterwards is-

sued his proclamation for their return on the 1st day of March, 1920, would certainly have vetoed any measure that Congress might have passed on that question. Hence, from that standpoint alone Congress would have been wasting its time and energy in endeavoring to do something that was within the absolute control of the President of the United States and upon which he had publicly announced his purpose by an official proclamation. It was the duty of Congress to direct its attention to the enactment of such legislation as would provide as safely as possible for the transition from Federal to private control under the President's order.

Here is the law. What are its provisions? How well do they provide for this great emergency? How many difficulties will be disclosed by actual test? They are likely to be numerous and serious. A new order of things must be established, and patient, thoughtful cooperation is necessary to success.

GUARANTY AND LOANS.

The guaranty to the roads under the terms of the Federal-control act of March 21, 1918, gave to them a net return of 11.27 per cent, measured by their average net earnings for the three years prior to June 30, 1917. Under the terms of the Federal-control act that guaranty would without further legislation have run 21 months after the proclamation of peace in the absence of an order of the President for their return at an earlier date.

The present law reduced the length of time for the guaranty from 21 months to 6 months, thus making a very large saving of several hundred millions of dollars for the National Treasury. Nevertheless, that guaranty under the present law protects the wages of the employees of the roads from the 1st of March to the 1st of September, 1920. By September the business of the roads will, we hope, be sufficient to maintain satisfactory salaries for the employees thereafter. Moreover, the rate of the guaranty, 11.27 per cent, is almost double the ordinary banking rate and will bring to the roads during the six-month period almost as much as the roads would receive at the regular rate of 6 per cent for the entire year.

LABOR BOARD.

The questions of wages and working conditions are to be passed upon under the new law by an adjustment board, and then on appeal by the labor board, which is composed of nine members, three chosen by and representing the employees of the roads, three chosen by and representing the owners of the roads, and three chosen by the President of the United States on behalf of the public, all being subject to confirmation by the Senate. Thus we have substantially a court of equity to pass upon all of these disputes arising between employers and employees with respect to wages and working conditions. With three fair-minded men in each group, the board ought to be able, and as a rule will be able, to settle these questions more successfully and fairly than they have ever been settled before. That board may be reasonably expected to deal fairly and justly with all interests concerned.

I quote from the act as follows:

In determining the justness and reasonableness of such wages and salaries or working conditions the board shall, so far as applicable, take into consideration, among other relevant circumstances:
1. The scales of wages paid for similar kinds of work in other industries;
2. The relation between wages and the cost of living;
3. The hazards of the employment;
4. The training and skill required;
5. The degree of responsibility;
6. The character and regularity of the employment; and
7. Inequalities of increases in wages or of treatment the result of previous wage orders or adjustments.

Are these provisions of the law not fair and reasonable?

In addition to the allowance of this standard return to the roads for a period of six months, a revolving fund of $300,000,000 has been provided as a loan to the roads. We may need assistance especially in supplying proper equipment to meet public requirements in the movement of grain, coal, and other freight. It should be distinctly observed, however, that such advance will be loaned to the roads to be repaid to the Government at a future date. This provision was regarded as a necessity in the restoration of the credit of the roads, the prompt expedition in the interest of the public, and the prevention of serious financial disturbance throughout the country.

We should also recall the fact that the business of some of the roads had been almost entirely diverted to other lines, and consequently upon the resumption of private control those roads would be seriously embarrassed without such aid.

The extension of the standard return and the granting of this loan constitute in full all guaranties on the part of the Government to the roads for financial assistance. Of course, we should not overlook the erroneous statement made by many people to the effect that the Government has given a guaranty for at least two years to the roads for a fixed and definite net return. The law provides that the roads may retain 6 per cent net—5½ per cent for dividends, one-half per cent for betterments—if they earn that amount. Note the fact, however, that the law does not guarantee any payment from the Treasury to the roads to make up any part of that 6 per cent even if the roads should not earn that amount. In fact, the roads might sustain a net loss and even then the Government would be under no obligation to make any payments to them. Moreover, if any of the roads earn more than 6 per cent net, one-half of that excess should be turned over to the National Treasury to be used for the benefit of the roads that do not have a net earning and are in need of assistance. This requirement is considered fair and reasonable as a part of the general plan of restoration. The roads that will have the largest returns for some time to come will probably be those to which larger benefits have been turned under Federal control. Now, it is considered fair and just that the stronger roads should aid to that extent in this work of restoration. This law does not grant to the railroads one single dollar beyond the amount that is believed to be absolutely necessary to aid them fairly well in the restoration of good service for the public. Many earnest students of the railroad question believe that the allowance made in this law will not be sufficient to accomplish the desired results. Loans from the Federal Treasury to the railroads are very undesirable as a public policy. They should be avoided in every possible way. The financial interests of all the people, however, demand and compel at least what has been done in this act.

THE CONFERENCE REPORT.

A strong appeal was made to recommit the conference report when it was called up in the House for final action. If we will reflect carefully upon the parliamentary situation, I think we will readily conclude that a recommitment under the amendment offered by Mr. BARKLEY, of Kentucky, would have left the way clear for the Senate conferees to have forced into the law the labor provisions of the Cummins bill with its anti-strike clause. If the motion to recommit had included instructions to strike out the labor provisions embodied in the conference report and insert in lieu thereof the Anderson amendment previously adopted in the House bill, such motion would probably have been adopted by the House. The Barkley motion to recommit, however, did not include any instructions whatever to the conferees. What, then, would have been the parliamentary situation if the conferees had been assembled under the Barkley motion? The Senate conferees would have had a decided advantage. They would surely have said to the House conferees, "We granted you what you demanded in the prior conference in the labor title in this bill. As the House has rejected what we conceded to you in the former conference report, there is nothing left now within the range of the parliamntary authority of the conferees except the labor provisions of the Cummins bill from which we must now make up a second report."

Under such circumstances it is evident that the Senate conferees would have held a position of decided advantage to force into the law the provisions of the Senate or Cummins bill. The only course that could have been safely and wisely pursued to avoid that result was to vote down the motion to recommit and then ratify the conference report.

Moreover the President had announced on May 19, 1919, and December 25, 1919, that the roads were to be turned back to their owners, and March 1, 1920, was fixed officially as the date. Under this official notification by the President Congress did not dare fail to enact that law by the end of February, otherwise many complications and serious misfortunes would have followed.

SUMMARY.

The important features of title 3 of the present law may be summarized as follows:

The Cummins bill was rejected by the House and so it never became a law. The original Esch bill was rejected by the Senate and so it never became a law.

The original Esch bill was amended in the House upon its original passage by striking out the original title 3 and inserting in lieu thereof the Anderson amendment. The House bill went to the Senate with the Anderson amendment, covering all of the labor provisions of the bill.

When the Senate bill and the House bill went to conference the conferees drafted the provisions contained in the present law from those bills. The labor provisions embodied in title 3 of the present law are largely the same as those embodied in the Anderson amendment of the original House bill.

The Labor Board, however, provided in the law as it now stands, is modified very materially as compared with the similar

agency designated in the original House bill. This Labor Board, as you will observe from section 304, is composed of nine members, three representing the public, three the employees, and three the carriers or employers. This board is substantially a court of equity authorized to hear and decide disputes between employees and their employers with respect to wages and working conditions.

This is the first time that such a court of equity has been created under the law for the judicial determination of the rights of employees and employers and the public jointly.

Is not such an arrangement fair and just?

PLUMB PLAN.

The principal opposition to the present railroad law comes from the advocates of the so-called Plumb plan. What are the main features of that plan as disclosed by the House bill 8157 of the Sixty-sixth Congress and the hearings thereon? The first is the purchase of the roads by the Federal Government for cash or interest-bearing bonds of the United States as may be agreed upon by the Secretary of the Treasury and the owners. The cash used for such purposes would be secured necessarily through taxation or loans.

In the hearings and the public discussions of this question it has been generally assumed that total payment would be made in bonds bearing 4 per cent interest. This transaction would increase the interest-bearing debt of the Government about $20,000,000,000, with an annual interest charge of nearly $1,000,000,000.

What effect upon the market value of Government bonds would be produced by adding that amount to our present interest-bearing debt of $25,000,000,000, making the total $45,000,000,000? Under such circumstances would it be possible to float that amount of bonds at 4 per cent? Could they be passed at par in the market? These questions are answered in part by the present market value of our war bonds.

We should carefully note the fact that the first step in the proposed adoption of the Plumb plan would involve a vast increase of our interest-bearing debt. Some people say that the cost of the roads to the Government would not exceed twelve billions. That alone, however, would be a very large increase to our indebtedness. It should be remembered that official quotations indicate the approximate value of the roads at $20,000,000,000.

It is suggested in this connection that all watered stock should be eliminated. Note the fact that the present railroad law guards securely against further issues of watered stock. It should have been prohibited in former years. The outstanding stock and bonds of the roads affect either directly or indirectly the interests of nearly one-half of the people of the United States, through banks, insurance companies, and estates, wherever the stocks and securities of the roads appear as direct possessions, or as collateral, directly or indirectly. The point to be held steadily in mind is this: The proposed purchase of the roads would add these vast sums to the interest-bearing debt of the country. The advocates of the plan tell us that the earnings of the roads would pay all of these bills and more. In the consideration of this statement we should not forget the fact that the Government lost over $1,375,000,000 on the roads for 26 months. The wisdom and statesmanship of Patrick Henry admonish us to use the "lamp of experience" as our guide at this point.

In the second place, the Plumb plan proposes that the Government, after purchasing the roads, becoming liable for all deficits, taxes, and expenditures in every direction, should turn them over to a board of 15 directors to be operated and controlled absolutely by said board, with full authority to fix wages of all officers and employees of the roads and all other expenditures and create such liabilities as they might deem proper.

This proposition should be studied very carefully in the light of our expenditures obtained through Federal control or management from January 1, 1918, to March 1, 1920. During all of this study Patrick Henry's "lamp of experience" should shine brightly upon our pathway.

How would the Plumb plan operate if it should be applied to farming? Would the farmers of a county, for instance, be willing to enter into a corporation and exchange their deeds for their farms for stock in that corporation and then have all the farms of the county turned over to a board of 15 directors for control and management according to the Plumb plan?

It should be remembered that the board of 15 directors would be composed of 5 members representing the officers and managers of the roads or the farms, 5 representing the employees of the roads or the farm laborers. That board of directors, either for the railroads or for the farming enterprise, would have full power to fix their own wages, hours of labor, and working conditions.

THE TEST PERIOD.

We are now passing through a test period in the transportation affairs of the country, which will evidently disclose important modifications in the present law. We should all maintain a thoughtful frame of mind that will readily accept wise amendments in the interest of all parties. This test is designed to utilize individual capital and initiative to the greatest extent and at the same time conserve the interests of our National Treasury. The use of $20,000,000,000 of private capital in the transportation business will be a tremendous relief to the National Treasury and enable us to readjust our national finances in a more speedy restoration to normal conditions. Whatever our individual opinions may be in regard to different methods of transportation, we must guard wisely the financial interest of the whole Nation through our National Treasury. The tremendous demands of the war are still pressing heavily upon us, and we turn in vain many times in search of resources to meet those demands. All the Federal taxes now resting upon the people of the country were levied by Democratic Congresses; likewise all the tremendous debts still weighing with unmeasured power upon the National Treasury were incurred by a Democratic administration. Hence our Democratic opponents have no chance whatever to complain of the Republicans because of high taxes and vast expenditures. So far the present Republican Congress has been reducing expenditures at every possible point and disposing of public property in every possible way to turn back into the Treasury a portion of the money that was drawn out for the purposes of war. But through all of these financial transactions the question of transportation threads the whole story. As a people we should cooperate to the utmost limit in the restoration of normal conditions according to the best methods that can be devised.

A thorough test of the present law may disclose a permanent policy that should be pursued in promoting the highest welfare of the country. Personally I shall study the results of that test without prejudice for or against any particular plan.

Economy and the National Defense.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN Q. TILSON,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 4, 1920.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, economy is the watchword of the hour. This cry is founded upon wisdom, whether considered from an individual or governmental standpoint. To anyone who has the vision to see more than an inch in front of his nose it should be apparent that this country is riding for a fall unless we have the good sense to draw rein and begin to slacken the speed at which we are traveling along the road of reckless expenditure. Individuals set the bad example. Government simply follows it. Individuals in private life are spending their own money extravagantly. It is frequently stated in Congress that the people do not wish their Representatives in Congress to appropriate the public money with undue liberality, but if we are to judge the sentiment of the people either by their own example or their letters to Members of Congress we shall be forced to the opposite conclusion.

Regardless, however, of the example or precept of the people it is the duty of both Congress, which appropriates, and the executive branch of the Government, which expends, the public funds, to insist upon and practice economy. My voice and my vote shall be upon the side of those who demand the most critical scrutiny of every proposed expenditure of public funds. Holding this view, it might seem to the casual thinker inconsistent on my part to urge in time of peace adequate preliminary preparation for war. My position is entirely consistent, for it can be demonstrated, so far as it is possible to demonstrate anything relying upon history for proof, that proper provision for the national defense is economical as well as wise.

One of the problems always of the greatest interest to me is that of national defense. For many years prior to the outbreak of the war in Europe I was one of those who earnestly advocated a reasonably adequate preparedness for the military defense of the Nation's interests in case of necessity. My speeches on the subject of war matériel in the House of Representatives and elsewhere attest that fact, but they were somewhat like unto the voice of one crying in the wilderness, in

that my message was not heeded. Our entrance into the Great War in 1917 speedily vindicated the wisdom of my contention beyond peradventure.

After we entered the war we spent $25,000,000,000 for preparation and a few brief months' participation; and the saddest part of the entire story is that not one-fifth of this fabulous sum produced anything that had any direct bearing upon the conclusion of the war. I do not refer to this by way of fault-finding or criticism of the expenditures, but in order to more forcibly call attention to the inevitable result of the failure to maintain in time of peace a reasonable state of military preparedness.

Long before the war, in calling attention to the importance of reasonable preparedness, I pointed out the method by which it could be done at a comparatively small cost and at the same time showed what it might cost in blood as well as treasure if we failed to do our duty.

My plan was to adopt suitable types of the arms and ammunition most used in modern warfare, prepare in advance the necessary special tools, gauges, dies, jigs, and fixtures, but not to manufacture except for peace-time use and a small reserve. If war should come, we should be ready to produce these articles at once and in quantities. If war should not come, so much the better.

Only a very short step along the line of my plan had been taken when war came. What happened is history. The cost in dollars is about twenty-five billions, and without doubt a considerable number of priceless lives. One-tenth of one billion dollars properly expended during the three years preceding the war would have borne fruit to the extent of five billions saved in 1917 and 1918, besides the delivery of the necessary articles in time for use in the war. The net result of our course was that we fought the war with foreign arms and ammunition, while thanking God that we had associates in the war who could furnish them. What would have happened to us had we been compelled to go it alone in such a struggle is best left to the imagination.

The war is over, but the problem of preparedness has not been solved. The nature of the problem has changed somewhat, but the necessity for an early solution is even more urgent than ever. The general plan should be the same as that originally advocated by me, which consists, first, in making a thorough study of such necessary matériel as by reason of its complicated character requires a long time to produce; second, in making preliminary preparation of the necessary special tools and appliances for quantity production; and, third, in actually producing and keeping on hand such limited reserve as might be deemed necessary for immediate use in an emergency.

The sudden ending of the war left us a considerable number of excellent cannon, practically complete or nearing completion. Enough of these should be completed to equip an army of at least 3,000,000 men, because the experience of the war proved that it requires considerable time to produce such guns.

The machine-gun and automatic-rifle situation is now even better than the artillery, in spite of the fact that during the war it was necessary to use the French Hotchkiss heavy machine guns and the Chavcat automatic rifle for ground fighting. The celebrated Brownings, light and heavy, were not ready in time to cut any figure in the war. However, there have been enough of them finished up since the war to increase our grand total of machine guns and automatics to something like 200,000, including a considerable number of the Lewis, the Marlin aircraft, and the Vickers.

As is well known, we manufactured the modified British Enfield rifle for the use of the greater part of our men during the war for the very sufficient reason that we were not prepared to produce the Springfield in anything like sufficient quantities. Our private rifle manufacturers had been making the Enfield rifle in large quantities for Great Britain and were equipped with all the necessary special tools, needing only slight modifications to produce a rifle chambered for the American service ammunition. The change was made promptly, and a sufficient number of this type of rifle were produced in time to serve our needs.

The task immediately confronting the Military Establishment is first to make a thorough study of the needs of any future army to be created, so far as that can be done in advance; second, to conserve such suitable matériel as was left as a result of the enormous expenditures of the recent war; and, third, to carefully preserve for future emergency use all the necessary special tools, gauges, dies, jigs, and fixtures used in the production of rifles, machine guns, parts of large guns, ammunition, and other articles requiring nicety of construction in order to secure accuracy in functioning. These should be added to from time to time as newly developed matériel may make advisable.

Wise and far-sighted conduct of the military department of the Government along the lines herein indicated during the next five years will mean much for the best interests of our national defense during the succeeding 50 years. When we consider that it was thoroughly demonstrated during the war just ended that the task of providing matériel for an army is far more difficult and requires much longer time than the raising and training of the army itself, the vital importance of the problem becomes apparent. Here is where the element of economy enters. A thousand dollars properly expended in the right kind of preparation in time of peace will not only save a million dollars when the emergency comes, but will be certain to produce something ready for use during the emergency and may even prevent the emergency altogether. I envy the man whose mind and hand shall guide this work through this critical period. He will have the opportunity to write his name large among those who have wrought effectively for the welfare and future safety of a great people.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. LARSEN,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 4, 1920.

Mr. LARSEN. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, when I was a boy I used to read of the dish that ran away with the spoon, and how the cow jumped over the moon. Little did I think I would ever see the day when such extraordinary feats would be considered commonplace, but the calf of to-day, whose skin is manufactured into shoes, as a high jumper at least, excells its fabled relative. No one seems able to explain just why the modern-day cow jumps so high. All agree she jumps too high and that the Department of Justice should see that the proper remedy to prevent it is applied. It has ample authority and in the interest of the public should do so.

Only recently a retail shoe dealer in Washington testified before a Senate committee that the ordinary rule for fixing the selling price of a shoe was to add 66 per cent to what the retailer paid for it. But testimony before the Census Committee is to the effect that shoes manufactured at from $9 to $9.60 per pair retail at from $16 to $18 per pair, and sometimes more. In other words, it seems that the 66 per cent rule no longer prevails and that the retailer makes the Dutchman's profit of 1 per cent, or twice the cost. As the matter now stands the manufacturer blames the jobber and the retailer for high prices, and they in turn lay the blame at the door of the manufacturer. In the meantime the people suffer.

The Senate investigation further shows that a Washington firm in 1914 made net profits of $2,044; in 1917, $18,743; and in 1918, $64,743. These were net profits after paying all expenses and taxes and allowing $5,200 salary to each of the two partners and $6,500 to a manager.

This startling testimony gives excellent opportunity for some head of the department to take charge of the situation personally without leaving home, and, under the very eaves of the Capitol, give the country a practical demonstration of law enforcement against profiteering.

It is assumed that conditions in Washington only reflect similar conditions in many other sections of the country. If so, a man with a 50-acre farm, six children and a wife to be fed and clothed, will have to sell his farm to buy shoes or let his children go barefooted.

I do not know what the Kreider bill will do to relieve the situation. The author claims it will do a great deal. Being a shoe manufacturer himself, his opinion should be valuable.

When the bill was before the Census Committee, of which I am a member, there was considerable difference of opinion as to its merits. In order to relieve opposition and perfect the proposed measure so that it might result in real benefit to the ultimate consumer and the man who raises the animal from which shoes and other leather goods are manufactured, I offered three amendments, all of which were accepted by the committee and are now included in the bill.

The amendments provide that packers, abattoirs, butchers, tanners, jobbers, dealers, wholesalers, importers, and exporters of hides and skins, will not only be required to report as to classes of hides and skins owned or stored, but also as to quantity and class of such products disposed of during the preceding census month.

The tanner will not only be required to report the quantity and class of hides and skins in the process of tanning and manufacture, but also as to quantities and amount of finished products for the preceding month.

The tanners, jobbers, wholesalers, importers, exporters, and establishments cutting or consuming leather, will not only be required to report the quantity and class of leather owned or stored, but also as to goods manufactured during the preceding month.

The effect of these amendments is such that the dealer in hides and skins will not be able to say to the producer that he has on hand a million pounds of hides, or any particular kind of hides and skins, of which he has been unable to dispose and that market conditions are such that he can not do so. The report will show the facts and he can not justify efforts to claim an excess production on market and inability to handle, and thus force a depreciation in the price of such commodities.

The tanner will not be able to justify a claim that the demand for leather is such that he is forced to curtail operations, because his monthly report will show exactly what has been done.

The tanners, jobbers, wholesalers, importers, exporters, and establishments cutting and consuming leather being required to report the quantity and class manufactured each month, everyone should be able to ascertain exactly what is going on and whether there is a real shortage or a surplus in hides, skins, or manufactured products.

Had such machinery as this been put into operation prior to the war, we would have known exactly what we were doing during the war, and could easily have ascertained our demands and the probability of meeting them. Under conditions existing propaganda was sent throughout the country saying there existed a great shortage in hides, skins, and leather. While most of us doubted this, no one was able to furnish proof to the contrary, and the result was that shoes and other leather goods soared to unreasonable prices.

Under provisions of the bill as amended, the Director of the Census estimates that the necessary information contemplated by the bill can be gathered and distributed to the public at a cost of about $3,000 per month. Fortunately, the Government already has in operation necessary machinery. It has heretofore gathered such information as to production and consumption of cotton and similar products, and the wonder is that we have delayed so long the gathering and dissemination of information contemplated by this bill.

Budget System.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. LARSEN,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920.

Mr. LARSEN. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House. Much has been said in the Congress and throughout the country concerning the "budget system." If one-half the things said by its proponents are true, it should be adopted by a standing vote without debate. But, if it is fraught with the evils which opponents of the measure declare, there is doubt as to its wisdom.

I regret that my convictions, either as to its merits or demerits, are not very strong or well defined. I am, however, certain of the extravagance of appropriations continually being made by Congress, and of the wasteful course pursued by many of those intrusted with disbursement of public funds. I am not convinced that the proposed system will save $100,000,000 per year, as is claimed by some Members, but I am quite sure that some scheme should be devised whereby much more than that amount should be saved.

It has been correctly stated that the Nation has no money which the Congress can appropriate except that taken from the pockets of the taxpayers of the country. This fact should make the Congress careful in the levying of any tax. Under the system now in vogue we have all become so accustomed to taking money from the other fellow's pocket for purposes of taxation, that we do so with little hesitation or compunction of conscience. Apparently, most of us see little difference between an appropriation of $1,000,000 and one of $1,000,000,000, and I regret to say that we do not always discern whether it is to be used in the interest of wealthy corporations or to benefit the toiling masses. Favoring strict economy, and being opposed to all unnecessary appropriations, I am willing to give the "budget system" a trial.

With me the desire for economy and retrenchment of governmental expenditures is real. I have to the best of my ability directed my efforts along these lines since becoming a Member of Congress. I have gone further than mere legislation by vote and on more than one occasion have attempted to exercise influence with those intrusted with the expenditure of Government funds in an effort to prevent undue extravagance. To this end I call attention to a letter written by me November 8, 1919, to Mr. E. C. Morse, Director of Sales, War Department, Washington, D. C., regarding sale of cotton, cotton linters, and so forth, as follows:

NOVEMBER 8, 1919.

Mr. E. C. MORSE,
Director of Sales, War Department, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I note from your publicity statement No. 231, dated November 6, 1918, that the Director of Sales announces that the War Department has entered into a contract with Mr. Ellis P. Earle, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y., to sell for the Government the entire surplus of cotton linters, amounting to approximately 700,000 bales; that Mr. Earle is to offer the linters in the best markets that prevail, whether domestic or foreign; is to complete the sale within 12 months, if possible; and that he shall receive as commission for his services 2½ per cent of the net proceeds for which the linters are sold at points of Government storage.

I also note that this surplus consists of 49,734 bales of bleached cotton linters, 423,441 bales of munition cotton linters, and 197,543 bales of mattress cotton linters.

While your circular does not so state, I am informed that these linters were purchased by the Government last year upon the following basis: A grade mattress linters, 10 cents; B grade, 8½ cents; and C grade, 6 cents; that munition linters were purchased at 4.67 cents.

I understand that the bleachers are probably the result of Government bleaching. That in such process the normal loss is about one-third, and that, figuring such loss and cost of bleaching, this grade probably cost the Government about 7 cents. Assuming that this is correct, I would conclude that the said linters to be offered for sale must have cost the Government an approximate sum of $19,530,957.35, most likely more than less.

I am also advised that such linters as you propose to sell are now worth on the market from 7½ to 9 cents, but assuming that they are only worth 5 cents, the Government should receive from the cotton which Mr. Earle has contract to sell, $17,500,000 as a minimum less sale commissions. Upon this basis Mr. Earle's commission would be $437,500.

As a taxpayer and Representative of the people, may I be permitted, without giving offense, to inquire of you whether I am approximately correct in my information and conclusions as above stated? If I am, you will please consider this as my earnest protest against such proposed action on the part of the Government or any individual who may be authorized to act for it.

I was raised on a cotton farm and have lived in a cotton-producing section all my life; we have never considered the selling of cotton a matter that demanded such great skill as to resort to the necessity of paying such enormous prices for such services as it appears the Government now proposes. But assuming that the commissions to be paid are reasonable, is it not possible among the great number now in the employ of the Government, that one person can be found who at the salary he now receives would be both competent and willing to render the service which Mr. Earle has been employed to perform? Other surplus property, much of which is very valuable, is being sold by Government officials and therefore I am at a loss to understand why an exception should be made in this particular case, and why Mr. Earle should be paid about one-half million dollars of the Government's funds raised by levy of tax upon the toiling masses.

Awaiting your prompt explanation, and with a sincere trust that steps may be taken to safeguard the people's interest, I am,

Very truly, yours,

W. W. LARSEN.

I also direct attention to letter written under date of April 3, 1920, to the United States Shipping Board regarding contract for salvage of ships at Savannah, Ga., and elsewhere throughout the country, as follows:

APRIL 3, 1920.

The UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: My attention has been directed to an article appearing in the Savannah Press (a Georgia publication) under date of March 24, 1920. The purport of the article is to the effect that the United States Shipping Board has employed Rogers & Co., of Washington, D. C., to salvage ships on a considerable number of yards, upon contract providing that the said company shall be paid as compensation $5,000 for each hull disposed of, and, in addition thereto, receive whatever sum may be realized from the sale or disposition of such ships.

The article states that among the ships thus to be salvaged are two hulls on the yards of the National Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co. at Savannah, Ga.; that, while the ships are of wood construction, they are of the finest quality, type, and design which the Government could command and produce in a war emergency; that one is about 20 per cent and the other 38 per cent complete; and that they cost the Government approximately from $350,000 to $400,000.

If I may be furnished the information, I would like to ascertain whether any such contract as the one referred to has been let to any company. I assume that the circumstances are such as to justify any contract that may have been let, but inasmuch as I fail to see the necessity for salvaging such ships, as well as the wisdom of doing so upon the basis stated, I will especially appreciate any enlightenment that I may be given upon the subject.

Is there no one on or with the Shipping Board, or in the employ of the Government in any capacity, capable of performing such salvage service for the Government as may be necessary or advisable? If so, why can he not perform the service to advantage at the salary he

now receives? If no such person is in the employ of the Government, is it not possible to procure some competent party upon a basis at least apparently more reasonable?

Trusting that my inquiry may not be deemed offensive, and that the information sought is not of such nature that in the public interest it should be withheld, I am, with sentiments of high regards,

Very truly, yours,

W. W. LARSEN.

I do not know what ultimate good has, or may, come to the public by reason of such protests as I have made, but they at least received respectful consideration of the officers to whom directed, and I trust may be fruitful in preventing subsequent extravagant expenditures of Government funds.

Ireland's Cause is the Cause of Freedom—The Principle of Self-Determination is No Principle at All if it is Not Applied Universally.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920.

Mr. LONERGAN. Mr. Speaker, after considerable deliberation, and after hearings that have exhausted the subject, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, consistent with the traditions of the American people, has reported favorably to the House the following concurrent resolution:

Whereas the American people have always sympathized with the aspirations of every people seeking political freedom; and

Whereas the people of Ireland have shown unmistakably their desire to govern themselves; and

Whereas the conditions in Ireland to-day consequent upon the denial of that right endanger world peace; and

Whereas in particular the unrest caused by these conditions is inevitably reflected in these United States of America, tending to weaken the bonds of unity and the ancient ties of kinship which bind so many of our people to the people of Great Britain and Ireland: Therefore, in the interest of world peace and of international good will, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the House of Representatives views with concern and solicitude these conditions and expresses its sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choice.

This resolution, Mr. Speaker, is consistent with the traditions of the American people, and is the necessary corollary of our high-minded position in the World War.

The House of Representatives of the United States, in the Sixty-fifth Congress, passed a resolution that the peace conference, at that time sitting in Paris, would favorably consider the right of Ireland to self-determination, and the United States Senate, by a vote of 60 to 1, went on record as favoring the efforts of the Irish people to secure a government of their own determination.

President Wilson himself stated in an address at Arlington, Va., that—

One of the principles which America held dear was that small and weak States had as much right to their sovereignty and independence as large and strong States.

The fourteenth of the President's points in his great speech of January 8, 1918, to a joint session of Congress was that—

A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guaranties of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

In his peroration in that epoch-making speech the President said:

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. The moral climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

When the armistice was asked for by the Imperial German Government the 14 points had been accepted by the Allies with the sole reservation that the freedom of the seas question be reserved to discussion at the peace table. The other details of the program were accepted as laid down. Our allies, as well as our enemies, adhered to the principle before the peace council sat at Versailles.

National aspirations—

Said Mr. Wilson, speaking before Congress on February 11, 1918—

must be respected; people may now be dominated and governed only by their consent. Self-determination is not a mere phrase.

The history of the Irish people speaks for itself, and no orator can paint in more glowing terms her great love for freedom than does the true historian who records the bold facts of her sacrifices for liberty.

Men of Irish blood have demonstrated their ability to govern in every country of their adoption; they have fought for freedom under every flag. Are they to be denied it under their own?

With the disintegration of the enemies of the United States in November, 1918, there was recorded forever the death of the insidious doctrine of the divine right of kings. Out of the ashes of the empires that fell there sprang Phœnix-like into the clear sunshine five Governments, whose own people determined their own power—Poland, Armenia, Finland, Czechoslovakia, and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

Poland, after three partitions among the Governments of Prussia, Austria, and Russia, has again taken her place among the nations of the world on an even footing, recalling to her the golden era of King John Sobieski.

Armenia, which country received Christianity from men who personally knew the author of it, and which has since been a subject race, with the exception of a few centuries, has been recognized by the Allies as a free and independent people.

Finland, hidden for years under the dark cloak of Russian autocracy, faces the coming years with a confidence born of her new strength.

Czechoslovakia, that wonderful land encompassed in the rolling hills of Central Europe, no longer hears the footfall of the oppressor, but sings her own national anthems and makes her own law, free and autonomous.

No longer do the double eagles of the Hapsburgs swoop low over the lands of the Serbs, but they are, with their brethren in arms of the western world, their own masters, their own chiefs.

If it is answered that these nations in part owe their liberty to the dismantling of the governments of our enemies, the answer is unmistakable that their governments are formed on the principles, known through the ages, outlined, it is true, by President Wilson but, above all, accepted by our associates in the war.

A principle to be a principle must be applicable universally. It can not be good only when it benefits and wrong when it harms the nation that guides itself by it.

No nation loves fair play more than does the United States. Self-determination can not be applied to all nations to the exclusion of Ireland. If it is, it is a mockery.

I trust, Mr. Speaker, that the resolution will pass.

Postal Salary Increases.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. RAINEY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920.

Mr. JOHN W. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago I received word from Chicago where a mail carrier, whose salary is $1,500 per year, on which he supports his wife and three children, was forced to vacate his apartment because his rent was raised from $18 to $30 per month and he was unable to pay for a moving van, so his associates at the station to which he was assigned joined together and carried his furniture and belongings through the streets to a flat which he secured at a more reasonable rent.

Continued protests say the men are not able to provide their families with the necessaries of life. The wives and children have been forced to go to work in order to exist.

Last August the Bureau of Labor Statistics, a Government institution, figured that an American family of parents and three children residing in one of the larger cities could not live in accordance with American standards, that is to say, with reasonable comfort and an eye to the future, on less than $2,262.47 a year.

In this budget the man was allowed a hat and a pair of gloves every two years, an umbrella every three years and an overcoat

every four years. The wife was expected to get along with a suit every two years and a coat every three years. Nothing was allowed for books or magazines, nothing for furniture or furnishings, nothing for moving expenses, stationery or postage, nothing for funeral expenses.

Failure to substantially increase salaries is false economy and has and will continue to destroy the efficiency of the Post Office Department.

When we realize the ability required of the clerk—his work is highly specialized—it takes a long time to become efficient; it requires training and hard study memorizing thousands of intricate systems of classification, and men who have devoted their lives to the Government are receiving salaries insufficient on which to live. If these men applied the same industry and ability in some commercial lines their salaries would be many times greater.

Letter carriers nowadays remind one of a moving van, with the large packs they are compelled to carry in all kinds of weather and under the most disadvantageous conditions they must cover their routes on schedule time.

I listened with attention to my colleague, Mr. MADDEN, who has given much time and study to this question, and was pleased to learn that the men qualified to speak for these employees, while not entirely satisfied with this bill, are appreciative of the increases allowed.

I believe in the American policy of fair play and regret that the proposed increase is not more substantial, but it is a step in the right direction, and I sincerely hope that in the near future a bill will be passed in Congress carrying a just compensation for these faithful and loyal workers.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. B. ROUSE,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920.

Mr. ROUSE. Mr. Speaker, being a member of the commission appointed to reclassify the salaries of postmasters and employees of the Postal Service and readjust their salaries, I desire to insert some statements showing basic salaries; increases due to war bonuses effective July 1, 1918; House joint resolution effective July 1, 1919; present salaries; and salaries and grades recommended by the Joint Commission on Postal Salaries, which are as follows:

LETTER CARRIERS, CITY DELIVERY SERVICE.

Number.	Grade.	Basic salary.	Reclassification and war bonus, July 1, 1918.	Joint resolution, Nov. 8, 1919.	Present salary.	Proposed by commission.	
						Grade.	Salary.
2,576	1	$600	$400	$200	$1,200	1	$1,400
4,837	2	800	300	200	1,300	2	1,500
1,209	3	900	300	200	1,400	3	1,600
1,549	4	1,000	300	150	1,450	4	1,700
4,250	5	1,100	300	150	1,550	5	1,800
21,472	6	1,200	300	150	1,650	5	1,800
35,993							

CLERKS, FIRST AND SECOND-CLASS POST OFFICES.

6,793	1	$600	$400	$200	$1,200	1	$1,400
8,091	2	800	300	200	1,300	2	1,500
1,867	3	900	300	200	1,400	3	1,600
1,599	4	1,000	300	150	1,450	4	1,700
5,405	5	1,100	300	150	1,550	5	1,800
15,549	6	1,200	300	150	1,650	6	1,800
39,304							

Provided, That in the readjustment of grades for clerks at first and second class post offices and letter carriers in the City Delivery Service to conform to the grades herein provided, grade 1 shall include present grade 1, grade 2 shall include present grade 2, grade 3 shall include present grade 3, grade 4 shall include present grade 4, and grade 5 shall include present grades 5 and 6: *Provided further*—

SPECIAL CLERKS, FIRST-CLASS OFFICES.

4,366		$1,400	$200	$150	$1,750	1	$1,900
						2	2,000

RAILWAY POSTAL CLERKS.

Number.	Grade.	Basic salary.	War bonus.	Joint resolution, Nov. 8, 1919.	Present salary.	Proposed by commission.	
						Grade.	Salary.
[1] 861	1	$900	$200	$200	$1,300	1	$1,600
1,261	1	900	200	200	1,300	1	1,600
1,954	2	1,000	200	200	1,400	2	1,700
38	3	1,100	200	150	1,450	2	1,700
453	4	1,200	200	150	1,550	3	1,850
2,651	5	1,300	200	150	1,650	3	1,850
1,956	6	1,400	200	150	1,750	4	2,000
801	7	1,500	200	125	1,825	4	2,000
6,606	8	1,600	200	125	1,925	5	2,150
400	9	1,700	200	125	2,025	5	2,150
19,022	10	1,800	200	[2] 125	2,125	6	2,300
180	1	900	135	200	1,235	1	1,350
19,202						2	1,450

CLERKS, DIVISION HEADQUARTERS, POST-OFFICE INSPECTORS.

10	1	$900	$135	$200	$1,235	1	$1,600
10	2	1,000	150	200	1,350	2	1,700
30	3	1,200	180	150	1,530	3	1,850
20	4	1,400	210	125	1,735	4	2,000
5	5	1,600	160	125	1,885	5	2,150
10	5	1,600	160	125	1,885	6	2,300
[1] 15		1,800	180	125	2,105		2,600

[1] Vacancies. [2] Laborers.

PRINTERS, MECHANICS, AND SKILLED LABORERS.

Number.	Basic salary.	War bonus July 1, 1918.	Joint resolution Nov. 8, 1919.	Present salary.	Proposed by commission.
31	$1,000	$150	$200	$1,400	$1,600
4	1,100	165	150	1,450	1,700
22	1,200	180	150	1,550	1,800

The commission recommended that for the purpose of promotion and compensation these employees be deemed a part of the clerical grades, and all may progress to grade 5 at $1,800.

WATCHMEN, MESSENGERS, AND LABORERS.

Basic salary.	War bonus.	Joint resolution Nov. 8, 1919.	Present salary.	Proposed by commission.	
				Grade.	Salary.
$900	$135	$200	$1,235	1	$1,350
				2	1,450

The commission bill provides that "all employees herein provided for in automatic grades who have not reached the maximum grades to which they are entitled to progress automatically shall be promoted at the beginning of the quarter following the completion of one year's satisfactory service since their last promotion, regardless of any increases in salaries granted them by the provisions of this act."

RURAL DELIVERY CARRIERS, STANDARD ROUTES.

Salary of standard route of 24 miles, $1,800, with $30 per mile or major fraction of a mile to 36 miles.

Number.	Length of route.	Basic salary.	War bonus.	Joint resolution Nov. 8, 1919.	Present pay.	Proposed by commission.
	4 miles and less than 6	$480	$120	$75	$675	$720
2	6 miles and less than 8	528	132	75	735	792
4	8 miles and less than 10	576	144	75	795	864
42	10 miles and less than 12	624	156	75	855	936
88	12 miles and less than 14	672	168	100	940	1,008
176	14 miles and less than 16	720	180	100	1,000	1,080
357	16 miles and less than 18	840	210	100	1,150	1,260
879	18 miles and less than 20	960	240	100	1,300	1,440
2,056	20 miles and less than 22	1,080	270	150	1,500	1,620
4,385	22 miles and less than 24	1,152	288	150	1,590	1,728
3,668	24 miles, standard route	1,200	300	200	1,700	1,800
5,893	25 miles	1,224	300	200	1,724	1,830
5,342	26 miles	1,248	300	200	1,748	1,860
4,902	27 miles	1,272	300	200	1,772	1,890
4,787	28 miles	1,296	300	200	1,796	1,920
3,990	29 miles	1,320	300	200	1,820	1,950
2,996	30 miles	1,344	300	200	1,844	1,980
1,019	31 miles	1,368	300	200	1,868	2,010
487	32 miles	1,392	300	200	1,892	2,040
210	33 miles	1,416	300	200	1,916	2,070
164	34 miles	1,440	300	200	1,940	2,100
108	35 miles	1,464	300	200	1,964	2,130
82	36 miles	1,488	300	200	1,988	2,160
41,436						

MOTOR ROUTE CARRIERS, RURAL DELIVERY SERVICE.

Motor routes not less than 50 miles in length, salary not exceeding $2,600.

Number.	Basic salary.	War bonus.	Joint resolution Nov. 8, 1919.	Present pay.	Proposed by commission.
99	$1,704	$426	$200	$2,330	Not exceeding $2,600.
735	1,800	450	200	2,450	Do.

VILLAGE DELIVERY CARRIERS.

There are 956 carriers in the service, including 34 half-time carriers at half pay. The continuance of lump-sum appropriations is recommended.

	Basic salary.	War bonus.	Joint resolution Nov. 8, 1919.	Present salary.	Proposed by commission.
First year	$600	$120	$144.00	$864.00	$1,000-$1,200
Second year	690	138	165.60	993.60	
Third year	780	156	187.20	1,123.20	

POSTMASTERS—FOURTH CLASS.

Compensation of postmasters of the fourth class is fixed on the basis of the whole of the box rents and commissions on stamps canceled on matter mailed at their offices.

Under the basic law postmasters were allowed 100 per cent on the first $50 canceled, 60 per cent on the next $100, 50 per cent on the next $200, and 40 per cent on the remainder.

The act of July 2, 1918, provided that postmasters of the fourth class should receive 100 per cent on the first $80 or less canceled per quarter, and where the compensation did not exceed $50 for any one quarter they were allowed an increase or bonus of 20 per cent of the compensation allowed under existing law.

The act approved February 28, 1919, making appropriations for the current fiscal year, provided that postmasters of the fourth class should receive 100 per cent on the first $100 or less per quarter, with a proviso that if the compensation did not exceed $75 for any one quarter they should be allowed an increase of 20 per cent of the compensation allowed under existing law.

House joint resolution of November 8, 1919, allowed all postmasters of the fourth class a bonus of 15 per cent on the compensation under existing law.

The commission recommended that postmasters of the fourth class should be allowed all the box rents collected and 140 per cent on cancellations of $75 per quarter or less, 115 per cent when the cancellations were over $75 and not in excess of $100, and when the cancellations exceeded $100 per quarter 100 per cent on the first $100, 75 per cent on the next $100, and 60 per cent on the remainder. When the compensation amounts to $1,000 and the gross receipts amount to $1,500 within one year, fourth-class offices shall be advanced to the third class. It is estimated this would advance 3,400 fourth-class offices to the third class, and three additional grades were provided for them in the third class, with salaries as follows:

Gross receipts:	Salaries.
$1,500 but less than $1,600	$1,000
$1,600 but less than $1,700	1,100
$1,700 but less than $1,900	1,200

There were 20,360 offices, as shown by the returns for the quarter ended December 31, 1919, where the cancellations did not exceed $75, 3,669 officers where the cancellations were from $75.01 to $100, and 18,043 offices where they exceeded $100 per quarter.

The bill as amended in conference provides that commissions of 145 per cent shall be allowed on cancellations of $75 or less per quarter, 120 per cent when the cancellations are over $75 and not in excess of $100, and when the cancellations exceed $100 per quarter, 115 per cent on the first $100, 75 per cent on the next $100, and 60 per cent on the remainder.

At 20,363 offices where the cancellations do not exceed $75 per quarter, on the basis of returns for the quarter ended December 31, 1919, the annual compensation will aggregate $4,262,030.88, with gross receipts of $3,929,043.48, and the excess of compensation over receipts $332,987.40.

At 21,712 offices where the cancellations exceed $75 per quarter, based on the same returns, the compensation will aggregate $15,992,029.56 and the gross receipts $19,970,354.08.

The annual compensation for all fourth-class offices, based on the returns for the quarter ended December 31, 1919, will total $20,254,060.44 and the gross receipts $23,899,397.56.

POSTMASTERS, THIRD CLASS.

Number.	Basic salary.	Bonus, joint resolution, Nov. 8, 1919.	Present salary.	Proposed by commission.	Number.	Basic salary	Bonus, joint resolution, Nov. 8, 1919.	Present salary.	Proposed by commission.
3,400	$800	$120	$920	$1,000	973	$1,400	$150	$1,550	$1,700
	900	135	1,035	1,100	1,086	1,500	150	1,650	1,800
	1,000	150	1,150	1,200	850	1,600	150	1,750	1,900
250	1,000	200	1,200	1,300	738	1,700	125	1,825	2,000
1,081	1,100	200	1,300	1,400	538	1,800	125	1,925	2,100
894	1,200	200	1,400	1,500	415	1,900	100	2,000	2,200
729	1,300	150	1,450	1,600					
					10,954				

[1] Offices now in fourth class which it is estimated will be advanced to third class on account of change in basis of compensation and reduction to $1,500 of gross receipts required to advance to third class.

POSTMASTERS, SECOND CLASS.

Gross receipts.	Number.	Present salary.	Proposed by commission.
$8,000 but less than $10,000	230	$2,000	$2,300
	266	2,100	
$10,000 but less than $12,000	238	2,200	2,400
	182	2,300	
$12,000 but less than $15,000	182	2,300	2,500
	188	2,400	
$15,000 but less than $18,000	188	2,400	2,600
	171	2,500	
$18,000 but less than $22,000	171	2,500	2,700
	112	2,600	
$22,000 but less than $27,000	112	2,600	2,800
	99	2,700	
$27,000 but less than $33,000	99	2,700	2,900
	55	2,800	
$33,000 but less than $40,000	56	2,800	3,000
	91	2,900	
Total	2,540		

POSTMASTERS, FIRST CLASS.

$40,000 but less than $50,000	82	$3,000	$3,200
	43	3,100	
$50,000 but less than $60,000	85	3,100	3,300
$60,000 but less than $75,000	66	3,200	3,400
$75,000 but less than $90,000	33	3,200	3,500
	29	3,300	
$90,000 but less than $120,000	58	3,300	3,600
	18	3,400	
$120,000 but less than $150,000	36	3,400	3,700
$150,000 but less than $200,000	55	3,500	3,800
$200,000 but less than $250,000	25	3,600	3,900
$250,000 but less than $300,000	10	3,600	4,000
	18	3,700	
$300,000 but less than $400,000	10	3,700	4,200
	14	3,800	
$400,000 but less than $500,000	6	3,900	4,500
	5	4,000	
$500,000 but less than $600,000	12	5,000	5,000
$600,000 but less than $7,000,000	56	6,000	6,000
$7,000,000 and upward	5	8,000	8,000
Total	666		

ASSISTANT POSTMASTERS, SECOND-CLASS OFFICES.

Gross receipts.	Number.	Basic salary.	Present salary.	Proposed by commission.
$8,000 but less than $10,000	596	$1,000	$1,650	$1,800
$10,000 but less than $12,000	420	1,100	1,750	1,850
$12,000 but less than $15,000	182	1,100		1,900
	188	1,200	1,750	
$15,000 but less than $18,000	359	1,200	1,750	1,950
$18,000 but less than $22,000	171	1,200		2,000
	112	1,300	1,750	
$22,000 but less than $27,000	211	1,300	1,750	2,050
$27,000 but less than $33,000	99	1,300		2,100
	55	1,400	1,750	
$33,000 but less than $40,000	147	1,400	1,750	2,150
Total	2,540			

CLERK HIRE, THIRD-CLASS OFFICES.

Allowances for clerk hire for third-class offices have always been made from lump-sum appropriations. The act of February 28, 1919, increased the maximum allowance which might be made in each grade 50 per cent. The continuance of lump-sum appropriations for such allowances is recommended, the maximum allowances to be readjusted to the new scale of salaries as follows:

Postmasters' salaries.	Present maximum allowance.	Maximum allowance proposed by commission.
$1,000	[1]	$450
1,100	[1]	450
1,200	[1]	450
1,300	$450	600
1,400	450	600
1,500	450	600
1,600	600	700
1,700	600	700
1,800	600	700
1,900	750	900
2,000	750	900
2,100	1,200	1,200
2,200	1,200	1,200

[1] None; now fourth-class offices.

The commission recommends that the allowances for clerk hire at third-class offices shall be readjusted annually.

SUPERVISORY OFFICERS IN FIRST-CLASS OFFICES.

(Salaries to be based on gross receipts.)

	Present salary, including war bonus, House joint resolution, and Wadsworth amendment.	Proposed by commission.
Receipts $40,000 but less than $50,000:		
Assistant postmaster	$1,925	$2,200.
Superintendent of mails	1,925	$2,100.
Receipts $50,000 but less than $60,000:		
Assistant postmaster	1,925	$2,200.
Superintendent of mails	1,925	$2,100.
Receipts $60,000 but less than $75,000:		
Assistant postmaster	1,925	$2,200.
Superintendent of mails	1,925	$2,100.
Receipts $75,000 but less than $90,000:		
Assistant postmaster	1,925	$2,300.
Superintendent of mails	1,925	$2,200.
Receipts $90,000 but less than $120,000:		
Assistant postmaster	2,025	$2,400.
Superintendent of mails	1,925	$2,300.
Foremen	1,925	$2,000.
Receipts $120,000 but less than $150,000:		
Assistant postmaster	2,025	$2,500.
Superintendent of mails	1,925	$2,400.
Foremen	1,925	$2,000.
Receipts $150,000 but less than $200,000:		
Assistant postmaster	2,125	$2,600.
Superintendent of mails	1,925	$2,500.
Foremen	1,925	$2,000.
Receipts $200,000 but less than $250,000:		
Assistant postmaster	2,125	$2,700.
Superintendent of mails	1,925	$2,600.
Foremen	1,925	$2,000.
Receipts $250,000 but less than $300,000:		
Assistant postmaster	2,200	$2,800.
Superintendent of mails	2,025	$2,700.
Assistant superintendents of mails	1,925	$2,200.
Foremen	1,925	$2,000.
Receipts $300,000 but less than $400,000:		
Assistant postmaster	2,200	$2,900.
Superintendent of mails	2,025	$2,800.
Assistant superintendents of mails	1,925	$2,200.
Foremen	1,925	$2,000.
Receipts $400,000 but less than $500,000:		
Assistant postmaster	2,300	$3,000.
Superintendent of mails	2,125	$2,900.
Assistant superintendents of mails	1,925	$2,200.
Foremen	1,925	$2,000.
Receipts $500,000 but less than $600,000:		
Assistant postmaster	2,625	$3,200.
Superintendent of mails	2,300	$3,000.
Assistant superintendents of mails	1,925	$2,300.
Foremen	1,925	$2,000.
Postal cashier	1,925	$2,600.
Money-order cashier	1,825	$2,300.
Receipts $600,000 but less than $1,000,000:		
Assistant postmaster	3,150	$3,400.
Superintendent of mails	1,925-3,150	$3,200.
Assistant superintendents of mails	1,925-2,500	$2,500.
Foremen	1,925	$2,000 and $2,100.
Postal cashier	2,120-2,730	$2,800.
Money order cashier	2,120-2,730	$2,500.
Receipts $1,000,000 but less than $2,000,000:		
Assistant postmaster	3,150	$3,600.
Superintendent of mails	2,125-3,150	$3,400.
Assistant superintendents of mails	1,925-2,500	$2,200, $2,500, and $2,800.
Foremen	1,925	$2,000 and $2,200.
Postal cashier	1,825-2,730	$3,000.
Assistant cashiers	1,750-2,125	$2,300.
Money-order cashiers	1,825-2,730	$2,700.
Bookkeepers	1,650-2,125	$2,000.
Station examiners	1,925	$2,000.
Receipts $2,000,000 but less than $3,000,000:		
Assistant postmaster	3,150	$3,700.
Superintendent of mails	2,835	$3,500.
Assistant superintendents of mails	1,825-2,500	$2,300, $2,500, $2,700, and $3,000.
Foremen	1,925	$2,000 and $2,200.
Postal cashier	2,125-2,730	$3,100.
Assistant cashiers	1,925-2,300	$2,200 and $2,400.
Money-order cashiers	2,125-2,730	$2,800.
Bookkeepers	1,650-2,125	$2,000 and $2,200.
Station examiners	1,925-2,125	$2,300.
Receipts $3,000,000 but less than $5,000,000:		
Assistant postmaster	3,150	$3,800.
Superintendent of mails	3,150	$3,600.
Assistant superintendents of mails	1,925-2,730	$2,300, $2,500, $2,800, and $3,200.
Foremen	1,925	$2,000 and $2,200.
Postal cashier	2,300-2,730	$3,300.
Assistant cashiers	1,925-2,300	$2,200, $2,400, and $2,800.
Money-order cashier	2,300-2,730	$3,000.
Bookkeepers	1,925-2,125	$2,000 and $2,200.
Station examiners	1,925-2,125	$2,300 and $2,500.
Receipts $5,000,000 but less than $7,000,000:		
Assistant postmaster	3,150	$4,000.
Superintendent of mails	3,150	$3,800.
Assistant superintendents of mails	1,925-2,730	$2,300, $2,500, $2,800, $3,000 and $3,400.
Foremen	1,925	$2,000, and $2,200.
Postal cashier	2,125-2,730	$3,500.

SUPERVISORY OFFICERS IN FIRST-CLASS OFFICES—continued.

	Present salary, including war bonus, House joint resolution, and Wadsworth amendment.	Proposed by commission.
Receipts $500,000,000 but less than $700,000,000—Continued.		
Assistant cashiers	$1,925-$2,125	$2,200, $2,600, and $2,800.
Money-order cashier	2,125- 2,730	$3,200.
Bookkeepers	1,925- 2,125	$2,000, $2,200, and $2,300.
Station examiners	1,925- 2,125	$2,300 and $2,500.
Receipts $7,000,000 but less than $9,000,000:		
Assistant postmaster	4,200	$4,300.
Superintendent of mails	3,360	$4,000.
Assistant superintendents of mails	1,925- 2,500	$2,300, $2,500, $2,800, $3,200, and $3,600.
Foremen	1,925	$2,000 and $2,200.
Postal cashier	2,125- 2,730	$3,700.
Assistant cashiers	2,125	$2,300, $2,500, $2,800, and $3,000.
Money-order cashier	2,125- 2,730	$3,300.
Bookkeepers	1,925- 2,125	$2,000, $2,200, and $2,300.
Station examiners	1,925	$2,300 and $2,500.
Receipts $9,000,000 but less than $20,000,000:		
Assistant postmaster	4,200	$4,500.
Superintendent of mails	3,360	$4,200.
Assistant superintendents of mails	1,925- 2,835	$2,400, $2,500, $2,800, $3,200, $3,400, and $3,800.
Foremen	1,925	$2,000, $2,200, and $2,300.
Postal cashier	1,925- 2,730	$3,800.
Assistant cashiers	1,925- 2,300	$2,300, $2,500, $2,800, and $3,000.
Money-order cashier	1,925- 2,730	$3,400.
Bookkeepers	1,925- 2,525	$2,000, $2,200, $2,300, and $2,500.
Station examiners	1,925- 2,300	$2,300 and $2,500.
Receipts $20,000,000 and upward:		
Assistant postmaster	4,200	$4,600.
Superintendent of mails	3,360	$4,400.
Assistant superintendents of mails	1,925- 2,835	$2,400, $2,600, $2,800 $3,200, $3,600, and $3,800.
Superintendent of delivery	3,360	$4,400.
Assistant superintendents of delivery	1,925- 2,835	$2,400, $2,600, $2,800, $3,200, $3,600, and $3,800.
Foremen	1,925	$2,000, $2,200, and $2,300.
Superintendent of registry	3,360	$4,000.
Assistant superintendents of registry	1,925- 2,500	$2,400, $2,600, $2,800, and $3,200.
Superintendents of money order	3,360	$4,000.
Assistant superintendent of money order	2,500	$3,800.
Auditor	3,150	$3,600.
Postal cashier	2,730	$4,000.
Assistant cashiers	1,925- 2,300	$2,300, $2,500, $2,800 $3,000, and $3,200.
Money-order cashier	2,730	$3,600.
Bookkeepers	1,925- 2,300	$2,100, $2,300, $2,500, and $3,000.
Station examiners	1,650- 2,125	$2,300 and $2,500.

SUPERINTENDENTS OF STATIONS—FIRST-CLASS OFFICES.

There are at present 896 superintendents of stations whose salaries, including increases under the war bonus, H. J. Res. of November 8, 1919, and the Wadsworth amendment were as follows: 723 at $1,925; 36 at $2,025; 48 at $2,125; 82 at $2,300; 5 at $2,500, and 2 at $2,625.

The commission proposed to determine the relative importance of stations by the number of employees and gross receipts providing that where the number of employees was less than 4 and the receipts less than $100,000, the salary of the superintendent shall not be greater than that of a special clerk.

At classified stations having 4 employees or more the commission proposed salaries for superintendent as follows:

4 and not exceeding 6 employees	$2,100
7 and not exceeding 18 employees	2,200
19 and not exceeding 32 employees	2,300
33 and not exceeding 44 employees	2,400
45 and not exceeding 64 employees	2,500
65 and not exceeding 90 employees	2,600
91 and not exceeding 120 employees	2,700
121 and not exceeding 150 employees	2,800
151 and not exceeding 350 employees	3,000
351 and over	3,200

ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENTS OF STATIONS—FIRST-CLASS OFFICES.

There are at present 185 assistant superintendents of stations whose salaries, including increases under the war bonus, House joint resolution of November 8, 1919, and the Wadsworth amendment, were as follows: 169 at $1,925; 11 at $2,025; 5 at $2,125.

The commission proposed that assistant superintendents of stations may be appointed with salaries as follows:

65 and not exceeding 90 employees	$2,250
91 and not exceeding 120 employees	2,370
121 and not exceeding 150 employees	2,400
151 and not exceeding 350 employees	2,600
351 and over	2,800

In fixing the grades of superintendents and assistant superintendents of stations, in addition to the number of regular employees assigned

to a delivery station, each $100,000 receipts is to be considered one employee, and at finance stations $25,000 to be considered one employee.

POST-OFFICE INSPECTORS.

Number.	Grade.	Basic salary.	War bonus.	Joint resolution Nov. 8, 1919.	Present salary.	Proposed by commission.	
						Grade.	Salary.
65	1	$1,500.00	$200.00	$125.00	$1,825.00	1	$2,300.00
60	2	1,600.00	200.00	125.00	1,925.00	2	2,500.00
60	3	1,700.00	200.00	125.00	2,025.00	3	2,700.00
90	4	1,800.00	200.00	125.00	2,125.00	4	2,900.00
20	4	2,000.00	200.00	100.00	2,300.00	4	2,900.00
30	5	1,900.00	200.00	100.00	2,200.00	5	3,200.00
20	5	2,250.00	112.50	100.00	2,462.50	5	3,200.00
[1]2	6	2,100.00	200.00	100.00	2,400.00	6	3,500.00
[1]4	6	2,400.00	120.00	.....	2,520.00	6	3,500.00
[2]30	6	2,100.00	200.00	100.00	2,400.00	7	3,700.00
[2]26	6	2,400.00	120.00	.....	2,520.00	7	3,700.00
[3]15	.....	3,000.00	150.00	.....	3,150.00	.....	4,200.00
422							

[1] Less than 1 year in grade.
[2] More than 1 year in grade, with specially meritorious service.
[3] Inspectors in charge of divisions.

SUPERVISORY OFFICERS, RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE.

	Number.	Basic salary.	War bonus.	Joint resolution, Nov. 8, 1919.	Present salary.	Proposed by commission.
Division superintendents	15	$3,250.00	$162.50	.....	$3,412.50	$4,200.00
Assistant division superintendents	15	2,250.00	112.50	$100.00	2,462.50	3,200.00
Assistant superintendents	2	2,550.00	117.50	100.00	2,567.50	3,100.00
Assistant superintendent (car construction)	1	2,100.00	200.00	100.00	2,400.00	3,000.00
Chief clerks	114	2,100.00	200.00	100.00	2,400.00	3,000.00
Assistant chief clerks (to include 60 clerks in charge of sections in superintendents' offices)	174	1,800.00	200.00	125.00	2,125.00	2,500.00
Total	321	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

REQUISITION FILLERS AND PACKERS, DIVISION OF EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES.

Number.	Basic salary.	War bonus.	Joint resolution, Nov. 8, 1919.	Present pay.	Proposed by commission.
16	$1,000	$150	$200	$1,350	$1,600
1	1,400	210	125	1,735	1,800

All employees herein provided for in automatic grades, who have not reached the maximum grades to which they are entitled to progress automatically, shall be promoted at the beginning of the quarter following the completion of one year's satisfactory service since their last promotion, regardless of any increases in salaries granted them by the provisions of this act.

Making a Hat.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN Q. TILSON,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 4, 1920.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with the permission granted by the House, I here insert some remarks made by me in the conference room of the House Office Building on Tuesday evening, May 11, 1920, on the subject of the manufacture of fur hats. Hon. JAMES P. MAHER, a Representative in Congress from the State of New York, presided over the meeting. In calling the meeting to order, Mr. MAHER said:

"Ladies and gentlemen, I have been selected by my colleague, Mr. TILSON, to preside over this gathering to-night. I believe that his reason for selecting me as the presiding officer was the fact that I served my apprenticeship at this trade and worked at it all my life until I was elected to the House of Representatives. I do not wish to go into the fine points of the trade, but I can assure you that in looking at this board containing these exhibits it brings back some very pleasant memories to me and some very interesting ones.

"I now have the pleasure of introducing to you my colleague, Mr. TILSON. [Applause.]

"Mr. TILSON. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, as the time approaches to lay aside the felt hat and put on the straw it seems opportune before we cast aside the winter's lid to pay a word of tribute to the felt hat; at least sufficient to explain something about how it is made.

"Comparatively few people know how a hat is made or even what is the material of which it is made. That this is true was brought home to me quite forcibly the other day when talking about it to a prominent newspaper man. He asked me what I was going to say about making hats. I said, 'Well, I am going to follow the making of the hat from the time the rabbit is caught in Australia until the bow is put on in Danbury.' He replied, 'What has a rabbit in Australia got to do with making hats?' When informed that they are made of rabbit fur, he said, 'I had supposed they were made out of a mixture of wool and cotton.'

"It is quite appropriate that I should speak on this subject at this time rather than at some other time when it takes on a partisan tinge. When it becomes a vital question whether hats have a duty on them or whether they shall be permitted to come in free from other countries, then it is difficult to speak or be accorded a hearing free from partisan bias. At this time, when labor conditions are abnormal, when production is short, when there is all the market that the hat manufacturers want for all the hats they can produce and for almost everything else, there is no object in presenting the claims of the hat for a protective duty under present conditions, and people will hear without prejudice and learn something about the subject that may be useful hereafter.

"During the war I was accustomed to give kindergarten lectures to the Members of the House over on the floor and used as exhibits guns of all kinds and descriptions, so that my colleagues gave me the affectionate name of the 'gunman.' Now that the immediate use of guns has passed by, I have thought that I might render a service even more useful by taking up after the same manner something along peaceful lines. Hats being one of the very important industries of the country and being centered to a large extent in my own State, I thought it well to begin with hats. I believe you will agree with me before we get through the evening, and after you have seen the pictures that are to be shown you later, that the making of a hat is quite an interesting operation or series of operations.

"I looked up an article in an encyclopedia to see what it had to say about the origin of making hats. After reading it through I decided that the man who wrote the article knew just about as much about the origin of making hats as I did. In view of the fact that the writer of the article was not very certain of his ground, I abandoned the idea of trying to enlighten you upon that side of the subject. I shall refer to but a single bit of tradition, and this because I believe that my friend from New York [Mr. MAHER], being a Knight of St. Clement, will corroborate what I have to say. The tradition is that St. Clement being footsore and weary, his sandals being somewhat rough to his feet and the weather being inclement, tried the plan of putting a rabbit pelt between his feet and his sandals.

"After a while, as a result of the motion of his feet in walking, the heat from the body, and the dampness, he found that he had produced a piece of felt. It has been handed down by tradition that the idea of making felt hats from rabbit fur developed from the results of this homely experiment. Whether this tradition is correct as a historical fact or not, it is true that felt is made in just that way—by the combined application of warmth, moisture, and motion to rabbit fur.

"If you will look at a piece of fur through a powerful microscope you will find that it is covered with what are called spines or barbs, all projecting in one direction. Bringing together a number of these barbed particles of fur and wetting them with hot water, then properly manipulating them with continued applications of moisture, warmth, and motion, they become interlocked in this manner [indicating with the fingers of both hands]. This is the initial operation. Every movement brings them closer together, while the barbs make it impossible for them to come apart. This interlocking of the fur is called felting. Then follows a series of operations in which by means of skillful manipulation, such as only an expert like Brother MAHER and others who know the business thoroughly can give, the first form is worked down to practically any size desired. It is only a question of a sufficient amount of proper manipula-

tion. The felt simply becomes thicker and thicker as it is worked until the size desired is reached.

"I promised to tell something of the story of the hat from the time it is a rabbit in Australia until the bow is placed on it in Danbury. The rabbit is caught in Australia. I do not mean by that that all the furs come from Australia, but for the ordinary grades of hats perhaps three-fourths of all the fur that is used comes from Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania. A considerable part of the remainder of it comes from the hare of Saxony, from the coney in England and Scotland, the hare in Belgium, and also some from France. The nutria from the Argentine Republic and the beaver and otter from the northwestern part of this country are used to some extent in the finer grades of hats, such as are made by the Stetson Co., of Philadelphia, whose moving-picture exhibit you will see a little later on. This company uses a number of these kinds of high-grade fur for some of the finer grades of hats.

"Coming back to the rabbit—because he furnishes most of the fur used in the Danbury hatting industry—these rabbits are caught by means of a wire inclosure having a narrow throat and a wide mouth running out a mile or so on either side, opening out in this way [indicating]. Men and boys who are engaged in the chase form a cordon connecting the extremities of the wide opening, and thus surround the territory from which the rabbits are to be caught. A great disturbance is created, the rabbits are frightened, run away from threatened danger, and hasten toward the inclosure. When they once enter the long opening or gateway they soon pass through the narrow throat into the pen itself.

"In this way they are caught by the thousands, hundreds of thousands, and even millions, for that matter, because their skins come here by the millions. The rabbits being caught in this way, they are readily dispatched by means of clubs. When the skin is brought to this country it is in this shape [indicating]. This is one of the skins just as it comes from Australia.

"The first operation is to take out the hair. There is a certain amount of long hair, as you can see, and you can feel it better than you can see it. The first operation is called plucking, I believe. Is that right, Brother MAHER?

"Mr. MAHER. Yes, sir.

"Mr. TILSON. The first operation is to pluck out the hairs and leave only the fur. When the hair is plucked out the skin is like this [indicating]. This is the same kind of a pelt as the first one, only with the hair plucked out. It seems now to be a very fine piece of fur. These furs are undoubtedly made into coats and other wearing apparel made of fur that the ladies of this country wear. They are not extremely expensive, but have a very soft and smooth feeling to the touch and are really very good furs.

"The next operation is what is called carroting. On each one of these separate particles of fur there are little follicles of natural oil from the animal. They contain dust and other foreign substances which the animal collects during his life, and these dull the barbs, as it were. If you attempted to use the fur in the natural state, it would not felt. Therefore the process called carroting is necessary, which consists of a treatment of mercury and sulphuric acid. The skins must next be dried. If dried by artificial heat, it is called yellow carroting. If they are allowed to dry naturally, they are not yellow but are nearly white. This is called white carroting. I believe that where the skins are dried by artificial heat the fur is considered better than if they are allowed to dry naturally.

"The next two processes I could not illustrate on the board, because the exhibits are too fragile to hang on a nail. The next process is where the pelt is run through a machine and the pelt is clipped off from the fur, or the fur from the pelt, by means of a machine. Although I have not had an opportunity of seeing the Stetson moving-picture film myself, I think it will explain just how the fur is cut off.

"This [indicating] is the fur from a single rabbit just as it is cut off from the pelt after it is carroted. After the pelts are carroted, however, and before the fur is removed, they are stored away, as a rule; and the longer they are stored, the better. They are like wine, good friends, and some other things—the longer you keep them the better they are, because they improve with age.

"The next operation is preparing the fur for making into the hat. The operation of blowing the fur is a very extensive one and will be shown fully in the moving pictures which are to follow. The fur is blown into a cloud as it goes through the many chambers of the blowing machine, and all the little pieces of pelt, the short pieces of hair, and other impurities drop away from the fur. The fur being lighter, the more solid matter drops to the bottom as a deposit in each chamber while the fur passes from one chamber to another. I think there are eight chambers in one of the blowing machines, and the fur is run through once or twice, as I recall. I think the Stetson Co. runs it through once, and then as it is mixed it is run through again. As I recall now, most of the Danbury people blow it just the one time, and that is when they mix it.

"This [indicating] is the mixed fur ready to make a hat. What I hold in my hand is the amount of fur required to make a hat. The makers determine what the quality of the hat shall be by the kind of fur they put in. They do not put in all of the fur of one kind. Whatever the grade of hat it is desired to make, whatever the price and quality, that is determined at this stage by the material that goes into the hat. After having determined the quality and selected the material, it is then sent through the mixer or blender. When it comes out it is in this shape [indicating], ready to be formed into a hat.

"The most interesting operation of all, or at least the one most interesting to me, is the forming of the hat. The operation that fewest people understand is the one that changes the light, fleecy fur into this shape [indicating], called a body. After being weighed out, as in the last exhibit I showed you, it is ready for the 'former.' It is put upon a traveling belt or apron I think it is called, by which it is carried through rollers, where it is picked up and is finally formed into a cloud. The whole air of the chamber is full of it. When it emerges on the other side over the last plate it enters the large receptacle of the 'former,' which contains a large revolving copper cone. The cone is perforated with fine holes, and under the cone is a fan producing considerable suction. The cone is wet, and as the fur comes through in a cloud, by reason of the great suction below it is drawn to the cone and attempts to pass through the little holes and, being caught upon the damp metal, forms a very thin layer upon the cone. As soon as all the fur has settled upon the cone it is submerged in hot water. It is immediately withdrawn, and the operator skillfully places a piece of cloth around it. At this stage the felt must be handled with great care and skill, because it is exceedingly tender and requires a skilled artist to handle it at all without tearing it to pieces.

"It is then put through another process called hardening. It is rolled up in a cloth and with each successive working it becomes felted a little more and a little more. This [indicating] has reached what hatters call the hardening stage, but it is not very hard and will pull apart if made to hold up its own weight.

"The next operation is to size the hat. Reducing it from this size to the next size [indicating] is called sizing. This is the job that Brother MAHER did when he was in the trade, as he has told you. He took charge of the hat at this size [indicating] and carried it down through this size [indicating] until it reached the next smaller size. This is done by a system of folding and manipulation. The 'sizer' folds it a certain way, then rolls it in a cloth, and then repeats the operation if it is sized by hand. Did you work by hand, Mr. MAHER?

"Mr. MAHER. Yes; I served my apprenticeship at handwork.

"Mr. TILSON. Most of this work in Danbury is now done by machinery, but the Stetson Co., I believe, still does it largely by hand. The operators first roll up—I think it is three or four bodies in a package. How many do they roll together, Mr. MAHER?

"Mr. MAHER. Usually four; but it is according to the weight of the hat.

"Mr. TILSON. As I remember it, four. They first fold it over like this [indicating], then roll it up, and run it through a time or two. Then they take out the four bodies, fold them up in another way, and run them through the mill again. Then they fold them in still another way, and it requires great skill to fold them properly in order to make the bodies all felt evenly. When the pictures are shown you will see something of this operation, but it is impossible for even a moving picture, much less a word picture, to describe just how skillfully this work must be done.

"After carrying it through this process, either by hand or by machinery, the body is brought down to this size [indicating]. As I have indicated, there are two methods of sizing—one entirely by hand and the other aided somewhat by machinery. There is one stage of the process where the work is done by a machine called the multi-roller. It is claimed by those who have this machine and use it that it does superior work in the sizing operation. After all, the principal thing is the motion, the moisture, the warmth, and the skillful manipulation. Do not forget this, because it requires the highest degree of skill to enable a man to do this work and make it come out right.

"If the 'sizer' is not skilled in handling four or five bodies together, the first thing he knows one hat is felted to another,

and if he attempts to take them apart after the barbs once engage one another he will tear the hats and they are both ruined. It is, then, a work requiring the highest degree of skill. If a duty on hats ever becomes a living question again—in other words, if production becomes normal again—Members of Congress will find this an important point to bear in mind. The price that must be paid to the workman who can do this kind of skillful work must in some way be equalized with what the other fellow has to pay to the workman in other countries who makes the same kind of hat, because, giving us the same labor and material costs, the world can not beat us. No one can beat us. We can make just as good hats and make them as cheaply as anybody in the world if due allowance is made for the difference we must pay our high-priced, highly skilled workmen. And we are not in favor of giving them any less, because if you could see them do this work you would agree that they earn every penny of what they receive.

"At this point is the parting of the road for the soft hat and the stiff hat. Up to this point [indicating] they are exactly the same. These two exhibits are practically the same. This [indicating] is for a soft hat and this [indicating] is for a stiff hat. The only difference is that the stiff hat has been shaved to make it smooth and the soft hat has not been. There is another slight difference; as a rule, the soft hat is heavier. There is more fur put into the soft hat. Since there is a considerable amount of shellac in the stiff hat it does not need quite so much fur. I should say that as a rule about one-third more material is put into a soft hat than into a stiff hat.

"I shall go through the next processes a little more rapidly. The next process in the making of the soft hat is to color it, and this [indicating] shows the hat after it has been dyed. Where the multi-roller process is used it is colored at the same time it goes through the multi-roller. This exhibit [indicating] is a stiff hat that has had the shellac put into it.

"The next operation is what is called tip stretching. I do not know what the Stetson people call it, but in Danbury they call it the tip stretch. The top of the hat, instead of being shaped like this [indicating], is now drawn out into a crown. The tip stretching is done by a machine. I think the pictures will show the machine at work. It is a machine with finger-like projections working up and down on a stretcher.

"The next operation is to stretch the brim. You see it does not have any brim here [indicating], but another machine stretches the brim and then it begins to assume something like the shape of a hat. The same operation is performed with the stiff hat. Here is the tip stretch [indicating] and here is the brim stretch [indicating].

"We come now to the operation where it takes on the form of a real hat. This is where it is blocked. This is a soft hat blocked [indicating]. A flange determines the shape of the brim with relation to the crown. This is what is called a finished hat. I do not mean that it is complete at all, but it has had a finish put on it. The finishing process is called pouncing, which simply means rubbing it with coarse-grained emery paper. There is a machine that does it on the inside and another on the outside. When it is finally pounced, it is ready for the trimmer. The band is then put on, which is one of the last operations. The sweatband is put in, the bow sewed on and we have the finished hat. I have here the one which I happen to wear, which was made in Danbury, and which shows you the final form.

"The stiff hat requires a slightly different treatment in the final shaping of the brim.

"Very briefly this is the story of the hat. If I were speaking in the House, I should not feel that I had imparted much information if some one did not ask me a question. Therefore I shall be very glad to try to answer, from a layman's point of view, any question that anyone in the audience may wish to ask concerning the making of a hat.

"Mr. SUMMERS. What do they do with the pelts?

"Mr. TILSON. I am glad you asked that question, Mr. SUMMERS. The pelt is cut off in small strips, as it is separated from the fur, and used in making glue or gelatin. It is probably not the gelatin we use on the table but at any rate moving-picture films are made of it. The hair, of course, is made into fertilizer. There is no part of it lost.

"Mr. MAHER. May I ask you a question?

"Mr. TILSON. Yes; I wish you would.

"Mr. MAHER. You have told us about the Knights of St. Clement and the origin of felt, can you tell us how the words 'as mad as a hatter' originated?

"Mr. TILSON. I am sorry I can not tell you. I was in hopes that you with your knowledge of the traditions of the Knights of St. Clement would be able to answer that question for the information of the rest of us.

"Mr. EARLY. You did not tell us how much it was adulterated with wool or anything of that sort.

"Mr. TILSON. The fur is not adulterated with wool at all, and at the present price of wool that probably would not be considered an adulteration. If it is desired to make a cheap grade of hat, it can be made pretty cheap by putting in what is called the belly fur, taken from the flanks and belly of the rabbit, which is a cheaper grade. Sometimes the trimmings from hats, which have been felted once, are turned back into the mixture.

"The trimmings make short fur, which is not the best, but they can be mixed in; and, as I said awhile ago, the quality of the hat is determined by the kind of fur put into it.

"Perhaps some of you have thought that the price of fur hats was pretty high. I know that to be true, but not only the labor but also the material that has gone into the hats, including the fur, has jumped up in price tremendously.

"Mr. EARLY. I did not know but what you could use some other fiber in making hats.

"Mr. TILSON. I do not believe that they do, though I have heard of some very cheap grades of fur.

"Mr. CHINDBLOM. Are beaver hats actually made of beaver fur?

"Mr. TILSON. There is beaver fur in it, but I do not know how much there is in it. When the Stetson exhibit comes on, you will see that this company uses beaver fur to a considerable extent. I do not know that it would be claimed that there is very much beaver fur used in a hat now.

"Mr. CHINDBLOM. Are there any other animals that could be substituted for rabbits, hares, and beavers for this purpose?

"Mr. TILSON. Yes; the otter is sometimes used and the muskrat is sometimes used. The nutria, from Argentina, is also used. The Stetson Co. uses that fur considerably. As I said a while ago, the hare of Saxony, Belgium, and northern France, and the coney of Scotland and England are used.

"Mr. SMITH of Idaho. I was wondering whether it is known by the hat manufacturers that in many of the Western States, and especially in Idaho and Oregon, there are millions of rabbits known as jack rabbits and, if so, why it is that those rabbits are not utilized for this purpose, instead of importing hares from Australia and Saxony.

"Mr. TILSON. I do not believe that they would answer the purpose very well. I think their fur is too short, like that of the common rabbit that we see here in the eastern part of the country. Some of the animals I have mentioned have been brought here from abroad, but when bred in this country the fur soon becomes short and of little value. The climatic conditions are such that the fur that grows on the rabbits living here is not suitable for making hats.

"Mr. GALLAGHER. You have not explained to us the operation of sewing on the bow.

"Mr. TILSON. That is a simple but interesting operation, usually done by a girl on a sewing machine. When I was at Danbury a short time ago I saw a girl, possibly 16 years of age, sewing on hatbands. I asked her how much she received for that work, and she said she received 10 cents per dozen for putting the bands on. I asked her how many she did in a day, and she replied 70 dozen. Therefore she was making $7 per day.

"Mr. MICHENER. Has Connecticut a child-labor law?

"Mr. TILSON. Yes.

"Mr. MICHENER. Is it enforced?

"Mr. TILSON. Yes.

"Mr. SMITH of Idaho. How old did you say this little girl was?

"Mr. TILSON. Fifteen or sixteen years of age. They must go to school in Connecticut until they are 14 years old. She might have been older than 16 years.

"If there are no other questions, I shall ask the representative of the Stetson Co. to show us his moving pictures. The J. B. Stetson Co., of Philadelphia, as you all know, makes a very high grade of hat. You will see from the picture that the company makes hats largely by handwork, whereas most hats are now made by machinery.

"Mr. MICHENER. Is there any duty on the fur that is imported from Argentina and Australia?

"Mr. TILSON. I do not think so. As it is raw material, it would be a very foolish thing for us to impose a duty on it.

"Mr. MAHER. There is no duty on it.

"Mr. TILSON. I should not think there would be a duty on it, because it is a raw material.

"Mr. HARDY of Colorado. If a little girl can make $7 per day at this work, how much do the men make?

"Mr. TILSON. Some of the men make almost as much as carpenters and plumbers now. A man doing piecework who can do it well can make pretty high wages. These men do skillful work, for it takes a high degree of skill to successfully make a hat.

"Mr. MICHENER. How do they trim the hats?

"Mr. TILSON. The stiff hat is put on a machine that is very hot, and under great pressure the brim is turned and curled. There are also machines by means of which the trimming around the edges is sewed on. The band is put on in a very simple way by a girl using a machine.

"Mr. CHINDBLOM. Is there any danger of the rabbits in Australia dying out?

"Mr. TILSON. I have made some inquiry about that, and it seems that they multiply very rapidly in that country. If we should not be able to secure the rabbits, I do not know what we should do for hats.

"Mr. DALLINGER. What is the price of the skin?

"Mr. TILSON. I do not know what the prices are. Mr. Farrell, of the Danbury Co., who is present, might be able to tell us what are the prices of rabbit skins of different kinds and qualities.

"Mr. DALLINGER. What is the price of first-class skins?

"Mr. FARRELL. The rabbit skin about which the gentleman asked information, Australian rabbit skins, cost $2.25 per pound.

"Mr. DALLINGER. The skins?

"Mr. FARRELL. Yes, sir.

"Mr. DALLINGER. How much does the fur cost?

"Mr. FARRELL. As cut from the skin, it would cost $13 or $15 per pound.

"Mr. TILSON. I thought it was about $15 per pound. Anywhere from 1½ ounces to 3 ounces go into a hat. You can see the cost of the material going into a hat from these very high prices for fur. A cowboy hat, weighing a pound, as many of them do, requires sufficient material alone to make the hat quite expensive.

"Mr. SUMNERS. What material was used in the making of hats before they began to use rabbit fur?

"Mr. TILSON. Cloth was used, of course. You will recall the old pictures of kings and nobles of olden times wearing a kind of bonnet.

"Mr. SUMNERS. How long has rabbit fur been used for this purpose?

"Mr. TILSON. I do not know.

"Mr. MAHER. About 400 years. It is one of the oldest industries in the United States.

"Mr. SUMNERS. Where did they get the rabbits from then?

"Mr. TILSON. Probably from Saxony, Belgium, Scotland, or England, since all of these produce a high grade of fur to-day. So far as modern history is concerned, we have always had fur from those countries.

"If there are no further questions, I wish to thank you very much for your kind attention, and will now let the Stetson exhibit go forward."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER J. DOOLING,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920.

Mr. DOOLING. Mr. Speaker, although I shall vote for the bill, I exceedingly regret that there has not been provided a sufficient or adequate salary for the letter carriers, clerks, and some other postal employees in my city. The increase recommended by the commission—a minimum of $1,400 and a maximum of $1,800 to clerks and carriers—is entirely too small to satisfy the necessary demands of these men. By their strict devotion to duty, by their loyalty to service, for the hard and diligent labor they have performed, they have deserved much better treatment at the hands of this Congress.

So greatly underpaid have been the postal men that resignations from the service have been numerous, and we have, as a consequence, lost many of the well-trained and highly skilled men. The Postal Service, which should be kept up to the best and highest standard of efficiency, has been seriously impaired and badly crippled.

The Government has so far pursued toward the postal employees a false economy in withholding from them a fair and decent living wage. As a result of such a course, discontent and demoralization in the service have set in and the business interests of the country have everywhere greatly suffered. The impairment and breakdown of efficiency in the Postal Service are really due to the neglect to give to the people who handle and carry the mail a salary sufficient to enable them to meet the great and constantly growing increase in living expenses.

The business men in no uncertain terms have earnestly appealed to us to raise the postal men's pay as a matter of intelligent business economy and in common fairness and justice to the employees.

Surely these postal employees are deserving of much better treatment, and a better measure of compensation, at least so far as the carriers and clerks in New York and other large cities are concerned, than they are to receive under this bill. I regret we can not amend the bill so that we could vote to the clerks and carriers a higher and better salary than the commission recommends. Under the procedure of suspending the rules we are powerless to get a change, and hence I shall vote for the bill as the best one we can get at this time. The increases granted by the bill will go a little way toward relieving the acute situation of the men and women in the service and aid them to meet their necessitous demands. Yet they deserve much more at the hands of the American Nation, the people of which they serve at all times and in all seasons with commendable fidelity and with a high degree of patriotism unexcelled by any other class of Government employees.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. B. ROUSE,
OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920.

Mr. ROUSE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to print in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article written for the Chattanooga News relative to the long, faithful, and most efficient record made in the Congress by my friend and colleague, Hon. JOHN A. MOON, of Tennessee.

The article is as follows:

(By John D. Erwin.)

WASHINGTON, *April 29.*

It may be of interest to the public to know something of the service in Congress of one of the Tennessee Members who has no press bureaus, but who is now serving his twenty-fourth year in the House of Representatives, as demonstrating the wisdom of returning an able and experienced Member rather than to seek a new one, who must necessarily be inexperienced, and educate him for the performance of the important duties of this office. The able, experienced, and influential men in Congress are of the utmost value to their constituents, particularly in these times of social and political unrest, and as we are entering upon a period of reconstruction necessarily following the war with the Imperial German Government.

These men know the conditions as they were and as they are, and are necessarily better fitted to meet the emergency than any new man, however able, could be. A new Member is generally helpless.

Hon. JOHN A. MOON, of the third district of Tennessee, was first elected to Congress in November, 1896, overcoming the Republican majority in the district of 3,500 in 1894, and securing election over all opposition by 1,400 majority. He redeemed the district to the Democratic Party and as its nominee has been elected at each succeeding election with an increased majority. He has served as a member, and the ranking Democratic member, and as chairman for eight years, on the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads. During his whole service he has remained a member of the Post Office and Post Roads Committee. On account of the importance of this committee, no member of it, under the present rules of the House, can be a member of any other committee. He was also a member of the Committee on the Territories, the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and the three postal committees, and on the National Waterways Commission, and as chairman of special committees appointed by the House and has declined some appointments. He has always been strongly assigned on committees.

He is regarded as one of the ablest speakers and debaters in the House. He has rendered much service for his district and State and for the Union at large. He has actively supported the

Democratic administration and all of its constructive legislation. He is a fearless Democrat, but serves all the people.

Ex-Speaker CLARK said of him that he was one of the ablest men that had been in the American Congress. Senator UNDERWOOD, when floor leader of the House, said that Judge MOON was the author, perhaps, of more remedial legislation in the interest of the whole people than any other man in public life. On many occasions Members of the House on the floor have complimented him on his ability and public service. Postmaster General Burleson thanked him in a letter, which was published, for his work for the administration, and particularly for his service on the Post Office Committee and the passage of the parcel-post law, railway-mail pay law, and many administration statutes in the interest of economy and good government.

It is said that Congressman MOON never permits a day to pass without answering the mail received that day from his constituents, if it is possible to do so. He gives the closest attention to business intrusted to him by any and all of his constituents. He does not speak very often on the floor of the House; and yet his speeches, always able and logical, often ornate, scholarly, and eloquent, would fill a volume of more than a thousand pages. They would be very interesting and instructive reading for those who desire to know something about public questions and the principles of our Government.

He has done all that is possible to do for the people of the counties of his district. We will not undertake to mention his many official acts in the interest of his district, State, and county, but it would be well to recall a few of them.

DISTRICT.

He was active in the development of the rural mail routes system.

He covered his district with rural free delivery routes and post offices.

He caused to be built post-office buildings in Cleveland and Winchester and secured an appropriation for the improvement of the customhouse building at Chattanooga.

He secured an appropriation to build a post-office building at Athens. The committee on his measures has recommended the construction of a post-office building at McMinnville.

He has presented bills for the construction of post-office buildings at Sparta and other county seats and other towns in the district, which he hopes to pass.

He secured the passage of a brigade-post law and other legislation concerning the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, including the purchase of Point Lookout and a part of the park. The Hooker—Government—road was secured by his bill and the legislation authorizing the construction of electric car lines to this park, a portion of which is in Tennessee.

He secured legislation to protect the storm sufferers in Bradley County.

He secured a large appropriation for the complete navigation of the Hiwassee River to the head of navigation. This work has been completed, and the unused portion of the money returned to the Treasury.

He has passed the legislation for the construction of Hales Bar Lock and Dam in Marion County, Tenn., which was absolutely essential to navigation in the Tennessee River, and by its construction by private individuals the Government was saved $11,000,000 and secured navigation of the river under its control at this stretch of the river.

He advocated abandoning contests by congressional districts for the improvement of the Tennessee River and urged the united action of all the States interested for the improvement of the whole river, beginning below and coming up, and this policy was adopted. From 1872 to the time that Judge MOON entered Congress the appropriations over a period of 70 years were $5,159,798.66. Since he entered Congress his active work in connection with the Tennessee River Association and the Senators and Congressmen of Alabama and Tennessee has brought about an appropriation of $7,703,465.60 more in the last twenty-odd years. This does not include the Muscle Shoals, where about $12,000,000 and more is being spent to build a nitrate plant for war purposes, to open navigation, and to furnish fertilizers cheaply to the farmers.

The Postmaster General is authority for the statement that it was largely the influence of Judge MOON that induced the President to locate this great plant at Muscle Shoals. When this plant is completed and a little more work which will be provided for in the next Congress, it is believed that the Tennessee River will be opened for navigation from Chattanooga to its mouth.

He had passed a measure that increased the depth to which the whole river was to be improved a few years ago. In connection with others he is now seeking to develop, through the engineers, a plan for the development of the river above Chattanooga to Knoxville, which will complete this part of the river for open navigation all the year.

He has had many meritorious pension bills passed and has secured by legislation the payment of many thousands of dollars of old war claims to his constituents. He has aided hundreds of our soldiers and sailors in securing their rights from the Government.

He has had bills passed to authorize the construction of county and railroad bridges over the river.

GENERAL LEGISLATION.

Some general legislation of which he has been the author or the most active advocate and supporter may be mentioned, but, of course, only a small portion of it.

He twice organized against the balance of his committee opposition to the Loud bills, which were intended to practically destroy the country press by unjust restrictions and impositions and succeeded on both occasions.

His motion to strike the special subsidies of railroads from the Post Office bill, which was finally adopted, saved $500,000 per annum to the people. His efforts some years ago with others to decrease the cost of carriage of mails saved some $4,000,000 to the people. He introduced the administration measure which he prepared in part to change the method of paying for the transportation of inland mail from a weight to a space basis. This measure met the opposition of all the great daily papers and of the management of every foot of railroads in the United States. As chairman of the committee having the bill in charge he fought the measure through Congress and it became a law. It was a just and accurate method of payment for this service and a great improvement in the conduct of service and of the management of mails, and will save the Government many millions of dollars.

He has been a strong advocate of Government aid for the improvement of State and county roads. He offered one of the first resolutions, which became a law, for experimental road improvement and made one of the first and clearest arguments in support of the constitutionality of Government aid to roads. He assisted in the passage of various laws on this subject, and as chairman of the Post Office and Post Roads Committee, having advocated and agreed to the same in conference, he put through the House the provision that appropriated $200,000,000 to be expended over the period of the next three years as the Government's contribution for good roads improvement in the United States. Work under the law is now being done in many States. Tennessee is provided for under the law.

He has caused to be passed a large number of laws attached as riders to the Post Office and Post Roads bill for the enlargement, improvement, and protection of the postal system and to simplify and economize the same, including the enlargements of the provisions of the Government's postal savings bank law. Among these measures was included the abolition of pneumatic tubes in large cities, by which the Government was saved much money. It was on Judge MOON'S initiative, when he was a member of the Rivers and Harbors Committee, that the rivers of the South received the first adequate appropriation that they had had since the Civil War. He was one of a subcommittee of two, the chairman and himself, who fixed these appropriations, and they multiplied the same over the engineers' estimates, in some instances, as much as two or three times, and Congress accepted the same. This was the largest rivers and harbors bill ever passed.

Perhaps one of the most important things that he has done was to introduce and cause to be passed the parcel-post law. This bill was amended slightly in the Senate and in conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses. Senator Bourne, chairman of the Senate committee, and Judge MOON, chairman of the House committee, united the House and Senate provisions, which were approved in the conference and by Congress and is the present law. This law has proven a great blessing to the people and has given them a very cheap method of transporting articles through the mails. It is producing a clear profit of between $10,000,000 and $12,000,000 per annum to the Government, which will continue to increase. No greater public service has been performed than the passage of this measure for the whole people.

Under the Democratic administration and partly as the result of the parcel-post and other laws introduced by Judge MOON, the surplus revenue, after paying all expenses of the Postal System, was $32,486,027.04, as against a deficit of $73,667,296.74 in a similar period in the two preceding Republican administrations. This was the first surplus in the history of the department.

As a member of the Committee on Territories he helped to frame the organic law of Hawaii and helped frame the legislation for the other Territories. It was by his efforts in the con-

ference committee in the closing days of one Congress that the conference failed to act upon the bill that proposed to unite the great Territories of Arizona and New Mexico in one State. This enabled the creation of two great States subsequently.

He has favored 14 or 15 laws in the interest of labor and opposed those against the interest of labor. He supported the measures for the benefit of agriculture and the farmers' interest and commercial and mining interests, not because of any of these classes as such but because all of this legislation was just and democratic and essential to the welfare of the whole people.

He favored the war against Germany on account of her atrocious conduct in murdering our people, sinking our ships, and destroying our commerce on the high seas. He has voted for the measures in the support of this war. He preferred the volunteer system of raising an army to the draft system, but in order that there might be absolute unity and no division shown in Congress he voted on the final vote on the conference report for the draft act. He opposed sending boys under 21 years of age to the war until it became a necessity of the last call. He has favored liberal pensions and compensation to the soldiers of the war with Germany and all other wars. He still favors adequate pensions to all soldiers and sailors disabled or whose health was impaired in the war, and liberal treatment toward all needy soldiers who were enlisted, and hopes that something may be done for all the men who were in the Army in the war against Germany, by some proper plan for their compensation, but feels that it would be a discredit to the soldiers and to the country to adopt any method that would in its effect commercialize the patriotism and valor of our soldiers. By the way, he is one of about 15 or 20 men, some now living and some dead, who have voted for a declaration of war three times by the United States against foreign countries. He voted for the War with Spain, with Germany, and with Austria-Hungary.

He has urged economy in the administration and a reduction in the offices and salaries of high-paid officials and some increase in the salaries of lower-paid officials.

He favors the reduction of the war debt over a space of 50 or 60 years, if necessary; the repeal of all war statutes, the repeal of all unwise restrictions on business and commerce to the end that normal times may speedily return with the lowering of the price or the cost of living and to enable the people to easily and readily pay the tax essential to meet the war debt and interest.

He has been the author of many other measures in Congress and has aided in the passage or rejection of many more. He has much important work laid out for his district and of a general character, which he hopes to accomplish later on.

He is one of the most popular men in the House, which adds to his value as a legislator. He aids everyone he can and never claims full credit for anything, saying that no man can do anything alone.

It is safe to say that but few, if any, districts in the United States can show a better record for their Congressman, either on the floor of the House or in committee and departmental work, than the third congressional district of Tennessee. The facts as to his part in legislation on the floor of the House are all shown by the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Postal Employees' Salaries.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. MEAD,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, we have about reached the completion of the debate on this rule. No man on the floor of the House has any doubt about the passage of this bill, which has for its purpose the increase of the salaries of the men and women in the Postal Service of the United States Government. I intend to vote for it, not for the reason that it grants the compensation to which these people are justly entitled, but because the majority party in control of legislation will give us no opportunity to amend the bill and raise the amount for each class of employees to what it should be. In other words, we must take this bill or nothing. We are told that these recommendations are the result of the investigation of the Postal Commission appointed over one year ago to examine thoroughly all the details connected with the service. They visited many of the larger cities of the country, and heard the testimony of hundreds of witnesses in the various postal departments. Now we have this report, obtained after all this work and at probably great expense. What is the result? A recommendation that denies the men a wage that would give them even the necessaries of life, much less any of the luxuries that should be theirs after years of honest and faithful service in this most important branch of the Government.

They look for just recognition at this time and we deny it to them. Is it fair? Is it right? Does it offer any inducement to young men to come into the post-office work and replace a force that is rapidly being depleted by the march of age and the more potent reason of resignation, the securing of better wages, better hours, better opportunities in other walks of life?

If we are to maintain the previous high standard and efficiency of this service we must provide adequate compensation for the workers, at least a living wage in accordance with American standards.

In casting my vote for this bill now before us I do so only with the hope and expectation that the next House of Representatives or the present Senate will bring in legislation that will advance the salaries to a figure sufficient to compensate a class of as loyal, honest, and splendid workers as ever served any nation.

Investigation of the Escape of Grover Cleveland Bergdoll.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JULIUS KAHN,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago a notorious slacker and draft deserter by the name of Grover Cleveland Bergdoll escaped from two sergeants of the United States Army under rather peculiar and extraordinary circumstances.

Bergdoll is a millionaire; his mother is likewise worth millions of dollars. He evaded the draft, although of draft age, and refused to perform his duty as an American citizen.

Doubtless the great wealth which his people had amassed in this country was due to the benefits, advantages, and opportunities that the humblest citizen finds under the Stars and Stripes.

After the signing of the armistice, he was apprehended as a draft deserter, was tried by court-martial at the military headquarters on Governors Island, N. Y., and was sentenced to five years at hard labor in Fort Jay, on said Governors Island, N. Y.

While serving his sentence some one concocted a seemingly absurd story about his having cached $150,000 in gold somewhere in the hills of Maryland near Hagerstown. Upon such a specious and absurd plea he was granted permission to leave his place of confinement, go to Philadelphia under the guard of the two sergeants aforesaid, and was taken to his mother's home under the plea that the automobile, which was to have taken him to the cache where the gold was hidden, had met with an accident and had to be repaired. I understand that the permit which was granted him by the War Department officials expressly provided that he would have to be taken to the hidden treasure and returned immediately to his place of confinement. Whoever exerted the pull to allow him to be taken to his mother's home nobody knows.

The country has been hearing a great deal from the loud-mouthed Bolshevist orators that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor in this Republic. The Bergdoll case will be cited as an instance to prove the truth of that statement.

Deeming it important that the matter should be sifted to the bottom, I introduced the following resolution in the House of Representatives on May 28, 1920:

House resolution 574.

Whereas one Grover Cleveland Bergdoll, recently convicted by Army general court-martial, as a draft deserter and sentenced to confinement for five years in the United States Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Jay, N. Y., has escaped from confinement; and

Whereas charges are made, and there is reason to believe, that a plot and conspiracy existed among and between divers and sundry persons unknown to consummate the escape of the said Bergdoll from confinement under his said sentence: Therefore be it

Resolved, That a select committee of five members of the House be appointed by the Speaker of the House to investigate and procure all facts relevant to fixing responsibility for said escape and for the failure to recapture the said Bergdoll, and particularly to determine whether relatives, friends, counsel, or attorneys of the said Bergdoll partici-

pated in a plot or conspiracy to effect or give aid to said escape or to prevent recapture; or whether officers, noncommissioned officers, or privates of the Army or other persons connected with the Army or with the administration of the said disciplinary barracks participated in a plot or conspiracy to effect or give aid to said escape or to prevent recapture or were derelict in the performance of any duty devolved or devolving upon them which contributed to making said escape possible or prevented or hindered recapture or made it more easy for the said Bergdoll to elude recapture.

That the committee so appointed may conduct such investigation by subcommittee or otherwise; that said committee or subcommittee may select its own chairman, may hold sessions during the recess of the House, may employ whatever assistance, either clerical or legal, it may deem necessary to aid in conducting said investigation, may administer oaths, may summon and compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of papers and documents, may employ a stenographer or stenographers to report the same, and have the reports of said hearings printed for use.

That any and all expenses in connection with such inquiry shall be *paid out of* the contingent fund of the House upon vouchers to be approved by the chairman of the committee.

That said committee shall report its findings to the House at the earliest possible date, together with such recommendations as it shall deem pertinent and advisable.

Upon a hearing before the Committee on Rules, that committee ordered a favorable report on the resolution. The Committee on Rules, under the rules of the House, has jurisdiction over questions of investigation. The report of the committee was unanimous in favor of the resolution. Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas, chairman of that committee, on the afternoon of June 4, 1920, according to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that date, on page 8587, called up the resolution and asked unanimous consent for its present consideration. I regret to say that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] objected to that request. Thereupon the chairman of the Committee on Rules submitted a privileged report from the Committee on Rules and recommended that House resolution 574 be adopted. Thereupon the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] made the point of order that there was no quorum present, and the House accordingly had to take a recess. After the recess, when the presence of a quorum had been established, Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas again called up the resolution, but the gentleman from Texas again blocked its consideration.

It is to be regretted that this resolution was not permitted by the action of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] to be considered. The people of the United States are deeply interested in finding out whether there was a conspiracy to secure the release of the notorious millionaire draft evader, Grover Cleveland Bergdoll. The people of the country are entitled to know who was responsible for the escape of this millionaire draft evader. The people of this country are entitled to know whether there is any foundation for the charge frequently made by those who attempt to overthrow our form of government that there is no justice for the poor man in the United States of America.

The people are entitled to know whether in this country of ours there is one law for the rich and another law for the poor. All of these matters, in my opinion, could have been solved by a strict congressional investigation. The people have a right to know the truth upon the subject.

Personally I know nothing about the details except what has appeared in the daily newspapers.

I understand that the Secretary of War favored the passage of the resolution. I dare say he felt that a thorough investigation ought to be had in order to determine all the facts and place the responsibility where it belongs.

It is to be regretted that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] was unwilling to allow this investigation to be made, although he had an absolute right to object to the consideration of the resolution upon his own responsibility as a Member of the House of Representatives.

ESCAPE OF GROVER CLEVELAND BERGDOLL.

"Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of a resolution that I send to the Clerk's desk.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution which he sends to the Clerk's desk. The Clerk will report it.

"The Clerk read as follows:

"House resolution 574.

"Whereas one Grover Cleveland Bergdoll, recently convicted by Army general court-martial as a draft deserter and sentenced to confinement for five years in the United States Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Jay, N. Y., has escaped from confinement; and——

"Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, in order to save time, I object to the unanimous-consent request.

"Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Will the gentleman withhold his objection for a moment?

"Mr. GARD. The gentleman can not object until the reading is finished.

"Mr. BLANTON. Objection to unanimous consent is in order at any time.

"The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks so.

"Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I submit a privileged report from the Committee on Rules.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas submits a privileged report from the Committee on Rules, which the Clerk will report.

"The Clerk read as follows:

"Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas, from the Committee on Rules, submits the following report:

"The Committee on Rules, to which was referred House resolution 574, submits a privileged report on said resolution, with the recommendation that it be adopted:

"House resolution 574.

"Whereas one Grover Cleveland Bergdoll, recently convicted by Army general court-martial as a draft deserter and sentenced to confinement for five years in the United States Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Jay, N. Y., has escaped from confinement; and

"Whereas charges are made, and there is reason to believe, that a plot and conspiracy existed among and between divers and sundry persons unknown to consummate the escape of the said Bergdoll from confinement under his said sentence: Therefore be it——

"Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas makes the point of order that there is no quorum present. The Chair will count. [After counting.] It is clear that there is no quorum present.

"Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

* * * * * * *

"The SPEAKER. Two hundred and seventy Members have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

"Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I move to dispense with further proceedings under the call.

"The motion was agreed to.

"The doors were opened.

"Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, just before the recess I submitted a resolution to investigate the escape from a military prison of one Bergdoll. The circumstances surrounding the escape point to a very nasty scandal.

"Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

"Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. There being objection, Mr. Speaker, to the consideration of the resolution, I withdraw the resolution.

"Mr. SABATH. And the gentleman should withdraw the statement.

"Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I shall not withdraw the statement.

"Mr. SABATH. It was not in order.

"Mr. BLANTON. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

"Mr. BLANTON. Should not the House at least expect from the chairman of the Committee on Rules, who virtually makes the rules of the House, that he himself should comply with those rules and not proceed out of order?

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas should comply with the rules of the House."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEMUEL P. PADGETT,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the permission granted to me by the House I avail myself of the privilege of printing in the RECORD the address of the Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, to the graduating class of midshipmen at Annapolis, Md., June 3, 1920. I believe it is worthy of preservation and consideration by the people of the country.

The address is as follows:

"Mr. Superintendent and members of graduating class, it is my official duty and personal privilege to deliver to you, with the imprimatur of your country's confidence, commissions in the Navy of the United States. I use the word 'deliver' rather than the customary word 'present' advisedly. This commission as ensign is yours by right of mastery of a difficult course and the completion of four years of intense study and drill. The delivery of this commission closes a portion of the contract entered into between you and your country the day you entered the Naval Academy. There must be two high contracting

parties to every contract. When you proved by examination that you had the qualifications to enter as a midshipman you promised on your part to be diligent in the discharge of your tasks and loyal to your officers and instructors. Authorized thereto by law, the naval authorities entered into contract with each of you that if you lived up to your pledges they would admit you as an officer into a service honored by valor and high tradition. On your part, you have fulfilled your contractual obligations. It becomes my pleasure to be the instrument through which the President of the United States, your Commander in Chief, fulfills the obligations of the Government.

"I wish to emphasize the truth that you are not being presented with a commission. Yours is a title to naval honor and opportunity won in a long and toilsome race, calling for brains and endurance and character—the trinity of worthy achievement. As a matter of fact, young gentlemen, nothing really worth having can be given to you. Nobody can hand you over as a present the qualities and acquirements which make for high usefulness and honorable service. Your father and mother can give you cleanness of body and wise bringing up. Your teachers can give you direction in the attainment of knowledge. Your officers by precept and example can instruct you in the beginnings of the profession you have chosen. You may inherit money; you may be born into surroundings of what the world calls culture; parents and teachers may yearn ever so much to lift you into high position or into fame. But, in truth, after they have handed you over crutches and cane and perhaps automobiles, too, or aircraft, to aid your walking and riding and flying, you must discard them utterly as housebuilders discard the scaffolding when its purpose is finished, for you must stand in the crucial hour at last in your own shoes, stripped for the bout of life.

"Then nothing but your clear head, your mastery of self and science, your clean body, your steadfast courage, and your indomitable will to win can avail you aught in the world's board of selection, where the doctrine of the survival of the fittest is immutable and unchangeable. It is ever true—and ever will be true—that every man is master of his own fate, architect of his own fortune, creator of his own fame. In the final analysis, while every good and helpful influence and the hand of God have all helped to shape our lives, 'rough hew them how we will,' the man on the bridge in the hour when his country's destiny may rest upon his instant and immediate decision has no earthly reliance outside himself. He is of the few among mortals, when war's alarms sound, who has the supreme and sole opportunity to show the stuff of which he is made.

"It is a matter for gratulation that you come into the Navy in a day when it holds—and holds deservedly—higher place in the confidence of the American people than in any period of its history. The United States Navy in the sixties, by courage unsurpassed in combat with brothers of equal valor, bottled up the southern ports and made possible the blockade, the importance of which was not then and has not since been recognized by the historians of that struggle. Immediately after Lee's surrender the country lost sight of its obligation to the Navy, began rapid reduction of appropriations, quit naval construction, and in the early eighties actually refused commissions to graduates of the Naval Academy, inflicting a loss of 750 officers whose service in the World War would have been of great value. It was not until the days of Chandler and Whitney that there came again appreciation of sea power, and it was not until February 3, 1915, when President Wilson declared our Navy 'ought, in my judgment, to be incomparably the most adequate navy in the world,' that we undertook a continuous and systematic and constructive program of building and enlistment and training which alone made possible America's large naval contribution in the World War.

"We have escaped the naval retrogression after the World War which fell upon the country after Appomattox, for, instead of stopping the building of new craft as was then the naval policy of our Republic, we are now building 18 capital ships, which, with the scout cruisers and smaller and newer designs of craft needed to round out the fleet, will give the United States the Navy which Dewey said we should have by 1925 and which President Wilson envisioned in his St. Louis speech. Nor have we now as prior to 1913 been blind to the duty of training naval officers.

"Our main dependence for officers of the Navy to keep pace with changing conditions and to lead in naval development must always be upon this Naval Academy, the very heart and nerve center of our naval thought and progress. In 1913 we increased the number of midshipmen named by each Congressman from 1 to 2; in 1914 from 2 to 3; in 1915 from 3 to 4; and in 1917 from 4 to 5, making possible the admission of 3,136 in September, 1920, as against a possible 585 in 1913 before the act of July 9, 1913, became a law. But the spirit of dependence and confidence of the country in training naval officers is shown in the fact that the law of December 20, 1917, remains unchanged now that war is over, so we go on training here as many regular officers as when we were in the height of the World War.

"There must be no pause in providing opportunities at this academy. Since 1914 the capacity for the housing and instruction of midshipmen has increased from 1,200 to 2,400, not counting facilities for the post-graduate school, and $6,000,000 have been spent for new construction in these epoch-making years, with the result of securing added dignity and impressiveness of its buildings as well as increased facilities. I have a vision of this institution which I expect to live to see translated into accomplishment. The grounds are inadequate for an institution of its character and importance. All the high lands on the opposite side of the Severn, overlooking the academy grounds, should be purchased and made a part of the institution's campus, lawns, ranges, drill grounds, athletic and aviation fields. This proposed addition to the grounds should be connected by a beautiful memorial bridge commemorative of the valor of the 600,000 men who served in the Navy in 1917–18. The chapel, built after the Spanish-American War, can accommodate only a portion of the larger student body in the religious services statedly held here. Moreover, it is ill-suited for the purpose. It would make a noble memorial, not only as the sepulchre of our greatest sailor, John Paul Jones, but for other illustrious naval heroes whose fame gives inspiration to youths ambitious to follow their example. Only this week a memorial window to Farragut was unveiled. A like honor to Dewey will be another incentive to heroism, as well as another fitting recognition of the sailor-statesman whose victory at Manila will forever thrill Americans.

"We are not only training officers here, but there has not been any recession in the authorization of naval personnel or in provision for an adequate naval reserve, and increased opportunities for the education and promotion to commissions is a cardinal and permanent policy of the Navy.

"No military or other institution is American in spirit unless there is the open door of opportunity, encouragement, and welcome to youths who enter as apprentices or seamen. They and the Naval Academy graduates are entitled to the American assurance that demonstrated ability will enable them to mount to the highest rungs of the ladder of promotion, where the four stars of an admiral are awarded only to those who win them by the display of the highest qualities of ability to command. The enlargement and expansion of the post-graduate school here and the War College at Newport evidence growth instead of reduction, as was feared might be ordered with the return of peace. More than that, we are conducting experiments in new naval methods and instruments and in the perfection of old ones, and building a model and modern laboratory for research and development and construction. The late war taught us with new emphasis that new implements of war, new strategy, new tactics, and the quick adaptation of what experience has demonstrated is the key to naval efficiency in the days that lie before you. It did not need the stress of war to make us understand that the naval profession is one of continued study, and that adherence to ancient methods and old strategy is fatal. It was my honor to voice this naval appreciation of the doctrine 'forward, forward let us range' in an address to officers of high rank at the Naval War College at Newport on the 26th day of June, 1915. What I said then, long before we entered the war, to admirals and captains and commanders, was the fixed policy of the Navy before, during, and since the World War, as its glorious record, approved at home and abroad, abundantly attests. The counsel given to high ranking officers in 1915 applies with equal force to the youngest ensign to-day:

"It is with a very solemn feeling that I stand here. Upon my shoulders falls the duty of seeing that the great machinery of the Navy moves smoothly and moves ever forward. It is no light responsibility when you remember that in the supreme moment of our hour of trial, should dark days ever come, upon you must largely rest the success or failure of the use of that machinery in time of war, and to-day that responsibility is far heavier than it has ever been before in history. As you look abroad, you see the foundation of old theories crumbling every day. Old tactics, old strategies, old theories of naval warfare which have stood unchallenged as almost axiomatic since the triremes of Carthage and Rome grappled together in the Mediterranean are disappearing over night. New and terrible instruments of destruction for the first time have appeared under and over the seas. Slipping unseen through the dark waters underneath, silent submarines elude great fleets, slip by impregnable fortifications, thread safely narrow straits sown thickly with mines, and in a moment transform great battleships into useless sunken iron and steel. In the air overhead dirigibles and aeroplanes threaten new danger, add new problems, and upset old theories of warfare. If war upon the land has reverted to the bayonet and the hand grenade, war upon the sea has leaped

forward at a single stride and broken almost every shackle of ancient convention.

"We have seen the main fleet of the greatest sea nation in the world withdrawn from the seas to some secluded harbor without having fired a shot during the first year of a mighty conflict. We have seen battles begun at ranges believed to be impossible and ships disabled by shots from guns as yet invisible. We have been told that modern sea fights would be determined in the first 10 minutes, yet we have seen that it took six hours to decide one of the greatest ocean battles of the present war. We have seen ships of shallow draft used as fortresses to protect land armies on the Belgian coast. We read only yesterday of submarines gliding unchallenged past the impregnable fortress of Gibraltar and the guardian ships that watch the straits. We have seen fast cruisers raiding the coast and eluding their pursuers by the help of dirigibles, hovering far above, that watch from their high post as an eagle watches the sea beneath for many miles around to warn through the new miracle, wireless telegraphy, the ships beneath.

"Every day some new thing in naval warfare arises. The old things are passing away; new things must be devised. With what weapons, by what strategy, shall we meet the terror of the submarine; the still unrevealed possibilities of the airship? It is to you, gentlemen, that this question must be put. It is to you your Secretary of the Navy looks for an answer. My earnest word, my solemn plea to-day is to urge you fearlessly to discard worship of all things that are old and to adopt courageously anything that is new the moment that some new development of the present convinces you that the old way is no longer the right way or that the new way points the path of victory. It is the courage of the American people in facing new conditions from the time our forefathers dared and mastered the terrors of the wilderness and built therein a new nation with a new government that has made us great to-day. Holding wisely to what is good in the past, to such principles as stand the acid test of this great war, do not fear to cast aside what have proved to be mere shackles of convention and daringly to go forward.

"I hereby pledge myself to spare no effort to assist this onward march. Rest assured that what you plan will find a sympathetic and attentive ear. I want to feel that when my term of office closes my successor will find, in orderly arrangement, the most perfect plans and methods human wisdom can invent, kept always up to date, for the conduct of our Navy in time of war, and it is here that the studies necessary for such plans must be carried on.

"In this insistence upon emancipation from old things because they are old, and of sailing through the same well-marked channels, you must not understand that there is any lack of reverence for old things or lack of sincere appreciation of the vital benefits of experience.

"It was because the genius of America has the particular quality of imagination, which sees large tasks and the spirit of venturing all, that it was given to the American Navy to conceive and take the laboring oar in carrying out the greatest outstanding new naval contribution of the World War.

"I refer, of course, to laying the 240-mile mine barrage across the North Sea of an average width of 25 miles, or over 6,000 square miles, in the construction of which our Navy laid 56,611 mines, expended $79,476,534.31, and furnished 80 ships and 7,000 officers and men in preparing, laying, and sweeping the mines.

"That epoch-making and stupendous work, which largely closed the Atlantic to the German submarines, was the concrete answer of our Bureau of Ordnance to President Wilson's 'bold and audacious' policy, proposed in April, 1917, a few days after Congress declared war. That new and wonderful barrage, not even dreamed of in any previous war, was characteristic of America's habit of great enterprise, as evidenced in digging the Panama Canal, constructing great dams for irrigation, girdling the globe with wireless, building transcontinental railways, tunneling under river and mountain, revolutionizing warfare by the invention of the submarine, the introduction of electrical propulsion as a new power for capital ships, and regarding obstacles as opportunities for translating dreams into realities. Eight and a half per cent of the submarines destroyed met their fate through the inescapable maw of this barrage constructed by the American and British Navies, but its actual taking of toll, begun in the first month after mine laying, was not its only proof that its construction was worth more than it cost. As long as submarines could safely escape into the boundless ocean, German naval morale was high, and the sporting chance of escaping the limited number of destroyers did not deter officers and men. But when the automatic barrage from Norway to England, remorseless and capacious, made attempted passage the portal to almost certain destruction, when that giant American-conceived barrier of high explosives barred the egress of the U-boats, that specter of death shattered German naval morale and made impotent the submarine menace.

"The world can never forget its debt to naval efficiency which transported and safeguarded without loss of a single life the 2,000,000 American soldiers who gave such preponderance of fighting strength to the Allies as to insure victory. In close cooperation with allied navies, with whom it was our proud privilege to cooperate in friendly comradeship, it was our proud privilege to carry to larger success the ancient and efficient convoy system proposed by the general board before we entered the war, to develop and perfect the use of the new and effective depth bombs and detection devices and improvements in aircraft, and in the discovery and utilization of other agencies which marked naval initiative and progress.

"I congratulate the 289 men of this class that you come into the Navy rich with glorious traditions just after, in the world's greatest war, our Navy has added permanently to its high prestige. From the moment you became a plebe the two words and principles you have heard most, except, of course, 'character' and 'truth,' which are the mudsills upon which all else rests, have been 'tradition' and 'loyalty.' These are golden principles and shine here in the academy and in the naval service incarnate in the lives not only of those who have met their Captain face to face but also of those with whom you are shortly to be shipmates. Here you have been taught naval history and naval tradition of your own country as well as of other nations. Let us love our America best of all, believe in it with all our souls and minds and hearts, and reverence its traditions; but let us not forget that noble virtues and high traditions of other nations also have an uplifting value for us, as well as a broadening and liberalizing influence.

"The comradeship of men of our Navy with those of our allies in the World War gave each an intimate knowledge and high appreciation of the other and cemented national friendships. Men of other callings may be excused for being provincial, but those who sail the Seven Seas must have a world vision, and officers of our Navy must carry to other nations our ideals and bring back to us the best of theirs.

"As you graduate and come into the larger school, what do naval traditions mean to you and how much do they make up of the very warp and woof of your life? Upon the answer to that question much will depend upon how you shape your career. After all, it is the unconscious impartation of something greater than is contained in books that you derive from your instructors. The events of naval history are not so ingrained as the marrow of naval tradition. You must stand an examination in history and you will be approved if you win a mark of 2.5. But there is no measurement of the absorption of the traditions which you have imbibed not only from books and from association but from the very walks and statues and portraits and buildings so dear and so familiar to you. On that walk, where you have been accustomed to tread, Farragut learned the lessons and received the impulse from traditions before his day which gave him high place in the naval hall of fame. Later came Dewey, a youth like each of you, who left Annapolis, uplifted by the traditions left by Farragut, to join him in his victory where the word 'damn,' as used by Farragut, was an expression of valor and not of profanity.

"Naval traditions—what are they and how are they reincarnated? I sometimes fear we are in danger of failing to understand that they are spiritual, not to be followed as if of a certain pattern or garment, but to lift us up to a plane where we see the spirit of the act rather than the deed. To some men tradition is a taskmaster, a hard rule, a beaten path, a weight to hold them to the thing that has been done, and to do it in the same old way. To others tradition is a star in the firmament, a light to the pathway, wings on which to mount as eagles, or rather an airship to sail above the clouds for clearer vision and wiser action, a glorified opportunity to win the goal, not by any precedent or rule or rote, but by an illumination that is spirit and not deed. Of tradition it may be truly said: 'The letter killeth; the spirit maketh alive.' Let me illustrate: Two of our most illustrious heroes were Lawrence and Perry—equal in those splendid qualities which make their careers an inspiration to every man in the Navy. The first won glory in defeat, the second won glory in victory. Both are bright stars in our sky. 'Don't give up the ship' was the dauntless message of Lawrence, and that message fired the imagination of Perry and was emblazoned upon his banners as he fought his famous battle. Lawrence was his hero, but it was not the act or the famous sentence of Lawrence that dominated the very soul of Perry on Lake Erie. It was the stimulating courage of Perry, inspired by the Lawrence tradition, which rose superior to life or death or victory or defeat. Kipling might have well had in mind Lawrence and Perry when he wrote:

"If you can meet with triumph and disaster
And treat those two imposters just the same.

"For in very truth both incarnated that immortal principle.

"Perry's discipleship was of soul, not of matter; of achievement, not of method. He gave up his ship, thus literally disobeying the specific admonition of Lawrence, and, in the face of what seemed certain death, transferred his flag to another ship, and in his victory gave the world a new epigram, 'We have met the enemy and they are ours,' which ranks with the dying declaration of his hero. We do not honor Perry because he succeeded, but because he understood the meaning of the Lawrence tradition of willingness to sacrifice life for country.

"In a very real sense every brave man and every great man makes his own traditions. No man lives in history who was devoted to the conventional, to the accepted theory, the approved practice. In civil life success depends upon the courage to defy what is and to stand for the what ought to be. The path of advancement is strewn with corpses of men who slavishly followed in the footsteps of those they believed they were making their models, forgetting that their exemplar succeeded because he dared to chart new seas and accept the spirit of tradition rather than be its servant by slavish adherence to precedent. In warfare no naval or Army hero can be an imitator. He must be a student of the ways and plans of victorious fighters, but unless he receives the inspiration of their spirit and the readiness to accept new and even radical methods, the knowledge of their plans will be a stumbling block instead of an aeroplane.

"No two wars were ever won by the same tactics and few by the same weapons. The military leader of the future may navigate his ships by radio and the day may even come when all his fighting craft may be 'airy navies battling in the central blue.' My word to the graduates to-day, as they face the future, is that the lessons and inspiration of past traditions are not to be found in the laying of the barrage, in the use of poison gas, in the ships under the sea, or on the sea, or over the sea. If there is a next war—which God forbid, but let us keep our powder dry while we trust in Him—the naval hero will be the man quickest to discover and chart new and successful channels to victory, ready to throw in the discard the best weapon of the World War and adopt instantly the most approved tactics and weapons which will meet the needs of the battle he must win. Naval leaders must always be dominated by the thought that new methods must meet new conditions just as King John said of courage: 'For courage mounteth with occasion.'

"I do not know any more hopeless officer than one chained to the theories and practices of the past, losing the light and leading of Mahan's vision while stumbling and groping in the débris of Mahan's processes. I vividly recall some years ago such a man, studious and burdened with information which he could neither assess nor use, to whom I turned in my enthusiasm for encouragement regarding a new project suggested by able experts for certain improvement in our Navy. He listened to me with a far-away look and a mind closed to new and revolutionary things, gave an adverse opinion, and when pressed for a reason for his opposition said with judicial finality, 'Nothing like that was ever done in the Navy,' and thought nothing else needed to be said to make his answer conclusive. Of course it had never been done before. Nobody ever built an iron ship until the *Monitor* and *Merrimac's* battle scrapped all wooden ships. Nobody ever talked to a ship by wireless telephone until faith and science made it possible. Nobody ever sent wireless messages around the globe until men of genius discovered the long-undreamed-of secret. Nobody ever thought a barrage of mines could shut the North Sea until the United States Bureau of Ordnance actually did it in Washington in naval brains and secured the cooperation of the British Admiralty, which made it the wonder of the war.

"Young gentlemen, great leaders are not those who are baffled by mysteries, but those who delve into the secrets of nature and make them the servants of man. Never be carried away by fantastic theories, but never despise the suggestion of so-called cranks. The crank of to-day with a great idea is the inventor of to-morrow and the genius of all the to-morrows. My admonition to you is never to call any proposal of earnest and able men impracticable or unfeasible, for, as a matter of history, every step from sails to wings was first discarded by practical leaders who lacked eyes to see and ears to hear. Remember in your profession—

"There are firths beyond Pentland
And firths beyond Forth.

"There is always a better way of doing anything that man has done, and he only is worthy of leadership who is studying and working to find that better way while others are content to be followers or to use the instruments others have devised.

"The most notable naval speech of this generation, by the President of the United States, your Commander in Chief and mine, was to the officers of the Atlantic Fleet in the summer of 1917, when all the allied navies were in the throes of war. We were 'casting about for a way in which to use our superiority and strength,' but there was doubt and delay among naval statesmen about accepting the solution proposed by the Bureau of Ordnance and other new plans that revolutionized naval warfare. The President, who led in vision and practical strategy, used words fitting to be addressed to ensigns to-day and all days, when he said:

"I do not care where it—the method of crushing the submarine warfare—comes from. I do not care whether it comes from the youngest officer or the oldest, but I want the officers of this Navy to have the distinction of saying how this war is going to be won.

"And so far as the outstanding naval offensive for ending the submarine menace is concerned, that honor was won by the American Navy's original and great conception. Let that be a tradition to incite you to newer heights than have ever been attained.

"The President added in his address at Yorktown: 'I want the youngest and most modest youngster in the service to tell us what to do if he knows what it is.' That is the call to you to-day and to-morrow. Evidently our Commander in Chief feared that the conception of tradition I have been warning you against might militate against the world need of radical methods; for he gave this admonition: 'We have got to throw tradition to the winds. I should like to see something unusual happen, something that was never done before,' adding emphatically: 'There is no other way to win; the whole principle of this war is the kind of thing that ought to hearten and stimulate America.'

"America has always boasted that she could find men to do anything, and it was not an idle boast, as the safe transportation and convoy of 2,000,000 troops across the infested danger zone and their courage on every battle field, the North Sea barrage, and fighting on sea and land attested.

"The dauntless spirit of John Paul Jones, of Farragut, of Dewey flashed in the eyes of the President as he gave this challenge to courage:

"I have several times ventured to make this suggestion to men about me in both arms of the service: Please leave out of your vocabulary altogether the word 'prudent.' Do not stop to think of what is prudent for a moment. Do the thing that is audacious to the utmost point of risk and daring, because that is exactly the thing that the other side does not understand, and you will win by the audacity of method when you can not win by circumspection and prudence. I think there are willing ears to hear this in the American Navy and the American Army, for that is the kind of folks we are. We get tired of the old ways and covet the new ones. Let us do something we were never taught to do and do it just as well as we are doing the older and more habitual things.

"The President closed his wonderful address by declaring his belief that the American Army and Navy would 'do new and audacious and successful things,' which was at once an inspiration and a prophecy.

"The American tradition of boldness and audacity and coveting new ways, enforced by World War achievement, will save you from the danger of a slavish adherence to tradition or precedent in method, while heartening you with the girding realization that the tradition of daring and audacity is bounded by no limits or possibilities or miracles.

"Loyalty is close akin to tradition—indeed, inseparable. All our best naval traditions are based upon loyalty to constituted authority. Like the word 'love,' it baffles definition. When love keeps books and has a debit and credit side to the ledger, it is no longer the light of life but a ball and chain. So it is of loyalty. It is an essence, a spirit, a soul, the whole life. Loyalty and love give gladly, fully, freely, completely, finding compensation in pouring out all for the person or the cause. We bring loyalty down from its pinnacle when we seek to make it a system and prescribe for it rigid rules and regulations. The day a man in the Navy begins to measure and weigh whether this act or that expression squares with loyalty, that moment he is disloyal to his country, to his associates, to his leader.

"Loyalty is not a service to be performed. It is a principle that governs action. When your country is assailed you do not need some one to direct you to offer your life in its defense. Your only need is that your superior officer shall assign your battle station. In peace your loyalty is innate and spontaneous as it bourgeons into patriotic service and fidelity to country and to chosen leader. No military organization can exist with efficiency without the highest loyalty of the men of high and low rank. Loyalty requires immediate, unquestioning obedience to authority.

"Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die.

"But loyalty and obedience in our generation imposes no restraint upon independent judgment or upon proper initiative. The day will never come when in the rush of battle or in military service there can be debate or hesitation as to orders. The commander in chief or the ranking officer has the responsibility for the policy, and when he says, "Fire!" the command must be obeyed. But, young gentlemen, the wise leader, when occasion offers, outlines his plans, and we have learned that the best soldiers and the best sailors are those who are the best informed as well as the best trained. You will command men who will not stop to "reason why" when orders are given to

fire, but they are American youths of intelligence and ambition who will find the why and the reason, and the closer they are in touch with their officers and the better they are instructed the more efficient the ship. Discipline is a part of loyalty, but shipmates in the American Navy are comrades from American homes, and officer and seaman must have a mutual understanding and appreciation to insure a happy ship, for John Paul Jones tells us that 'the only good ship is a happy ship,' and happy ships owe their happiness to good fellowship of all the shipmates from the highest to the lowest rank.

"Young gentlemen, with your training and knowledge obtained here, follow the gleam of high tradition, honorable loyalty, love of your calling, and faith in the Almighty who rules upon the deep as upon the land.

"As you are welcomed to-day into the comradeship of a noble profession, as you weigh anchor from this protected harbor and sail into the larger sea of life, I commend to each of you the prayer of the Breton mariner on the stormy waste of the northwest coast of France:

"My God, protect me. My ship is so little. Thy ocean is so great."

What the Democratic Administration has Done for the West.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD T. TAYLOR,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 31, 1920.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I desire to submit some remarks upon the subject of public-land legislation and the work of the Interior Department pertaining to the West. The work of the Democratic administration in the interest of the progress and development of the West is unparalleled, and it came at a time when it was sorely needed. The remaining natural resources in public ownership are largely in the Western States. As a result of a period of conservation, so-called, run mad, of misunderstanding, of lack of sympathy with western aspirations and institutions, and of profound want of vision, these great resources, mineral, power, land, and timber, were tied up with withdrawals or hedged about with impossible restrictions until the whole tendency was backward or at a standstill. Eastern men, who utterly failed to grasp western conditions, were directing western affairs. Every man who sought to avail himself of the privileges granted by law was regarded as a thief. Future generations were apparently considered of more importance than those now living. Use, development, progress, encouragement, good faith, hard work, and a square deal represented ideas that seemed to be in the discard. Never was the West in greater need of constructive statesmanship at Washington than on March 4, 1913.

The record of the administration of the Interior Department during the Roosevelt and Taft administrations, in its treatment of the poor people who were honestly trying to obtain homes and develop the arid States of the West, is the most unkind and cold-blooded page in all our Nation's history. The pioneer settlers of the West were during those years persecuted by a rabid, unreasoning, and wantonly cruel policy of so-called conservation. The legislature of every Western State during those years repeatedly memorialized the President and Congress and the Interior Department for relief from the intolerable and outrageous hardships inflicted upon those States by the narrow and infamously harsh administration of the public-land laws.

For many years before the inauguration of President Wilson our Republican friends had persistently rung the changes on the brazen assertion that the Democrats were without capacity to govern; that they were only fit for the minority party; that they never could formulate and carry out great constructive, forward-looking policies. Were the accomplishments of this Democratic administration limited to what has been done for the West, let alone its other great achievements, it would be enough forever to refute the slander that the Democrats are incapable of doing things. And this is no mere campaign fulmination; the record speaks for itself. It is written in a million places—in the statute books and departmental files, and it is written forever in the hearts and minds of the western people. That there may be no misunderstanding about it, I have collated a brief summary of some of the acts of the Democratic Congress and the accomplishments of the Democratic executive departments affecting western interests. The mere summary is long, but it is a catalogue of cold facts, of patriotic and splendid constructive measures, of permanent and good work well and faithfully done, such as must convince any but those determined not to believe, of the absolute truth of the sweeping assertions I am making; and, believe me, the West knows its friends, and no species of camouflage is going to delude our people as to who have been their benefactors. The keynote to this wonderful record has been intelligent teamwork by men with a high purpose and independent thought, who were not shackled or controlled by any particular interest or ulterior motive, always the chief factor in a strong and effective democracy.

History will record that Franklin K. Lane was not only one of the greatest Secretaries that this Nation has ever had, but one of the most patriotic, broad-gauged, wise, and humane statesmen that our country has ever produced; and the Nation at large, and especially the West, will for all time be benefited by and grateful to him for the splendid work he did during his seven years' administration of the Interior Department. I also want to say that Secretary Lane, as the head of that great department, was fortunate in being at all times ably, loyally and patriotically, and earnestly and wisely supported by the heads of the various bureaus in his department. The Hon. Clay Tallman, Commissioner of the General Land Office, is, like Secretary Lane, a western man, and, like the Secretary, he personally knows and appreciates the difficulties of western development and has always fully realized and sympathized with the hardships, privations, and heart-breaking disappointments that confront the public-land settlers, and he has worked as hard and as conscientiously and has accomplished fully as much during his term of office, and, I believe, much more, than any other Commissioner of the General Land Office has ever accomplished during a similar period.

But let me be a little more specific. Seven years ago Alaska, our last great frontier country, had been practically abandoned. All plans or projects for opening that great storehouse of wealth and opportunity had ended in speculation and talk, and then more talk. That to render the interior accessible and to provide suitable laws for Alaskan development were the things to do, was too manifest for argument. Instead of talk, the Democratic administration proceeded to do these things.

Out on our Indian reservations poverty, disease, and ignorance were characteristic; though the Indian had millions of acres of land, he had no cattle, no water for irrigation, no tools or stock with which to farm, and, worst of all, nobody was disposed to improve his condition; a spirit of hopelessness seemed to prevail. Now that is all changed. The whole status and condition of the Indian is headed the other way—prosperity, civilization, citizenship are in sight for the Indian.

Our great Government reclamation projects which had cost a hundred millions, now the pride of the West, hung in the balance; doubt existed as to the reimbursement of the Government as contemplated by the law, but more serious was the question in men's minds as to whether great development enterprises of this sort could be carried through successfully by the Government. The money had been expended honestly, the engineering had been of a high order, the dams stood, the water was made available, yet there was something lacking; the land was not fully settled; the settlers were complaining and unprosperous. Then came the searching analysis of the situation by the incoming Democratic administration, followed by new laws and different policies; help, encouragement, fair treatment, until now it is a demonstrated fact that the Government can do big things on a business basis, and every Western State is clamoring for more Government irrigation projects, not as a gift, but on a basis of returning to the Government every dollar invested.

As to our remaining public agricultural and grazing lands, it was apparent that, for the most part, the crop lands were gone; that the lands remaining were essentially grazing in character; and that existing laws were unsuited to give the little man a chance. That situation was studied and laws enacted to meet it; the result has been little less than marvelous, and the Land Service, which was supposed to be a declining Government function gradually going out of business, has, during this entire administration, been one of the busiest of the Government activities. Then, too, there was a prevailing sentiment in the West that the Government and its agents were chiefly concerned with making trouble for those who sought to exercise their rights under the public-land laws, however good their intentions, rather than to help and to encourage. It has not been easy to overcome this prejudice, but now the good-faith homesteader knows he has nothing to fear, and the grafter finds little comfort.

Our coal-land laws were archaic, hopelessly impracticable, and an incentive to fraud. Our oil resources, now of such vast importance, were tied up in the Taft withdrawals "in aid of legislation" which had not been enacted. Claimants proceeding under the existing laws suddenly found themselves precipitated into a quagmire of destructive litigation. The conflicting interests, including those of the Government, were most difficult to adjust, but now, by a measure essentially Democratic in its origin, that matter has been straightened out in a manner fair to the claimants, protective of every legitimate public interest, and at the same time placing this great industry on a sound basis, conducive to well-regulated use and development. The same thing may be said of the water-power bill, which was earnestly worked upon by Congress for years and has just been submitted to and signed by President Wilson.

And with all these multitudinous problems we did not overlook the preservation and opening to public enjoyment of the great natural beauty spots and pleasure grounds in our country. For years the idea has persisted that foreign countries excelled our own in the way of magnificent natural scenery; for years thousands of our people have gone abroad to see mountains, waterfalls, lakes, and glaciers, unmindful that our own country had unsurpassed attractions and opportunities of this kind. We created the National Park Service; we created new parks; we have made them accessible to the public and have educated the public to know and appreciate the wonders and the attractiveness of our own country.

In these brief statements I have attempted to sketch only a few of the larger things to which we have given attention. The record shows that every interest and every aspect of western development has been under consideration. Our whole course of procedure has been inspired with a desire for a sane, well-balanced, well-regulated, progressive development and use of our national resources in the interest of the whole public, and in doing this we have lived up to every sound principle of conservation and protection of the public interests. I invite the earnest attention of everybody to the summary of the record which I am submitting. In it will be found more than 30 measures passed by the Democratic administration of direct benefit to the West; in it will be found evidence that these measures have been administered and enforced by the Democratic executive departments in a spirit at once agressive, fair, reasonable, humane. The tremendous results will be well understood by everyone who comprehends the resources, development, and people of the West.

I feel that without impropriety I can speak with first-hand information upon this subject. As the House well knows, I have been a member of the Public Lands Committee for nearly 12 years, during a large period of which time I have been the ranking member and at times the acting chairman, and a very large part of this legislation has necessarily come from that committee. Without mentioning the bills in detail I feel that I may take a just pride in having been the author of quite a large number of them and in having taken an active part in the passage of all of them. And I will take this occasion to add that all of the members of the Public Lands Committee deserve great credit for the constant, arduous, and tedious work of that committee, which is one of the hardest working committees and produces more legislative bills than any other committee in Congress.

LEGISLATIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE ACHIEVEMENTS BENEFICIAL TO THE WEST DURING THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. Speaker, never before in the history of our country during the same length of time has so much been accomplished to render available the resources of our public domain and at the same time make the acquisition of title less burdensome to the intending claimant. Without regard to hundreds of acts of Congress of local and purely remedial character, but taking a few of those equally applicable throughout the public land States, the following deserve much more than the very brief mention I am able to give them:

(1) Unrestricted patent: The act of April 14, 1914 (38 Stat., 336), provides for the issuance of an unrestricted patent where theretofore patent had been issued limited to surface rights only, and subsequently the lands so patented have been classified as noncoal in character. By this statute the servitude imposed by the reservation of coal in the land is absolutely removed and the homesteader gets a clear title.

(2) Agricultural entry with reservation of mineral to the United States: The act of July 17, 1914 (38 Stat., 509), provides for agricultural entry of lands withdrawn, classified, or reported as containing phosphate, nitrate, potash, oil, gas, or asphaltic minerals with the reservation of the minerals to the United States. By this act the conservation of our valuable mineral resources is accomplished, and at the same time the surface of the land within which such minerals are found is subject to appropriation for agricultural uses. The farmer and the stock grower can make full use of the land included within his entry or purchase under a title that excludes the mineral deposits therefrom. In the absence of legislation of this character the known presence of mineral in public lands would exclude it from all appropriation, except under the mining laws. By this act an exceedingly important step has been taken toward securing an effective conservation of our public domain without interfering with the present and profitable use thereof.

(3) Contracts with oil and gas applicants: The act of August 25, 1914 (38 Stat., 708), authorized the Secretary of the Interior to enter into agreements, under such conditions as he may prescribe, with applicants for patents for oil or gas lands, relative to the disposition of the oil or gas pending final determination of title to the land. Under the contract authorized by this wise legislation, applicants were enabled to proceed with the production of oil on condition of the deposit of an escrow returnable in the event of favorable action upon their applications, the escrow thus deposited, up to the beginning of the present year, amounting to $7,784,796.76.

(4) Relief of desert-land entrymen: The act of March 4, 1915 (38 Stat., 1138), granted a further extension of time within which entrymen could show compliance with the desert-land law, or secure an entry of the lands by perfecting his entry in the manner required under the homestead law. This legislation was very timely, as the increasing difficulties encountered by desert-land entrymen were recognized in securing a sufficient supply of water to effect reclamation of their lands, due to the general appropriation of the waters in all of the smaller streams. The necessity for this legislation is apparent when it is known that favorable action was taken on approximately 2,000 claims under this act.

(5) Enlarged homesteads: The original enlarged homestead act of 1909 was practically made over during the present administration by the acts of March 3, 1915 (38 Stat., 956), March 4, 1915 (38 Stat., 1161), and the act of July 3, 1916 (39 Stat., 344), by which (1) the original act was so amended as to permit an additional entry to be made, although proof might have already been submitted on the original; (2) applications were authorized for the entry of lands not theretofore designated as subject to enlarged homestead entry with a provision that the application should constitute a segregation of the lands thus applied for, under which provision many thousands of applications were shortly made thereafter; and (3) by the addition of a new section whereby persons who have made entry of less than 320 acres of land designated as nonirrigable and who shall have submitted final proof, shall have the right to enter, subject to the provisions of the enlarged homestead act, public land not contiguous to the first entry, which shall not, with the original, exceed 320 acres. The necessity for the modification of the original enlarged homestead act became apparent in the course of its administration, and the acts above cited were the result of such conclusion, by which the act as a whole has been made appropriate to the present conditions of the public domain.

(6) Leave of absence for homestead settlers: The act of July 3, 1916 (39 Stat., 341), authorizes a leave of absence to homestead settlers on unsurveyed lands. For many years the Land Department was the recipient of a large number of letters from settlers upon unsurveyed land asking if there was any law under which they could secure a leave of absence without risk of losing their claims. Up to the passage of this beneficent act no such relief under the law existed. Now all qualified persons who have heretofore or may hereafter, in good faith, settle upon and improve unsurveyed, unreserved, unappropriated public lands with the intention, upon survey, of entering the same under the homestead law may secure a leave of absence not exceeding in the aggregate five months in each year after the establishment of residence. This act in itself is a fine recognition of the conditions attendant upon securing a home by the average settler upon the public domain, and equalizes to some degree the claims of settlers on surveyed and unsurveyed lands.

(7) Phosphate mining claims: The act of January 11, 1915 (38 Stat., 792), validating placer locations of phosphate deposits, not only relieved the department of a troublesome line of litigation as between rival claimants, but gave relief to a large number of claimants who had theretofore been confronted with the possibility of losing the results of their previous expenditures of time, labor, and money through an honest mistake in attempting to protect their discoveries of the mineral phosphate under a placer instead of a lode location. The peculiar geologic conditions in which these beds of phosphate occur are such that much difference of opinion existed for a considerable time as to whether they were properly lode or placer deposits, and in the meantime claims were in equally good faith asserted under both

lode and placer locations. Congress and the department finally held, however, that phosphate rock was only locatable as a lode, the result of which conclusion was to endanger all placer locations of phosphate, although made in the best of good faith. This act deals with the conditions thus brought about and provides substantially that where placer locations of phosphate rock have theretofore been made and the law duly complied with such location shall be valid, and patents, whether heretofore or hereafter issued thereon, shall give title to and possession of such deposits.

OREGON & CALIFORNIA LAND GRANT.

The manner in which the Democratic Congress and the present administration met the problem presented by the decision of the United States Supreme Court when it held that the only interest the Oregon & California Co. had in the remainder of the unsold portion of its grant was $2.50 per acre, remitting at the same time to Congress the question of the requisite legislation, affords an excellent illustration of what can be done when Congress and the Executive work together, as they did in this instance.

Some 2,300,000 acres of land were involved when Congress convened, and a large number of bills were introduced proposing many and widely different methods of treating these lands, but at this point the remarkable teamwork of the Attorney General, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of Agriculture prevented what might very easily have become a legislative tangle out of which no particular results would have been secured. Out of all the bills introduced one was selected which was believed to embody substantially what would be the true principle governing this legislation, and this bill, known as the Chamberlain bill, was thereupon made the subject of special consideration, wherein the Attorney General addressed himself to the law of the case, leaving questions of administrative policies to the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture. Thus proceeding after extended hearings before the House Committee on the Public Lands, wherein the proposed legislative measures were considered, the bill was reported out of the committee that passed both Houses and received the approval of the President June 9, 1916 (39 Stat., 218), an act which was later declared not only constitutional by the United States Supreme Court but fully within the intent of its prior decision.

The value of these lands has been estimated at various figures from thirty to fifty million dollars, or even more, for this grant embraced a strip of land across the entire western end of Oregon, including within its boundaries some of the finest and most heavily timbered land remaining in the United States.

The act revesting these lands requires classification in the field before disposal of the lands, for the opening of the agricultural lands to homestead entry, the sale of the timber on the land classified as timberland, and the withdrawal of land valuable for power site. Also, for the payment of the accrued taxes on the land revested in the United States.

Acting under these provisions, the General Land Office has, up to date, classified in the field 2,175,000 acres, cruised 30,000,000,000 feet of timber, opened to entry 810,000 acres, sold the timber on 9,577 acres for $341,985, and ascertained and paid accrued taxes to the extent of $1,529,947.

COOS BAY WAGON ROAD LANDS.

A situation somewhat similar to that under the Oregon & California grant exists in the case of the grant to the Coos Bay Wagon Road, resulting in proceedings to secure the forfeiture of its grant so far as its unsold lands were concerned, some 93,000 acres. However, as the Oregon & California case in the Supreme Court had been decided against the company and under its holding sent the matter to Congress for further legislation, it seemed best to take over these lands from the company on the payment of $2.50 per acre, practically along the same line as that followed in the Oregon & California case. So Congress, on February 25, 1919 (40 Stat., 1197), authorized this course to be taken. Under this act the Land Office has classified all the land in the field, paid taxes to the amount of $547,224, and sold the timber on 1,120 acres for $80,811.30.

By this legislation the United States recovered possession and ownership of valuable timber lands at a time when the value of our forest land has come to be understood, and opened to settlement thousands of acres that otherwise would have remained unappropriated for an extended period.

POTASH LANDS.

The passage of the act of October 2, 1917 (40 Stat., 297), authorizing explorations for and disposition of potash is an excellent illustration of the promptness with which Congress and the present administration handle matters in which the welfare of the Nation is involved. Due to the war with Germany our general supply of potash was largely cut off—a very serious proposition both to the manufacture of our munitions as well as the agricultural necessities of the country.

The general leasing bill which had been pending for sometime contained a section dealing with potash deposits and providing for leasing thereof; but there being so many diverse interests bound up in this piece of legislation, it was seen that if anything was done to relieve the potash situation it must be independently of the general bill. So the department drafted a bill of its own to cover the potash situation and submitted the matter to Congress, which promptly carried it into enactment as of the date above, whereupon the department in turn promptly issued permits and leases provided in the act, resulting in 326 applications for permits for the fiscal year ending 1918. There are now outstanding under this act 11 potash leases and 150 permits.

ALASKA RAILROAD CONSTRUCTION.

The railroad enterprise that will open up the Territory of Alaska from the seacoast to the central interior is distinctly a Democratic proposition, proposed in the first report of the Secretary of the Interior under the present administration, promptly followed by the passage of the act of March 12, 1914, Thirty-eighth Statutes, 305, authorizing the President of the United States to locate, construct, and operate railroads in the Territory of Alaska. The road is now more than two-thirds complete, and sufficient appropriations have been made to insure its final completion from Seward to Fairbanks. This conception and execution of the scheme of thus opening up the possibilities of the Territory to future development does not find its parallel in the history of our country. True it is that heretofore Congress has granted lands in the aid of construction of railroads, but it was reserved to a Democratic Congress to authorize the construction of a road by the Executive. The manner in which this trust has been executed further attests the competence and capacity of the Democratic administration not only to handle enterprises involving the expenditure of immense sums of money but also to assume the responsibility of pioneer engineering many thousands of miles from the base of supplies. Without means of transportation to the central portions of the Territory, it would have remained practically undeveloped for an indeterminate period, but already the road now is in regular operation, with trains running on schedule between Seward and Anchorage and Anchorage and the Matanuska coal fields, with many small towns growing up at various points along the constructed road, and Anchorage, a city of 3,000, as headquarters of railroad construction.

COAL LEASES IN ALASKA.

The act of October 20, 1914, Thirty-eighth Statutes, 741, providing for the leasing of coal lands in Alaska, should be considered in connection with the railroad building in the Territory, for each is in effect the complement of the other, and together serve the same common purpose of substantial and permanent development of the resources of the Territory. This act is also the result of cooperative work between the Democratic Congress and the Wilson administration. At the time when this administration took charge of public affairs it found the coal lands in Alaska tied up by withdrawals and over 1,000 claims pending, against which stood charges both civil and criminal, all of which were taken up and cleared out of the way in time to put into successful operation the coal-leasing act, under which we now have leases in the Matanuska coal field, the Bering River coal field, and several other points in the Territory.

FREE HOMESTEAD SURVEYS IN ALASKA.

Among the other notable instances of provision for the welfare and convenience of homestead settlers in Alaska is found the act of June 28, 1918 (40 Stat., 632), providing for the free survey of homesteads where the settler had gone upon unsurveyed lands. As the law stood prior to that time, settlers on unsurveyed lands in the Territory were required to have the survey made at their own expense, which was almost prohibitive on account of the cost, especially in the item of transportation; but to the department it seemed that the Government should make these surveys without expense to the settlers, on the general theory that public lands are offered to settlers unburdened with the cost of survey, and this should equally be applicable in Alaska, by the execution of the survey after entry without cost to the entryman, instead of prior thereto as elsewhere. The department, therefore, drafted the bill making provision in accordance with these views, and the Democratic Congress promptly responded with its approval by the passage of the bill.

RESURVEYS.

The act of September 21, 1918 (40 Stat., 965), authorizing resurveys on an equitable division of the cost between the applicant and the Government in proportion to the extent of their respective holdings, is a piece of legislation that can not fail

to commend itself to settlers and land owners in many portions of the Western States.

In many instances, especially in Wyoming, Colorado, and Nebraska, there were many calls for resurveys, due either to a defective original survey or excessive obliteration. Under the law as it stood formerly, a resurvey in such cases was not permissible where the disposals of the land were in excess of 50 per cent of the total area of the township. Under this law, however, it is possible to secure surveys on each party; that is, the United States and the applicant dividing equitably the proportion of the expense and thus giving the owner of the land a well-defined official survey of his farm, with all uncertainties as to boundaries absolutely removed.

WAR RELIEF LEGISLATION.

During this period of time Congress has not been inattentive to the protection of homestead settlers, entrymen, and other claimants under the public-land laws who may have been, due to various causes arising out of the war with Germany, either absent from the lands covered by their claims or in other ways prevented from making due compliance with the law. Among the statutes thus enacted are—

(1) The act of July 28, 1917 (40 Stat., 248), for the relief of homestead settlers, applicants, and entrymen.

(2) The act of July 17, 1917 (40 Stat., 243), to relieve the owners of mining claims from performing assessment work.

(3) The act of August 7, 1917 (40 Stat., 250), for the protection of desert-land claimants.

(4) The act of August 10, 1917 (40 Stat., 273), authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to suspend certain provisions as to residence under the reclamation laws.

(5) The act of October 5, 1917 (40 Stat., 343), relieving mining claimants from performance of annual assessment work during the years 1917 and 1918.

(6) Act of October 6, 1917 (40 Stat., 391), authorizing the execution of affidavits of soldiers before commanding officer.

(7) Act of December 20, 1917 (40 Stat., 430), authorizing the absence of homesteader for purpose of engaging in farm labor.

(8) Act of March 8, 1918 (40 Stat., 448), affording general protection to the civil rights of persons in the military service.

(9) Act of August 31, 1918, section 8 (40 Stat., 957), authorizing homestead entry by soldiers under the age of 21.

(10) Act of February 25, 1919 (40 Stat., 1161), extending the provisions of the homestead law in the matter of credit for the period of enlistment to the soldiers, nurses, and officers of the Army and Navy.

STOCK-RAISING HOMESTEAD.

An excellent illustration of the effective teamwork of the legislative and executive branches of the Government during the Wilson administration is furnished in the story of the origin and passage of the stock-raising homestead act of December 29, 1916 (39 Stat., 862). Prior to its passage, the department had made a careful study of the character and potential value of our remaining agricultural lands, arriving at the conclusion that the area of the homestead entry should be measured by the earning capacity of the land, and as the greater part of our unappropriated agricultural lands were now largely better suited to grazing than other agricultural uses, it was the view of the Interior Department, which found acceptance at the hands of Congress, that the men of small means who desired to engage in stock growing on the public lands should be given an opportunity. With this end in view, the provisions of the stock-raising act were formulated, and are now in course of administration. As an evidence that the public needs and desires were properly interpreted by Congress at the time it enacted this law, it is sufficient to call attention to the fact that since the passage of the act, the Geological Survey, up to April 30, 1920, has acted upon 59,861 petitions, resulting in the designation of 42,613,675 acres, with 18,964 petitions yet pending, with petitions still coming in at the rate of 1,500 per month; that during the fiscal year 1919 the total number of entries allowed were 15,037, covering an area of 5,559,235 acres, while the area entered up to March 1, 1920, was 11,562,520 acres. This act rests upon the recognition that the only sound theory for the permanent development of our public lands, exclusive of their mineral content, can only be secured by uniting ownership with settlement and use of the lands with taxation under the laws of the State.

The 640-acre stock-raising homestead law, together with the three-year homestead law, are two of my pet measures; and while I do not claim the sole authorship by any means of either one of them, I think no one who knows the years of persistent and hard work that were necessary to bring about the enactment of those two measures will dispute the compliment that my friends have often given me for being largely personally responsible for bringing about their enactment, and I feel that no two bills have ever been passed that will do more toward the settlement of the West and furnish homes to deserving people, in view of the character of the remaining public domain, than those two measures, and I am supremely proud and gratified in having had a part in their enactment.

IMPORTANT THINGS ACCOMPLISHED BY THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE DURING LAST SEVEN YEARS, 1913–1920.

In the last seven years, notwithstanding the rapidly diminishing public domain and new legislation, with consequent difficulties of administration, both in the office and the field, the General Land Office has made a magnificent record not only in things accomplished but in perfecting a more efficient organization. It has surveyed 90,855,826 acres; in fact, reorganized the procedure for surveys within railroad grant limits, whereby the survey of 1,250,000 acres in one surveying season was effected, as against one-half that acreage under former methods, and placed all work in the offices of surveyors general on a uniform, business basis. It has allowed original entries of public and Indian lands for 106,372,021 acres, including 11,562,520 acres as stock-raising homesteads, and issued patents for 91,604,204 acres, including 56,988,574 acres under the homestead law.

The steadily decreasing efforts to secure public lands through fraudulent entries during the last seven years attest the constant vigilance of the field service, and its more effective work in the prevention of fraudulent entries than under former administrations. Big frauds are a thing of the past, while smaller cases calling for the cancellation of an entry have fallen from 4,004, in 1912, to 494, in 1919, but this result has not been secured without great effort, 157,964 cases having been investigated and reported by the field service during that period, and 2,634,850 acres recovered through its agency.

In new lines of business, patents for 904,360 acres have been issued under the Minnesota drainage act; of Oregon and California revested lands 2,175,000 acres have been classified in the field, 30,000,000,000 feet of timber cruised, 810,000 acres opened to entry, $341,985.84 received for timber sold, and accrued taxes ascertained and paid in the sum of $1,529,947.57; of Coos Bay wagon-road grant lands 93,078 acres have been classified in the field, $547,224.10 of taxes paid, and timber sold for $80,811.30; while in the administration of the act of August 25, 1914, the office has secured as escrow deposits with oil-land claimants, under said act and special agreements, up to December 31, 1919, $7,784,796.76. It has obtained judicial decrees awarding title to the United States for valuable oil lands in Louisiana which would have otherwise been lost to the United States, with producing oil wells thereon, and judgment for $462,903, as well as judicial decrees quieting title in the United States for 75,000 acres of Arkansas "sunk" lands, conservatively valued at $4,000,000, and Arkansas "lake" lands valued at $1,000,000. In the restoration to entry of withdrawn or reserved lands new methods of procedure have been devised whereby contests and litigation are practically eliminated.

In the course of these transactions the General Land Office has collected from all sources $43,411,678.62, and expended for maintenance of service $22,838,157.28, with a surplus of receipts over expenditures of $20,573,521.34.

THE RECLAMATION SERVICE.

The West is especially interested in the Reclamation Service and the administration of that branch of the Interior Department in the reclaiming of the arid lands of the West. I feel that I would be unmindful of both an efficient public service well done and the due appreciation of the West if I did not say that during the past seven years a very large part of the wonderful success of the Reclamation Service in reclaiming the arid lands of the West and furnishing homes for the people has been due to the able, conscientious, and earnest efforts of the Hon. Arthur P. Davis, director and chief engineer.

As a ranking member for many years of the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, which has jurisdiction of the reclamation legislative matters, and as chairman of that committee for a considerable portion of the time, and having taken an active part in all legislation on that subject and been the author of several of the measures, I can speak understandingly upon the work accomplished by the Reclamation Service.

During the past seven years the Reclamation Service has been actively engaged in the investigation, survey, construction, operation, and maintenance of irrigation works in the arid States.

It has built the Arrowrock Dam on the Boise River, Idaho, the highest in the world, and the Elephant Butte Dam on the Rio Grande, N. Mex., storing the greatest quantity of irrigation water.

Other construction included 5,000 miles of canals, 6 miles of tunnels, bridges, drops, checks, turnouts, and other smaller structures totaling over 60,000 in number, 2,000,000 feet of pipe

line, 270,000 feet of flume, 300 miles of roads, 40 miles of railroad, 1,000 miles of telephone line and 300 of transmission line, utilizing power developed by the works to the extent of 37,000 horsepower. Eighty-two million cubic yards of earth and rock were excavated and 6,000,000 cubic yards placed in dams and dikes. A million and a half cubic yards of riprap, 400,000 square yards of paving, and 2,000,000 cubic yards of concrete were built, using 1,500,000 barrels of cement, large quantities of which were sand cement manufactured on the ground.

These works brought irrigation water to 1,000,000 acres of formerly desert land, now intensively cultivated, making possible 15,000 farm homes in the arid region.

The service operated and maintained 25 large storage reservoirs, 10,000 miles of canals and related works, delivering water to 2,000,000 acres. The lands thus served produced crops estimated to be worth $140,000,000 in the year 1919 and approximately a half billion dollars during the past seven years.

THE EXTENSION ACT.

At the advent of this administration settlers on Government reclamation projects found themselves seriously embarrassed by reason of their inability to meet the construction charges and at the same time reclaim and improve their farms. Consideration of this situation led to the act of August 13, 1914 (38 Stat., 686), by which the time for payment for water rights under reclamation projects was extended from 10 to 20 years. This legislation is another one of my pet measures and is of far-reaching beneficent character, enabling the entryman to employ his capital to a much greater advantage in preparing his land for cultivation and securing the necessary implements and stock for the proper development of his land.

This legislation has been to a large extent responsible for the phenomenal growth and increase of values and productive capacity on reclamation projects during the last seven years. Systems are now complete to supply 1,780,000 acres of land, and storage reservoirs are furnishing a supplemental water supply to a million acres additional in other projects. The accomplishments of the Reclamation Service during the present administration have demonstrated the capacity of the Government to conduct large enterprises of this kind successfully, and to protect and reimburse the heavy expenditures of the Government in the reclamation of arid lands. Now on these projects there are 40,000 prosperous home-owning families. The present annual crop returns are now more than $70,000,000, not including the value of crops grown on a million acres outside of projects which are supplied by storage waters.

SECOND ENTRY OF FARM UNIT.

The act of March 4, 1915 (38 Stat., 1215), authorizes a homesteader within a reclamation project who finds that the land entered was not susceptible of reclamation to select and make a new entry of any farm unit within the irrigation project with credit on the new entry for the time of residence shown on the first.

COOPERATIVE RECLAMATION PROJECTS.

The act of August 11, 1916 (39 Stat., 506), provides for cooperation between the United States and State irrigation districts where the districts include unpatented or unentered lands of the United States. This act will be of great service in those communities where the land in private ownership would not in the absence of cooperation be of sufficient acreage to justify the installation of irrigation works.

ASSIGNMENT OF RECLAMATION ENTRIES.

The act of May 8, 1916 (39 Stat., 65), authorizes the assignment of entries after satisfactory proof of residence, improvements, and cultivation of same, as though said entry had been made under the original homestead act.

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE MORE IMPORTANT ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE BUREAU OF MINES, 1913–1919.

I want, at the outset, to pay a tribute to the skill, tact, profound professional knowledge and executive ability of Dr. H. Van Manning. His administration as Director of the Bureau of Mines has not only redounded to the great benefit of the entire country, and the West in particular, but he has displayed an energy and resourcefulness that has developed that bureau from a new and straggling and comparatively unimportant service to one of the greatest practical and scientific activities in our Government. He richly deserves all of the splendid things that have been said about him during the recent months.

The Bureau of Mines, created in 1910, in response to the insistent demands of the people that something be done to reduce the terrible mortality toll in mining, the most hazardous of our industries, has during the last seven years succeeded in reducing the number of the hazards that have caused many deaths in the past. Fully 5,000 lives of miners have been saved from death, and a half million from injury, in the army of more than a million men who toil in the dark recesses under the ground. In fact, human life in the mines to-day has a new value through the work of the Bureau of Mines. In the last seven years, influenced, no doubt, by the example of the Federal Government in its humane, progressive attitude toward the miner, nearly every State in the Union has adopted compensation laws that provide for the widows and orphans of the victims of industrial dangers. These laws cover not only mining but all of the industries, so that to-day it is not necessary for the widow to engage in an unequal and often losing fight with the industries for enough to keep herself and her family.

The bureau, in its life-saving campaign, maintains in the various mining districts of the country 11 mine-rescue cars and 5 automobile mine-rescue trucks, with crews of expert life-savers, who respond to calls of disaster. Many entombed miners who otherwise would have perished have been saved by the rescuers of the bureau and by men trained by the bureau. More than 30,000 miners have been trained in modern, effective rescue work, so that whenever a disaster occurs there are expert miners nearby who know the bureau's methods and assist the crews of the bureau in rescue work. The bureau in this connection has developed two improved types of mine-rescue apparatus, which are considered far superior to the apparatus used in Europe. This apparatus, supplying oxygen to the wearer, permits rescuers to live in deadly atmospheres of mines following explosions for a period of two hours.

More than 100,000 miners have been trained in modern first-aid-to-the-injured work. These men bind up the wounds of miners in such skillful manner that injuries formerly serious and sometimes fatal are robbed of their terrors. Miners are able through this expert service to return to their work much sooner and are thereby saved the expense of enforced idleness. It is thought that thousands of lives have been saved through this service, and injuries lessened.

The bureau called public attention to the fact that the radium-bearing ores of the West were being exploited and sent to Europe to be made into radium and sold back to this country at fabulous prices, developed processes for producing radium at one-third the previous cost, and through cooperation with the National Radium Institute produced 9 grams of radium worth at market price considerably more than a million dollars. This radium is to be used in the United States in the treatment of cancer and other malignant growth. With 75,000 deaths each year in the United States from cancer, it will be seen what a boon the Bureau of Mines has been able to confer on humanity through these radium investigations.

Through the introduction by the Bureau of Mines of improved methods of drilling and casing oil wells millions of dollars' worth of oil and natural gas have been saved. The bureau has also devised a method for estimating the future production of oil wells and devised a process for making gasoline by what is known as the "cracking" process.

The bureau rendered important aid to the United States and her allies during the war. It first mobilized the chemical brains of the country, classified them, and saw that the war-making powers were supplied promptly with expert services, and in cooperation with the War and Navy Departments built plants for recovering helium from natural gas in Texas. Helium is a noninflammable gas which the Allies during the war were preparing to use in dirigibles to destroy the enemy when the armistice came. It was looked upon as an epoch-making discovery, and it was hoped that its use would change the war in favor of the Allies in a short time. Dirigibles using this new gas and loaded with powerful explosives could go anywhere over the enemy's territory without the danger of being brought down by incendiary bullets.

During the war it conducted comprehensive surveys of needed minerals, of the sources of sulphuric acid, aided in constructing plants for making nitric acid and sodium cyanide, and had charge of the gas warfare station at American University until June, 1918, where the manufacture of gas masks and deadly war gases had been developed.

The bureau, at the request of the French Government, developed for military purposes the geophone, a delicate listening device for detecting enemy tunneling operations. Now the geophone has been adopted to locate entombed miners following disasters in mines.

UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY—WORK DONE 1913–1919.

No one can ever think of the United States Geological Survey without thinking of Dr. George Otis Smith, who has for so many years been the efficient director. While the West has many times felt that he has been an ultra-conservationist, at the same time all will gladly say that he has at all times conscientiously and with wonderful energy and executive ability conducted the great responsibility of that office and always protected the rights of the Government, and the future, as well as

the present, will always accord to him the distinction of having rendered a great and lasting service to our country.

I can not in the limited space allotted to me do justice to the tremendous amount and variety of the work performed by the Geological Survey. I can only mention a very brief summary, from which a partial idea may be obtained of the great variety and ramifications of the work of the Geological Survey.

The geologic work done is not readily measurable by areas. Its results are embodied in more than 500 reports, which cover not only areas but particular deposits, formations, groups of fossils, and so forth. Determinations and analyses of more than 10,000 samples of rocks and minerals were made in the laboratory of the survey.

The survey's work on mineral resources involved the collection of statistics from more than 100,000 producers of about 80 minerals, and its results were published in 428 chapters comprising more than 15,000 pages.

The work done in Alaska included 41,861 square miles of topographic mapping and 40,516 square miles of geologic mapping.

The topographic work done in the United States proper during 1913–1919 included 130,250 square miles of new surveys, 17,664 square miles of resurveys, 40,354 linear miles of levels run, 12,649 bench marks set, 1,168 triangulation stations established, 613 linear miles of primary traverse run, and 2,985 linear miles of river surveys made. The published results of the topographic work are given in 831 maps and 48 books publications.

The work of classifying the public lands comprised the following items:

	Acres.
Coal land classified	14,316,665
Noncoal land restored to entry	30,479,512
Possible oil land widrawn from entry	2,841,844
Nonoil land restored	1,003,382
Possible phosphate land withdrawn	832,006
Nonphosphate land restored	1,456,689
Possible potash land withdrawn	345,213
Nonpotash land restored	215,104
Possible oil-shale land classified	4,122,121
Nonoil-shale land restored	8,824
Possible water-power sites withdrawn	1,090,369
Possible water-power sites restored	338,595
Enlarged homesteads designated	106,913,170
Enlarged homesteads canceled	9,353,089
Stock-raising homesteads designated	24,923,951
Stock-raising homesteads canceled	8,320
Possible water reserves withdrawn	148,784
Possible water reserves restored	9,405

In its work on the water resources of the country, the Survey maintained, in cooperation with other organizations, States, and so forth, an average of 1,250 gauging stations for measuring the flow of streams. The results of these measurements were published in 89 reports, covering more than 20,000 pages. Investigations of underground water, recorded in 37 separate reports, were made; 940 sign posts were erected as guides to water in desert regions, and many thousand samples of water were analyzed.

The Survey's publications comprised, in addition to the 831 topographic maps mentioned, more than 1,300 reports, covering more than 122,000 pages.

The war work of the Survey included special researches concerning deposits of minerals that are of military use and the preparation of reports on them. Studies were also made of foreign mineral deposits that are of military value. The Survey contributed 477 members of its force to the military service, of whom 79 held commissions, and 37 of those holding commissions rendered service in France, two of them on the staff of Gen. Pershing. The map-printing plant of the Survey was in continual use during the war in printing maps, charts, diagrams, and so forth.

THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, 1913–1920.

With the appointment of the Hon. Cato Sells as Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs the administration of that bureau and all of Uncle Sam's wards took on a new and distinct policy, and every friend of the Indians throughout the length and breadth of this country will always have a kindly feeling toward Commissioner Sells for his originality and wonderful energy and humane and splendid work in behalf of the Indians of this country.

The Indian Bureau is the most complex piece of governmental machinery. It deals with the interests of many thousands of Indians in all the relationships of individual life. Its functions ramify in every direction and touch almost all human activities.

A bare outline of its activities will be a marvelous revelation to those who are not intimately acquainted with the details of this office.

The popular fallacy that the Indian is a vanishing race is dispelled by the cold facts of an increase in the number of Indians during the last 50 years of at least 9,000.

The present administration of this bureau, at its commencement seven years ago, inaugurated an intensive health campaign which comprehended the elimination of the medicine man and his superstitious influence over the elder Indians. The success of this plan is illustrated by the interest with which the old Indians have submitted their loved ones to the tender care and gentle ministrations of trained nurses employed in the hospitals and sanatoriums which have been established at various centers of Indian populations. The influence of the modern physician and his coworker, the nurse, is more in evidence to-day than it has been in all the years of governmental supervision heretofore. At least 10,000 Indians annually have been treated in these hospitals so successfully as to overcome the old-time prejudices of these people.

The death of the race so often predicted has not materialized because of this intensive work for better health and sanitary conditions of person and home, supplemented by the "better baby" crusade, which has been a vital factor in saving from this predicted extinction the aboriginal race of our country.

The school system of the Indian Service has been organized and put upon a substantial modern vocational basis. It has placed 75 per cent of eligible Indian children in school, has increased by 50,000 the number of Indians using English, has greatly extended the attendance of Indian children in State schools, by reason of which it has made practicable the discontinuance of a dozen or more Government boarding schools and twenty-odd day schools.

The last seven years has witnessed marvelous progress in agricultural and stock-raising pursuits when compared with the past desultory efforts to develop the self-supporting instinct of the Indian as a race. This has been accomplished through intelligent supervision and constructive effort upon the part of those connected with the development of their farms and ranches.

A million acres are cultivated by 37,000 Indians. There are 47,000 Indians engaged in stock raising. Their income last year from these sources was over $14,000,000. Their tribal herds have increased in value to between three and four million dollars, as compared with $75,000 in 1913, and the value of all their live stock has increased more than $16,000,000. Their grazing ranges have been greatly widened and their surplus lands leased at better rates than ever before. A tribal flock of sheep in New Mexico netted a profit in four years of nearly $145,000 on an investment and expense of $62,000, and for the same period of time a cattle herd in Montana yielded $600,000. The deposits of individual funds of the Indians is about $20,000,000. Their investments in homes, barns, and farm implements amounts to $18,000,000.

In the last three years approximately 11,000 fee simple patents have been issued, more than were issued in the preceding 10 years, indicating remarkable increase in the number of Indians who are competent to transact their own business as ordinary white citizens are. There are now nearly 180,000 Indian citizens, of whom approximately 45,000 are entitled to vote.

The development of oil among the Osages and the Five Civilized Tribes has made wonderful strides in the last seven years and there are more than 40,000 oil and gas wells now upon restricted lands of the Five Civilized Tribes alone. These lands have produced in the last seven years about 160,000,000 barrels of oil and brought to the Indians an annual income for several years of nearly $4,000,000. In the year 1913 the Osage Indians received in oil and gas royalties and bonuses $973,822.95. Last year the oil production was 12,000,000 barrels and the cash received by the tribe amounted to nearly $11,000,000.

Oklahoma Indian lands under the control of the bureau have produced in 20 years about 400,000,000 barrels of oil worth approximately $325,000,000, from which the Indian share was close to $40,000,000. This great bureau is charged with the responsibility for the proper conservation of these great natural resources and their development, so as to produce for the Indians as great a revenue as may be consistent with production and price.

To-day there are under actual tillage nearly 300,000 acres of Indian land, the most of which, without proper irrigation, would be worthless, and of comparatively small value for grazing. This land conservatively is worth close to $60,000,000. Besides these irrigated lands there are more than 1,000,000 acres of Indian land under systems in process of construction or in contemplation. The crop returns from a single project on one reservation for the past three years had an aggregate value of the total outlay for irrigation work on all Indian reservations. The irrigated Indian lands in the Southwest are producing a long staple cotton at a net profit of more than $100 an acre.

During the past seven years the tribal herds of cattle and sheep have been made to earn for the Indians from 10 per cent to 400 per cent profit. The number of actual Indian farmers has nearly doubled.

Under its declaration of policy the Indian Bureau is rapidly enfranchising the Indian who is competent to handle his lands and moneys. While the process seems slow to a large number who are waiting like vultures to devour some defenseless Indian who probably has not measured up to the department's understanding of his competency and seeks to dispossess him of his lands and money, the Indian Bureau seems to be undeterred and is conscientiously endeavoring only to sever the Government's wardship in those cases where it manifestly is to the benefit of the Indian concerned.

It is to be noted that many of the the Indians are self-supporting, that many of the tribes have wealth, but it should not be overlooked that there still remains a large number of Indians who are not sufficiently educated to be released from Government supervision. These potential citizens should remain in tutelage for some period longer, for if released by wholesale they will soon be despoiled of their lands and moneys and become charges upon the several States. The present policy is to carefully scrutinize the applications of Indians for a fee patent to their lands, carrying with it citizenship and the right to administer their own affairs, and to see that there are reasonable grounds to believe that such an Indian is worthy of the trust to be imposed upon him and will make good use of his opportunities.

THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, 1913–1920.

The Hon. Stephen T. Mather, Director of the National Park Service, is another unselfish, public-spirited, and splendid public official who is devoting the best years of his life to a noble work. His service is one of the youngest in the Government, but it is starting off well, and the entire public is proud of him.

ORGANIZATION OF THE SERVICE.

The act of August 25, 1917 (39 Stat., 535), established a National Park Service and provided for its control and management by the Department of the Interior. The functions of the service include the promotion and regulation of the national parks and monuments by such means and measures as conform to the fundamental purpose of said parks and monuments and reservations, which purpose is to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein, and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.

At the present time the total area of the 18 national parks under control of the service is 10,739 square miles, or 6,872,960 acres, and the area of the 23 national monuments is 1,931 square miles, or 1,235,840 acres. There is one national park in the Hawaiian Islands and one in Alaska and two monuments in Alaska which are under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service, and the others are in the States west of the Mississippi. The national parks now cover an area greater than the States of Massachusetts and Delaware combined. During the fiscal year the total number of visitors to the national parks was 755,527, and to the national monuments during the same period 55,309. These figures attest the general appreciation of our home people to the attractions afforded by our national parks and monuments, and furnish some indication as to the part they will play in the future development of our western domain.

Exportation of Pulp Wood from Canada to United States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALLEN T. TREADWAY,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920,

On the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 152) authorizing the appointment of a commission to confer with the Dominion Government or the provincial governments of Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick as to certain restrictive orders in council of the said Provinces relative to the exportation of pulp wood therefrom to the United States.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, very little need be added in explanation of the resolution before the House beyond the report submitted by the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The western section of Massachusetts is vitally interested in the production of paper, of which pulp wood is one of the chief components. Although pulp wood is not used in the highest grades of writing paper, it is naturally an allied industry as well as effectively used in the production of the newspapers throughout the country.

Massachusetts seems to-day to be suffering both from an embargo and from the lack of one. An embargo against pulp wood is a serious situation, and the lack of an embargo against the exportation of coal but adds to the troubles already existing in our section. Both should be given prompt attention by Government officials.

I am therefore heartily in favor of the adoption of the Underwood resolution, in the hope that the apparent shortage of pulp wood may be relieved. Such a commission as the Underwood resolution calls for could in no sense be regarded as unfriendly to the Dominion Government and would simply mean negotiations with the authorities there in an effort at mutual benefit. We do not desire to retaliate against Canada or any other foreign country in the matter of our own natural products, but we must protect our own industries and consider the needs of our people.

Western South Dakota Indian Affairs.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY L. GANDY,
OF SOUTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 1, 1920.

Mr. GANDY. Mr. Speaker, a great many believe the issuance of a patent in fee gives an Indian full and complete property control and removes him from tribal participation. That you may know just how erroneous is that prevalent opinion, permit me to say that after nearly 40 years of the issuance of patents in fee to the Sioux Indians of western South Dakota there are now more names on the tribal rolls than ever before. The work of the Indian Service on the reservations and before the Indian Office in Washington has been increasing instead of decreasing. The increase has not been solely on account of births or broadening governmental activities, for upon the death of an Indian frequently the estate is divided into several shares. Births and deaths have both added to the volume of business.

The real reason why the determination of competency and the subsequent issuance of patent in fee does not decrease the tribal roll is that on no reservation in South Dakota have the rolls been closed. Children born to-day are just as much members of the tribe as the elder Indians. So long as the rolls remain unclosed just that long will it be impossible to divide the tribal estate. I have for a long time been convinced that the best interests of the Indians and the public will be served by the closing of the rolls. Then the tribal estate may be partitioned, and when an Indian is given a patent in fee he may also be given his pro rata share. Standing on his own footing, he would in that event assume the full measure of responsibility of any other citizen of the land. That separation from the tribal rolls would not interfere with the Indian's right to participate in any later distribution of funds or property to which the tribe might come into possession by virtue of pending claims.

Assuming the Secretary of the Interior had authority to declare the tribal rolls closed, the Indian appropriation bill in 1918 authorized the partitioning of tribal funds, the withdrawal from the Treasury of such tribal funds as can not be partitioned, and the depositing of said funds in banks in States in which the Indians reside. Later it was determined that specific legislation was necessary to authorize the closing of the rolls before tribal estates could be divided, and that authorization was given in the Indian appropriation bill in 1919. These provisions will hasten the day when the tribal affairs of the Indians of western South Dakota may be wound up.

A delegation of Rosebud Indians appeared before officials of the Interior Department this year and among other things urged per capita payment of $1,000,000 of the proceeds of Tripp County Indian lands. The act opening that county provided $1,000,000 should be deposited in the Treasury for 10 years, which period will soon expire. That money ought to be paid to the Indians as the law contemplated it should be, but the roll must first be closed to know definitely how many shares to divide it into. Before leaving Washington the delegation urged their tribal roll be closed and assurances were given them that by late summer of this year steps will be taken to that end. When the roll

of Rosebud Reservation shall have been closed and the partitioning of the tribal funds is under way, I hope the example will be followed on other reservations. Indians will be more successful when they cease to be half ward and half free.

Every competent Indian should have his or her patent in fee and share of the tribal funds or property. Then, Mr. Speaker, the Indian Service could do what was originally intended should be done—the aged and infirm and the incompetent Indians could be very carefully looked after, protected, and assisted. The Indian Service for many years has spent too much time, far too much, trying to attend to and meddling into the business of Indian men and women who are just as competent to transact their own affairs as their white neighbors. Sooner or later these Indians must face their responsibility as citizens, and the sooner that responsibility comes after they have arrived at the age of maturity the better for them and all concerned.

THE EXPENDITURE OF INDIAN TRIBAL FUNDS.

Prior to 1916 there were practically no restrictions upon the expenditure, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, of the tribal funds of Indians. I introduced a resolution providing tribal funds should not be expended without specific authorization by Congress. Thereafter I helped draft an amendment carrying that idea and it became a law. Since then Congress has been fully advised as to all expenditures from Indian tribal funds, and doubtless a material saving to the Indians has been accomplished.

PROBATION OF INDIAN ESTATES.

I have many times before the Indian Committee and proper officials in the Department of the Interior complained of the delay in the probation of estates and the distribution of the property thereof. On many reservations the deaths have exceeded the decrees of heirship, so the probate work has been getting further behind. During the consideration of the Indian appropriation bill at the session of Congress which will convene in December, I shall urge a larger appropriation for determining the heirs of deceased Indian allottees, that this work may be promptly handled. Under the present situation there are many instances where Indians have undergone want and privation while waiting as patiently as possible for a decree of heirship and a distribution of the property or funds of the estate of a deceased relative.

SALE OF ABANDONED DAY OR BOARDING SCHOOLS OR AGENCIES.

On Rosebud Reservation a request for the sale of a 40-acre tract, formerly used as an Indian day-school site, disclosed there was no law under which abandoned day or boarding schools or agencies could be sold. I secured the enactment of legislation under which the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to sell any such property in tracts of not to exceed 160 acres, the proceeds to be deposited to the credit of the Indians to whom the land belongs.

THE SIOUX CLAIMS BILL.

The Sioux Indians tried for many years to secure an opportunity to submit to the Court of Claims their claim for misappropriation of land, commonly known as the Black Hills claim, and other claims which individual bands of the Sioux may have. They are very positive in their assertions that they were practically forced to cede the Black Hills country and did not receive consideration therefor commensurate to its value. Since I have been a Member of Congress I have striven to give them their day in court, and a law has been passed authorizing the Court of Claims to hear and determine their case.

DEPOSITING OF INDIAN FUNDS.

Individual Indian funds are for the most part on deposit in local banks, while tribal funds are generally deposited in the United States Treasury. I have been very insistent that the funds of western South Dakota Indians should, wherever possible, be deposited in western South Dakota banks. Thus the Indians receive higher interest rates and the deposits assist in the development of the country. Those bank deposits now total nearly a million and a quarter dollars, scattered through more than 40 cities and towns in South Dakota west of the Missouri River. With the further sale of Indian estate property many other depositories will be designated.

REIMBURSABLE ISSUANCE OF LIVE STOCK.

On several of the Sioux reservations the Indian Service has on time payments provided Indians with cattle. This is separate and apart from any regular issue of live stock, for the sale is made much as transactions are made in everyday business. The system has been found to work very well. Many Indians have been benefited by it. Its operation should be broadened until every Indian who is trying to obtain a start in life and who will take care of the cattle is supplied unto his needs.

GRAZING LEASE PAYMENTS ON PINE RIDGE RESERVATION.

The Indians on Pine Ridge Reservation last year complained of the delay in making grazing lease payments. War conditions, with the incidental raise in the price of beef, made pasture more valuable, and great portions of Pine Ridge Reservation never before leased were taken by stockmen. Many hundreds of new leases were made and the force at the agency for the time being found itself unable to keep pace with this work. New regulations have been issued by Supt. Tidwell, with the approval of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, providing that all adult allottees shall themselves collect grazing lease payments due them on and after April 1, 1920, where the amount involved does not exceed $200 per annum. Under these regulations over half of the leases of the reservation will be paid direct, the Indian Service will be relieved of the work of handling the payments, and the Indians will promptly get their money. This change will be watched with interest, for if it proves beneficial—as undoubtedly it will—its use will spread to other reservations.

HIGHWAY DEVELOPMENT.

Lack of good highways has retarded the development of localities where Indian lands predominate. To meet that situation on Standing Rock Reservation there was appropriated in 1916 $5,000 for road construction. Later, in 1919, $25,000 was appropriated and a similar amount in 1920. Under these appropriations Indians are usually employed to do the work.

Continuing that policy, a $25,000 highway appropriation was made this year for Pine Ridge Reservation, where much unorganized territory presents a serious highway problem. The House agreed to $10,000 for roads on Cheyenne Reservation, but this item was defeated in the Senate. The Indians will be the gainers by a definite highway policy of construction and maintenance through Indian country, not only in their convenience, but also in the increased value of their land resulting from better roads.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE CHEYENNE.

The Cheyenne River is the south boundary of Cheyenne River Reservation. From the southwest corner of the reservation to where the river empties into the Missouri is at least 75 miles in an air line, and a great deal farther when the meandering course of the river is considered. There is not a bridge in that distance. In fact, there is no bridge across the Cheyenne from Wasta to the mouth of the river, approximately 150 miles. The unopened portion of the reservation borders the river, hence the Indians would profit by the building of a bridge, in that it would open to through travel a region now quite inaccessible. Realizing the necessity for a bridge, and believing the cost thereof should be prorated, I took up the question with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and with the chairman of the South Dakota Highway Commission. It was agreed that a bridge should be erected, the definite location to be determined by proper officials, two-thirds of the cost to be taken care of by the highway commission and one-third by an Indian-fund appropriation. The House provided $40,000 for this purpose, but the Senate cut it to $25,000, which amount was finally agreed to. Fearing this might not be sufficient to pay one-third of the cost of a bridge, I interrogated the chairman of the House Indian Committee regarding a supplemental appropriation, and Senator STERLING also interrogated the chairman of the Senate committee, each receiving an affirmative assurance. I hope the building of this bridge may be hastened, for it will be another step in western South Dakota development, which will mean much to both Indians and whites.

COMPETENCY OF FARMERS, INDIAN SERVICE.

To be eligible for employment as farmer in the Indian Service, a man must now not only pass the civil-service examination but must also have a certificate of competency from the president or dean of the agricultural college either of the State in which his services are to be rendered or of an adjoining State. The necessity for this requirement is to make certain that a farmer will be thoroughly familiar with the problems and conditions of his district, for otherwise a man may be sent to a position where he has no knowledge of the local conditions because the civil-service examination is general in character.

INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOLS.

I venture the remark that the average citizen who is familiar with the expense of sending a young man or young lady away to school will be wonderfully surprised at the low per capita cost of the Government Indian boarding schools. The maximum permitted by law used to be $166, but rising costs of food, fuel, and clothing made it necessary to raise the limit to $200 for schools in excess of 100, and $225 where less than 100. Last

year we further raised that limit to $225 with a provision if the school has less than 200 pupils $250 may be expended.

These schools are doing a great work, but, even so, a wider field is before them. Their courses embrace only eight grades, and at least in some of the schools a high-school course should be offered. Manual and vocational training should be strengthened wherever possible.

At the Rosebud Boarding School, at Mission, S. Dak., there will this year be constructed an addition to the dormitories which will increase the capacity from 200 to 250 pupils, additions to the school building and the dining hall, a home for employees, cottages for the school principal and the physician, an additional water supply, a gymnasium, a hog house, an implement shed, and a granary. The power and heating plant will be reconstructed. These improvements will cost approximately $100,000 and will not only increase the capacity but raise the efficiency of the school, which has 10 sections of good land and is excellently located.

At the Pine Ridge School improvements will consist of additions to the dormitories, schoolhouse, and dining hall, the construction of a home for employees, a gymnasium and an employee's cottage; the dairy barn, water system, and power plant will be repaired and improved. Approximately $100,000 will be expended for these purposes.

These improvements will be very beneficial to Rosebud and Pine Ridge Indians. In fact, all the people of those reservations will be benefited directly or indirectly from the resultant raising of the citizenship standard of the Indian children of to-day who will be the Indian men and women of to-morrow.

In the appropriation bill approved May 18, 1916, $30,000 was provided for a new school building at the Rapid City Indian School, inasmuch as the school had outgrown its building. Plans were prepared, but prices advanced, and when the bids were opened they were above the appropriation. Later an additional appropriation of $15,000 was secured and the building is now under construction. The superintendent will be able to add some money from other funds, sufficient to insure the completion of the building, which will include an assembly hall. Nine thousand dollars has been appropriated for remodeling buildings, it being the intention to convert the present schoolhouse into a kitchen and dining room and use for dormitory purposes the space in the boys' dormitory now occupied by the kitchen and dining room. Four thousand dollars was appropriated in 1917 for construction and maintenance of the road through the school farm and last year $3,000 was added to the repairs and improvement fund and the use thereof broadened to include the construction and repair of roads, which will from year to year assure the maintenance of an excellent road through the farm. Three thousand dollars was appropriated in 1917 for irrigation and drainage of the school farm and a similar amount was carried in the succeeding bill. With these improvement appropriations the Rapid City School has been liberally cared for. It is well located with respect to western South Dakota reservations; Indian parents like to send their children there and to visit them at Rapid City. That school will be needed as long as any non-reservation Indian school. Considerable of the tributary reservation territory is unorganized, with very sparse white settlements, hence it is quite helpful to the Indian children to have the experience of attending school at Rapid City. A manual training building is needed and should soon be provided for. The school farm has dry land and irrigated farming and fruit raising and an excellent dairy.

CHILDREN OF PATENT-IN-FEE INDIANS.

I frankly give my opinion, Mr. Speaker, that the Indian Service should cease to be concerned about the property of the children of competent Indians to whom have been issued patents in fee. I do not mean to say that patents to the real property of those children should be issued to the parents, but I do assert that patents should be issued in the names of the children and they should cease to be under the jurisdiction of the Indian Service. At most, then, the parents could no more than receive the use of or the income from the land involved, and why not? They are charged with the care and maintenance of their children. The land could not be deeded away or mortgaged by either the father or the mother and the child could not transfer or encumber it until 21. Thus there is no fear of the property being taken from the children. The same laws and the same courts that would safeguard your children or mine in the possession of any property which might come to them before becoming of age would protect them. For one to claim those minors would not be adequately protected is to deny the integrity of the courts of South Dakota or any other State in which the Indians reside. Lands thus patented to minors should be nontaxable during their minority.

I recently asked a South Dakota Indian reservation superintendent as to the results if patents in fee were to be issued to every member of his tribe of less than one-half Indian blood, in accordance with the declaration of policy announced by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on April 17, 1917, and to other members of the tribe who are found to be competent and to the minor children of every Indian thus patented. He replied such a policy would reduce the work of any business coming before his office fully 60 per cent.

IN CONCLUSION.

I do not blame hundreds and hundreds of the Indians for growing restless at the continuation of governmental supervision. They are earning their daily bread and providing for their families. It is true some of them are not, but that equally applies to a percentage of whites and others the world over. For the opportunity they have had and considering their location and handicaps the Indians have done remarkably well. Their generous response during the recent war is a credit to their race. The Army, Navy, and Marine Corps numbered many thousands of Indian young men and stories of their deeds of bravery were brought back from the battle lines. They liberally purchased Liberty bonds and contributed to the Red Cross and other organizations of mercy. Let us take them by the hand and wish them Godspeed as they take the next steps along the pathway which leads to an enjoyment of fuller citizenship, and in the new day for them I believe they will measure up to their responsibilities.

Memorial Day Address Made by Hon. M. Clyde Kelly in Wilkinsburg, Pa., Monday, May 31, 1920.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD C. LITTLE,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Speaker, the law of Pennsylvania makes Monday, May 31, a legal holiday whenever the 30th comes on Sunday. This year that gave the Pittsburgh district, including that great city of a million people, ample room and verge enough to do full honor to our Nation's heroes, of which that great city and its suburbs availed themselves by some 50 celebrations in those two days, concluding with a special parade of the allied veterans of all our wars to the great Memorial Hall erected in honor of the Grand Army of the Republic, where I had the high privilege of addressing several thousand people, almost a third of whom were veterans in uniform, on the afternoon of Monday, at the close of these stately ceremonies.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. KELLY, spoke at six of these celebrations, including that at the suburb of Wilkinsburg, whose 20,000 people sent 2,000 to the European war, a record of patriotism and service not surpassed in the United States, and I had the honor of participating that morning in a slight degree in the tribute they paid their heroic sons. Very probably no orator in the United States took a more active and eloquent part in the Decoration Day celebration than our colleague, the Hon. M. CLYDE KELLY, and, in my opinion, the preservation of his address will be very much to the interests of the development of patriotism. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, under leave granted I am printing the address made on Memorial Day, 1920, at Wilkinsburg, Pa., by my colleague, Hon. M. CLYDE KELLY, of the thirtieth Pennsylvania congressional district.

THE ADDRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE KELLY.

Veterans of the wars of the Republic; men and women of America: This is a day of memory and of gratitude. While the Nation bends over the graves of its honored dead over here and sees in vision the crosses in the fields of honor over there, the tribute of love is paid to all.

We remember the Continentals who cemented the stones in the temple of independence with their blood; the men of Lake Erie and Cerro Gordo, who paid with their lives for the victory of America in 1812 and the War with Mexico; the Federals who died on a thousand battle fields that the old flag might float unsullied in the heavens, with not a single star lost; the warriors of 1898, who at San Juan Hill and Manila Bay were willing to die that justice and humanity might live.

On this Memorial Day the story of the Nation's life naturally centers in the history of the past two years. On May 30, 1918, one of the world's darkest hours was upon us. Civilization seemed prostrate before the Hun. Belgium was down in the blood and mire, a little strip 10 miles wide alone remaining subject to the sovereignty of that heroic nation. Not a foot of Serbia was left to her people, the Bulgarian and Austrian armies having full possession. Italy was fighting in the snows of her Alps and the mud of her Piave River, desperately struggling to keep back her powerful foes. Roumania was out of the battle line, the victim of treachery and ruthless might. Russia's giant strength had been turned against herself, and the Prussian army was unopposed as it marched forward. The British army had just been ordered to die, if necessary, with back to wall, since further retreat meant utter disaster. Valiant France, after four years of fighting, was being forced back and German shells fell daily in the streets of her beloved Paris.

May 30, 1918, darkness and almost despair! May 30, 1920, victory for the forces of freedom and defeat for German autocracy! Surely it is well to remember to-day the deeds that wrought the transformation; that turned the blackness into light, the disaster into triumph.

From Chateau-Thierry it was possible to speak of German defeat as certain. It proved that the Prussian military machine was overmatched and could be overthrown decisively.

And America turned the tide of battle in this decisive conflict. The soldiers from the great Republic, thrown into line just in the nick of time, held like a stone wall against the attacks of the picked troops of Prussia—held until the assaulting columns were broken and shattered, and then turned the defensive into an offensive with a thrust which nothing could withstand. On July 15 the German hosts were marching swiftly on Paris, flushed with victory. On July 18 they turned their faces away from Paris and headed for Berlin, and they never looked back from that time to the end.

The Germans had met the young troops of America, and the military machine which had been 50 years in building fell to pieces before the blows of a citizen army.

It is not an instance of American braggadocio to say that the Americans won this pivotal battle. No boasting of ours can equal the calm statements of our comrades in arms. Gen. Mangin, in his order of the day for August 7, said:

> You men of the Third American Army Corps threw yourselves into the battle like men going to a feast. Your magnificent dash surprised and upset the enemy and your indomitable tenacity stopped counter-attacks by his fresh divisions.

On August 9 Gen. Degoutte issued a general order, which I read, in the front lines on the Vesle River. He said:

> The American troops have played the most glorious part in the Second Battle of the Marne. Their glorious stages are marked by names which will be illustrious in the military history of the United States. * * * The magnificent results accomplished are due to the energy and ability of the officers and the bravery of the soldiers.

Lloyd-George, Gen. Diaz, and the leaders of all the allied armies vied with each other in their praise of the American troops in the great battle which decided the history of many future years.

I had the high good fortune of being an eyewitness of this battle during the days when the rival forces were fighting from Chateau-Thierry to the Vesle.

When we landed at Bordeaux there was discouragement and doubt everywhere evident. Old Frenchmen told us that Paris was doomed. "The Hun will destroy our beautiful capital," they said with tears in their eyes. A young officer whispered mysteriously to us that the trains had stopped taking persons to Paris. There was a portent of evil in the atmosphere, and men and women crowded silently around public places waiting for the communique from the front.

A few days later in Paris we found a marvelous transformation. Gloom had given way to joy, doubt to confidence, defeat to victory. That line of khaki along the Marne had held firm. British and French learned that by their sides were men from America who would not yield to any foe. They realized then that the millions of Americans available for the war meant that, no matter what happened, Germany could not win the ultimate triumph.

The people were wild with joy, and the Americans from Chateau-Thierry who walked along the Parisian streets were in danger of being smothered by the embraces of graceful French citizens. It was the sunlight after the darkness, and every man, woman, and child in France seemed new born in confidence.

On a bright, clear morning we started in an automobile for the fighting front. At 40 miles an hour we whirled over the splendid French road leading to Chateau-Thierry. This road ran straight as an arrow, and long lines of poplars border either side.

Soon we came to Meaux, the little city which marks the farthest point of the great German drive of September, 1914. It was a great flour center then, but now the mills were in ruins and many of the houses had been destroyed. Here was where the French poilu made his immortal stand and prevented the Prussians from ending the war in a single campaign.

From this point we traveled through war-scarred France. Everything seemed peaceful and quiet in the morning sun. Here and there along the road and working in the fields, clipping stalks of wheat around the shell holes, were women of France. They were garbed in black, and they neither smiled nor cried.

They knew more than we. They knew that over there the spire of an age-old church should point heavenward, but that instead it lay in a heap of wreck and rubbish. They knew that out in the fields were little groups of wooden crosses, which marked soldiers' graves. They knew the horrors of war, the crash of falling walls, and the death cries of little children.

You did not have to ask if these women had lost a father or husband or brother or son on the battle field. You knew that they had lost one of these or all in the struggle.

But you knew also that these women of France would not give up. As they toiled in the fields you saw all around them the little flowers which have come to have a symbolic meaning in this war. There were the crimson poppies, springing up in riotous profusion in the ruined fields. There were the blue cornflowers, blue as the skies of France. There were the white marguerites, humble but hardy. It was the tricolor of France carpeting the ground, and no Hun shell could root it up. The red and white and blue, planted by Almighty God, are the colors of America, too, floating over the armies as they go to battle for freedom. All the might of Germany, her engines of destruction and her ruthless disregard of humanity, could not suffice to blot those colors from the earth.

We rushed through Meaux and then kept north for miles. There were shell holes in the road, with groups of workmen repairing them so that traffic should not be stopped on this great highway. The poplars along the road had been thinned by shell fire, cut through as though with a pair of giant shears. In the fields were trenches, miles long, dug in anticipation of the last-ditch stand before Paris. Before the trenches were barbed-wire entanglements, hundreds of tons of this new war material being used for barring the way of the Hun.

Over in one of the fields we saw the wreck of a German airplane and a dozen feet from it the wooden cross which marked the grave of the pilot.

We reached Vaux, once a city, now a heap of stones and dust. This deserted town was the last word in desolation. It had been bombarded three times, twice by the Germans and once by the Americans. Vaux was taken by the Germans in their great offensive of March, 1918. They held to it like grim death, making its strong stone walls the shelter for their machine guns, which barked death against the Americans in their advance.

Finally it became necessary to destroy these nests, and orders were given our Artillery to demolish every building.

At Chaumont I had a long talk with Col. McClosky, of Pittsburgh, who commanded the brigade of Artillery to which the task was given. He told of laying high-explosive shells on every foot in the town. Not a house escaped, and for 13 hours a perfect rain of shells dropped on the doomed city.

Then 20 squads of infantrymen, each in command of a sergeant, were sent out to capture the machine gunners. Each leader was given a little sketch showing the location of the cellar where these gunners would likely be found hiding. Some 600 Germans were found cowering in the cellars, and they were brought back as prisoners, with the loss of but one American. Then the Americans advanced, with no one left to say them nay.

I saw Verdun and Belleville and a hundred other wrecked villages and cities of France. I saw no town so utterly destroyed as Vaux. Not a stone remained on another. All was chaos—a combination of the Johnstown flood, the San Francisco earthquake, and the Baltimore fire.

We went through this ruined city, where no human being dwelt. Then over to the left we saw the famed Belleau Wood, where the marines proved that the German is no superman but an ordinary individual who will run as fast as another when he is defeated.

Inspection of these woods made one feel like paying reverent tribute to the soldiers who could take them from an enemy and hold them. They were thick as a jungle brush. The shells had cut down trees and cleared some paths through them, but how men could force a passage against machine guns is a marvel.

I talked later with a young lieutenant who had won his commission by his bravery during that terrible fight. He said that

his own company lost 7 men out of every 10. German machine guns had been placed in the trees and hailed down death on those below. Snipers, with green helmets and camouflaged uniforms, sat in the trees and picked off American soldiers.

But the marines overthrew the enemy there. In the future, on all the maps of France, this dark and bloody wilderness will not be marked as the Belleau Wood but as the Woods of the American Marine Corps. It is a tribute richly deserved, and the name will be hallowed in America.

We went on to Chateau-Thierry, and stopped to see the old palace set on a hill overlooking the Marne. This old chateau was built in 720 by Charles Martel, that same Hammer King who saved civilization from the Moslems at Tours. The chateau was taken by English archers in 1421 in the war which was ended by Joan of Arc, in her white armor, heading the French Army, in answer to her voice in the woods of Domremy. A hundred years later it witnessed a great battle between the French under Francis I and the army of the German Empire under Charles V.

Half a century more and the Spaniards took Chateau-Thierry in the course of the religious war between Henry of Navarre and the Medicis. In 1814 the old chateau saw Napoleon's army of 20,000 young soldiers smash an army of 50,000 representing an alliance of all Europe.

In 1,100 years the old chateau has never suffered such damage as that wrought in this last conflict. The wall and gates were wrecked and the old palace itself ruined beyond repair.

Inside the chateau I saw the results of the battle. The upper stories had been the target for the shells and had crumpled down in rubbish. In the cellar the German officers had planned for luxurious living. Fine tapestries and curtains had been collected from the upper rooms and hung here. On a table I saw many packages of the ornaments which had been taken from the chateau by the Germans. They had looted the old palace of its ornaments and valuables, and apparently each officer had collected a package for himself. There they were, all neatly addressed to relatives in Germany, to be sent back as trophies of the triumphal march on Paris.

I walked out on the plateau, where a hand-to-hand battle raged. German rifles, helmets, bayonets, and ammunition were scattered about in profusion. There were two machine guns, in perfect condition, and thousands of rounds of ammunition left behind by the flying Dutchmen. Everywhere were marks of the desperate struggle—bloody clothing, broken implements of war. Nothing had been moved, but a few days later the American Salvage Corps had cleaned the place of all its débris.

In one corner of the plateau I found many graves, each with its wooden cross giving the name and number of the soldier. Side by side were German, American, and French dead. On one of the German crosses I read, "Here lies Lieut. Reitenrodt, from Bingen on the Rhine." I thought of that little poem we used to read in our school readers, of the soldier of the legion, dying in Algiers, who came from Bingen, fair Bingen on the Rhine.

At his side lay an American soldier, dead on the field of battle. Both of these soldiers had given their lives. They had paid the highest price possible, their lives. But what a difference after all. The lieutenant from Bingen died for the dream of his Kaiser, a conquest lustful despot, who desired to rule the world.

The American, too, died for a dream. Not the dream of a Kaiser or Czar or King, but the dream of a free people, who hoped to make the world free. Aye, more than that, for a dream of the Babe of Bethlehem, star guarded, that in the times to come brotherhood of man should be more than an empty phrase, and in very truth there should come "Peace on earth, good will to men."

On this very spot, where enemies lay so peacefully sleeping, I picked up a German bayonet, symbol of the necessity of this war, and came back to the automobile which waited for us.

On we went past wheat fields which were literally plowed up by the shells. Here and there an unexploded 6-inch shell peeped up out of the ground, a sinister warning of the dangers to be encountered when men begin again to plow these fields. Past woods we went, stripped clear by shell fire.

On the ground, in wicker baskets, were shells of every description. There were hundreds of thousands of them piled along the way. Methodically arranged, the piles extended for miles along the roads. Here and there were dumps ready for the batteries. The Germans had made their plans with their usual care. One of the mightiest offensives of the entire war had been planned and the Hun had confidently counted on going into Paris.

But the best laid plans "of mice and men and bosne oft gang astray." The Germans had counted on almost every possible contingency. They had their camps in the woods, their printed signs for directions, their hospitals, and their supplies. They had counted on everything but the American soldier. And that one mistake caused the downfall of all their hopes.

The immense stores of ammunition fell into the hands of the Americans and they promptly turned it against the enemy. They used German guns and German ammunition and worked havoc with them. I remember that a lieutenant of our Artillery, in firing these shells, would once in a while remove the fuse before putting the shell into the gun. I asked him why he did it. He replied, "Every once in a while I throw over one of these duds to let the Hun know we are using his own ammunition."

We kept on and soon the road was filled with marching men and huge camions filled with supplies, all bound for the front. The regiments swung along the roads, moving with the stride of men who have absolute confidence in their strength and fitness. Their faces were bronzed and weather beaten and they all looked magnificently strong and healthy. The very sight of these young warriors was enough to put new heart into the weary soldiers of France and England, who watched them pass.

Among the Infantry regiments were batteries of artillery, with here and there a "heavy" loaded on a truck. The machine gun battalions were there, their little carts having an odd appearance, but at the same time holding a sinister menace to the enemy.

The truck kitchens were in their places, and the hot rations were served out as the boys tramped along. We waved greetings to these boys and they responded with quick smiles and cheers when they heard us speak in English. We learned that this particular force was a division made up of Ohio and Illinois lads bound for the fighting zone.

Thus far we had been beyond the range of any but the largest guns and the Germans were not wasting tons of shells on the remote chance of hitting an encampment or disabling horses and destroying trucks.

But a few miles farther on the scene changed. We passed one of our batteries and it was in action, the guns roaring as the 6-inch shells sailed out to the German lines. If I had not heard these guns I could not have found them, although they were only a few yards away. A screen of grass and leaves concealed the guns completely and it took a close inspection to find a few inches of the muzzle peering out. Behind the guns, covered with turf and shadowed by trees, were the dugouts of the gunners. On a little mound sat an observer with field glasses, scanning the sky for airplanes. At the first sign of a plane or the drone of an engine far away, he would whistle and every man in the battery would dive into his hole like a rabbit for its burrow. They would stay there until the lookout whistled "all clear." An enemy airplane might have descended and the aviator searched for an hour without finding this battery, but as we went by it was making the earth shake with the discharge of the guns.

Another mile, and the enemy shells, shrapnel, and high explosives began falling around us. The screech-bang of the shrapnel was a peculiar sound. They whistled through the air and then exploded with a crash about 50 feet in the air. The sound of the German shells was alternated with the "bang-screech" of our own shrapnel as our shells went singing across to the German front.

Here a military police, autocrat of the roads, ordered us to stop the automobile, as it could go no farther. No one, not even Gen. Pershing, dared disobey one of these regulators of traffic. So we meekly crawled out of the automobile and started to walk ahead. Around the corner we found a dressing station, crowded with wounded soldiers. Two medical officers and a dozen privates handled the cases with efficiency and dispatch. Wounds of every kind were displayed—some slight, some very serious. The medicos gauged them all with practiced eye and hand, administered the antitetanus solution, arranged the bandages, and passed the wounded soldiers back to the ambulances to be sent to the hospitals behind the lines.

It was wonderful to see the spirit of these young Americans, bleeding from the wounds of battle. One, with a frightful wound in his thigh, smoked a cigarette as he predicted a speedy return to the line. One lad had a piece of shrapnel through his hand which left only a strip of flesh between thumb and forefinger. He held it out to the medico, and said, "It don't amount to a ———, Doc. Just wrap it up and let me get back to my outfit."

We went on down the road. Woods lined both sides, and for half a mile the Thirty-seventh Ohio troops were stretched along the bank, each man in a hole which had been dug with his trench tool. They were waiting for orders to "go over the top," which were to come after the Artillery had cleared the way. Not one of these boys was excited, and many of them were sound

asleep in their burrows, utterly oblivious to the rain of shells all around and the tremendous noise which marked their explosion.

One of the boys rose up from his hole in the mud as we passed by. He was very short in stature, but we saw that he wore the bars of a captain, and the boys around him seemed to pay him the respect due a real man. He pointed ahead to a ridge where the German artillery was located and from which the shells were coming.

"See that ridge?" he asked. "Yes," I answered; "that's the German line, isn't it?" "It sure is," he responded, "and we're going to drive the Boche out of there at 6 o'clock to-night, and my boys and I will have the first sound sleep for 10 nights." He spoke as confidently as though he announced his intention to attend a concert, in the days of peace, back home. We wished him and his company luck and went on down the line.

The little captain was right. At exactly 6 o'clock the Americans took that ridge, and another step in the great battle had been won. But the captain went down with a bullet in his brain just as he entered the woods. Half his company went down with him, never to rise again, the blood of these dyeing the poppies a still deeper crimson.

Their sleep was sound as they lay out there under the stars. God rest them and all the brave ones like them who paid the last full measure of devotion for their country and a noble cause.

We asked the boys as we went along where the One hundred and eleventh Infantry, composed largely of Pittsburghers, was located. They did not know, except that they believed that they were still farther up front and to the right.

Finally, we had passed all the Infantry and still found no sign of the One hundred and eleventh Regiment. But we were in a position where both our own and the German shells were making a carpet above our heads. We dodged into the woods and kept to the right. It was amazing what satisfaction there was in having leaves between you and breaking shrapnel. The leaves were no better than tissue paper, but the shade made you feel safer, and there is a great deal in that, after all.

A hundred yards through the woods and we came to Chateau de la Foret, a one-time splendid mansion, but which had been wrecked an hour before by shells. The yard was filled with fragments of wagons, dead horses, and broken boxes of medical supplies. The chateau had been used as an advanced temporary hospital, but the German batteries had found it and destroyed it, killing several wounded soldiers.

We talked to a Red Cross man, who still stayed to attend two badly wounded Americans, and he told us that the One hundred and eleventh Regiment had been moved far over to the right, and it would be impossible to find them during the day.

He said that he would take us out to a cliff where we could see the plan of battle, and we started out with him. Shells were bursting all around, and as we came nearer the German lines we could hear the rat-tat-tat of the German machine guns. The bullets came clipping through the leaves overhead, but none came near us.

We burst through a clot of underbrush, and ahead was a scene which I shall never forget—an American soldier, seated with his back against a tree, his rifle across his knees; around him seven other Americans, all crumpled down on the ground. Fourteen dead Germans were there and two black French Moroccan soldiers, the blood of all mingling in a single stream.

One of the Americans seemed to have wished to tell any observer of this gory scene that he was the last survivor, for he had stuck his bayonet into the ground and his rifle stood there, as though he would say, "I was the last to go. They all died before me."

Every man engaged in that little wave of the great battle had died in the combat. The grass was green and soft and the leaves rippled overhead. But there on the ground were eight of America's bravest sons, who never again would feel or hear or see. They were part of the host who paid the price for freedom and who with their lives made victory possible.

O valiant hearts, who to your glory came
Through dust of conflict and through battle flame,
Tranquil you lie, your knightly valor proved.
Your memory hallowed in the land you loved.

Proudly you gathered, rank on rank, to war,
As those who heard God's message from afar;
All you had hoped for, all you had, you gave
To save mankind, yourself you scorned to save.

Splendid you passed, the great surrender made,
Into the light that nevermore shall fade.
Deep your contentment in that blest abode
Who wait the last clear trumpet call of God.

We left the dead and went on to the cliff of which the Red Cross officer had spoken. Down at our feet lay the town of Sergy, occupied by the Germans. From windows here and there spurted streams of machine-gun bullets, and once in a while a concealed "heavy" would throw a shell toward the American lines. Behind the town was a ridge of wooded hills being fortified against future assault. As we watched a big shell from an American gun struck fair in one of the houses of the little town. There was a crash and the house was no more than a heap of dust and rubbish. It was simply blotted out of existence, and if it sheltered any Germans, they never worked harm again.

The Red Cross man now hurried us back, for he said there was danger of being shelled by our own guns, as a barrage would soon begin on the German line and this town.

We cut through the woods, back past the Chateau de la Foret and then the waiting infantrymen. As we went back we found our batteries lined up for action, guns wheel to wheel. Down the whole side of the woods ran the guns. We waited to see the barrage begin. "Load as fast as possible; fire," came the order down the line, and the response was immediate. A flash ran down those guns and crash blended into crash until the very earth rocked. Up and down the fire wave ran and the shells poured over in a stream. The Germans responded with a new activity, but there was not the slightest let-up by the Americans.

When I went back a few days later, I saw the result of that bombardment. Sergy was utterly destroyed, and the Germans had been driven out of it and back miles beyond it. Sergy had changed hands several times in one day, but it was now American, to stay in our hands until the French could begin the work of its rebuilding.

We finally got back to our headquarters safely but I had not found the regiment I desired to see. A week later we made another sally up to the front line, this time many miles farther advanced than before. We went through Sergy and then north toward Fere en Tardenois and the Vesle River. Everywhere were marks of terrible battle. The woods had been used by the Germans for their camps, and signboards were everywhere in evidence.

We saw here the signs of the diabolical devices used by the Germans in their retreat. Our soldiers had to face not only the continual rear-guard action, but every yard of the conquered ground held its own dangers.

Dugouts were screened by branches to which wires were attached. When the branches were lifted, mines were exploded. Shovels and picks were left sticking apparently at random in the ground. But when they were picked up, explosions followed. Loose boards of stairs in houses, when stepped on, set off explosives.

Then there were mines laid on the roads, and when a heavy truck passed over, it exploded a detonating cap which set off a score of great shells, blowing to fragments anyone above.

Many of our boys met their fate through these devilish tricks of a shameless enemy. It was necessary to send scouts out ahead of the troops to protect them from this most dishonorable warfare. After seeing some of this fiendish work I could appreciate the remark of one officer we met who said, "We don't take any prisoners. Any Boche we get is through."

By the time we reached Fere the shells were making music all around us. We drove into the town and up to a hospital outfit located in a cellar. The captain took us back into an underground passage where several privates of the Medical Corps were stretched out asleep, after working 18 hours without rest, attending to the wounded.

I put my old question about the One hundred and eleventh Regiment, and this time got the definite answer I wanted. "They are down the road about 4 kilometers," a private in the group spoke up. "It's pretty dangerous, for the Boche is shelling the road. Put on your gas masks, for he's sending over gas lately."

We got our gas masks ready and set out down the road.

On either side were the wrecks of houses which had been struck with shells within the past hour. A little further on we saw the charred remains of German tent hospitals, with a few iron standards showing here and there. Over yonder was a burned hangar, where German flying machines had been kept. Everything possible was burned as the Germans fled from the Americans.

We passed several ambulances loaded with wounded soldiers, the drivers rushing on without paying the slightest attention to the exploding shells.

We trudged through the dust for a mile more and then came around a corner of the road and looked down the first line of Americans, the fighters in the very front. Right ahead of us was a good-sized dugout tunneled into the bank and walled around with stones. It was the advanced dressing station of the One hundred and eleventh Regiment.

"Well, look who's here," yelled a voice, and I was seized and pulled into the shelter. It was First Lieut. Bolger, of the Medical Corps, a lifelong friend. I was successful at last in reaching the long-sought goal.

Lieut. Bolger told me the news. The boys had been in the fray since the first week of July. He himself had not had his clothes off during that time. He had been in the front all that time and had dressed the wounds of thousands of boys who had been wounded in the battle.

Finally, I asked him about the boys and he took me outside and pointed down the road. There they were, 500 and more strong, each man in his little dugout, burrowed into the bank at the side of the road. Overhead the shapnel shells were bursting, but the boys paid no heed.

We started down past that line of grinning Americans, and I seemed to be back in God's country. Everybody seemed to know me and I seemed to know everybody. Some of the boys I had started out selling newspapers 15 years before. The parents of many of them were my good friends, and in a short time we were all at home together.

Curiously enough, after first asking about relatives back home, the boys wanted to know about the war. It is a fact that the nearer you got to the front the less you knew about the actual happenings of the war at large. When an offensive was on, papers did not get through for days, and the only sources of information open to the soldiers were the rumors which spread everywhere and the dry official announcements. I told them about the Italian front and the British drive along the Belgian front, and they listened eagerly.

Col. Shannon, who commanded the regiment, had his headquarters in the very center of the line, and we set out to pay our respects to him. As we went along the boys shouted greetings. "This is hotter than Pittsburgh," yelled one. "What do you think of the Hun orchestra?" said another. Every young soldier had a smile that showed that there was no fear behind it. It was the American spirit in lads who knew they were more than a match for the best troops Germany could send against them. In the pink of physical condition, they gloried in their strength and waited impatiently for the hour when they could go over the top again for another combat with the enemy. They were not braggarts, but from Chateau-Thierry to this point they had met the German and made him run from every conflict, and they knew they could do it again.

I looked over that line of boys stretched there in the road, most of them quiet, modest fellows, coming from good homes. They were not rowdy swashbucklers, bringing terror by their appearance, but they were veterans who had smashed the famous Prussian Guards. They were part of the greatest fighting force in the world.

For 30 days these lads had been advancing against a hail of shell fire and machine-gun bullets. Here is an actual picture of what these boys faced, drawn from an official report:

Imagine a long line of these soldiers stretched flat in open fields and on roads, exposed to the rack and torture of an intense German shell fire. The order goes down the line that at 2.30 the American attack is to be made. The objective of the attack is a strip of woods about a mile away, which shelters machine-gun nests. At 2.10 the Artillery starts a rolling barrage, sweeping the ground 50 yards every three minutes. At 2.30 the boys leap to their feet, advancing in three lines. The German fire swells to a terrible intensity, and that field becomes a pit of war where veterans are made.

The edge of the woods is reached at 3.35. The barrage makes its final leap forward over the woods and the shells make a curtain to prevent reinforcements coming up. The "doughboys" jump for the machine guns in the face of a stream of bullets. After an hour of hand-to-hand fighting, clubbed rifles, bayonet thrusts, even blows with the fist, the Americans hold the position. They have captured every machine gun, and not a gunner is left who is not dead or a prisoner.

The Americans consolidate the position. At 7 o'clock there is a violent counter attack, which is beaten off. The next morning the Americans are ready for another advance on the next position.

That is the way the Americans advanced from Chateau-Thierry to Fismes. For more than 30 days it was a continual conflict against shrapnel, high explosives, gas, machine guns. Snipers were plentiful, located in the trees, with camouflaged helmets and uniforms, striving to pick off Americans. I saw one of them who had been camouflaged as a stump. He would never be camouflaged again.

As we approached the colonel's headquarters in the line, we were met by a captain, who escorted us to the spot. It was no palatial mansion where this officer dwelt. Instead, it was a deep hole in the ground and in it sat Col. Shannon, with a board across his knees, on which he wrote his orders. A telephone line ran out from this hole to the captains of companies on the right and left. Another wire stretched back a mile to the headquarters of the general in command of the division.

The colonel got out of his office, when he saw us, and shook hands eagerly, saying it was a delight to see civilian clothing. He had not slept for 24 hours and there were dark circles under his eyes, but the eyes were flashing with unconquerable purpose. He explained that Company I and another were over to the right and that there would be a big push forward by the regiment in a short time.

While we talked a private came up with supplies for one of the advanced companies, saluted, and started over a little elevation toward his destination. He had not gone 50 yards when a shell made a direct hit fair in his breast, killing him instantly. Two privates rushed out into that path of danger, carried the body back, and in five minutes it had been buried in a grave scooped out for the purpose. A cross was placed above it, with the name and number of the soldier, and its location was marked on a map, so that the spot could be identified in the future.

The colonel had a world of grief in his eyes as he watched the burial. "My poor lads," he murmured, "they are paying the price."

When I asked him for a message for the parents back home, he said, "Tell them that the boys are magnificent Americans."

Then I told him that I hoped he would wear the star of the brigadier general as the reward of his splendid work. He looked at me with scarcely a smile at the compliment. "What I get don't count, Congressman," he said; "it's what the German gets that counts, and we are here to give it to him."

Soon the colonel crawled back into his hole in the ground and the last I saw of him he was writing furiously, with the board on his knees as a writing desk.

We walked up the line and every lad in khaki shouted his word of cheer. They showed us souvenirs of every kind. One lad gave me an airplane dart which had been thrown down that morning from an airplane a mile in the air. They had German buttons, iron crosses, bayonets, and a hundred mementos of the fights through which they had gone.

One private, Horace Scott, dived into his dugout and came back with a German automatic revolver, known as the Luger. It was in perfect order and looked as though it had never been fired. He requested me to carry it home to R. W. Edmunds, a merchant in my home city, and then later to turn it over to his father. I agreed to carry out his commission and threw the strap of the pistol over my shoulder.

Every American soldier seemed to be a souvenir collector. They carried one souvenir until they found a better one, throwing away the old treasure for the new. One German prisoner said, "We Germans fight because we are driven. These Americans fight for souvenirs."

We left the boys at the extreme end of the line and came back down toward the dressing station. Before we had come within 200 yards of it there was a terrific drone in the sky overhead. The sound worked wonders in the road. Before there were a hundred lads out in front of their dugouts chattering like magpies. After that drone in the sky you could look down the line and not see a sign of a dugout dweller.

I looked up into the sky and when I saw what was coming I confess that I wasted no time in diving head first into a hole beside a young American private. For there in the blue heavens, coming on at tremendous speed, were four German airplanes bound directly for our line in the road. As the fliers approached, they were greeted with a tremendous outburst of shrapnel fire. Then the antiaircraft guns let loose and added to the clamor. The machine guns were turned on the planes and some of the boys stuck their heads out from shelter and took a pot shot for luck with their own rifles.

But these airplanes came on as though flying through snowflakes. They struck the end of our line, turned abruptly, and flew directly overhead, turning their machine guns against the line of dugouts. Everybody was hugging the bank and no one was hurt. One flier threw out a bomb, which, luckily, landed some 50 yards away in a field. When it exploded it seemed to shake the earth.

The planes were flying at an altitude of about 1,500 feet and we could see the head of the pilot plainly. When they sailed back to the German lines I thought the experience was over. But they came back again and raked the ground with their machine guns. When they finally went back the experience was still not over. In five minutes the German artillery had an increased activity and the shells began falling still closer. The

fliers had signaled our position and the guns were registering on the road.

By the time we had reached the first-aid dressing station in the line the German gunners had found a crossroads a hundred yards away and they registered a hit on every yard. The officers told us that the gunners were getting the location so they could shell it at night in the hope of catching bodies of troops on their way up to the front.

While I was talking to Pvt. Carr, of the Medical Corps, a shrapnel broke just overhead. One fragment struck him fair on the helmet and dropped down to the ground. It was red hot, but we rolled it in the mud and it became another souvenir.

While we waited for the shell storm to blow over the medical officers paid tribute to the spirit of Americanism. They said that that very morning seven lads had been brought in wounded. Hospital tags were pinned on them, and they were told to wait for the ambulance which was to take them to the hospital. But each of the seven lads tore off the tag, and the next discovered of them was their presence in the front line waiting to go over the top.

While we sat there a new noise shattered the air. It sounded like a Fourth of July celebration, with more cannon firecrackers than ever went off together. We learned afterwards that a German shell had struck one of our ammunition dumps and some thousand pounds of explosives had gone up in one grand outbreak.

We decided to make a try to get around the crossroad, which was still being shelled. As we left our own guns opened their booming challenge to the enemy and began the barrage under which the boys were to advance to the objective point.

We zigzagged our way out, and beyond the crossroads looked back for a last look. The sky was a network of shells, both German and American. Down in their dugouts were the Americans ready for the dash over the top, and they went out to that assault like men going to a festival.

Over they went into a living hell, which they knew by dear experience. But they were anxious for another assault and to keep assaulting until victory was won.

Words are barren things in describing the deeds of these lads with their boyish smiles and their dauntless hearts. Through San Mihiel and the Argonne Forest they drove with invincible courage, and in the end the Prussian power bowed, conquered, before them and their comrades in arms.

The German Kaiser dreamed of Der Tag, and it came. He sat on the hill crest, clad in shining armor and watched his millions go by. He saw the eagles of his army glistening above a myriad host. He saw his guns go rumbling on by thousands and heard the tramp of countless horses' hoofs.

He saw villages blotted out and cities destroyed. He saw age-old churches and cathedrals tumble into heaps of dust. He saw men mutilated, women defiled, children starved. He saw great vessels sent to the bottom of the ocean by his stilettoes of the seas, while women and babies went down to watery graves. He saw the world wallowing in a bloody mire as his armies resistlessly advanced over a score of prostrate lands.

With blasphemous heart the Kaiser gloated over the gory waste and declared he would be master of the world. He said that other world conquerors had erred—that Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon had made mistakes, which he would correct. He boasted that he would change the history of the world.

But he was woefully wrong. One thing in history he could not change, and that is the record of 144 years that never has the Stars and Stripes of America been lowered in defeat to any foe.

After Der Tag came The Day. The German Emperor saw his gilded vision shattered by an army in khaki. He saw his famed Prussian Guard break against an invincible line and retreat in rout and disorder. He saw his armies shattered, his generals outwitted.

He saw his allies break away in utter despair. Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria followed each other out of the unholy alliance, with prayers for mercy. He saw a steel ring around the Empire, welded by the men of Pershing and Haig and Foch and Diaz and other leaders of the forces of freedom. He saw the revolt of his duped subjects, who had paid with oceans of blood for his burning lust for power. He saw the ruin of his proud kingdom, even as he fled from the land which he had so often proclaimed was his own possession from the hand of the Almighty.

Der Tag belonged to Germany. The Day is America's. Today when we remember with tears and sorrow the price paid that it might be so, we may also be proud and joyous that it is so.

Here and now we should highly resolve that this price shall not have been paid in vain. That is the flaming challenge to us. We dare not fail to make sure of victory, indeed, the destruction of autocracy wherever it may lift its serpent head.

We owe undying obligations to the living soldiers—those who returned from battle field and camp, from battleships and transports and destroyers. They staked their lives for America and they deserve the help of every red-blooded American in making their victory real.

I believe that they recognize that when they were mustered out of the A. E. F. they were mustered into the A. C. F.—the American Citizenship Force. William Hervey Allen, a Pittsburgh boy and one of my constituents, who won the awards of honor on the fields of Flanders, has written a poem interpreting the feeling of the soldiers of the Republic, old and young.

We who have come back from the war,
And stand upright and draw full breath,
Seek boldly what life holds in store
And eat its whole fruit, rind and core,
Ere yet we enter through the door
To keep our rendezvous with death.

We who have walked with death in France,
When all the world with death was rife,
Who came through all that devils' dance,
When life was but a circumstance,
A sniper's whim, a bullet's glance,
We have a rendezvous with life!

With life that hurtles like a spark
From stricken steel where anvils chime,
That leaps the space from dark to dark,
A blinding, blazing, flaming arc,
As clean as fire, and frank and stark—
White life that lives while there is time.

Deliver us from tactless kin,
And drooling bores that start "reforms,"
And unctuous folks that prate of sin,
And theorists without a chin,
And politicians out to win,
And generals in uniforms.

We have come back who broke the line
The hard Hun held by bomb and knife.
All but the blind can read the sign;
This time is ours by right divine,
Who drank with death in blood-red wine—
We have a rendezvous with life!

Friends, you who are part of this great Pittsburgh district, the workshop of the world, have especial obligation, in view of the marvelous record made in the years just ended. Never in all the world's history was a greater exhibition of unity and cooperation in the advancement of a great cause than that of this district during the Great War.

This Pittsburgh district poured out its possessions in the Republic's peril to give power to the arm of Uncle Sam. She placed on the altar of America $650,000,000 for Government loans and war funds. She gladly gave up $2,700 for every home within her limits to sustain the Stars and Stripes in time of storm and stress. She quadrupled the quotas requested but which did not gauge her generosity. She paid taxes of $200,000,000 during two years, a larger sum than the entire North paid during two years of Civil War. She called on her numberless nationalities to rally for the Nation's relief and they responded with splendid readiness to give until it hurt. She built a bridge of brotherhood out of her garnered gold on which the forces of freedom might march on their mission for God and home and native land.

The Pittsburgh district forged the steel for guns and shells and armor plate and ships. She beat plowshares into swords and pruning hooks into spears for piercing the Prussian power. She produced from mine and mill the essential weapons for warfare. She spun barbed wire for entanglements; fabricated automobiles for the motor transport; made grenades for hand-to-hand combat; built freight cars for the service of supply in France; turned the workshop of the world into a workshop for the war against Kaiserism. Her riveters punched holes in the German U-boats. Her machinists used their skill to help dismantle the military machine of Prussia. Her workers put pessimism into internment camp for the war. Her army of industry silenced the base brood of pacifists, defeatists, and friends of the Kaiser in old-fashioned, red-blooded American style. Her toilers had put the "work or fight" order into operation before it was commanded by the War Department. She had her heatless, meatless, wheatless days—and grinned.

The Pittsburgh district sent forth 50,000 fighting men to strike her blow for freedom. She gave her sons to be the iron in the Iron Division, the Twenty-eighth. She furnished the backbone for the Eightieth Division. She raised the Fifteenth Engineers, whose practical efficiency made the Allies exult. She sent men to 130 different Army camps, to be trained in every branch of military service. She enrolled infantrymen, cavalrymen, artillerymen, aviators, marines, seamen, gunners. She provided

men for the tanks and motor transport; Medical Corps and Signal Corps; battleships and submarines. Her sons met the spearhead of the Hun attack on Paris in those dark July days when France thanked God for the hosts of salvation. Her warriors sent the glad news around the globe that the Boche could be beaten. Her fighters started victory on the march and the watch on the Rhine into an alarm clock. Her soldier boys went from Chateau-Thierry to Fismes, from San Mihiel through the Argonne Woods. Her lusty lads helped to float the flag over Egreinbreitstein, the Gibraltar of William the Last.

The Pittsburgh district gave men who won awards of homage and honor from America and every allied nation. Her victorious veterans wear the Croix de Guerre, the medal of the Legion of Honor, the Victoria Cross, the Order of Leopold of Belgium, the distinguished-service cross and medal, the war awards of Serbia, Italy, Greece, Roumania. She proved that she could breed brave men whose spirit is superior to every device of scientific savagery. She had men who brought back the days of knighthood and with chivalric courage defended humanity, destroyed despotism, and in the name of freedom slew the monster of their time.

The Pittsburgh district paid in precious lives for her desire for democracy. Her dead sleep to-day in every field of honor in all the battle zones. Her homes contain sacrificial shrines wherein there gleam the stars of gold. Her sons fairly flung life away for the world's need; they had power to die that the truth might live. They put their heart's blood into the fabric of the flag in order that all men might be as free as Old Glory, the emblem of the free. They brightened the blue of it with their bravery; the white became fairer through their faithfulness; the red shines more radiant through their renown. They went into the Valley of the Shadow unafraid and lay down to sleep in the little green tents in Flanders fields. She asks now from war, its most priceless treasure, the ashes of her dead. She desires them to rest at last in the arms of America, where, under the changing clouds and changeless stars, they may rest in peace until the Master gathers them out of the camps of death into the mansions prepared for those who show the greatest love in the world, that of laying down life for fellow men.

The Pittsburgh district had holiday when the boys marched off to war, and with cheers and tears told them to see the grim business through. She blessed them all, rich boy and poor boy, college graduate and apprentice lad alike. She bade them fight, not to enslave but to free, not to destroy but to save, not for conquest but for conscience. She sent with them her own helpers in Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Knights of Columbus, Jewish Welfare Service, Salvation Army, and all the branches of soldiers' welfare work. She welcomed the homing heroes back again to the land of stars and sunshine when they had done her bidding and it was over "over there." She gloried in the joy of those who came back to longing mothers and waiting wives and eager children and the girls they loved. She took them back into office and store and mine and mill and church and college. She urged them to organize the American Legion and to hold fast to the lessons learned on the grim fields of the world's greatest war. She was great enough to produce heroes and she is great enough to show her gratitude and to keep their memory green.

The Pittsburgh district will keep faith with her own. She will derive profit herself from the discipline of war by doing with dynamic power the thing that needs be done. She will strive for the unity of patriotic purpose which she achieved in the shadow of peril. She will understand better the curse of caste and the crime of putting pedigree above living principle. She will make sure that no traitorous force shall ever triumph. She will help to see that no man, however powerful, may flout the law of the people's will. She will help send alien revolutionists to the lands from which they came and native profiteers to prison. She will know the virtue and virility of the religion of the common good—the great cause of the world. She will value ideals more highly, with faith that right must vanquish force and fraud in the end. She will stand for one country and one flag—and in the end for one language. She will be true to the living and the dead of the Great War; to those who sleep under the waves and under the flowers; to those whose valor and virtue make every patriot heart throb and thrill with pride; to the laureled soldiers of America, one and all, whose devotion to justice and democracy made a rainbow of peace which, pray God, shall span and overarch the clouds of war in all the years to come.

In the words of Pittsburgh's soldier-poet, William Hervey Allen, we may face the future unafraid, confident that, amid all her smoke and grime, the soul of Pittsburgh is unsullied and spotless as she "builds the roads for the bannered march of crowned humanity."

Soldier Allen is everlastingly right when he sings:

Pittsburgh, your name is on the whole world's lips,
For many nations toil within your gorge.
Stately by day with swan-like river ships,
At midnight lurid with the flaming forge.

And merchants bargain keenly in your mart,
Old earth has bled her veins to give you coal,
Gold in your purse and steel about your heart,
City, oh, city, what of your soul?

Son, it is well. You do not know my soul.
It lives a glorious thing beneath my smoke.
It is the spirit of the folk who toil,
Radiant as molten iron and glowing coke.

Men have not known me yet in all my might.
I laugh to hear the ribald spendthrift names.
Such pass like meteors across the night,
While I, in deeds miraculous, remain.

My feet are rooted in these deathless hills;
I watch the witches' caldron slowly boil.
You hear the awful thunder of my mills.
But I the prayer and curse of them that toil.

Son, it is well. For I am sound at heart.
River and lake and rail shall bring me spoil,
And time, the torch of learning and of art,
To light the workshop of the sons of toil.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD YATES,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, I desire to print in the RECORD the following remarks of my colleague, Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, of Illinois:

"With 435 Members of Congress, coming from every corner of the United States, representing varied and conflicting interests, it is impossible, upon the floor of the House, in open sessions of Congress, to compile the wording of a complex law. For that reason committees are formed. The membership of these committees varies from 5 to 25. An important measure like the bonus bill is presented to Congress. It is referred by the Speaker to an appropriate committee with instructions to prepare and submit a properly drawn bill to Congress. The committee, as has the Ways and Means Committee in this case, considers the matter for weeks—hearing many witnesses and working over many statistics. With the aid of experts, the committee at last completes a bill which it presents to Congress. The bill, like the bonus bill now before us, does not in all the clauses suit all the committee, but is a compromise of different opinions—a give and take of 25 minds.

"So now with this bonus bill. I recognize the right of the soldier to additional compensation, and I voted for the bill. I consider the insurance proposition admirable and hope that is the plan a majority of the men will accept. The home-buying feature is fairly good. The cash payments are so strung out that I fear they will be of small benefit to the recipients. I fear the arid-land scheme, called a farm-creating plan, will prove of little worth to the soldier and a waste of money to the Government. Perhaps the Senate may improve this plan so that farms may be bought in settled farming communities, in order that the soldier will not be compelled to leave his friends and relatives and go into an unsettled country to build up a home.

"No one wants to pay additional taxes, and, of course, all affected will object. In order that the farmer may have a fixed market price for his grain, which he must deliver in the winter months, there must be grain exchanges where corn, wheat, and oats will be contracted for months ahead and prices established. I think the placing of a heavy tax upon these sales brings a direct burden upon the consumer of food and is unwise. Food products are too high already and legislation should be enacted to reduce rather than increase the cost. For the same reason I think the tax laid upon railroads and street car companies is wrong, as it must immediately be passed on to the general public just the same as the retail sales tax, which was eliminated from the bill.

"In voting for the bill I recognized it was the best that the committee could agree upon. I know at the present time it can not be changed upon the floor of the House, and I hope some of the defects I have pointed out will be corrected in the Senate.

"If I may digress for a moment, I should like to call attention to some rather startling facts regarding the cost of our Government and the relative cost of wars which we have fought.

"According to the last annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury the World War, during the actual period of fighting, from April, 1917, to November, 1918, cost the United States, in round figures, $33,000,000,000. The interest on this alone is greater than the entire cost of our Government for any one year up to 1916.

"This amount does not include the tax which we propose to levy for the bonus now under consideration, a tax which properly may be included in the World War cost; it does not include money spent incident to the war since armistice day 1918. I do not think I overstate the matter when I say that the Treasury's figures probably are $10,000,000,000 less than the actual cost of the war to this country.

"Contrast this stupendous total with the cost of other wars.

"The Revolution, through which we won our independence, cost $80,000,000. War costs were low in those days. Seven years' battling against Great Britain a century and a half ago cost us less than seven days' fighting against Germany in the summer of 1918.

"The War of 1812 cost about $130,000,000. That with Mexico in 1848 cost only $63,000,000; and that with Spain less than $500,000,000.

"The Civil War—the greatest of modern conflicts until the outbreak of the World War—cost but $3,500,000,000, although we have added to that total since by our worthy pension system.

"There are other costs which ought to be taken into consideration. The civil branches of our Government used the war to extend their activities for war purposes in all directions. Now, with the war over, they have been inclined to continue on the same scale. Fortunately, our appropriating committees called a halt, or I can not venture a guess as to where they would have drawn us in the financial pit."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. YOUNG,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call attention to an article prepared by Mrs. Elizabeth Preston Anderson in reply to a statement made by Samuel Gompers upon the subject of "Beer and Workers."

Mrs. Anderson has long been a prominent leader in the prohibition movement in North Dakota and also in the Nation, and I am sure many of the Members of Congress will be glad to read her article. It was printed in the North Dakota White Ribbon Bulletin and reads as follows:

MRS. ANDERSON'S REPLY TO MR. GOMPERS.

(Mrs. Anderson's reply to Mr. Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, is so full of convincing arguments that we feel that it should have the widest circulation.—Ed.)

The Forum of May 17 publishes an article on "Beer and workers" by Mr. Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor. Were it not for his official position, the article would attract very little attention, especially in a State where prohibition has been the settled policy for nearly three decades.

One who did not know how prohibition had been won in this country would gather from reading the article that it had been in some way forced upon the majority of the people against their will. He says, "I wish to say that I consider the foisting of prohibition upon this country against the palpable wish of the large mass of the people to be worse than a crime; it is a blunder."

He speaks of the immigrants from the lands of middle Europe and their descendants, who have always been accustomed to the use of wine and beer; that though they are voters, they have had no voice in the passage of this law; of their wonderment that though they are citizens and have a voice in the government of their country, yet their voice in this is unheeded and that they know their voice is in the majority!

Mr. Gompers ought to know that 35 out of the 48 States of the Nation have passed prohibitory laws for their separate Commonwealths. In 18 of these States prohibition has been put into the constitution by the direct vote of the people, and every citizen who had a vote had a voice in it. In 16 other States the legislators elected by the voters have placed a prohibition law upon the statutes. The citizens of the District of Columbia are the only ones who have not had a voice in passing the prohibition law under which they live.

The Federal amendment for national prohibition was passed by Congress, notwithstanding the tremendous efforts of a powerful, unscrupulous pro-German lobby, with almost unlimited money at their command, because Congressmen knew that it was the demand of an overwhelming number of their constituents, and they dared not ignore it.

The Federal prohibition amendment had in Congress the solid vote of 24 States; it had a majority vote of 12 States; in 4 of these States only one vote against it. Seven States were divided evenly; only four divided adversely to prohibition; and only one State voted solidly against it.

The world was startled at the rapidity with which the State legislatures ratified the prohibition amendment. But few State legislatures met in 1918, but of these 15 ratified. Most of the State legislatures met in 1919, and 29 of these ratified before the end of January. Forty-five State legislatures, or nine above the required three-fourths, have ratified.

There is only one explanation possible, and that is that the legislators knew there was an overwhelming demand for prohibition of the liquor traffic on the part of their constituents. These 45 States represent a population of 100,380,546. Their legislators cast 5,365 votes for the amendment and 1,223 against it.

Mr. Gompers says one thing with which I heartily agree, namely, "Total abstinence, like law and order and government, is a gradual growth born of the desire, first as individuals and then of peoples, to grow." He evidently has been blind to the growth of total abstinence and the idea of the prohibition of the liquor traffic.

The temperance reform in this country has been a slow process of growth which has extended over a period of more than 100 years. The temperance reformers 100 years ago took the position Mr. Gompers takes to-day. The first pledges were against drunkenness, not against drinking. In the earliest temperance societies in this country men were fined every time they became intoxicated, but did not forfeit membership.

After years of attempting to mitigate this evil the settled conviction grew that total abstinence on the part of the individual and prohibition on the part of the State were the only effective methods of dealing with the poison of alcohol in whatever form it might be.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union, organized in 1874 as a result of the crusade of 1873 and 1874, that "whirlwind of the Lord" as it was called, was, I think, the first temperance organization to stress the work along educational lines. The children were organized into loyal temperance legions and taught. Through the efforts of this organization a temperance lesson was put into the Sunday school lesson series. After years of indefatigable labor they succeeded in securing in every State the passage of laws providing for the teaching of scientific temperance in the public schools in connection with physiology and hygiene.

The children of yesterday are the voters of to-day. They are intelligent on this question because they have been trained in the Loyal Temperance Legion; they have been taught in the Sunday school what the gospel says, and in the public schools the dicta of science as to the effect of alcohol on the body and brain. When we remember this we cease to wonder at what some papers characterized the "indecent haste" with which the legislatures of the States ratified the prohibition amendment. This great movement has been a gradual growth; it has a solid foundation under it.

Mr. Gompers seems to fear that prohibition will make the laboring man an easy prey to the I. W. W. and bolshevik agitator. His statement that "there are more nondrinking union workmen in the United States to-day than I have ever known in all my life, and the number of total abstainers is growing," is an answer to this. Thirty-five States have prohibition, yet we have not heard of laboring men anywhere striking or rioting because they can not get their beer. The "no beer, no work" agitation is a part of the pro-German brewers' propaganda and has been repudiated by many labor unions.

When Mr. Gompers appeared in Washington on December 17, 1917, the day the House concurred with the Senate in submitting the amendment, he made an appeal on the ground that labor was opposed to it, but was careful to explain that he did not speak for the National Federation. If labor was opposed to prohibition, would not the National Federation have taken action against it long before this?

On April 7 the prohibition State of Michigan voted on a proposition to legalize the sale of wine and beer. It was defeated by a majority of 203,936.

Mr. Gompers points to Russia as an example of prohibition. It must not be forgotten that the revolution in Russia, accomplished under prohibition, was a bloodless one, and it was only after the vodka shops were opened that Russia went down into the depths.

North Dakota has had nearly 30 years of prohibition. When the law was passed liquor men predicted that prohibition would discourage immigration, decrease the population, kill business, increase taxes, retard growth of larger towns—especially those on the Minnesota border—build up large cities across the line at North Dakota's expense and make the State poverty stricken. It is interesting to consider these objections after nearly 30 years of prohibition.

Discourage immigration. To-day 35 per cent of the population are foreign born.

Decrease the population. The population in 1890 was 190,983; in 1917 it was 692,000, an increase of 246 per cent.

Kill business. While North Dakota is an agricultural and not a manufacturing State, yet according to the United States census for 1910 the average number of wage earners increased in 10 years 105 per cent. The value of goods produced increased in the same time 205 per cent. The value of farm products increased in the same decade 211 per cent; the value of live stock, 155 per cent; the value of crops, 234 per cent. This percentage of increase was not exceeded by any other State in the Union. During the year 1913 this State led every State in railway construction.

Increase taxes. The tax on $1,000 of actual value in 1913 was 90 cents. The same year in Minnesota the tax on $1,000 of actual value was $2.12; Montana, $1.20; Idaho, $1.61; Iowa, $2.45; Nebraska, $1.25; Michigan, $2.25; Indiana, $4.

Retard growth of cities, especially those on the border. The increase of urban population in North Dakota from 1890 to 1910 was 494 per cent. For the same period the increase in South Dakota, under license, was 168 per cent. Fargo, North Dakota's largest city, had in 1910 a population of 14,600; in 1917, 23,000, an increase of 57 per cent in seven years. Moorhead, just across the Red River, in Minnesota, which at one time was larger than Fargo, and which had enjoyed the benefits (?) of saloons until the fall of 1915, has a population of 5,000. The population of Grand Forks, N. Dak., is about five times that of East Grand Forks, Minn. The population of Wahpeton, N. Dak., is nearly twice that of Breckenridge, Minn.

Make the State poverty stricken. The agricultural wealth of North Dakota exceeds the agricultural wealth of the six New England States combined, and, with the exception of Texas, exceeds in value any of the 16 Southern States, all of which, except Delaware and Florida, have more than three times North Dakota's population. The total wealth of the State increased from $337,006,506 in 1890 to $1,973,616,540 in 1917. Under prohibition the State has multiplied its wealth nearly six times

North Dakota has no saloons, but it has a bank for every 767 inhabitants. In 15 years, from 1898 to 1913, the bank deposits increased more than 1,000 per cent. No State in the Union exceeded this percentage of increase. The per capita bank deposit in 1913 was $138. In 1917, according to figures compiled by the State commissioner of agriculture and labor, it was $235.95. Has any license State nearly doubled its per capita bank deposit in four years? The per capita wealth in 1917 was $2,981. Eighty per cent of the people of the State own their homes.

In 1917 there were 62,994 automobiles registered in the State; this is one for every ten and a fraction of the population.

When the North Dakota National Guard, the One hundred and sixty-fourth Infantry, went to Camp Greene, N. C., a prominent attorney of Charlotte, N. C., wrote to the father of one of these boys that the town, at first apprehensive of the coming of these troops from the wild and wooly West, was astonished at the quiet sobriety, self-restraint, splendid character, and gentlemanly deportment of the young men. North Dakota points with pride to her sober, cool, clear-eyed, strong soldiers, born and brought up in an atmosphere untainted by the saloon, as of infinitely greater value than all her wealth and prosperity and as an unanswerable argument for prohibition.

We believe if Mr. Gompers lives to see the United States under prohibition for 10 years he will testify to its tremendous value to the laboring man and to all the people of this great country.

ELIZABETH PRESTON ANDERSON.

President Wilson's Memorial Day Address Yesterday at Suresnes Cemetery Near Paris.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHAMP CLARK,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 31, 1919.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include President Wilson's Memorial Day address yesterday at Suresnes Cemetery, near Paris, in France.

The address is as follows:

MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS BY WOODROW WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AT SURESNES CEMETERY, FRANCE, MAY 30, 1919.

Mr. Ambassador, ladies and gentlemen, fellow countrymen, no one with a heart in his breast, no American, no lover of humanity, can stand in the presence of these graves without the most profound emotion. These men who lie here are men of unique breed. Their like has not been seen since the far days of crusades. Never before have men crossed the seas to a foreign land to fight for a cause of humanity which they did not pretend was particularly their own but knew was the cause of humanity and of mankind. And when they came they found comrades for their courage and their devotion. They found armies of liberty already in the field—men who, though they had gone through three years of fiery trial, seemed only to be just discovering, not for a moment losing, the high temper of the great affair, men seasoned in the bloody service of liberty. Joining hands with these, the men of America gave that greatest of all gifts, the gift of life and the gift of spirit.

THEIR COURAGE AND ARDOR.

It will always be a treasured memory on the part of those who knew and loved these men that the testimony of everybody who saw them in the field of action was their unflinching courage, their ardor to the point of audacity, their full consciousness of the high cause they had come to serve, and their constant vision of the issue. It is delightful to learn from those who saw these men fight and saw them waiting in the trenches for the summons to the fight that they had a thought of the spirit as well as a physical might, and those of us who know and love America know that they were discovering to the whole world the true spirit and devotion to their motherland. It was America who came in the person of these men and who will forever be grateful that she was so represented.

SLEEPING WITH KINDRED SPIRITS.

And it is the more delightful to entertain these thoughts because we know that these men, though buried in a foreign land, are not buried in an alien soil. They are at home, sleeping with the spirits of those who thought the same thoughts and entertained the same aspirations. The noble women of Suresnes have given evidence of the loving sense with which they received these dead as their own, for they have cared for their graves, they have made it their interest, their loving interest, to see that there was no hour of neglect, and that constantly through all the months that have gone by the mothers at home should know that there were mothers here who remembered and honored their dead.

You have just heard in the beautiful letter from M. Clemenceau what I believe to be the real message of France to us on a day like this, a message of genuine comradeship, a message of genuine sympathy, and I have no doubt that if our British comrades were here they would speak in the same spirit and in the same language. For the beauty of this war is that it has brought a new partnership and a new comradeship and a new understanding into the field of the effort of the Nation.

LESSON TAUGHT BY THE DEAD.

But it would be no profit to us to eulogize these illustrious dead if we did not take to heart the lesson which they have taught us. They are dead; they have done their utmost to show their devotion to a great cause, and they have left us to see to it that that cause shall not be betrayed, whether in war or peace. It is our privilege and our high duty to consecrate ourselves afresh on a day like this to the objects for which they fought. It is not necessary that I should rehearse to you what these objects were. These men did not come across the sea merely to defeat Germany and her associated powers in the war. They came to defeat forever the things for which the Central Powers stood, the sort of power they meant to assert in the world, the arrogant, selfish domination which they meant to establish, and they came, moreover, to see to it that there should never be a war like this again. It is for us, particularly for us who are civilized, to use our proper weapons of counsel and agreement to see to it that there never is such a war again. The nation that should now fling out of this common concord of counsel would betray the human race.

So it is our duty to take and maintain the safeguards which will see to it that the mothers of America and the mothers of France and England and Italy and Belgium and all other suffering nations should never be called upon for this sacrifice again. This can be done. It must be done, and it will be done. The things that these men left us, though they did not in their councils conceive it, is the great instrument which we have just erected in the League of Nations. The League of Nations is the covenant of governments that these men shall not have died in vain. I like to think that the dust of those sons of America who were privileged to be buried in their mother country will mingle with the dust of the men who fought for the preservation of the Union, and that, as those men gave their lives in order that America might be united, these men have given their lives in order that the world might be united. Those men gave their lives in order to secure the freedom of mankind, and I look forward to an age when it will be just as impossible to regret the results of their labor as it is now impossible to regret the result of the labor of those men who fought for the union of the States. I look for the time when every man who now puts his counsel against the united service of mankind under the League of Nations will be just as ashamed of it as if he now regretted the union of the States.

OLD STANDARDS SURGING FORTH.

You are aware, as I am aware, that the airs of an older day are beginning to stir again, that the standards of an old order are trying to assert themselves again. There is here and there an attempt to insert into the counsel of statesmen the old reckoning of selfishness and bargaining and national advantage which were the roots of this war, and any man who counsels these things advocates a renewal of the sacrifice which these men have made; for if this is not the final battle for right there will be another that will be final. Let these gentlemen who suppose that it is possible for them to accomplish this return to an order of which we are ashamed and that we are ready to forget realize they can not accomplish it. The peoples of the world are awake, and the peoples of the world are in the saddle. Private counsels of statesmen can not now and can not hereafter determine the destinies of nations. If we are not the servants of the opinion of mankind, we are of all men the littlest, the most contemptible, the least gifted with vision. If we do not know courage, we can not accomplish our purpose, and this age is an age which looks forward, not backward; which rejects the standard of national selfishness that once governed the counsels of nations and demands that they shall give way to a new order of things in which only the questions will be, "Is it right?" "Is it just?" "Is it in the interest of mankind?"

STATESMEN UNITED FOR LEAGUE.

This is a challenge that no previous generation ever dared to give ear to. So many things have happened so fast in the last four years that I do not think many of us realize what it is that has happened. Think how impossible it would have been to get a body of responsible statesmen seriously to entertain the idea of the organization of a league of nations four years ago! And think of the change that has taken place! I was told before I came to France that there would be confusion of counsels

about this thing, and I found unity of counsel. I was told that there would be opposition, and I found union of action. I found the statesmen with whom I was about to deal united in the idea that we must have a league of nations; that we could not merely make a peace settlement and then leave it to make itself effectual, but that we must conceive some common organization by which we should give our common faith that this peace would be maintained and the conclusions at which we had arrived should be made as secure as the united counsels of all the great nations that fought against Germany could make them. We have listened to the challenge, and that is the proof that there shall never be a war like this again.

Ladies and gentlemen, we all believe, I hope, that the spirits of these men are not buried with their bones. Their spirits live. I hope—I believe—that their spirits are present with us at this hour. I hope that I feel the compulsion of their presence. I hope that I realize the significance of their presence. Think, soldiers, of those comrades of yours who are gone. If they were here, what would they say? They would not remember what you are talking about to-day. They would remember America, which they left with their high hope and purpose. They would remember the terrible field of battle. They would remember what they constantly recalled in times of danger, what they had come for, and how worth while it was to give their lives for it. And they would say, "Forget all the little circumstances of the day. Be ashamed of the jealousies that divide you. We command you in the name of those who, like ourselves, have died to bring the counsels of men together, and we remind you what America said she was born for. She was born, she said, to show mankind the way to liberty. She was born to make this great gift a common gift. She was born to show men the way of experience by which they might realize this gift and maintain it, and we abjure you in the name of all the great traditions of America to make yourselves soldiers now once for all in this common cause, where we need wear no uniform except the uniform of the heart, clothing ourselves with the principles of right, and saying to me everywhere, 'You are our brothers,' and we invite you into the comradeship of liberty and of peace.'" Let us go away hearing these unspoken mandates of our dead comrades.

HIS PERSONAL CONSECRATION.

If I may speak a personal word, I beg you to realize the compulsion that I myself feel that I am under. By the Constitution of our great country, I was the Commander in Chief of these men. I advised the Congress to declare that a state of war existed. I sent these lads over here to die. Shall I—can I—ever speak a word of counsel which is inconsistent with the assurances I gave them when they came over? It is inconceivable. There is something better, if possible, that a man can give than his life, and that is his living spirit to a service that is not easy, to resist counsels that are hard to resist, to stand against purposes that are difficult to stand against, and to say, "Here I stand, consecrated in spirit of the men who were once my comrades, and who are now gone, and who left me under eternal bonds of fidelity."

Democratic Achievements and Republican Failures.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY T. RAINEY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, the present session of Congress ends to-day. The Republican Party for 15 months has controlled both Houses of this Congress, and has back of it a record of broken promises and a record of failures without a parallel in the history of political parties in the United States. The Democratic Party has back of it during the period of its recent supremacy a record of achievement without a parallel in the history of nations. I desire to call attention to the following Democratic achievements in the recent past:

The income tax.

The Federal Reserve System.

These two measures made possible the financing and the winning of the World War.

Publicity of campaign expenses.

Under this law a United States Senator was recently indicted, tried, convicted, and sentenced to the penitentiary.

This law also made possible the investigations now in progress in the Senate which have already disclosed in a Republican primary election a total expenditure of moneys amounting to nearly $3,000,000. Much of it evidently spent corruptly and, as some of the evidence discloses, expended in buying delegates.

The eight-hour day.

Safety appliances on railroads and mines.

Workmen's compensation act.

Farm-loan banks.

This law makes possible for the first time the financing of the great business of farming.

Federal aid for good roads.

Soldiers' compensation laws.

War-risk insurance.

Pensions for soldiers of all our wars.

The Department of Labor established.

The Department of Commerce established.

The nonpartisan Tariff Commission act.

The Federal Trade Commission.

Legislation which made possible our merchant marine.

Legislation which has now made us the second fighting power on the seas, and which will soon make us the strongest on the seas of all the nations.

The Democratic Party also drafted and enacted into law all the numerous war measures which made possible our organization for war, the financing of the same, and its successful prosecution.

REPUBLICAN ACHIEVEMENTS.

Defeated the League of Nations.

Failed to act on President's suggestions with reference to reducing the cost of living.

The Republican Party has passed through the House bills to increase the cost of the following, to wit: Clothing, home building, education, food.

These bills are all pending now in the Senate, and the Senate leaders have announced they do not propose to pass them.

CLOTHING.

The Republican Party in this Congress has passed bills to increase the cost of dyestuffs and bills to increase the cost of pearl buttons. The bills are now pending in the Senate.

HOME BUILDING.

The Republican Party has passed through the House bills to increase the cost of tungsten, magnesite, and zinc. (Magnesite is a material out of which furnaces in which metals are smelted and made.) All these are raw materials for the steel industry, and higher prices will be quickly reflected in the building industry.

EDUCATION.

The Republican Party in this Congress has passed through the lower House a bill to increase the cost of chemical glassware. The principal use for chemical glassware is in our colleges, and the increase in the tariff on chemical glassware means an increase in the cost of the education of students who are taking this course of $20 per year. Students pay for their own chemical glassware.

FOOD.

The Republican Party in this House has passed through the House a bill to increase the tax on potato flour, a new industry. Potato flour is a bread improver. About one-tenth potato flour mixed with the remainder of wheat flour will make better bread than we now get and cheaper bread. Potato flour has been made abroad for some time, but is a new industry in this country, hence the attempt to increase its cost. The Republican Party has passed through the House a bill repealing our reciprocity act with Canada. This affected only foodstuffs, and was advocated by the Taft administration.

BEANS.

The Republican Ways and Means Committee has just reported out a bill increasing the tariff on edible beans 400 per cent.

Of course, none of these bills increasing the cost of living have passed the Senate, and it was not intended that any of them should pass the Senate until after the elections. They are intended to show tariff profiteers and tariff beneficiaries that the Republican Party is still on the job and is still looking after them. They do not dare, however, to enact any of them into law, even if they could be passed over a presidential veto, before the elections this fall. The elections might be unfavorably influenced thereby; but after the elections there still remains a very short session of Congress in which it may be possible to try to enact some of these destructive measures into law.

UNFOUNDED CHARGE AGAINST PRESIDENT.

A partisan Republican in a sensational speech intended to furnish campaign material charged on the floor that the Presi-

dent had received hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of presents while abroad. Investigation showed all presents to be of small value. The aggregate value will probably not exceed $700 or $800. Presents mostly consisted of keys to cities, presented on copper plates, linen handkerchiefs, addresses of welcome engrossed on parchment, and so forth.

PRAYERS FOR PEACE PROHIBITED.

Soon after convening our present Congress the Chaplain of the House of Representatives, a blind northern soldier of the Civil War, who lost his eyesight in battle, prayed for peace and the League of Nations. After the prayer and before he left the Capitol the Republican Speaker, who comes from Massachusetts, sent for the blind Chaplain and disciplined him and charged him with making a political prayer.

A PARTISAN REPUBLICAN ADMIRAL HAS JUST "BEGUN TO FIGHT."

Admiral Sims, who never figured in any battle in his life, and who was not even on a war vessel during the war, and whose only battles were fought over the dinner tables of England, has been induced by a partisan Republican Senator to belittle the Army and Navy of the United States before a Republican senatorial committee in order to discredit the Democratic Party. According to Sims, we accomplished nothing either on land or sea during the period of the war.

REPUBLICAN PARTISAN INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE.

A committee, known as the Graham Committee, and other committees, at an expense of approximately $2,000,000, employing one attorney who received a compensation at the rate of $20,000 a year, has, after a year's investigation of war activities, announced that an invisible committee was engaged for nearly a year before the war in preparing the great constructive measures which were quickly passed after war was declared, and which made possible the quick mobilization of all of our resources; in other words, the Republican Party during the war denounced Democrats for unpreparedness and have now proven that we were prepared in the manner above suggested.

REPUBLICAN LEGISLATION UNDER RULES WHICH PREVENTED AMENDMENTS AND PREVENTED DEBATE.

THE RAILROAD BILL.

This bill was prepared in secret caucus of the Republican Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. The public was not advised as to its contents. Newspapers and magazine writers were given no opportunity to find out what it was until it was brought out of committee suddenly through a rule. It passed through the House after a brief debate and through the Senate. It became a law before the people knew what it meant. It made possible enormous freight and passenger increases in the near future; opened up a pipe line between the Treasury of the United States and the railroads of the country, which in the near future will absorb over $1,000,000,000; and it meets with the approval of neither railroad owners, railroad employees, nor the public.

THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES.

Practically all the time of the present Republican Congress has been occupied by 67 committees investigating the Democratic management of the war, hoping to find material which would be evidence of fraud out of which a national Republican campaign could be conducted. The investigations have miserably failed. Finally, out of a clear sky, came a rule under which a resolution was forced through the House turning thousands of pages of testimony over to the Attorney General, in effect, with this declaration: "Read this evidence, find somebody to prosecute if you can. We are unable to suggest any evidence of fraud on the part of the Democrats in their control of our immense war expenditures." These investigations not only took up all the time of the Members of this Congress, but cost over $2,000,000 of the taxpayers' money.

THE SOLDIERS' BONUS BILL.

This was an attempt to influence the soldiers' vote and at the same time placate the taxpayers. It will please neither. It is a gold brick to soldiers and operates to alarm taxpayers as no other taxing measure has been able to do. They forced this through under a rule which would not permit amendments and which would not permit a motion to recommit in an effort to keep the Democrats from offering an amendment to tax war profiteers rather than to tax the food products of the country and the small income taxpayers. The bill, however, was not passed until the last few days of the session, too late to pass the Senate. Even if it passed the Senate, its provisions would not go into force for over a year. Soldiers will find out in the near future that they have been handed a gold brick of the most pronounced character. It can never become a law.

INCREASE OF PAY FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES.

This is another measure brought in under a rule and forced through the House without an opportunity to amend it and without any debate. It is, however, wholly inadequate. Many classes of these faithful employees are entitled to much more money than they will receive, and the bill would have been amended to give them an adequate wage if an opportunity had been given to amend it. This measure will cost during the next fiscal year $34,000,000, and four years from now it will cost the country $45,000,000. This very large amount, if properly distributed and adjusted, might have been satisfactory. However, there was no opportunity to amend. Members of Congress were practically disfranchised and were compelled to either vote for the measure or to vote against it. It was the best we could get. Most of the Democrats voted for it.

Luhring's Record as a Congressman.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OSCAR R. LUHRING,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 1, 1920.

Mr. LUHRING. Mr. Speaker, I shall take advantage of the consent given me to extend my remarks on legislation I have supported and work that I have done in this Congress, because I believe that the people, especially the people of the first district of Indiana, the district I have the honor to represent, are entitled to know something about the doings of their Representative in the Congress, so that they may determine whether or not he has been faithful to the trust conferred upon him, and whether or not he merits their continued confidence and support.

The present Congress was called in special session on the 19th day of May, 1919, and has been in almost continuous session since that time. At the very outset we were called upon to place upon the statute books in 38 legislative days seven great supply bills a Democratic Congress had failed to enact in more than three months of the preceding session, and so well was this work done that the American people were saved about $940,000,000 as compared with the Democratic bills that failed and $1,685,000,000 as compared with the sums of the estimates for those bills as submitted by the Democratic administration. It was my privilege to assist in the passage of this legislation.

Many important laws have been enacted during this Congress and much constructive legislation accomplished. The resolution for the woman's suffrage amendment was passed and now lacks but the vote of one State to make its ratification complete. I voted for that resolution. Next came the repeal of the daylight saving law, a law that had become obnoxious to the farmers of the Nation. This was speedily accomplished, and when the veto came the bill was passed notwithstanding the objections of the President, and is now a law. I voted to repeal. Then came the return of the telephone and telegraph wires to their private owners. I voted for that measure and thereby aided in bringing another war power to an end.

In addition to the matters just mentioned, I voted for and helped to pass the following and more important general legislation:

The incorporation of the American Legion.

Amendment to the war-risk insurance act increasing the allowance in certain classes of serious injury.

The enactment of liberal provisions for vocational training and rehabilitation of wounded soldiers and sailors; and generous appropriations for the same.

The extension and enlargement of the food-control act, with a view of preventing hoarding and profiteering, and with additional penalties for the violation of the statute.

Creation of office of General of the Armies of the United States in terms providing for the appointment of John J. Pershing to that office.

Provision for punishment for the transportation of stolen motor vehicles.

The Sweet bill, amending the war-risk insurance act, with the view of increasing the efficiency of the bureau and greatly liberalizing the provisions of the act in the payment of compensation to disabled soldiers, sailors, and marines.

The railroad bill: A complete and comprehensive measure for the return of the railroads to their owners and for effective and extended public control over the same. One of the most important pieces of constructive legislation ever considered by Congress.

A prohibition enforcement act carrying out the mandate of the Constitution.

An act authorizing the Secretary of War to transfer certain surplus motor-propelled vehicles and motor equipment and road-making material to various departments of the Government and for the use of the States.

The Fuller bill, providing for increase of Civil War pensions.

I also voted for the budget bill, providing a comprehensive plan for a complete and thorough budget system for the Government of the United States.

Also for the Sells bill, providing for increase in Spanish War pensions.

Also for the postal employees' increase-pay bill.

Also for the Fess bill, providing for Federal aid to and cooperation with the States in the vocational training and rehabilitation of those injured in industry, including agriculture and transportaton, an important and noteworthy legislation proposal in the interest of humanity and for the restoration of unfortunates to lives of hope and usefulness.

I also voted for the resolution declaring peace with Germany and Austria and repealing all war-time legislation, and when this resolution was vetoed by the President I voted for a resolution to repeal the war-time laws and again place the country on a normal and peace-time basis.

In matters of interest and concern to labor, the report of the American Federation of Labor shows that out of a total of 14 votes cast by me 13 were favorable and met with the approval of that great organization. I have always been a friend of labor.

A detailed discussion of my work in committee is impossible here, and I will only attempt a brief reference. I was one of a special committee appointed by the Speaker to investigate the right of Victor L. Berger, the noted Wisconsin Socialist, to a seat in the House, and took an active part in the work, both in committee and on the floor of the House.

In addition to this special committee, I was a member of the standing Committees on Revision of Laws, Flood Control, Mines and Mining, and Elections No. 1, each of which considered matters of importance to the whole country. As a member of the Committee on Flood Control, I reported for passage my own bill for a preliminary survey of the Wabash River, with a view to the control of its floods, thus taking the first and necessary step in securing the aid of the Federal Government in a matter of vital importance to the landowners and tenants of the Wabash Valley.

The very next day after my election to Congress, and long before I took the oath of office, my duties began and continued to multiply until to-day I can boast of having had as varied an experience as any Member of the House of Representatives. I have been truly a representative of the people of the first congressional district of Indiana, acting as their lawyer, their collector, their agent, their friend and adviser in innumerable transactions with the State, War, and Navy Departments, the Pension and War Risk Insurance Bureaus, the Departments of Agriculture and Interior, and in a number of instances with citizens of Washington.

The very first work I was called upon to do was to obtain discharges of young men from the service, and in this I was very successful, because the grounds for discharge were such as were recognized by the regulations of the War and Navy Departments. In most cases I personally assisted the dependent parents and relatives in the preparation of the proper applications, so that no delay was experienced in having the matters considered and the discharge granted. In this work I had the supreme satisfaction of making many a mother happy, and I may be pardoned the reference when I say that my success in this matter became generally known among the "boys," and that I received appeals for assistance from all parts of the country. This work continued long after the armistice and with most gratifying success.

Next came the work of collecting the $60 bonus, and the additional travel pay, amounting to hundreds of dollars, and if any service man in my district failed to receive the amount justly due him on these accounts I have not heard of him. I was kept busy for several months handling applications and discharges and in sending the Government checks in payment of the amounts due.

Perhaps the most important work I have had to do for the ex-service men was the handling of claims in the Bureau of War Risk Insurance arising out of compensation, allotments, and insurance. These required personal attention, and I want to say right here that I challenge the statement that lawyers ought not to be sent to Congress, for had it not been for my training and experience as a lawyer I would have failed in a number of cases to have obtained the relief to which the claimant was justly entitled. I recall the case of one Gilbert L. Young, of Boonville, Ind., who had been accepted and enrolled in the Army, and after serving a few months was discharged on account of active pulmonary tuberculosis. His discharge stated that the disease or disability existed prior to his entrance into the service, and because of that his application for compensation was rejected. I successfully contended that under the Sweet law Young, having been examined, accepted, and enrolled for service, must be held and taken to have been in sound condition and, therefore, entitled to compensation. He received back pay from the date of his discharge, amounting to approximately $1,700, and a disability rating entitling him to $40 per month.

Cases of unpaid allotments were of frequent occurrence and demanded constant attention. In most cases it happened that the allotment was deducted from the soldier's pay, but had not been received by the allottee, and in a few the soldier, although exempted from compulsory allotment, sought to be reimbursed for money erroneously deducted from his pay. Happily most, if not all, allotment cases were satisfactorily adjusted.

My dealings with the insurance section of the War Risk Insurance Bureau were most interesting and had to do in the main with lapses because of failure to pay premiums. In each instance I was able to present the proper premium receipt and thus reinstate the policy and collect the insurance. In one case the soldier had enlisted under an assumed name and was killed in the service. He left two minor children who were under the law entitled to the proceeds of a $10,000 policy. I was able to establish the identity of the soldier as their father and to collect the insurance for them.

My work for the ex-service man and his family has been the source of a great deal of pleasure to me, and judging from the numerous letters I have received expressing their thanks and appreciation, highly satisfactory to them. The following letter, received from Mr. T. Morton McDonald, post adjutant, Princeton Post No. 25, American Legion, Indiana branch, is typical:

PRINCETON, IND., *April 1, 1920.*

Mr. O. R. LUHRING,
Congressman, First District,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. LUHRING: At a recent meeting of Princeton Post No. 25, American Legion, upon motion of Mr. Ralph Wood, local insurance officer, a resolution was unanimously passed by the post directing the post adjutant to write you, conveying to you our thanks and appreciation for the most efficient services you have rendered in the matter of war-risk insurance problems of ex-service men. I take great pleasure in carrying out these instructions.

We have a most excellent war-risk insurance officer in that he has been highly successful in solving our problems, but he assures us that were it not for the splendid assistance and cooperation rendered by you the results would not have been nearly so successful.

Yours, very truly,

T. MORTON MCDONALD,
Post Adjutant, Princeton Post No. 25,
American Legion, Indiana Branch.

For the veterans of the Civil War and their widows I had the pleasure of voting for the so-called Fuller bill, which became a law May 1, 1920. Under the provisions of this law the minimum pension is now fixed at $50 per month but is substantially increased in cases of extreme disability. I have also had the pleasure of serving them in other matters of importance, and which required a thorough understanding and knowledge of the various pension laws in order to correctly advise them of their rights and necessitated frequent communication with the Bureau of Pensions in reference thereto.

In addition to my attention to matters of interest to the ex-service man and the Civil War veteran I prevailed upon the Department of Agriculture to change its exhibit schedules so as to send to the Evansville Centennial Exposition a $75,000 exhibit. I obtained a ruling from the Census Bureau with reference to the boundaries of the city of Evansville, thus giving the city a just count of population. I also secured the Coast Guard cutter *Kankakee* for Evansville for rescue and other work in flood times on the Ohio River.

For individual constituents I have successfully handled claims of various sorts and in various amounts, including claim against the Government of Guadaloupe growing out of the seizure of a shipment of flour, claims for lost Liberty bonds, and lost-baggage claims of ex-service men. Also passport applications, changes of rural mail routes so as to afford better service, allocation of coal cars to the mines in southern Indiana, and a thousand and one other matters of more or less importance, including assistance to residents of the first district employed here in obtaining transfers, promotions, and increase of pay.

Out of this service has grown real practical experience and an extensive acquaintance with Members of Congress and the various chiefs of bureaus, divisions, and departments, which is not only valuable to my constituency but the source of no little pleasure to me. The experience thus gained is an asset,

the importance of which was clearly pointed out by ex-Speaker CHAMP CLARK, the great Democratic leader, in an address delivered by him on the subject of "The making of a Representative." At the time he delivered the address in 1916 the ex-Speaker was serving his twenty-second year as a Congressman, and therefore knew whereof he spoke. He said:

A man has to learn to be a Representative just as he must learn to be a blacksmith, a carpenter, a farmer, an engineer, a lawyer, or a doctor.

* * * * * * *

It is an unwise performance for any district to change Representatives at short intervals. A new Congressman must begin at the foot of the class and spell up. Of course, the more brains, tact, energy, courage, and industry he has the quicker he will get up. If he possess these qualities, and if his constituents will keep him in the House, he is as certain to rise as the sparks are to fly upward. No human power can keep him down. It is only fair and rational to assume that every Representative's constituents desire to see him among the "topnotchers."

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No man should be elected to the House simply to gratify his ambition. All Members should be elected for the good of the country.

The best rule, it seems to me, is for a district to select a man young enough to learn and to grow, with at least fair capacity, industrious, honest, energetic, sober, and courageous, and keep him here so long as he discharges his duties faithfully and well. Such a man will gradually rise to high position and influence in the House. His wide acquaintance with Members helps him amazingly in doing things. We live in parlous times. Abraham Lincoln's favorite argument for his own reelection was that it is unwise to swap horses in the middle of the river—which applies to Congressmen as well as Presidents.

I can speak freely on this subject without violating the proprieties, for my constituents have kept me here 22 years, and for 20 years have given me nominations without opposition, for all of which favors I thank them from the bottom of my heart. Their generous action and unwavering friendship have enabled me to devote all my time to the public service. I have not been compelled to spend any portion of my time in "mending my fences." My constituents have attended to that. God bless them!

I have endeavored in this statement to give a brief account of my doings as a Member of this Congress. It has been my purpose to faithfully serve the country and attend to the business of my constituents. I hope that I have been successful.

Vernon Richardson's "Civil Bonus."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KING SWOPE,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. SWOPE. Mr. Speaker, there has just been brought to my attention to-day, the last day of the present session of Congress, just a few moments before adjournment, an article which was published by the Danville Advocate, which is false and was published with the knowledge of its falsity. The editor of that paper is Vernon Richardson, who was located right here in Washington during the war doing stenographic and other office work for one of Kentucky's Senators, which is usually done by a woman and which is now being done by a woman. I have just been told by the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate that this man, Vernon Richardson, drew a bonus of $240 per year in addition to his regular pay the last year he was located here in Washington, and I have also just been told by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue that he is at present drawing a bonus of $240 in addition to his salary of $2,000 per year, making him a total bonus of $480, which the taxpayers are furnishing while he attacks a bonus for the soldiers, and says that the soldier bonus will cost every man, woman, and child, white, and black, $200, which is false and he knows it. He furthermore knows, or should know, that if it were apportioned it would not cost over $15 instead of $200, and he also knows that the tax only applies on large incomes, and he would not have to pay one cent of tax to pay the soldiers, and neither will anyone else whose income is $5,000 or less, unless he transfers real estate or stocks and bonds. He also says, in substance, that the soldiers of the Revolutionary War and Civil War had many more hardships than the soldiers who fought Germany. He is very ignorant on that subject or is again trying to distort the truth. Everyone knows that the soldiers of the World War had to face more death-dealing devices and more suffering than ever before in the history of the world. This same paper tries to attribute those falsehoods to the citizens of Danville.

I challenge him to give the name of any citizen of Danville or any other place who made such a foolish remark as that the soldier bonus would average a cost of $200 to every man, woman, and child. I was raised in the city of Danville, and I know that there is not a citizen in Danville so unpatriotic as to make those false assertions published by the Advocate except the editor of the Advocate himself, who is now drawing a bonus, but who does not want the soldiers to have any. What does he draw his bonus for? Nothing. He admitted himself there was very little work in the customhouse in Danville. He has been sucking a $240 "bonus bottle" for the last two years and now objects to the soldiers, who served for $1 a day, receiving an additional $1 a day, which on the average will be less than the bonus he has received in civil employment. He is simply taking orders from "higher-up bosses," who seek to deprive the soldiers of any consideration whatever, but I do not propose to let Vernon Richardson stop me from giving full credit to the men who served their country. I have kept my promise to the people I represent. I helped to pass the bill known as the "Sweet bill," which increases the compensation of disabled soldiers. I helped to secure a reform in the courts-martial practice, and it was my pleasure and honor to open the debate and vote for the soldier-bonus bill, which passed last Saturday. I supported the Sells bill for the pensioning of Spanish-American War veterans and the Fuller bill for the Civil and Mexican War veterans, because I believe it is the prime duty of every nation to take care of its defenders. I have voted for the smallest appropriation consistent with the proper discharge of the Government's business. I have voted for no taxes that would oppress the poor or impose on anyone. I helped pass the farmers' collective-bargaining bill, which should be a help to both producer and consumer. I have carried out my promises to the people who honored me and refuse even at this late moment to sit idly by and let Vernon Richardson or any other "civil-bonus grabber" belittle the requests of the men who served their country or criticize me for keeping my word to the soldiers of the eighth district.

The Encroachments of the Japanese on the Pacific Coast—A National Peril.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES D. PHELAN,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Friday, February 20, 1920.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, a Japanese colony under the American flag is not compatible with the growth of an American State. The soil of California is being absorbed by the Japanese, and legislation, State and Federal, is now being evoked to stem the yellow tide. It is a race as well as an economic problem. I have shown this in a recent address on the Japanese demand for race equality, and I desire to continue my remarks and make particular reference to the conditions now existing in my State.

It will be asked, "Is not California a prosperous State?" Yes; but the seeds of its dissolution are being planted. It instinctively shrinks from a harvest of death.

> The fell disease which must destroy at length
> Grows with its growth and strengthens with its strength.

To my knowledge men have gone, for instance, from Massachusetts into California rural districts, where the Japanese have acquired the best agricultural land, and have said, "We are going back to Massachusetts, because we came out here and found that while the land is fertile the character of our neighbors is forbidding and we can not bring up our children in such an environment; we are barred from social intercourse; there is no community life." In one case a man told me he walked 3 miles in order to engage in conversation in the English language with the country storekeeper and his wife at a public crossroad. A Senator in this body told me his brother in Louisiana had acquired $20,000 and was going to California to buy a farm, until he heard the Japanese had, like a plague, spread over the fair surface of that State, and he remained away. Where will this end?

What have the Japanese done? They have contributed largely to the cultivation of the soil. But their presence and lower standards exclude all others. I have in my hand a statement of Japanese origin, and therefore not overestimated. It says that there is a total acreage of berries in California of 6,500, of which the Japanese cultivate 5,968 acres, or 91.8 per cent; of celery the Japanese cultivate 89 per cent; of asparagus the

Japanese cultivate 82 per cent; of seeds, 79 per cent; of onions, 76 per cent; of tomatoes, 66 per cent; of cantaloupes, 63 per cent; and so on. Think of it! I ask leave to print in the RECORD the remainder of the statistical table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The table referred to is as follows:

Product.	Acreage by Japanese.	Total acreage by all.	Per cent of Japanese to total acreage.
Berries	5,968	6,500	91.8
Celery	3,568	4,000	89.2
Asparagus	9,927	12,000	82.7
Seeds	15,847	20,000	79.2
Onions	9,251	12,112	76.3
Tomatoes	10,616	16,000	66.3
Cantaloupes	9,581	15,000	63.8
Sugar beets	51,604	102,949	50.1
Green vegetables	17,852	75,000	23.8
Potatoes	18,830	90,175	20.8
Hops	1,260	8,000	15.7
Grapes	47,439	360,000	13.1
Beans	77,107	592,000	13
Rice	16,640	106,220	10
Cotton	18,000	179,869	10

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, this table simply shows that the Japanese, only a few years in the land, have already taken over the cultivation of all these various and profitable products, which prior to their coming in numbers, 20 years ago, were cultivated, though perhaps not in the same abundance, by a thrifty white population—men, women, and children—living in happy homes dotting a smiling land. We have still the production, but we have lost what is much dearer to us—the desirable population out of which American citizens can be made. California refuses submissively to permit its native population to be driven off the soil. If these people want California, let them take it not stealthily, by this process of economic penetration, but let them fight for it. California unfortunately is just as much their tributary territory to-day under our generous laws as though they had conquered it by the power of arms.

Where does the money of production go? These people are so clever and imitative that they have their own employment agencies, their own marketing agencies, their own price-fixing organizations, their own banks; and, dealing with themselves, they have become out of all proportion to their numbers an exceedingly rich community.

Under our laws they can go back to Japan and then return to America. In Japan they make their investments and maintain their homes and preserve their loyalty. The Japanese Government, not unlike the former Government of the Kaiser, looks after its nationals throughout the world, making them tributary to the home land and to the home Government, not only in matters of money, but in military and naval organization. It can call on them wherever they are. They are not released from allegiance. Emperor worship—Shintoism—is their creed. In the Pacific a great empire is dawning which, unless we are watchful, will some day dominate not only Asia but North and South America as well, for it seems to me that in the history of nations the older ones have sooner or later fallen while the young have risen. They come up with barbaric vigor and overwhelm civilized States which by dint of exploration, privation, and labor have won leisure and have established culture and promoted the arts and sciences. Unless we take to heart the lessons of history we will, by our lack of vigilance, permit a foothold to be gained by these people which will ultimately not only defeat us commercially in the carrying trade, as they are fast doing, but militarily in the next world war. Our civilization is at stake.

The Japanese birth rate in the Territory of Hawaii and in the State of California indicates their fecundity; they are a most prolific people. In Hawaii last year the number of Japanese born was 5,029; the number of whites, 328. I read from the table of vital statistics of the California State Board of Health, twenty-fifth biennial report, which shows a constant increase in the birth rate of the Japanese from 1906 to 1917, and a decrease comparatively of whites, with this comment:

> The decrease in the proportion of white babies is due to the marked increases in Japanese birth registrations, as follows: Beginning in 1906, 134; in 1917, 4,108, or an increase of about 3,000 per cent.

In the rural districts of Los Angeles County—outside the incorporated cities and towns—the most productive county in the State, 33⅓ per cent of the births are Japanese.

That was revealed by the report of the health officer, Dr. Pomeroy, who gives the percentages of births as follows: White, 48 per cent; Japanese, 33.4 per cent; Mexican, 18.2 per cent; Chinese, 0.1 per cent, Negro, 0.1 per cent.

Of every 3 persons born in the rural districts in certain parts of California 1 is a Japanese. Their birth rate is 65 to the thousand, against the white birth rate of 16. Dr. Pomeroy has prepared a statement which shows that in the year 2010—or in about 90 years from now—there will, at this ratio of birth, be more native Japanese in California than there will be whites.

So, Mr. President, this is a problem of the first importance, of which the people of the East have very little or no conception.

The "gentlemen's agreement" of 1907 is the means by which we are now, and have been since 1907, trying to keep out the tide; but the tide has not been kept out. In 1908 there were 9,544 arrivals; in 1918 there were 11,143 arrivals, although the "gentlemen's agreement" is supposed to operate so as to exclude all except diplomatists, merchants, and legitimate students—nonlaborers. This is elaborated in the Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1908.

The point about the "gentlemen's agreement" is this: In the absence of an exclusion law, a measure which I have proposed and which is now pending in committee, the Japanese Emperor may any day, by revoking his agreement, open wide the doors to an influx which would overwhelm our Western States. Hawaii is submerged now. The governor of the Territory of Hawaii, recently testifying before congressional committees, says that there are 120,000 Japanese in Hawaii who have come there within the last 15 years, and there are 12,000 Americans, and in less than 10 to 14 years the whites and Hawaiians will be outvoted and the Japanese will control the Territorial legislature and fill the municipal offices. So without striking a blow the Japanese will govern an American Territory which is supposed to be the strategic key of the Pacific, and it presents a most ridiculous—if it were not so serious—situation that we have in vast numbers the enemy in case of trouble, comfortably domiciled within the works, while the enemy is moving upon the works; and I do not know what would become of the garrison under such circumstances.

Under the league covenant there is a provision by which mandates are to be granted to nations for the government of the German possessions taken over by the league. Among these possessions are the islands of the Pacific north of the Equator, such as the Marshall and Caroline Islands, right on the path between the United States, Hawaii, and the Philippines; and should Japan, employing the great navy which she is building now with feverish strides, endeavor to come over the Pacific and reduce Guam and Hawaii and storm the gates of Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, she would be protected on her way by having these islands under her "mandatory rights" to protect the progress of her fleet. Possession of those islands brings her 2,000 miles nearer to our shores, and the military men say that it would be an advantage which we could not, perhaps, overcome. She is now constructing a Gibraltar in the Pacific, and we are not aroused to our danger.

Japan craftily agreed with England and Italy and France to take over those islands as mandatory before the league was formed or organized, although by the terms of the treaty these islands are given to the league. She has forestalled the action of the league, and that is one of the arguments in favor of an early ratification of the treaty—that we may participate in checking these schemes of spoliation; in checking these schemes by which a great military advantage will be given to a possible enemy, which at the same time is quietly seizing our trade. I have previously shown to the Senate that the American trade in these islands has already been destroyed by Japan, whereas this trade enjoyed peaceful prosperity for 16 years under German rule. There was a real "open door" there then; and now, I am told, the door is banged in the face of the enterprising American merchants who seek to protect the trade they had established by years of business enterprise and pioneering courage. The "open door" is a policy of the United States. We want neither mandates nor possessions. What has become of the island of Yap, desired by the President for cable and radio communications to the East? We are not acquisitive, and all we ask—we have the power to insist if we desire to exert it—is the privileges of trade through an open door—open for all; and if we can not get that, then it will be our duty, as a first-class power, to insist upon it, and to enforce our rights. If we do not enforce our rights, we will not deserve the respect of nations. As the world is organized we are obliged to assert our rights or suffer them to be extinguished.

There is one thing to which I desire to call the attention of the Senate while discussing this question—and I am going over

a much wider area than I had anticipated when I began—that the Japanese population in California is admitted by those who have put forth propaganda, the Japanese Association of America, to be 68,982, but it aggregates now possibly well over 100,000. With 120,000 in Hawaii, and 50,000 outside of California, there is a population of Japanese under the American flag of about 260,000. I am advised by the supervisors of the census that the Japanese are avoiding enumeration, in order to keep down the appearance of numerical strength, and they are engaged in the business of concealment and law evasion all the time.

Under the administration of Senator, then governor, JOHNSON, in 1913, a law was passed by the California Legislature forbidding them to own land. They immediately employed counsel, and they acquired land under our corporation laws, as minority stockholders, and by long leases, extended in advance by renewals. Their children born upon the soil, under the fourteenth amendment, are ipso facto American citizens, and with the money of the adults take the land by guardians and so evade and defeat our State laws. They are acquiring land very rapidly, just in as great a proportion, I may say, as they are bringing forth children. Their vernacular press has editorials which I have read, headed "Beget! Beget! Beget!" "Acquire land now while you may; there is a danger of prohibitive laws." And so there is a drive on by which the Japanese population in California is greatly increasing and the agricultural area in their hands is being greatly enlarged.

Where will this end? The governor has been petitioned to call a special session of the legislature, and it is sincerely to be hoped that he will do so. He has been so slow, however, that the people of California, who have organized north and south in order to bring about some remedy, have proposed initiative legislation. If necessary, the people by direct legislation will cure the evil, so far as law can cure it within the jurisdiction of a State.

Pending in the Senate of the United States are bills introduced by me, not only for guarding the border—where surreptitious entry is a scandal—but for effectively restricting immigration in order that the "gentlemen's agreement" may not be our sole and only reliance. It is proposed to exclude the Japanese, just as other nationals of the Orient are excluded, by establishing a zone from which they may not come; and then there is a constitutional amendment proposed by which the children of persons ineligible to citizenship, born upon the soil, can not become ipso facto American citizens, because as American citizens they are defeating the State laws denying Asiatics land ownership and threatening as in Hawaii to ultimately gain political power. So they will be deprived, if these measures prevail, of the privileges and immunities that spring from American citizenship, which should be a boon prized and honored, a safeguard for the Republic, not a menace, but which now by the laxity of our system is idly bestowed upon every person born upon the soil, no matter how unworthy, how unfit, how disloyal, how undesirable. That constitutional amendment, if it prevails, will provide that the children of aliens ineligible to citizenship shall not be citizens, although born in the United States, but Congress may, by appropriate legislation, naturalize those whom it may desire. It is flexible to that extent. It leaves the door open to individuals but accepts no accession to citizenship in mass.

There is so much to this question, apart from land ownership, voting privilege, and intermarriage, that I must exercise no little restraint to forego telling you that these aliens have taken our fishing industry from us and they have taken the commerce of the seas, and they have begun to take our manufactures.

For instance, in the silk-manufacturing districts of this country they have dismantled and taken the plants up bodily and shipped them to Japan, and there they cultivate the raw silk, and with the raw silk they will make the finished product, and that product will compete with the mills of New Jersey and of Pennsylvania, and out of employment will go thousands and thousands of mechanics and operatives; and with their cheaper labor and their initiative ability they will manufacture for us our linens and our cottons as well as our silks. Manufacturing machinery is the largest item of their imports. They are entering the mechanic trades and crafts. There is no work of which they are not capable.

I say this in order that their power and their strength may not be underrated. When, in view of these facts, you see that they have singled out the islands of the Pacific and the Pacific coast of North America as their favorite territory for settlement and colonization, you must sympathize with those who are the warders of the Golden Gate, who raise the alarm and inform the country, living in fancied security, that there is a new rival in the western seas and a menacing power on the horizon. The development of the Pacific in the next 50 years will be, perhaps, the greatest event in the world's theater of action. What we were told 70 years ago by William H. Seward has been in part realized; but we will see the realization of it more fully in the years ahead of us. Upon the shores of that ocean dwell the greatest populations of the earth. There is an ominous awakening. Shall America survive and serve those nations, or shall the scepter pass to alien hands? Shall the American Republic go down in humiliation? Shall our children taste the bitterness of subjection?

I am very glad that our President at the Paris conference, standing with the representatives of Australia and New Zealand, stemmed these insidious movements of the Japanese to establish a principle of race equality, under which they would have flooded this land. They would have come in freely as immigrants. They would have sought, and would have been granted, naturalization, the elective franchise, the privilege of owning land, of intermarriage, of assuming all the rights, duties, functions, and privileges of American citizenship, while at the same time failing to support our institutions, failing to assimilate, and, owing allegiance to an alien Emperor, become an antagonistic element, which would breed domestic trouble and ultimately war.

Our form of government rests upon the foundation of a prosperous and patriotic citizenry of assimilable people. To suffer its deterioration is to undermine democratic institutions and invite disaster.

The only question involved is one of self-preservation.

Is not our country worth striving for and fighting for? Has not the white man earned the security of his home? If so, the Nation's policy should be now and always to protect its people and guard the civilization which patriots and martyrs have given us in trust for posterity.

Postal Salaries.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN F. WELTY,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 14338) to reclassify postmasters and employees of the Postal Service with a view to the reclassification and readjustment of such salaries on an equitable basis.

Mr. WELTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks on this bill I would say that conditions in almost every community show that the Postal Service has been falling down because the employees are unable to continue with the salaries they are receiving. I am not satisfied with this bill, because I think that the salary should be sufficient to meet the cost of living, and I do not believe that the bill would pass the House without amendment if the rule under which we are working would permit amendments.

I have been receiving a large number of complaints because of the condition of the Postal Service. At first the unthinking were inclined to blame the Postmaster General because of the poor service they were receiving, but when one considers that out of 6,070 clerks employed at a salary of $1,200, 1,816 resigned because the salary was not sufficient to provide for the necessities of life for themselves and families, one wonders how the postmaster can procure sufficient experienced help to take care of the constantly increasing mail. Postal duties, like any other duties, must be learned in order to become efficient. Some time ago Congress raised the salaries of the postal employees, but it seems that even with this increase persons continued to leave the service, and new men had to be broken in from time to time, who knew nothing about the service. Because of this the mails continue slow and uncertain. However, I am indeed glad that this small increase is granted, for the public demands efficiency from these men who handle the messages which carry on the business of the country, as well as the messages from loved ones.

If through carelessness or inability to handle these messages there is a delay of a day or so, a complaint will be made not against the individual, but the Government itself. It is this branch of the Government that comes in contact with every home and every business. It is the character of the postal employee which determines the impression the public receives of the kind of Government we have. We can not afford to employ all classes of individuals, even though their honesty can not be

questioned. Courtesy, promptness, and willingness to serve must stand out as supreme in these messengers carrying the news of the day.

This increase, according to the report of the joint commission, will cost the Government $34,375,087, and the additional increase for the succeeding three years will average approximately $3,700,000 per year. This may seem a large amount, but we can not hope to receive first-class service unless we have trained men who are always anxious to do their full duty and please the patrons they are serving.

Clerks at first and second class post offices and carriers in city delivery in the five grades will receive under this bill as follows: Grade 1, $1,400; grade 2, $1,500; grade 3, $1,600; grade 4, $1,700; grade 5, $1,800; while substitutes, temporaries, and auxiliaries are to receive 60 cents per hour, and special clerks are divided into two grades and receive $1,900 and $2,000.

Printers, mechanics, and skilled laborers are to be paid and promoted as clerks. Watchmen, messengers, and laborers are divided into two grades and receive $1,350 and $1,450.

In the Railway Mail Service there are six grades, as follows: Grade 1, $1,600; grade 2, $1,700; grade 3, $1,850; grade 4, $2,000; grade 5, $2,150; grade 6, $2,300.

Rural delivery carriers receive under this bill $1,800 for 24 miles and $30 for each mile in excess of 24. Deductions for partial failure to perform service shall not exceed rate of pay per mile per day for 24 miles or less and likewise in excess of 24 miles, and motor route carriers for 50 miles and over receive not in excess of $2,600 per annum.

Village delivery carriers are to receive from $1,000 to $1,200 under regulations to be prescribed by the department.

Fourth-class postmasters shall receive 145 per cent on cancellation of $75 per quarter and less; 120 per cent from $75 to $100 of cancellation of $75 per quarter; and in excess of $100 per quarter, 115 per cent on first $100, 75 per cent on next $100 or less, and 60 per cent on the remainder. When compensation amounts to $1,000 and gross postal receipts amount to $1,500 within one year, fourth-class offices shall be advanced to third class.

Third-class postmasters are increased $300 from basic salaries each, the salaries ranging from $1,000 to $2,200. Clerk hire to be same as under present law readjusted annually.

Second-class postmasters are increased from $100 to $300 each, the salary ranging from $2,300 to $3,000. Assistant postmasters to be in eight grades from $1,800, with increases of $50 in each grade to $2,150.

First-class postmasters to be in 14 grades, with modified schedules in each grade, according to gross receipts, from $40,000 to more than $7,000,000. Increases range from $200 to $300 and $400, where the salary is now $3,600 and $3,700; to $400 and $500 where the salary is now $3,700 and $3,800; and $500 and $600 where the salary is now $3,900 and $4,000. No increase is provided where the salary is now $5,000 and over.

Thus when one considers that the value of the dollar is only about 50 per cent of what it was before the war, the increase can not be considered excessive, and it is because of this feeling of the membership of the House that not a single vote was cast against the bill when placed on its passage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES F. BYRNES,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the Republican leader of the House, Mr. MONDELL, has stated that the appropriations by this Congress for the fiscal year commencing July 1 amount to $4,859,890,327.30. This is the truth, but it is not the whole truth. As a member of the Committee on Appropriations, I want the American people to know that in addition to the direct appropriation of the sum mentioned this Congress has by reappropriations and authorizations made available for expenditure at least $543,500,000, making the total amount available for expenditure $5,403,390,327.30.

This is almost five times as much as has ever been spent by the Government in a single year in time of peace, the largest amount heretofore appropriated being $1,114,937,012.02 for the fiscal year 1916. This Congress was in session exactly 150 days, and an authorized expenditure of $5,403,390,327.30 means that the money of the people was appropriated at the rate of $36,000,000 a day, and that to meet the expenditures for next year it will be necessary to levy an average tax of $50 upon every man, woman, and child in America.

Inasmuch as it is advisable that the public should know the total expenditures authorized by a Congress it is exceedingly unfortunate that for political expediency this Republican Congress should have resorted to appropriating money in indirect ways, making absolutely misleading any statement of direct appropriations. For instance, of the total of $543,500,000 which has been made available for expenditure, over and above the total of direct appropriations, there are reappropriations amounting to $156,600,000. This means that of appropriations heretofore made for expenditure during the present fiscal year, $156,600,000 was not expended and under the law would be turned back into the Treasury on July 1. The Congress, however, has provided that this amount instead of being turned into the Treasury should be made available for expenditure during the next year, and has made a corresponding reduction in the amount of direct appropriations. The Republican leaders include this amount in the total amount by which they claim to have reduced the estimates of the departments and call it a "saving"; but the money will be spent, and it makes no difference to the taxpayer whether it is provided in an appropriation or a reappropriation.

Another plan by which the Republican Congress has endeavored to mislead the people as to the total expenditures for the next year is illustrated in the appropriations for the Shipping Board. In order that the Government may have a check upon expenditures it has always required the various agencies of the Government to cover into the Treasury the proceeds of the sale of property and submit estimates for needed appropriations. This year the Shipping Board asked for $225,000,000. The Congress did not make the direct appropriation, but directed that $225,000,000 of the proceeds of the sale of ships should not be covered into the Treasury, but should be made available for expenditure during the next year. The Republican leaders include this amount in the total alleged reduction of estimates and call it a "saving," but a blind man can see and a fool can understand that the money is going to be spent, and it matters little to the taxpayer which one of his pockets it comes out of.

Another instance of this effort to mislead the people by a pretended reduction of appropriations is in the deficiency bill, where the Railroad Administration asked for $420,000,000 to wind up its affairs. Congress appropriated directly $300,000,000, and instead of appropriating the remaining $120,000,000 directed that the Railroad Administration be allowed to use $30,000,000 out of the loan fund appropriated in the transportation act. This money will be spent and the loan fund will, of course, be reimbursed after the election. The balance of $90,000,000 was provided by directing the War Finance Corporation to purchase at par $90,000,000 of Liberty bonds held by the Railroad Administration. In this way the total of $120,000,000 was provided without making a direct appropriation, and the Republican leaders include this in the reduction of estimates and call it a "saving." But the $90,000,000, instead of being "saved," will be spent, and as the War Finance Corporation could not have spent it, this high financiering simply reduced by $90,000,000 the amount of money the War Finance Corporation will have to cover into the Treasury.

It is impossible to tell how many more similar "reductions" have been included in appropriation bills, but the amount available for expenditure in these three items alone totals $471,000,000, which must be added to the total direct appropriations. In addition to this amount, innumerable expenditures have been authorized for which no funds have been appropriated at all. In this class is the Sells bill increasing pensions, which it is estimated will cost next year $12,500,000; the amendment to the vocational rehabilitation act, which will cost $5,000,000; the Navy pay increase, which will cost $25,000,000; and the purchase of farm-loan bonds, which will amount to $30,000,000, making a total of $72,500,000. To meet these authorized expenditures the Congress appropriated no funds, and they will have to be paid out of other funds in the several departments, and in December, after the election, the Congress will appropriate the money. It is notorious that while making most extravagant appropriations and authorizations for new projects and for certain classes of citizens, the Congress failed to provide sufficient funds for certain fixed activities, especially in the Agriculture and Navy Departments, and in December next, after the election, these funds must be provided. But certain it is that when this amount of $72,500,000 and the amount of

$471,000,000 is added to the total of direct appropriations it makes the total expenditures of this Congress $5,403,390,327.30.

Confronted by this record of extravagance, the Republican leaders vainly endeavor to excuse themselves by explaining that the estimates of the departments were $1,312,417,650.39 in excess of the appropriations, and that they therefore "saved" this amount of money. No more ridiculous statement has ever been made by a public official. If this statement of the Republican leader, Mr. MONDELL, is correct, and by reducing estimates they have saved more than a billion dollars, why have they not reduced taxes in a corresponding amount?

The fact is that during the past 30 years there have been only two years when the estimates of the departments did not exceed the appropriations. If such a reduction constitutes a "saving," then the last Democratic Congress is entitled to special commendation, for that Congress reduced the estimates of the departments for the fiscal year 1918 in the sum of $5,554,161,598.31.

But, of course, such a reduction constitutes no "saving," and is no test of economy. For instance, under the law the estimates for the fiscal year commencing July 1, 1920, had to be submitted by the departments in October, 1919. When the representatives of the departments appeared before the congressional committees in March and April, 1920, conditions had changed and many estimates were entirely withdrawn and many more greatly reduced. They are not credited with such withdrawals by the political bookkeeping of Congress, but the Congress credits itself with having reduced such estimates, and with having "saved" money.

Of the alleged reduction of a billion dollars in the estimates for next year, $611,118,580.18 is a reduction of the estimates for the sundry civil bill. A fair illustration of how this was accomplished is offered by the Shipping Board appropriations which are carried in that bill. In October, 1919, the Shipping Board submitted an estimate of $446,270,652 for the year commencing July 1. When they came before the Appropriations Committee this spring conditions had changed, contracts had been canceled, and the board stated they would need only $225,000,000. The Congress authorized them to spend this amount, and instead of making a direct appropriation directed that instead of turning into the Treasury the proceeds from sale of ships as heretofore, that they make $225,000,000 of such proceeds available for expenditure next year. It is in this way that the Republican Congress "reduced" the estimates for the sundry civil bill $600,000,000, and its leaders now attempt to fool the people into believing that in so doing they "saved" this amount of money.

Of the balance of this remarkable "saving," $592,053,855 is an alleged reduction of the estimates for the Army. When the War Department submitted its estimates in October, 1919, the Army reorganization bill had not been considered. It was the duty of Congress, not the department, to fix the size of the Army. The General Staff had recommended an Army of 500,000 men. The department submitted an estimate of the cost of maintaining such an Army. Congress fixed the Army at 300,000 men, and when department officials appeared before the congressional committee, they advised Congress how much would be necessary to maintain such an Army as had been provided by Congress, thereby reducing the estimates, and this is the explanation of the reduction of $592,063,855 in the Army estimate, which the Republican leaders call a saving. In the same way when War Department officials appeared before the Appropriations Committee they voluntarily reduced the estimate for fortifications by the sum of $50,000,000. When they did so, the Republican leaders called that a "saving" by Congress.

By the same hocus-pocus methods the Republicans in the first session of the Sixty-sixth Congress reduced the amounts appropriated by the previous Democratic Congress in the bills that failed in the Senate because of the filibuster of Republican Senators. They claim that when they met in May and passed the bills that had failed in March, they reduced the amount appropriated by $939,692,541.97. Of this amount $246,011,651 is an alleged reduction in the sundry civil bill for that year. As a matter of fact, in this bill they made available for expenditure $50,000,000 more than had been provided by the Democratic Congress. The bill as passed by the Democratic Congress provided $660,000,000 for the Shipping Board. The Republican Congress made the same amount available, but appropriated directly only $356,000,000, providing the balance of $304,000,000 by the reappropriation of various funds about to be covered into the Treasury.

And notwithstanding the fact that the Shipping Board has already spent this sum of $660,000,000 the Republican leaders have the nerve to attempt to fool the people into believing that they "saved" this money when they reduced the estimates in the hocus-pocus manner described. Instead of a reduction, the total amount made available by appropriations and reappropriations was $50,000,000 in excess of the total amount made available by the Democratic Congress.

The other alleged saving in the bills passed during the first session was in the Army and Navy appropriations for the year commencing July 1, 1919. When these bills were passed by the Democratic Congress in February, 1919, we had 1,500,000 soldiers in France. Republicans and Democrats believed it would be impossible to have them returned and demobilized for many months to come and that the appropriation for the year beginning July 1 should be on the basis of 500,000 men. The bill failed March 4, and when four months later the Republicans repassed it, owing to the wonderful efficiency of the War Department and the Navy Department in returning our soldiers so much more rapidly than had been anticipated it was possible to appropriate for an average Army of 300,000 instead of 500,000. Speaking of the action of the Democratic Congress, Representative KAHN, Republican chairman of the Military Committee, said:

> The committee was justified at that time in appropriating for that number because it seemed to the committee that it would not be possible to demobilize our forces as rapidly as they have been demobilized.

And for the same reason it was possible to reduce the appropriations for the Navy. Representative BUTLER, Republican chairman of the Naval Committee, advised the House that the amount appropriated by the Democratic Congress could be reduced only because of "conditions, plans, or events occurring subsequent to the adjournment of Congress."

Reference to these matters shows the absurdity of claims of "saving" now being made. Even if these bills had been passed in March and the money provided, it could have been spent only for the maintenance of the Army, and if by reason of the efficient administration of the War Department the Army was demobilized earlier than expected the funds remaining would have been covered back into the Treasury.

If, however, anyone is disposed to believe that by reducing the direct appropriation in the bills referred to this Congress did save $939,692,541.97, then why did this Congress fail to correspondingly reduce the taxes?

The only fair test as to whether or not a Congress has been economical in its appropriations is a comparison of its expenditures with the expenditures of a previous year for the same purposes. The last fiscal year prior to our entrance into the war was 1916, and the accompanying table shows the appropriations for that year, when the Democratic Party was in control of Congress, as compared with the appropriations for next year:

Comparative statement of appropriations for the fiscal years 1916 and 1921.

Title.	Appropriated 1916.	Appropriated 1921.	Increase (+) or decrease (−) in appropriations 1921 compared with appropriations 1916.
Agriculture	$22,971,782.00	$31,712,784.00	+ $8,741,002.00
Army	101,974,195.87	392,558,365.00	+ 290,584,169.13
Diplomatic and Consular	4,061,280.01	9,218,537.91	+ 5,157,257.90
Fortifications	6,060,216.90	18,833,442.00	+ 12,773,225.10
District of Columbia	11,859,584.45	18,373,004.87	+ 6,513,420.42
Indian	9,771,902.76	10,040,655.27	+ 268,752.51
Legislative, executive, and judicial	36,904,799.75	104,735,726.11	+ 67,830,926.36
Military Academy	1,069,813.37	2,142,212.70	+ 1,072,399.33
Naval	149,661,864.88	433,279,574.00	+ 283,617,709.12
Pensions	164,100,000.00	279,150,000.00	+ 115,050,000.00
Post Office	313,364,667.00	462,575,190.00	+ 149,210,523.00
River and harbor	30,000,000.00	12,400,000.00	− 17,600,000.00
Sundry civil	126,922,750.79	437,106,806.92	+ 310,184,056.13
Total regular appropriation bills	978,722,857.78	2,212,126,298.78	+1,233,403,441.00
Permanent annual appropriations	121,567,207.00	1,363,768,980.29	+1,242,201,773.29
Total regular and permanent annual appropriations	1,100,290,064.78	3,575,895,279.07	+2,475,605,214.29
Miscellaneous	2,330,603.34	797,500,000.00	+ 795,169,396.66
Total regular, permanent annual, and miscellaneous appropriations	1,102,620,668.12	4,373,395,279.07	+3,270,774,610.95
Deficiencies	12,316,343.90	486,495,048.23	+ 474,178,704.33
Grand total	1,114,937,012.02	4,859,890,327.30	+3,744,953,315.28

It is fair to call attention to the fact that there can be no comparison of the permanent appropriations because of the greatly increased amount made necessary next year by our

increased public debt. It is equally true that in the Army and Navy bills there may be "hang overs" of the war, but it is apparent that in every civil branch of the Government there has been an indefensible increase by this Congress that makes hopeless any reduction of oppressive taxation. This statement does not, of course, include the soldiers' bonus which passed the House and is estimated to cost approximately $2,000,000,000. The statement shows that this Republican Congress has spent the money of the people in a manner that makes the proverbial sailor seem a tightwad, and makes us wonder what they would have done had they not been pledged to economy. It is convincing proof that we can not hope for economy from a Republican Congress, and judging from the disclosures in the Senate of the primary campaign expenditures of those Republicans who seek to be the Chief Executive, we can not hope for economy from a Republican Executive.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES P. WOODS,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920,

On the conference report on the District of Columbia appropriation bill.

Mr. WOODS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for this report believing that it goes a long step forward in adjusting the inequalities heretofore existing in regard to the District revenue. I believe that the property owners of the District of Columbia should be required to pay tax commensurate with the taxes paid by property owners in cities of approximately the same population throughout the country. When the property owners of the District have done this they have, in my judgment, done all in that respect that should be required of them.

The remaining revenue needed to make and keep Washington the most beautiful city in the world should be contributed by the Federal Government.

I wish, however, to call the attention of the House to two circumstances which are not remedied by the adoption of this conference report:

First. The rate of taxation on intangible property is left at 3 mills, which is very much below the rate prevailing in the several States. In Virginia the rate on intangibles is 11½ mills, and in many of the States the rate on intangibles is the same as the rate on other property. This condition, which is allowed to remain, results in inviting the holders of large intangible estates residing in the different States to take up their residence, or their alleged residence, at Washington and is making the Capital City a Mecca for tax dodgers.

I have the names of 10 such persons, formerly residents of Virginia, who have made Washington their home, presumably from this motive. I shall not give their names, as these men should not be held up to public censure for taking advantage of a situation the Congress has allowed to exist. If censure is to be visited upon anyone, it justly falls upon the Members of Congress.

I have no disposition to indulge in the demagogue raillery against wealth which has been legitimately earned, but no class of taxpayers are better able to pay than the holders, particularly the large holders, of intangibles.

As a result of this policy the District is collecting on the assessed value of its real estate for 1920, $426,623,630, at a rate of $1.50 per hundred, taxes amounting to $6,399,354.45. On tangible personal property for 1919 it has collected $1,794,631.70. The District's intangible property for 1919 was assessed at $293,506,446, and yet the tax collected on this large amount of intangible property for 1919 amounts to only $880,519.34.

The little city of Lynchburg in my district, of not over 45,000 population, collected on intangibles last year $253,606.46, and on incomes for State purposes $154,386.78, making a total of $407,993.24, or nearly half as much tax as was paid from this same source in the great and wealthy city of Washington. The result of this has been that the holders of large intangibles leave the States and take up their residence, or alleged residence, in the District of Columbia so as to evade the taxes they would pay in the States. One of them has told me personally that he could afford to pay the entire expenses of his family here in the District out of the amount of taxes he saved.

I file herewith a statement gotten from the District officials showing the assessment and taxes paid in the District upon real, tangible, and intangible property:

Taxes in the District of Columbia—1920 levy on real estate.

Assessed value of land	$213,499,811
Assessed value of improvements	213,123,819
Total assessed value of real estate	426,623,630

Tax assessed at rate of $1.50 on $100.
Amount to be collected on real estate $6,399,354.45.

1919 levy on personal property.

Total tax on tangible property for collection	$1,794,631.70
Value of intangible property to be taxed at three-tenths of 1 per cent	293,506,466.00
Amount of tax to be collected on intangibles	880,519.34
Total levy on personal property in the District of Columbia	2,675,151.04

The objection I have to the conference report is that in order to meet the increased revenue under the new apportionment it proposes to raise the tax on real estate to 2 per cent upon a two-thirds valuation assessment, which will result in collecting between $2,000,000 and $3,000,000 from that source. It would have been much more equitable to have increased the tax on the $293,000,000 worth of intangible property from 3 mills to 10 mills, which would have increased the revenue $2,000,000, without imposing additional burdens upon the real estate. This increased tax upon the real estate will simply be passed on to the tenants and in great measure would ultimately fall upon the Government employees, and in its last analysis will therefore come back to the Government itself for payment. I sincerely hope this inequality will be remedied at the next session of Congress.

Another matter I wish to call to the attention of the House, which I presume is due to an oversight. The District Committee, through its subcommittee, after taking a great deal of testimony, increased the basic salaries of the District policemen and firemen. The House, in pursuance of this investigation, fixed the salaries of these employees with the distinct understanding, which was pointed out on the floor, that to these basic salaries the bonus should be added. The House coupled with the provision increasing the pay of these employees a provision that they should cease affiliation with any organization using the method of strike to enforce demands. The employees acquiesced in this provision and notified the proper authorities that they had ceased such affiliation and, I believe, surrendered their union charters. Notwithstanding this action on the part of Congress, the Congress by this measure is depriving these two classes of employees of a large part of the bonus. I submit that it has resulted in unintentional injustice to them, which it behooves Congress at the earliest opportunity to remedy.

Whatever may be the wise course for Congress to pursue in dealing with strikes and strike organizations, this one thing is clear, that Congress should not take any action or permit any condition to remain with reference to its employees that gives them just cause for strike.

Congress Has Not Said the Last Word on Postal Wages.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN MacCRATE,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920.

Mr. MacCRATE. Mr. Speaker, the postal employees are emphatic in stating they are not satisfied with the proposed scale of wages.

Under the circumstances attending the vote on the report of the postal commission it was not possible to present amendments. A comparison of the amounts carried in the bill with amounts paid by private business clearly shows that the Government is not meeting the standard set outside. No Member of Congress can fail to realize that if the Postal Service is to meet the requirements of the country it is absolutely necessary that the fair and just demands of the postal employees shall be met at the earliest possible moment. Congress has not yet said the last word on postal wages.

Republican Sixty-sixth Congress Reduces by $2,710,000,000 the Democratic Administration's Requests for Appropriations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES W. GOOD,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, the Sixty-fifth Congress came to an end on March 4, 1919. That Congress had a Democratic majority, both in the House and in the Senate. When that Congress adjourned its real work remained unfinished. It failed to pass six of the regular appropriation bills; it failed to pass the third deficiency bill for the fiscal year 1919; and it likewise failed to pass the bill carrying appropriations to supply deficiencies in the Government's operation of railroads.

On May 19, 1919, the President convened the Sixty-sixth Congress in extraordinary session to do the work the Sixty-fifth Congress had failed to perform. This Congress has a Republican majority in both Houses. How well it has performed its work, how faithfully it has guarded the interests of the taxpayer and has labored to carry out a real economy program, is reflected in a résumé of the appropriations which it has made.

The previous Congress failed to pass the Agricultural appropriation bill, the Army appropriation bill, the District of Columbia appropriation bill, the naval appropriation bill, the Indian appropriation bill, the sundry civil appropriation bill, the third deficiency appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1919, and the bill carrying an appropriation to supply deficiencies in the operation of the railroads by the President. These bills passed the House, and in some instances had been acted upon by the appropriating committees of the Senate, and in still other instances the bills had passed both Houses with items in disagreement, but all of them failed of final enactment. An analysis (Exhibit A) of these bills that failed in the previous Congress illustrates the economy of the present Republican Congress as compared with the waste and extravagance of the Democratic Congress that just preceded it.

EXHIBIT A.

Comparison of appropriation bills for the fiscal year 1920 which failed in the third session of the Sixty-fifth (Democratic) Congress, showing reductions effected in those bills by the first session of the Sixty-sixth (Republican) Congress.

Title of appropriation act.	Amounts requested in administration estimates.	Amounts allowed by third session Sixty-fifth Congress (Democratic).	Amounts finally appropriated by first session Sixty-sixth Congress (Republican).	Reductions of Republican Congress below requests of administration.	Reductions of Republican Congress below Democratic Congress.
Agriculture	$34,993,686.00	[1] $37,344,852.00	$33,899,761.00	$1,093,925.00	$3,445,091.00
Army	1,268,322,269.04	[1] 1,240,500,066.98	772,324,877.50	495,997,391.54	468,175,189.48
District of Columbia	15,635,701.00	[2] 14,446,364.00	15,364,421.00	271,280.00	[3] 918,057.00
Indian	11,939,813.89	[2] 11,457,797.03	11,131,397.03	808,416.86	326,400.00
Navy	975,903,621.28	[1] 824,708,121.88	616,096,838.88	359,806,782.40	208,611,283.00
Sundry civil	964,591,556.25	[4] 851,171,859.25	605,160,207.95	359,431,348.30	246,011,651.30
Railroad deficiency	1,200,000,000.00	[1] 750,000,000.00	750,000,000.00	450,000,000.00	.....
Third deficiency, 1919	42,764,678.94	[5] 38,346,913.59	24,305,929.40	18,458,749.54	14,040,984.19
Total	4,514,151,326.40	3,767,975,974.73	2,828,283,432.76	1,685,867,893.64	939,692,541.97

[1] Amount as reported to the Senate.
[2] Amount as passed the Senate.
[3] Increase.
[4] Amount as passed the House.
[5] Amount as reported to the Senate, exclusive of $750,000,000 for railroad deficiency, passed as a separate measure but included in third deficiency act for the third session of the Sixty-fifth Congress as reported to the Senate. Also exclusive of $53,750,000 for emergency shipping fund carried in the amount of the sundry civil bill for the Sixty-fifth Congress, third session, as it passed the House.

SUMMARY.

Total reduction of Republican (Sixty-sixth) Congress below amounts requested by the administration	$1,685,867,893.64
Ttoal reduction of Republican (Sixty-sixth) Congress below amounts allowed by the (Sixty-fifth) Democratic Congress	$939,692,541.97
Percentage of reduction of amounts appropriated by Republican (Sixty-sixth) Congress below amounts requested by the administration	37
Percentage of reduction of amounts allowed by Republican (Sixty-sixth) Congress below Democratic (Sixty-fifth) Congress	25

It has been urged that the action of Congress in refusing to appropriate the full amount estimated does not mean a saving. In some instances that is true, but in the main the refusal of Congress to make appropriations takes away from the executive departments the opportunity to spend the money asked for. It must be remembered that the estimates for expenditures are made by the executive departments, the spending departments of the Government. These estimates go to the President and have his approval, and the departments come to Congress not only with an estimate of the amount which they think will be necessary to spend to carry on the activities of the Government but they also come with a request that Congress appropriate the money. It is, indeed, rare for a spending department to leave any considerable sum of its appropriation unexpended. These departments ask for the money with the intention of spending it. When such funds are once appropriated they are, in the main, expended, and only too frequently are they expended without a just regard for economy and sometimes they are entirely wasted.

It is thus seen that the first session of this Congress saved on the bills that failed of passage in the Democratic Congress the sum of $939,692,541.97, as compared with the last action of that Congress on the bills which failed of passage. If, however, the saving to the taxpayers in those bills is the difference between the amount requested by the President through the various spending departments of the Government and the amount appropriated by Congress, then the actual saving by this Congress on those bills reaches the stupendous sum of $1,685,867,893.64.

The work of the second session of this Congress is marked by the same degree of economy that characterized the first session. The failure of the administration to realize that the war is over and that the people were demanding a return to normal conditions, and so far as taxation is concerned to bring about as soon as possible a reduction in those burdens, made doubly difficult the work of Congress so far as appropriations are concerned. This Congress was called upon to pass appropriation bills to supply the money to carry on the activities of the Government from July 1 of this year to June 30, 1921. Under the law the President and his spending departments made their estimates and requested appropriations either in the regular estimates submitted in the Book of Estimates, or supplemental estimates, or because of laws enacted subsequently to the submission of the Book of Estimates, in the grand total of $5,685,812,929.46, which includes $725,000,000, the estimated amount carried by the transportation act, for which no formal estimate was submitted to Congress. The total amount appropriated, including the permanent annual and miscellaneous appropriations, is $4,373,395,279.07, or a saving on the appropriations for the next fiscal year under the amount requested of $1,312,417,650.39.

But the work of this Congress, so far as appropriations are concerned, did not stop here. It was necessary to pass upon deficiency estimates for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and for prior fiscal years. These estimates, likewise submitted by the spending departments, with the President's approval, aggregated $648,500,000. Congress refused to grant many of these requests and reduced many more. It appropriated for these deficiencies $486,495,048.23. The saving on the deficiency estimates, therefore, aggregates $162,004,951.77.

It is thus seen that the total requests for money thus submitted to this session of Congress aggregate $6,334,312,929.46. Of this amount Congress appropriated $4,859,890,327.30, and by its refusal to grant the rest of the money asked for by the spending departments, effected a net saving of $1,474,422,602.16.

If, therefore, the reduction effected by the two sessions of this Congress are to be measured by the difference between the amount which the President through his spending departments asked that they be permitted to spend, and the amount which Congress said they could spend, then the reductions in estimates

by this Republican Congress reach the grand total of $3,160,290,495.80. There should be eliminated from this reduction, however, the sum of $450,000,000, which represents the reduction made at the first session of the Sixty-sixth Congress in the estimate of the Railroad Administration. That item was resubmitted at the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress, and should therefore be deducted from the total reduction for the two sessions. The sum of $3,160,290,495.80, reduced by the sum of $450,000,000, leaves a net saving for the two sessions of $2,710,290,495.80.

This is a record of achievement of which the Congress may well be proud, and for which 110,000,000 people laboring under a heavy load of taxation may well be grateful. To have granted the requests of the spending departments, and to have permitted them to spend over $2,710,000,000 in excess of the amount which they will now be allowed to spend, would have meant new taxes or the flotation of loans at a time when it would have been most embarrassing, if not impossible, to sell Government bonds.

The accomplishment of this result is not due to any man or any set of men, but is due to a policy inaugurated by a Republican Congress to carry out the will of the people to reduce expenditures. Congress has been impressed with the importance of reducing the high cost of living and has realized that this can not be done without a reduction in taxation and that to reduce taxation we must first reduce expenditures. On that practical business program this Congress has been working with energy and determination, and it submits these results with confidence that they will meet with the approval of the American people.

At this time I can not pass unnoticed a telegram purporting to have been signed by the President and sent to officials of the railroad brotherhoods, inasmuch as it criticizes Congress for its failure to grant funds requested in his message to Congress on August 8, 1919. A part of that telegram reads as follows:

I received your telegram of June 3. You call my attention to matters that I presented to the present Congress in a special message delivered at a joint session of the two Houses on August 8, 1919. In nine months this Congress has, however, taken no important remedial action with respect to the problem of the cost of living, but it has failed even to give serious consideration to the urgent appeal, oft repeated by me and by the Secretaries of the Treasury, to revise the tax laws, which in their present form are indirectly responsible, in part, for the high cost of living.

In his message to Congress on August 8, 1919, the President asked for an appropriation for the Attorney General to permit him to enforce the laws against profiteering and hoarding the necessaries of life. He asked appropriations for the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor, and the Federal Trade Commission, for investigations and for publicity regarding such investigations.

After enumerating these departments and agencies in that message, he said:

That is, these agencies may perform this indispensable service provided the Congress will supply them with the necessary funds to prosecute their inquiries and keep their price lists up to date. Hitherto the Appropriation Committees of the Houses have not always, I fear, seen the full value of these inquiries, and the departments and commissions have been very much straitened for means to render this service. That adequate funds be provided by appropriation for this purpose, and provided as promptly as possible, is one of the means of greatly ameliorating the present distressing conditions of livelihood that I have come to urge, in this attempt to concert with you the best ways to serve the country in this emergency.

Subsequently he caused to be sent to Congress an estimate for the Department of Justice of $1,000,000, to be used for the detection and prosecution of crime, including the prosecution of profiteers and hoarders; $502,060 for the Department of Agriculture; $475,000 for the Department of Labor; $485,000 for the Department of Commerce; and $500,000 for the Federal Trade Commission.

The Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, to which these requests were referred, held extensive hearings. That committee gave the Department of Justice the $1,000,000 it requested and came to the conclusion that much of the other money if appropriated would be wasted in the employment of useless officers and clerks, that much of it was to carry on a duplication of work in these various departments, and that the appropriations, if made in full, would be largely if not entirely wasted.

The hearings disclosed that the appropriation for the Department of Agriculture was desired, not for the purpose of decreasing prices but for the purpose of increasing food prices to the producer, and the committee was satisfied that the appropriations available for that department were sufficient.

Of the $500,000 asked by the Federal Trade Commission, Congress appropriated $150,000, that being the amount which the commission stated in the hearings they could safely expend in the fight against the high cost of living. What has been the result from this appropriation? On February 11, 1920, almost five months after the appropriation was made, Victor Murdock, chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, stated before the Committee on Appropriations with respect to this appropriation as follows:

That $150,000, Mr. GOOD, we understood from you at the time was given to us with the understanding that we were not in the least to waste it; that we were to guard it, take care of it, and up to date we have not touched it, because we found, by reason of the causes which I have just given you, in regard to the difficulty of hiring men, the deep cut in the personnel, and sickness, that we could do what work we could do beneficially on the high cost of living within our regular appropriation.

Here, at least, was one department that by its action was willing to remove the camouflage behind which the administration was acting with respect to reducing the high cost of living by investigations. While this department did as requested by the President and sent in its estimate of $500,000 for money, it realized that it could not reduce the high cost of living by such expenditure, and therefore has not expended a single penny of the money that Congress appropriated as requested by the President. Who is to blame because prices have not been reduced, so far as this item is concerned?

Congress was impressed with the fact that every violator of law, whether he be profiteer or hoarder, who was unlawfully increasing the cost of the necessaries of life, should be sent to prison, and it appropriated every dollar asked by the department for this purpose. And what has been the result? Since that appropriation was made the prices of commodities, according to Government reports, have steadily increased. We have witnessed the price of sugar rise from 10 cents per pound, when the appropriation was granted, to more than 30 cents per pound in certain localities, and to an average price throughout the United States of more than 25 cents per pound. Certainly Congress is not responsible for this increase. Would it not be profitable for the President to examine his own action regarding sugar to ascertain who is responsible for the increase in price?

I refer to these matters because the President's telegram refers to his message of August 8 last, and in that message he asked for these appropriations. His telegram, therefore, and his message to Congress being a reflection upon the work of the committee over which I have the honor to preside, as well as upon Congress as a whole, I deem it my duty to that committee and to Congress to spread the naked facts upon the record.

With great frankness the President said in that message:

I need not recite the particulars of this critical matter; the prices demanded and paid at the sources of supply, at the factory, in the food markets, at the shops, in the restaurants and hotels, alike in the city and in the village. They are familiar to you. They are the talk of every domestic circle and of every group of casual acquaintances, even. It is a matter of familiar knowledge, also, that a process has set in which is likely, unless something is done, to push prices and rents and the whole cost of living higher and yet higher, in a vicious cycle to which there is no logical or natural end. * * *

We must, I think, frankly admit that there is no complete immediate remedy to be had from legislation and Executive action. The free processes of supply and demand will not operate of themselves, and no legislative or Executive action can force them into full and natural operation until there is peace. There is now neither peace nor war.

Since the President delivered that message Congress has passed a joint resolution declaring that the United States is at peace with the world. And yet the President, realizing that the high cost of living can not be reduced until peace comes, by his veto of the resolution declaring that we are at peace, evidently prefers that the profiteer and the hoarder shall continue to exact their merciless and unconscionable toll from the American people rather than agree to peace.

The rest of the President's telegram above quoted refers to a failure of this Congress to revise the tax laws. Certainly the inference to be drawn from that telegram is that Congress failed to reduce taxation, and thus relieve the taxpayer from some of his burdens.

On April 8, 1920, I received from the Secretary of the Treasury a communication in response to an inquiry as to the probable condition of the Treasury on June 30, 1920, so far as he was able to make a forecast. With that letter the Secretary of the Treasury transmitted a Treasury statement showing the estimated receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year 1920, compiled in March, 1920, as compared with similar estimates published in the Secretary's annual report for the fiscal year 1919. That statement gives the estimated receipts and expendi-

tures, and gives in parallel columns the original estimates of receipts and expenditures for 1920 and the revised estimates of receipts and expenditures for 1920. That statement (Exhibit B) is as follows:

EXHIBIT B.

Estimated receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year 1920, compiled in March, 1920, as compared with similar estimates published in Secretary's annual report for fiscal year 1919.

	Revised estimates, 1920.		Original estimates, 1920.	
Ordinary receipts: RECEIPTS.				
From customs		$300,000,000		$275,000,000
From internal revenue—				
Income and profits tax	$3,675,000,000		$3,750,000,000	
Miscellaneous	1,409,000,000		1,240,000,000	
		5,084,000,000		4,990,000,000
From sales of public lands		1,500,000		1,250,000
From miscellaneous sources		1,128,503,762		834,000,000
Total estimated ordinary receipts		6,514,003,762		6,100,250,000
Panama Canal: Estimated receipts from tolls, etc.		7,200,000		7,200,000
Total estimated receipts, exclusive of public debt		6,521,203,762		6,107,450,000
Public debt—				
Third Liberty loan	1,365,233		1,365,233	
Fourth Liberty loan	33,422,513		33,568,663	
Victory Liberty loan	1,029,976,228		1,030,372,678	
War-savings certificates	85,000,000		125,000,000	
Deposits to retire Federal reserve bank notes and national bank notes	20,000,000		20,000,000	
Postal savings bonds	189,400		250,000	
		1,169,953,434		1,210,556,634
Grand total estimated receipts		7,691,157,196		7,318,006,634
For civil establishment: EXPENDITURES.				
Legislative establishment		16,684,354		18,518,085
Executive proper, including Tariff Commission and Alien Property Custodian		2,092,700		2,139,017
State Department		12,292,519		11,662,595
Treasury Department proper		120,286,195		113,120,000
Public buildings, construction, etc.		7,000,000		9,000,000
War-risk insurance, $232,359,420, less premium credits of $129,978,556		102,380,864		39,825,140
War Department proper		7,350,000		7,350,000
Department of Justice		17,500,000		16,800,000
Post Office Department proper		1,950,000		1,950,000
Navy Department proper		2,125,000		2,125,000
Interior Department proper		39,000,000		38,385,277
Department of Agriculture		65,000,000		51,647,400
Department of Commerce		35,719,966		33,454,034
Department of Labor		4,909,322		5,406,322
Shipping Board		705,632,229		371,016,521
Wheat guaranty fund		350,000,000		350,000,000
European food relief		99,000,000		99,000,000
Council of National Defense		150,000		250,000
Federal control of transportation systems		950,770,855		750,770,855
War Finance Corporation		150,000,000		150,000,000
Housing Corporation		4,250,000		4,600,000
State, War, and Navy Department Buildings		2,175,545		2,279,854
Federal Board for Vocational Education		30,258,244		24,258,244
Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board		2,214,772		2,459,772
Federal Trade Commission		1,045,000		1,045,000
Employees' Compensation Commission		2,228,500		2,317,500
Interstate Commerce Commission		5,329,267		4,593,267
Other independent offices		1,135,500		1,149,540
Expenses of loans		24,337,500		24,337,500
Increase of compensation, all departments		37,000,000		30,760,000
Additional compensation, Postal Service		35,698,400		35,698,400
District of Columbia		18,456,569		18,456,569
Total civil establishment		2,853,973,301		2,234,375,892
For War Department—				
Military establishment	$1,533,343,000		$1,650,000,000	
Rivers and harbors	38,000,000		38,000,000	
Miscellaneous, War, Civil	16,657,000		16,657,000	
		1,588,000,000		1,701,657,000
For Navy Department—				
Naval Establishment, exclusive of building program	689,875,000		689,875,000	
Navy building program	158,000,000		158,000,000	
		847,875,000		847,875,000
For Indian Service		35,000,000		38,000,000
For pensions		220,030,000		220,030,000
For interest on the public debt		1,019,900,000		1,052,300,000
Total estimated ordinary expenditures		6,564,778,301		6,097,237,892
Special expenditures—				
Purchase of obligations of foreign governments	535,000,000			700,000,000
Purchase of farm-loan bonds (deduct)	11,119,577			
		523,880,423		
Panama Canal, expenditures		15,284,837		15,284,837
Total estimated expenditures, exclusive of public debt		7,103,943,561		6,812,522,729
Public debt—				
War-savings certificates	175,000,000		175,000,000	
Certificates of indebtedness outstanding June 30, 1919	3,633,804,490		3,633,804,490	
Retirement of bank notes	25,000,000		25,000,000	
Bond-purchase fund	970,000,000		740,000,000	
Bonds purchased from payments on foreign obligations	100,000,000		90,000,000	
Miscellaneous redemptions	300,000		300,000	
		4,904,104,490		4,664,104,490
Grand total, estimated expenditures		12,008,048,051		11,476,627,219
Estimated excess of expenditures over receipts, exclusive of public debt, fiscal year 1920		582,739,799		705,072,729
Estimated excess of total expenditures over total receipts, fiscal year 1920		4,316,890,855		4,158,620,585

I ask a careful analysis of the above statement showing the revised estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury as furnished me on April 8 of this year.

The revised statement shows that the Secretary then estimated that there would be a deficit at the end of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, of $4,316,890,855.

True, the Secretary stated in his letter that he felt this excess would be considerably less than the revised estimate but he furnished no details and no revision of his estimates. Is this Congress to be condemned because it refused to reduce taxes when the Secretary of the Treasury estimates there may be an excess of expenditures over receipts of $4,316,890,855 at the end of this fiscal year?. What business concern, finding that its expenses were exceeding its revenues, would not attempt to find additional sources of revenue or reduce expenditures? The President would reverse the experience of the business world.

When he finds that the expenses of the Government exceed the revenues of the Government he would, as is shown by his estimate, increase expenses and would at the same time cut off receipts. To adopt such a course would spell financial disaster; for any business concern it would mean bankruptcy.

But there is hope. In the future we must have a business administration, an administration that will turn its attention to the normal activities at home and that will reduce expenditures all along the line. We must bring about a revolution in the Government's financial policies. We must stop spending. We must economize. We must cut out waste and duplication in the Government's service. We must have a work program, and that program must be a business program that will permit the business of the Government, the greatest business in all the world so far as expenditures are concerned, to be conducted along business lines.

In response to the overwhelming demands for economy in the conduct of public affairs the Democratic administration turned a deaf ear. In utter disregard to its platform pledges it continued in a time of peace the waste and extravagance which characterized its conduct of the war. Oblivious of the fact that expenditures were in excess of revenue it demanded of Congress the granting of funds far in excess of real needs. Possessed with power such as has been granted to no other administration, it has to its credit no single act to put the administration of the Government's affairs upon an efficient and economical basis. Its promise to reform the present financial needs of the Government through the adoption of a budget system has been hypocritically disregarded. Had the people in 1918 not given the country a Republican Congress no ray of hope for improvement in the Government's fiscal affairs would be visible.

Over Executive objections the present Congress has attempted to put the Government on a business basis. True to its history and traditions and faithful to its party promises, this Republican Congress has more than redeemed its obligations. Without sacrificing any material interests it has cut down Democratic estimates for appropriations by more than $2,710,000,000. By a change in the rules of the House of Representatives effected at this session hereafter all appropriation bills will be handled by a single committee. The budget and accounting act, which was vetoed by the Presdent in the closing hours of Congress, would have brought about the most thorough organization for the conduct of the financial affairs of the Government ever effected by any country. No greater act of constructive legislation could have been found upon the statute books. The President's refusal to approve of this act strongly indicates his opposition to a business program for the Government.

When the history of the financial legislation of the two sessions of this Congress is written high place will be given to the earnest effort, the intelligence, and the business judgment by which the Republican Congress brought real economy in the Government service in face of determined opposition from the Executive and the departments under him.

I shall append as a part of my remarks three other tables designated as Exhibits C, D, and E. Exhibit C is a statement of the appropriations made during the second session of this Congress comparing those appropriations with the estimates submitted. Exhibit D is a statement showing the details of the appropriations set forth in Exhibit C, showing more in detail the appropriations carried in the various acts. Exhibit E is a statement of the appropriations classified to show the principal objects for which the appropriations have been made.

EXHIBIT C.

Statement of appropriations made during the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress—Comparison of estimates and appropriations for the fiscal year 1921 and deficiency estimates and appropriations for the fiscal year 1920 and prior years.

Title.	(1) Regular estimates, 1921.	(2) Supplemental estimates, 1921.	(3) Total regular and supplemental and deficiency estimates.	(4) Law.	(5) Decrease (−) or increase (+), law compared with estimates.
Agriculture	$37,528,102.00	$2,169,755.00	$39,697,857.00	$31,712,784.00	− $7,985,073.00
Army	982,800,020.00	1,822,200.00	984,622,220.00	392,558,365.00	− 592,063,855.00
Diplomatic and Consular	11,243,250.91	464,112.00	11,707,362.91	9,218,537.91	− 2,488,825.00
District of Columbia	19,179,716.03	1,249,612.84	20,429,328.87	18,373,004.87	− 2,056,324.00
Fortifications	117,793,330.00	134,000.00	117,927,330.00	18,833,442.00	− 99,093,888.00
Indian	12,994,494.27		12,994,494.27	10,040,655.27	− 2,953,839.00
Legislative, executive, and judicial	122,242,849.02	201,990.00	122,444,839.02	104,735,726.11	− 17,709,112.91
Military Academy	6,778,637.20		6,778,637.20	2,142,212.70	− 4,636,424.50
Naval	573,131,254.80	9,500,000.00	582,631,254.80	433,279,574.00	− 149,351,680.80
Pensions	215,030,000.00		215,030,000.00	279,150,000.00	+ 64,120,000.00
Post Office	391,713,673.00		391,713,673.00	462,575,190.00	+ 70,861,517.00
River and harbor	42,841,565.00		42,841,565.00	12,400,000.00	− 30,441,565.00
Sundry civil	906,725,387.10	141,500,000.00	1,048,225,387.10	437,106,803.92	− 611,118,580.18
Total, regular appropriation bills	**3,440,002,279.33**	**157,041,669.84**	**3,597,043,949.17**	**2,212,126,298.78**	**−1,384,917,650.39**
Permanent annual appropriation [1]	1,363,768,980.29		1,363,768,980.29	1,363,768,980.29	
Total, regular and permanent annual appropriations	**4,803,771,259.62**	**157,041,669.84**	**4,960,812,929.46**	**3,575,895,279.07**	**−1,384,917,650.39**
Miscellaneous	[2] 725,000,000.00		725,000,000.00	[3] 797,500,000.00	+ 72,500,000.00
Total, regular, permanent annual, and miscellaneous appropriations	**5,528,771,259.62**	**157,041,669.84**	**5,685,812,929.46**	**4,373,395,279.07**	**−1,312,417,650.39**
Deficiencies, fiscal year 1920 and prior years	648,500,000.00		648,500,000.00	486,495,048.23	− 162,004,951.77
Grand total	**6,177,271,259.62**	**157,041,669.84**	**6,334,312,929.46**	**4,859,890,327.30**	**−1,474,422,602.16**

[1] The estimates of permanent annual appropriations have been reduced from $1,425,407,752.29 to $1,363,768,980.29 or by $61,638,772. This reduction is due to a revision by the Treasury Department of the estimates for interest on the public debt and the amount for the sinking fund.

[2] This amount represents definite and indefinite appropriations in the transportation act, 1920, for which no formal estimates were submitted.

[3] This sum includes estimated amount of $2,500,000 to cover appropriations made in miscellaneous public and private acts; $35,000,000 estimated on account of increased compensation to certain Government employees at the rate of $240 per annum; $35,000,000 estimated on account of increases in salaries to employees of the Postal Service under the postal reclassification act; and $725,000,000 in the transportation act as follows: $300,000,000 for new loans to carriers, $200,000,000 on account of Federal control of railroads, $200,000,000 estimated to pay the 6 months' guaranty to carriers, and $25,000,000 estimated on account of payments to the "short-line" railroads.

June 6, 1920.

EXHIBIT D.

Statement showing details of appropriations by acts, the aggregate of which are set forth in column 4 of Exhibit C.

Regular appropriation acts.

Agriculture	$31,712,784.00
Army	392,558,365.00
Diplomatic and Consular	9,218,537.91
District of Columbia	18,373,004.87
Fortifications	18,833,442.00
Indian	10,040,655.27
Legislative, executive, and judicial	104,735,726.11
Military Academy	2,142,212.70
Naval	433,279,574.00
Pension	279,150,000.00
Post Office	462,575,190.00
River and harbor	12,400,000.00
Sundry civil	437,106,806.92
Total regular appropriation acts	**$2,212,126,298.78**

Permanent annual appropriations.

Interest on the public debt	$980,000,000.00
Sinking fund	260,800,000.00
Expenses of handling loans by Treasury Department	15,017,228.00
Customs service, repayments, etc	20,200,000.00
Indian funds, including proceeds of labor, trust funds, and interest on trust funds	23,775,000.00
Construction of roads, Department of Agriculture	26,000,000.00
Other miscellaneous permanent appropriations	37,976,752.29
Total permanent annual appropriations	**$1,363,768,980.29**

Miscellaneous appropriation acts.

Transportation act, 1920:	
New loans to railroads	$300,000,000.00
Additional for Federal control and operation of railroads	200,000,000.00

Transportation act, 1920—Contd.		
Payment of 6 months' guaranty to carriers following Federal control (estimated)	$200,000,000.00	
Payment to "short-line" roads for certain losses incurred during period of Federal control (estimated)	25,000,000.00	
	725,000,000.00	
Increased compensation to certain civilian employees of Government ($240 per annum) carried in legislative, executive, and judicial act for 1921 (estimated)	35,000,000.00	
Increased compensation to employees of Postal Service carried in special act reclassifying salaries of Postal Service (estimated)	35,000,000.00	
Estimated amount to cover sums carried in miscellaneous public and private acts during the session	2,500,000.00	
Total appropriations in miscellaneous acts		**$797,500,000.00**
Deficiency appropriation acts.		
Urgent deficiency, fiscal year 1920, approved Dec. 24, 1919	$33,110,000.00	
Second deficiency, fiscal year 1920, approved Mar. 6, 1920	88,061,889.63	
Railroad and other urgent deficiencies, fiscal year 1920, approved May 8, 1920 (includes $300,000,000 for Federal operation and control of railroads)	309,717,285.79	
Third deficiency, fiscal year 1920, approved June 5, 1920	55,605,872.81	
Total deficiency appropriation acts		**486,495,048.23**
Grand total, all appropriations, June 6, 1920		**4,859,890,327.30**

EXHIBIT E.

Appropriations in Exhibits C and D for the fiscal year 1921 and deficiency appropriations for the fiscal year 1920, classified to show the principal objects for which such appropriations were made.

A. Appropriations incident mainly to past wars:		
1. Soldiers and sailors of the war with Germany; appropriations carried in the sundry civil and legislative, etc., appropriation acts for compensation for death and disability, vocational training, hospital treatment, and return of remains from France	$293,168,400.00	
2. Pensions incident to Mexican War, Civil War, Spanish-American War, and on account of regular Military and Naval Establishments; appropriations carried in pension appropriation act	279,150,000.00	
3. Interest on the public debt; indefinite appropriation to pay the interest on Liberty bonds and Victory notes, and other interest-bearing debt	980,000,000.00	
4. Sinking fund; indefinite appropriation for the retirement of Liberty bonds and Victory notes, etc	260,800,000.00	
5. Federal operation and control of transportation systems and expenses incident to termination of Federal control; appropriations carried in the transportation act, 1920, and railroad-deficiency act of May 8, 1920	1,025,000,000.00	
		$2,838,118,400.00
B. Appropriations incident to present national defense:		
1. Military Establishment (excluding appropriations for civil functions of War Department); appropriations carried in the Army, fortification, Military Academy, and sundry civil acts, and under permanent appropriations	$418,232,382.57	
2. Naval Establishment; appropriations carried in naval appropriation act and under permanent appropriations	$437,724,580.00	
		$855,956,962.57
C. Appropriations incident to other civil functions of government:		
1. Postal Service; appropriations carried in Post Office appropriation act and under the indefinite appropriation for increased compensation for postal employees in postal reclassification act	$497,575,190.00	
2. All other appropriations for all other services of the Government not enumerated in A and B, fiscal year 1921	481,744,726.50	
		979,319,916.50
D. Deficiency appropriations:		
For the fiscal year 1920 (excluding $300,000,000 for Federal control of railroads and including $85,000,000 for war-risk insurance compensation, $23,000,000 for vocational rehabilitation of soldiers and sailors, $13,166,187 for care of war-risk patients, and $14,000,000 for payment of deficit on account of Federal operation of telegraph and telephone lines)		**186,495,048.23**
Grand total, June 6, 1920		**4,859,890,327.30**

EXHIBIT E—Continued.

B. Appropriations incident to present national defense—Continued.		
2. Naval Establishment; appropriations carried in naval appropriation act and under permanent appropriations	$437,724,580.00	
		$855,956,962.57
C. Appropriations incident to other civil functions of government:		
1. Postal Service; appropriations carried in Post Office appropriation act and under the indefinite appropriation for increased compensation for postal employees in postal reclassification act	$497,575,190.00	
2. All other appropriations for all other services of the Government not enumerated in A and B, fiscal year 1921	481,744,726.50	
		979,319,916.50
D. Deficiency appropriations:		
For the fiscal year 1920 (excluding $300,000,000 for Federal control of railroads and including $85,000,000 for war-risk insurance compensation, $23,000,000 for vocational rehabilitation of soldiers and sailors, $13,166,187 for care of war-risk patients, and $14,000,000 for payment of deficit on account of Federal operation of telegraph and telephone lines)		**186,495,048.23**
Grand total, June 6, 1920		**4,859,890,327.30**

River and Harbor Appropriations.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES A. REED,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Thursday, April 22, 1920.

The Senate had under consideration the bill (H. R. 11892) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I realize that the Senate is worn out with months of arduous and almost unbroken toil, and that it is impossible to arrest the attention of the body to any matter so small and inconsequential as the internal improvement of the United States.

For days we have been considering the most important questions with less than a dozen Members present. When the question of a lack of a quorum is raised, Members come in and answer to their names and immediately retire. I am not disposed to harsh criticism.

Under the circumstances I almost despair of accomplishing anything looking toward an improvement in the river and harbor bill, but I shall endeavor to arrest the attention of the Senate so far as possible.

I shall try to convince it that the rivers and harbors appropriations ought to be greatly increased.

Mr. President, the most curious body in the world is the Congress of the United States. It is at times as hysterical as a nervous woman. Suddenly seized by a strange impulse, it will dispose of the public revenues as recklessly as it might if dollars were but the leaves of trees and we owned the forests of the world. Just as suddenly the Congress is seized with a spirit of economy, and each Member sharpens his knife and begins financial "cheeseparing." Ninety-nine times out of the hundred both processes result in a waste of the people's money. Parsimony frequently is the worst kind of wastefulness.

A man who is too economical to apply a patch to his roof has saved the price of the patch, but loses the value of a house. One day we act like so many "Scottys," fresh from the alkali deserts, sowing the people's money to the winds. The next day we imitate the miser who hoards pennies while starving soul and body.

Congressional inconsistency has been sharply illustrated in this present Congress. The estimate for 1921 for the Army is $983,122,120; for fortifications, $117,927,330; for the Military Academy, $6,778,637.50; making a total of $1,107,828,087.20.

The estimate for the Navy is $582,631,254.80.

The estimates for the sundry civil bill containing amounts chargeable to the Military and Naval Establishments are $42,455,959.71, making a total of $1,732,915,291.71.

These demands will be somewhat reduced, but nevertheless the expenditures authorized will be appalling. They will not be fully shown by the amounts named in the respective bills, because large unexpended balances will be used. We make these appropriations without batting an eye. It is impossible to stop them. The naval appropriation is greater than that made by England for her enormous fleet. It is, indeed, greater, in my opinion, than any annual appropriation ever made by Great Britain in time of war.

The amount that we are asked to expend upon our Army can be appreciated when we remember that Germany in 1907 only spent for her entire army $200,000,000; in 1908, $200,000,000; in 1909, $200,000,000, and similar amounts were expended in 1910 and 1911. In 1912, $230,000,000, and even in 1913, when they were undoubtedly preparing for war, their entire army cost but $360,000,000.

Mr. President, I favor an Army of reasonable strength and I advocate the construction of a strong Navy. However, I regard an Army of 300,000 men as too large.

But the same gentlemen who with cheerful recklessness appropriate these vast sums of money for the Army and the Navy are shocked into a state of indescribable parsimony the moment they are asked to spend a dollar to improve the great natural highways of the country.

Every dollar spent for the Army or Navy is a dollar that ceases to produce. It is paid out for the national defense; some of it is necessary, possibly all of it. I do not pause to argue that question, but I point to the fact that money so expended is forever gone. It never reproduces itself. There is a vast distinction between that kind of expenditure and one which is in its nature an investment. If a man borrows $10,000 and expends that $10,000 in having a good time, he is $10,000 in debt and he must pay it back from his future earnings; but if a man borrows $10,000 and with it establishes a successful business, he has not in fact gone into debt, he has made an investment. What I am asking Congress to do is to expend some money that will bring back to the people of the United States in an increase of the wealth of the United States as a whole probably a hundred or a thousand times the amount greater than the money appropriated; but when asked to appropriate three or four or five million dollars for such a purpose the economists of the Senate are aroused and alarmed, although they will add a hundred million dollars to a military or naval appropriation bill with cheerful alacrity.

Mr. KNOX. Will the Senator state to what amendment he is speaking?

Mr. REED. I am speaking of an amendment to raise the general appropriation of the river and harbor bill from the amount reported by the committee of $20,000,000 to $27,000,000. The amount ought to be raised to $100,000,000. I will state, for the benefit of the Senator from Pennsylvania, that the Rivers and Harbors Committee of the House reported a bill simply appropriating a lump sum of $12,000,000 for all the rivers and harbors of the United States. The Committee on Commerce of the Senate raised that amount to $20,000,000. In a moment I will try to explain the reason for these remarkably low figures.

Mr. President, returning to my theme, if the commerce of Pittsburgh can reach the sea by water at a greatly reduced cost, the money that is used for the benefit of that commerce to remove obstructions in the rivers or harbors of the country returns itself to the country many times over. It is not waste; it is not extravagance, except it be improvidently employed. With that preliminary observation, I wish to direct attention to the peculiar situation presented by the pending river and harbor bill.

Until we entered the war with Germany, or until that war had so disturbed conditions that everything in the United States was abnormal, we regularly passed river and harbor bills in this country appropriating to each particular enterprise a specific amount of money with which to do a certain work.

Because of the stress of the war, temporarily the policy was adopted of passing appropriation bills carrying a blanket sum and leaving it to the engineers to expend that sum upon various projects as their judgment indicated. Of course, during the war and during the period when all world conditions were disturbed, when labor could scarcely be obtained, and prices were extortionate, according to our then standards, the appropriation was cut. The fact that it was then cut ought to be a reason for making up the shortage now, but instead of that it is given the force of a precedent and is now employed as an argument to show that the rivers and harbors of the country need but little money.

Let me call attention to former appropriations. I shall not go back a great period of time, but in 1908 we appropriated $43,500,000—I omit the odd figures—in 1909, $18,000,000, the smallest appropriation for some considerable period; in 1910 the appropriation was $29,000,000; in 1911, $49,000,000; in 1912, $30,000,000; in 1913, $41,000,000; and in 1914, $51,000,000. Then we entered the period of the war disturbance, and in 1915 our appropriations were cut to $26,989,000; in 1916, we appropriated $33,982,000; in 1917, ———; in 1918, we appropriated $20,000,000; in 1919 we appropriated $21,000,000.

With the war over, the House of Representatives proceeds to cut the appropriation to $12,000,000. The methods employed in an attempt to justify this remarkable figure are interesting. The engineers first reported that they needed $44,000,000.

The amount was to be used almost entirely upon approved projects which had been partially completed and which, speaking broadly, were each in the condition of a house half built, subject to destruction by the elements, and not yet fit for habitation.

A demand was made upon the engineers that they reduce their estimate. Under the coercion of this demand, as I recollect it, the figures they reported were cut to $33,000,000. If I am not mistaken, a second demand was made, and this time of a more peremptory character. They were asked not how much they needed, but to state the lowest cent they could possibly get along with. They then reported that if they were forced to do so, they could get along with $29,000,000.

Every one of those reductions was made in response to this sort of demand: "We want an estimate from you giving not what you think ought to be done, not what you think the country's demands require, not what you think proper economy and a regard for the spirit of progress and development require, but what is the least you can get through with, neglecting everything that can be neglected." That is the true spirit and import of those demands; in other words, the policy was to choke internal improvements to death. It was the very antithesis of a broad policy of internal development and improvement.

Now, after the thumbscrews had been applied in this way and in response to their pressure, the War Department cut down these figures. As an illustration of the methods of getting at this question, I am going to cite—and I do so without meaning any offense or criticism—the letter of the chairman of the Committee on Commerce, of which I have the honor to be a very undistinguished member. The Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES] wrote—and he has very frankly incorporated the letter in the report of the committee—to Col. Taylor, who was then Acting Chief of Engineers, under date of April 2, 1920:

> MY DEAR COLONEL: Our committee has decided to adhere to the policy of the House bill making appropriations for river and harbor work by a lump sum. We have not yet passed upon the amount, but in an informal discussion it was suggested that certain items covered in your list of revised estimates could be omitted without doing anything more than causing a delay in the final completion of the projects.

That is a pretty serious matter—delaying the final completion of a necessary project. Then the Senator went on to say:

> I would like you to state as soon as possible what injury to commerce or the projects involved and what other (if any) ill consequences would result from, and what objections you would urge against, making the following reductions, with reference to the items named, to wit:
> East River and Hell Gate, reduce to $1,000,000.

The engineers have estimated, as I recall, for $2,000,000.

Mr. JONES of Washington. They estimated for $3,100,000.

Mr. REED. But the chairman of the committee says there was an informal conference, and that informal conference, I presume, he takes as his authority for the letter; I do not know who was at that conference——

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. STERLING in the chair). Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. JONES of Washington. It was a regular meeting of the committee. What I really referred to in the letter quoted by the Senator was that we discussed informally the amount that we thought we might put in the bill. We did not discuss the bill for the purpose of deciding the amount; as a matter of fact, the meeting of the committee was called for the express purpose of determining what the policy would be in framing the bill, and it was generally understood that at that meeting we would not pass upon the amount that would be included in the bill; but after we had determined the policy, that is, that we would adhere to the lump-sum proposition, then we proceeded in an informal way to discuss the different items, and it was suggested by some of the Senators that certain items could be left

out, as indicated in the letter to Col. Taylor, and I was requested to write to the Chief of Engineers for the information requested in the letter. That is what I mean by an informal conference.

Mr. REED. That is to say, some member of the committee said, "I wonder if we could not leave out a certain item," and you sent a letter then in which you made that suggestion to the Board of Engineers.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Several of the items were discussed, and several of them were brought up, and the situation with reference to them pointed out, wherein, in the testimony of Col. Taylor before the House committee, it was brought out with reference to these projects that if the money was not made available the only result would be a delay in the completion, for instance, of the East River project at New York. Col. Taylor testified expressly before the House committee that the expenditure of that money would not give them any increased facilities for commerce, that all it would do would be to bring the completion of the work that much nearer; and then Senators pointed out several other projects where the same situation existed.

Mr. REED. But, going back to the statement the Senator has just made, when the work was completed there would be a great addition to commercial advantage?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Oh, certainly; and I am not arguing the matter. I am merely stating to the Senator the facts as they were in the committee. Then several other projects were mentioned as standing upon the same basis, and the projects that I mentioned in the letter were the ones that were especially mentioned and talked about. I was requested, as chairman of the committee, and I think it was the unanimous opinion of the committee that it was very proper, to call for this information from the engineers, and pursuant to that request of the committee I wrote the letter as I did.

Mr. REED. I do not criticize the Senator for writing the letter; but, nevertheless, the attitude in which the committee places itself by this letter is this: Although all these projects have been approved, and many of them have been approved for many years, although they have been solemnly adopted by the Congress as permanent plans, and although money has been appropriated for them, and although a failure to appropriate money now postpones the day of their completion and deprives the country of their benefit, nevertheless, if you can possibly figure out that the work can stand still and not be destroyed if we stop now, that is what we want to do. In other words, this committee proposes to stop internal improvements in the United States, to reverse the policy of all previous Congresses, and to play the niggardly act of saving a few dollars at the expense of the millions of people of this country. That is where we come to, and we might as well talk about it in plain English.

How easily and readily this informal conference disposed of important projects. Let me read them. These are the ones that the engineers were asked if they could not omit:

East River and Hell Gate——

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. REED. Yes.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I hardly think the Senator ought to say that that is the way we proposed to dispose of these projects. The committee really was seeking for information with reference to these projects, and we wanted that information so that it would be available when the committee met for the purpose of passing formally upon the amount that we should include in the bill, and we did not meet for that purpose until we got the letter.

Mr. REED. But the Senate committee, according to the Senator, was not meeting for the purpose of carrying out great projects, but for the purpose, if possible, of stopping every one of them that it could stop, provided the only calamity to be visited was that the work would be postponed for a certain length of time. In other words, the Senate committee got an idea into its head, and the House committee did, that they were going to make a great showing of economy on the river and harbor bill, and they were working to that end. Instead of working toward the idea of developing the resources of this country and making it great and prosperous, and spending some money to do it, which had been our past policy, they propose now to cut the appropriation to the very bone. Now, really, that is the fact.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I expected to discuss that phase of the matter a little later, and I will do so in my own time and not interrupt the Senator to do so now.

Mr. REED. Now, let me read some more of these projects; and as I go along—for I shall take my time in discussing this matter—what is the East River and Hell Gate appropriation? It is true that it can wait. It can wait forever. The rocks that are there were put there by the Almighty many centuries ago, but every moment we leave them there they are an embargo to the commerce of the United States. They cost money every minute they are left there, because every obstruction to commerce is expensive. Of course, we can wait, but we shall pay for waiting. I continue reading from the letter:

Shrewsbury River, omit entirely.
Delaware River, reduce to $1,000,000.

I am not going into the merits of these matters, but let us look at the Delaware River. That mighty stream has upon its banks to-day the greatest shipbuilding plant in the world. It is owned by the United States. There are several private shipyards and a large number of other enterprises. It carries an immense commerce. Of course, that commerce "can wait"; it can also dwindle; it can die. A man can wait for a meal of victuals for 40 days, if he is able-bodied and has plenty of water to drink—at least, that was accomplished once—but it is not a very good thing for his physical development.

Let us see what the engineers replied to that:

Delaware River: The appropriation recommended in Col. Taylor's memorandum is $2,000,000. The reduction proposed is $1,000,000.

The project for the improvement of the Delaware River from Philadelphia to the sea provides for a channel 35 feet in depth at mean low water. The present controlling depth is 30 feet. The commerce of this port is approximately 25,000,000 tons per year, valued at over $2,000,000,000. An important navy yard is located near the head of the channel. The earliest possible completion of this project is regarded as of utmost importance to the great commerce. With a view to pressing the completion, a large amount of plant, including the dredge *Corozal* acquired from the Panama Canal, has recently been secured. To utilize this plant it will be necessary to purchase certain additional accessories, including a rehandling dredge for disposing of the material dredged by the *Corozal*. The cost of maintaining the plant in idleness would be a large sum.

The condition of the appropriations is now such that the department is seriously considering the rejection of a most advantageous bid for the execution of a large amount of necessary new work in Philadelphia Harbor. With the amount of $1,000,000 only, in addition to the amount which could be allotted from a lump-sum appropriation of $5,000,000 for the maintenance of all the harbors in the United States, it would be necessary to seriously curtail operations during the coming summer. The United States would suffer a considerable financial loss in the expenditures necessary for the care of idle plant, and the development of the commerce of the port would suffer great injury. The reduction proposed is considered most undesirable.

Now, of course, you can stop work, and you can let every ship that comes in there that draws 35 feet be compelled to lighter its cargo, and you can keep commerce out of our ports, and you can save a million dollars temporarily to the Government and cause an expenditure or loss to the people of ten times that amount. Of course, you can do that; but is it wise? On the other hand, is it not the highest wisdom to open that great port, and make it so that the heaviest seagoing craft can carry their cargoes directly to the wharves? Can there be any question about what is the policy of wisdom in a case of that kind? While you are expending money for your Navy and your Army by the hundreds of millions, remember that quite as important as the ships of the Navy are the harbors within which those vessels are to rest. Quite as important as the ships of commerce are the harbors where those ships may load and unload. It is a niggardly and it is a contemptible policy.

The cheese-knife economist is very busy. He was particularly busy over in the House of Representatives. There was a gentleman over there, the chairman of the River and Harbor Committee, who, I think, thought he had to pay this money out of his own pocket, and he imagined that what he did not save everybody else was going to waste. But there was another committee—we might as well fix responsibility—there was a partisan steering committee which gave its direction and orders. The orders were to cut down the expenditures, so that the Republican orators would have something to talk about in the campaign; and accordingly we find that the interests of the United States are to be sacrificed in the interests of a political campaign. The orders went forth, "Cut down Agricultural appropriations," "Cut down river and harbor appropriations," "Do a little cheeseparing," so that some leather-lunged gentlemen may stand upon the platforms in the next campaign and shout about the wonderful economy practiced by a Republican majority.

I have not had much to say about politics in this Chamber for a good while, but if the Republican Party is going to celebrate its return to power by the assassination of enterprise and progress in this country, it will not stay in power very long. If it follows the advice of a steering committee appointed to reduce appropriations on the things that are not really expenditures at all, but in the nature of investments bringing returns, it ought not to stay in power an hour.

Let us go a litle further in these things which were asked to be omitted:

Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, omit entirely—

Says this letter.

Norfolk Harbor, omit entirely.

The answer to that came with crushing force:

The vigorous prosecution of the work of enlarging the channel is considered highly essential.

Savannah Harbor, omit entirely.

Let me read the report on that. Let me show the character of things they are trying to have taken out entirely from this appropriation. By that you get the spirit of the committee. The reply of the Chief of Engineers on that is as follows:

The appropriation presented in Col. Taylor's memorandum was $300,000. Your letter proposes to omit this item entirely. The project provides for a channel 30 feet deep across the bar and 26 feet deep to the main wharves. The present controlling depths are considerably less, and the important commerce of this port is suffering material injury from the lack of channel facilities. It has been found necessary to allot funds from the general item provided in the last act in order to carry on the work now under way. The omission of the item contained in Col. Taylor's memorandum is considered inadvisable.

Of course, you can let that bar stay there; you can shut Savannah off from the sea in part; you can compel the lighterage of goods; you can do all that, and you can save what? A few dollars temporarily, for some day that improvement will go on, because the country must continue to improve.

I shall not read all of this—Norfolk Harbor, Charleston Harbor, Savannah Harbor.

Mr. SIMMONS. Has the Senator before him the statistics showing the amount of commerce at Savannah?

Mr. REED. I have not them with me. I could readily get them.

Mr. SIMMONS. It is very large, especially the foreign commerce.

Mr. REED. What difference does it make if commerce is throttled, provided a few votes can be gotten, and what difference does it make about the South? It is going Democratic, anyhow. I presume, therefore, you are regarded as not entitled to much consideration.

Brunswick Harbor, omit entirely.
Hillsboro Bay, omit entirely.
Southwest Pass, reduce to $600,000.
Mississippi River, Missouri River to St. Paul, reduce to $600,000.
Missouri River, omit entirely.
Cumberland River below Nashville, omit entirely.
Ohio River locks and dams, omit entirely.
Milwaukee Outer Harbor, omit entirely.
Rouge River, omit entirely.

The concluding part of the letter from the chairman of the committee is:

If we should increase the House sum to $15,000,000, what provision of the revised list would you likely omit in the use of such sum; and if we were to raise this amount to $18,000,000, what projects would likely be omitted in the use of this sum?

Mr. President, along with this letter, I am going to ask to have printed the reply of the Chief of Engineers.

There being no objection, the letter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ENGINEERS,
Washington, April 5, 1920.

Hon. WESLEY L. JONES,
Chairman Committee on Commerce, United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR: 1. In reply to your letter of April 2, requesting a statement as to what consequences would result from making certain reductions in the items presented by Col. Taylor in the memorandum submitted to your committee giving the appropriations necessary to carry on work of existing projects, I have the honor to submit the following remarks concerning those projects as to which the reductions proposed would have the most serious consequences.

2. Delaware River: The appropriation recommended in Col. Taylor's memorandum is $2,000,000. The reduction proposed is $1,000,000.

3. The project for the improvement of the Delaware River from Philadelphia to the sea provides for a channel 35 feet in depth at mean low water. The present controlling depth is 30 feet. The commerce of this port is approximately 25,000,000 tons per year, valued at over $2,000,000,000. An important navy yard is located near the head of the channel. The earliest possible completion of this project is regarded as of utmost importance to the great commerce. With a view to pressing the completion, a large amount of plant, including the dredge *Corozal* acquired from the Panama Canal, has recently been secured. To utilize this plant it will be necessary to purchase certain additional accessories, including a rehandling dredge for disposing of the material dredged by the *Corozal*. The cost of maintaining the plant in idleness would be a large sum.

4. The condition of the appropriations is now such that the department is seriously considering the rejection of a most advantageous bid for the execution of a large amount of necessary new work in Philadelphia Harbor. With the amount of $1,000,000 only, in addition to the amount which could be allotted from a lump-sum appropriation of $5,000,000 for the maintenance of all the harbors in the United States, it would be necessary to seriously curtail operations during the coming summer. The United States would suffer a considerable financial loss in the expenditures necessary for the care of idle plant, and the development of the commerce of the port would suffer great injury. The reduction proposed is considered most undesirable.

5. Norfolk Harbor: The appropriation recommended in Col. Taylor's memorandum is $750,000. The entire omission of this item is suggested in your letter. The project for the improvement of this harbor provides in its main feature for a channel 40 feet in depth to the navy yard. The Navy Department has recently completed, it is understood, a dry dock at the head of this channel capable of receiving the largest ships, and the entire capacity of the project channel is necessary for the proper utilization of this dry dock. With the available funds and under existing contracts, it is expected to secure a channel 40 feet in depth, but the width of this channel is insufficient for its proper utilization. The vigorous prosecution of the work of enlarging the channel is considered highly essential. The funds on hand are insufficient to undertake this enlargement, and the omission of the item presented would be highly inadvisable.

6. Savannah Harbor: The appropriation presented in Col. Taylor's memorandum was $300,000. Your letter proposes to omit this item entirely. The project provides for a channel 30 feet deep across the bar and 26 feet deep to the main wharves. The present controlling depths are considerably less, and the important commerce of this port is suffering material injury from the lack of channel facilities. It has been found necessary to allot funds from the general item provided in the last act in order to carry on the work now under way. The omission of the item contained in Col. Taylor's memorandum is considered inadvisable.

7. Southwest Pass: The appropriation proposed in Col. Taylor's memorandum for the passes at the mouth of the Mississippi River was $1,600,000. The reduction proposed in your letter is $1,000,000, leaving an item of $600,000.

8. The project for the improvement of Southwest Pass, for which this item is intended, provides for a channel 1,000 feet wide and 35 feet deep to afford an increase in the channel depth secured through the existing channel at South Pass. The problem which must be solved at this point is a most difficult one, both on account of the enormous quantities of silt to be handled, and also on account of the fact that the banks are so soft, being recent deposits. The channel has been open with required project depth more than once, but the deposit of silt or diversion of the current has as frequently reduced the depth, sometimes being as little as 16 feet. The securing of full project depth at this point is regarded as of the utmost importance, because the entire ocean-borne commerce from the Mississippi is now compelled to pass through South Pass, and an accident to a steamship in this narrow pass might entirely block the outlet of the Mississippi River and close the port of New Orleans. The prosecution of the project was recently reported on by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, which found that success could be secured only by the most vigorous prosecution of the jetty work now in progress. The interruption of the work would have most serious consequences, and a full amount of the item is considered essential to the proper prosecution of this needed improvement.

9. Cumberland River below Nashville: The appropriation presented in Col. Taylor's memorandum was $300,000. The entire omission of this item is proposed in your letter.

10. The project for the improvement of the Cumberland River below Nashville provides for the slack-water navigation by the construction of six locks and dams. The Government has built locks and dams to maintain navigation in the Cumberland River below Nashville and for some distance above Nashville. The two lowest locks and dams in the river have, however, not been completed and work is now in progress upon them. The result of this is that Nashville and the commerce of the Cumberland is not able to utilize the work already done because for several months of the year vessels are unable to enter the Cumberland from the Ohio during the low-water period. The city of Nashville has taken steps to provide excellent terminal facilities for purposes of handling the commerce by river and affording a most efficient transfer between water and rail. The completion of the two dams can not be accomplished with funds in hand and the $300,000 requested is absolutely necessary for this purpose. It is believed that this item should not be omitted under any circumstances.

11. Ohio River locks and dams: The appropriation presented in Col. Taylor's memorandum was $1,000,000. The entire omission of this item is proposed in your letter.

12. The project for the improvement of the Ohio River, to afford a navigable depth of 9 feet, is the largest comprehensive project of river and harbor improvement in this country. The work is now being actively prosecuted at 15 locks and dams, in part by contract and in part by United States plant and hired labor. The present appropriations have been reduced to such a low ebb that the reallotment of funds between the various works has been necessary to permit essential work to continue. The cessation of appropriations would disorganize the work and would be most disadvantageous to the United States. It is intended to apply a considerable portion of the sum recommended to the completion of the Emsworth Dam, which will replace the first two dams below Pittsburgh. The present structures, built many years ago, are in extremely bad repair and may break at any moment. The sum recommended is regarded as the minimum necessary for the economical prosecution of this project.

13. Commerce is endeavoring to utilize the Ohio River as rapidly as the work of the Government in building locks and dams will permit, and it is believed that this most important project on which so many business interests of the central part of the country depend should be pushed at as rapid a rate of progress as is possible. The million dollars requested in this bill is sufficient to keep the work of construction progressing at a proper rate, but if omitted would cause a cessation of work which would be not only most expensive to the United States on account of disorganization of forces and care of plant, but would also greatly interfere with important and large business interests which are making all preparations to utilize the improvement as it progresses. It is believed that this item should be retained whatever else may be omitted.

14. The omission of the remaining items will delay the prosecution of important and worthy improvements, but will not have the serious consequences incident to the omission of the items on which the above statements have been made.

15. It is difficult to predicate the works that would be omitted were the total amount appropriated, $18,000,000 or $15,000,000, respectively. By omitting those items indicated in your letter on which no comment is made herein, and by the omission of work on some of the smaller items of less importance to general commerce, the expenditures could be brought within the limit of $18,000,000. The department would be hard put to it to carry on with an appropriation of $15,000,000 the work essential to commerce.

Very truly, yours,

LANSING H. BEACH,
Major General, Chief of Engineers.

Mr. REED. All of these propositions except a few were turned down for reasons which were of overmastering importance. I call to your attention the conclusion as stated in paragraph 14:

14. The omission of the remaining items will delay the prosecution of important and worthy improvements, but will not have the serious consequences incident to the omission of the items on which the above statements have been made.

So it is proposed now in Congress to omit items which will delay the prosecution of important and worthy improvements, and all for the purpose of cutting this appropriation bill some $5,000,000, with the full knowledge that every one of these projects must ultimately go on. It is not to save $5,000,000 but to temporarily avoid expending that sum. Then, when we come to expend it, we will find, as the engineers' evidence clearly shows, that the work which has been allowed to remain in an uncompleted condition will have deteriorated to an enormous extent, and a great loss will have resulted.

What are some of these projects we were asked to omit for this political reason? I am protesting to Republicans, because they are in the majority and responsible on this matter, not to adopt this retrogressive policy, and I say to you that I will go bond you will not make any votes by the miserable device. I can go out myself in the river States and talk enough about you to take more votes than you will ever get by the trick you seek to perpetrate.

The American people can not be fooled by such shams. Nobody will be fooled by it, and nobody will listen to it. When you can appropriate a hundred million dollars for the benefit of Europe—I am not complaining about it—and when you can be so careless as not to follow it up to see whether it went to feed armies or went to feed women and children; when you can find the President and Mr. Hoover and the other great men of this earth boldly proposing that we shall lend $5,000,000,000 more to Europe to resuscitate her failing commercial energies; and when you can find this all accepted by many people, much of it accomplished, and no complaint, you are not going to attract much favorable attention by cutting $5,000,000 off of the river and harbor bill when by so doing you greatly injure the internal prosperity of America.

I am informed that the Rivers and Harbors Committee of the House, after going over this matter, in this spirit of new economy, which consists in arresting development, agreed that $24,500,000 was an irreducible minimum. Then the steering committee came around and had an interview with them, and they reduced the irreducible minimum to $12,000,000. It is a delectable example of statesmanship.

What are these improvements, in a general way, many of which we were asked to have stricken from the bill?

The Mississippi River has been approved as a great watercourse, and as the proper object of governmental protection and improvement, since 1908. There has not been in that long time a respectable engineer of this or any other country who has dared deny the navigability of that stream or its importance to the commerce of this land. But the chairman of the committee did not hesitate to wet his thumb and wipe it out, as a boy wipes out the figures on his slate. I do not mean the chairman of the committee alone. I suppose he and his conferees were acting under the inspiration of this remarkable thing known as a steering committee.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I hope the Senator is not referring to the Committee on Commerce of the Senate and to the chairman of that committee?

Mr. REED. Yes; I am.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I want to say to the Senator that I have had no communication, orally or otherwise, with the steering committee of the House of Representatives, and I have not been controlled in my action by their request or their action in the slightest way.

Mr. REED. What does control the Senator? What causes him to assist in arresting the development of projects that have been before the country and have been approved, some of them, for over a hundred years?

Mr. JONES of Washington. I expect to state that in my own time.

Mr. REED. I have been waiting for the Senator to make that speech. The bill is about to pass.

Mr. JONES of Washington. The Senator is mistaken. The Senator knew that this amendment was passed over, and it was expected that it would be discussed, and I expected to discuss it at the very first opportunity. I did try to set out pretty fully and frankly in the report of the committee the basis for the action of the committee, and I think the Senator, if he will be fair—and I believe he intends to be fair—will admit that I did set out fully and frankly the facts with reference to the matter.

Mr. REED. Of course, if I can not find out the reason for condemning these projects which have been here for over a hundred years, I shall have to wait until the Senator takes the floor; but I did want to have the benefit of his advice on this matter; and I found the bill about to pass, and it was necessary for me to talk. I suppose the Senator is entitled to a closing, anyway, and I make no question about that.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I want to say to the Senator that I have not been withholding with the idea of getting the closing, because, as a matter of fact, I agree very largely with many suggestions made by the Senator. But the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON] had offered an amendment making the amount $24,000,000, and he had started to discuss it, and I suppose he would like to finish that discussion. The Senator from Missouri wanted to begin his discussion, and so I did not try to get the floor.

Mr. REED. The Senator has been very courteous to me personally, and I thank him for it.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I certainly want to be perfectly fair with reference to this matter, because I am seeking the same end, in a way, the Senator is. As I said, I shall not disagree with many of the suggestions and statements which the Senator has made, and it was upon his suggestions and statements very largely that I urged $20,000,000 in the committee, despite the opinions of several other members of the committee of my own party, who wanted a much lower sum.

Mr. REED. Well, Mr. President, I have called attention to these important items of the bill, projects that have been approved, some of them for over a century, projects of the greatest importance. No one can say anything about pork with reference to them. The pork-barrel orator could not get a leg to stand on in criticising these items.

When I say "pork-barrel orator," I mean one of those gentlemen whose chief stock in trade is to go back home and say he stopped the pork barrel, and who then sits still and does not bat an eye when a bill goes through here carrying two or three hundred million dollars which does not give the United States any benefit commensurate with that contained in a bill of this kind.

Incidentally, and while I am speaking of that particular variety of political vermin, I notice now that there is going to be a heroic effort to stop sending out seeds, that somebody is going to save the country from bankruptcy by stopping the sending out of seeds. That will be the next grand rush for popularity.

Then some one will come along and will save a few cents printing some useful information in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and the printing of his economy speech will cost the Government more money than he saves. Then the economist will flood his district with that speech in demonstration that he has saved the people's money. That is what I call the cheapest kind of political pettifogging. It is a terrible thing if some one wants to send to an old lady out in the country a package of improved tomato seed and she plants them and raises some tomatoes that are a little better than they had theretofore in that community and scatters the seed around and a few hundred families get it. That is a terrible thing, and the faker economist is ready to stop it. We ought to erect a hall of fame for that kind of economist. Then I would like to fix the niches, and I would make them about 3½ inches high and 1½ inches wide and I could put in them the life-size statue of any man whose title to fame rests upon that sort of economy.

But, Mr. President, I want to talk about this river and harbor bill from a different standpoint than this miserable pettifogging, cheeseparing position. I am going to discuss just the Mississippi River. Let others discuss the great waterways and harbors of their own State.

It was Daniel Webster who many years ago referred in language that was majestic and almost poetic to "the Mississippi River bearing upon her bosom the commerce of a continent." She is the mightiest stream of North America, draining the richest valley in all the world, binding to herself by her tributaries 32 American States embracing an empire of rich, arable land, shut off from direct contact with the sea, a territory eleven times as great as France and Germany combined, capable of sustaining a population of 400,000,000 souls. The Mississippi is the central artery to the heart of the United States.

Figures are dry, but let me give the Senate very briefly a few. The continent of North America, between the Republic of Mexico and the northern limits at which wheat, barley, and potatoes will ripen, embraces a territory of 5,130,000 square miles. Of this there lie in the Mississippi Valley and within the confines of the United States 2,765,000 square miles. In the Mississippi Valley it is estimated that there is of arable

land a body almost as great as the whole of Europe, namely, 1,980,000 square miles.

The aggregate crop-bearing territory of the continent is only 3,140,000 square miles, of which the Atlantic frontier embraces only 610,000 square miles and the Pacific frontier only 555,000 square miles. The rest of crop-bearing North America is in the Mississippi Valley.

The gentleman who proposes to throttle that stream has some job on his hands, and the man who thinks he can make any votes by saving the few thousand dollars necessary to the development of that waterway is reckoning with a different constituency than I am acquainted with.

Away up at the north are the Twin Cities—St. Paul and Minneapolis—the glory of Minnesota. Half way down is St. Louis, the great metropolis of the Central West, through which flows east and west a commerce fully one-half of which ought to go to southern ports. Directly connected by the great Missouri are the two Kansas Cities with a combined population of 500,000 souls and a trade which reaches all parts of the world. At the southern extremity is New Orleans, once the second port of the United States. Up to the Civil War it controlled 38 per cent of all the sea commerce of the United States.

Mr. RANSDELL. Will the Senator permit an interruption?

Mr. REED. Certainly.

Mr. RANSDELL. I do not think the Senator meant to infer that New Orleans is not now the second port of the United States. The latest reports clearly indicate that New Orleans is second only to New York in the volume and value of her exports and imports.

Mr. REED. That is due to some heroic work largely led by the Senator from Louisiana. I of course accord to others their full meed and share of praise.

But all along the mighty stream, from Lake Itasca to the Gulf, there are cities, towns, and villages of great importance. It counts as its tributaries the leading rivers of the continent. The mighty Missouri, bearing the melted snows of the Rockies, mingles her waters with the Mississippi upon the borders of my own State. The majestic Ohio, with its tributaries draining the most fertile lands of all the world, the Illinois, the Cumberland, the Red River, and other great streams join this central artery and constitute the avenues over which the commerce of the richest part of the world will ultimately go. It may be barred temporarily by a steering committee, it may be arrested for the time being by political obstacles, but I hope the chairman of the committee—and I am glad to have heard him say it—is not controlled by those motives. I hope he will rise a little higher and say that he does not propose to adhere to the policy that an improvement must stop if it is possible to stop it without absolutely ruining the country, for that is the policy of the bill.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President——

Mr. REED. I yield to the Senator from Washington.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I am glad to say that I do not think I am animated by that policy. I tried to avoid that policy, at any rate, and I do not think the bill is based on that policy. I will say to the Senator that the bill does not go as far as I would like to have it go. I will say that frankly. But as the Senator knows, we do not have our way entirely in these matters.

Mr. REED. If the Senator will act with me and some more of us, we will have our way over here in the Senate, and then we will have to have it out with the House, and it may be the House will experience a change of heart.

Mr. JONES of Washington. We expect to have it out with the House. As to what the outcome will be, I can not say.

Mr. REED. I have obtained my idea of the Senator's position from the letter which stated, referring to the conference:

> It was suggested that certain items covered in your list of revised estimates could be omitted without doing anything more than causing a delay in the final completion of the projects.

That is to say, we would stop any work if the only result of stopping it was to delay it, but if there were other great injuries, then the project was to go on.

Mr. President, I desire to call attention now to the fact that the improvements on the Mississippi River embrace more than the mere matter of transportation upon the stream. There is, first, the question of flood damage. Enough money was lost in a single flood a few years ago to have improved the Mississippi River from its mouth to St. Louis, and every few years floods of the most devastating and horrible character are destroying property of inestimable value throughout the greater Mississippi Valley. It is not long since one of the principal manufacturing towns of the State of Ohio was almost wiped out by a flood which could have been prevented and that ought to have been prevented, although in that particular instance it lies, perhaps, outside the purview of this bill.

In connection with the general question of flood prevention is the question of overflow, which occurs substantially every year on large portions of this valley. The figures in this connection are astounding; they are so astounding that if they were not backed by distinguished engineers of civil life, as well as the Army engineers. I would hesitate to produce them. When I say to you that from Chicago to the Gulf there are 20,000,000 acres of land submerged or partially submerged every two or three years, so that a part of the land is substantially worthless and a part of it rendered of very slight value, I present a spectacle that ought to interest as well as alarm all the Members of the Senate. Contemplate the proposition—20,000,000 acres of Mississippi Valley land. Some of you Senators live in the East, although I do not think I see any eastern Senator in the Chamber at this moment; but let me tell you something: Upon the kind of land of which I am now speaking, once it is drained, such a thing as fertilizer is scarcely dreamed of or required. The soil is of wonderful depth. It was made by the wash of the mountains and of the plains through all the centuries. It is the cream, if I may use that expression with reference to the soil, that was skimmed off the surface of all the plains and mountains to the north. A great engineer, Lyman E. Cooley, has something to say on this question, and I should like to read a brief quotation from him:

> There are in the valley from Chicago to the Gulf of Mexico 32,000 square miles of land, more than 20,000,000 acres, subject to overflow. All but two or three thousand square miles of this land is south of Cairo in what is known as the delta region, and $90,000,000 of the estimate which has been made by the Board of Engineers are for revetments to hold the banks in order to conserve these lands and protect the levee system. When you take that out, less money is required to develop the Lakes-to-the-Gulf deep waterway than is required to develop the Ohio River for a depth of 9 feet.

He was speaking about a particular subject.

> This empire of alluvium is right here. Some of our people are going to the far West, some are going up into Canada, hunting for lands, and we have them at our doors—the richest in the world. We have 5,000 square miles of land in the State of Illinois that only require drainage or protection, an area greater than Connecticut, greater than Porto Rico—in Illinois alone. South of that we have this 20,000,000 acres of land.
>
> There was never cultivated in the best days of the Pharaohs in Egypt over 5,000,000 acres of land. Here, under a climate as favorable, are four Egypts between Cairo and the Gulf. Egypt in her best days carried 10,000,000 of population, as estimated by historians. By the same tokens this area will carry 40,000,000 of people.

And this is only a part of the land that can be claimed. A little further on this great engineer declares that the area of land that can be thus reclaimed is greater than all the arid lands of the West which are capable of irrigation.

That is the picture; and for Congress to arrest any movement looking toward the reclamation of a vast territory of that kind is a policy that is as mistaken and as unwise as it is to deny food to a growing animal. A wise ranchman never follows such a policy.

Mr. President, coming now to the narrower question of transportation, for the first time in many years that question is in a position where a solution can be reached, and just at that time we are asked to cut down the appropriation. What is the state of affairs? First, is the Mississippi navigable? Can it be so developed that it can be successfully navigated and money saved thereby? I do not propose to take the time to read from the reports.

It is sufficient to say that in the last century of time there is no engineer of respectability who has challenged the proposition that the Mississippi River can not only be made navigable for boats, but that it can be made to carry an immense commerce, and that such commerce can be carried at a less rate than it can be carried by rail. When, however, we present these views of engineers we are confronted by an argument that has been iterated and reiterated until my patience is threadbare listening to it. The argument is that the commerce is not now upon the stream, and because the commerce is not now upon the stream, therefore, argue these wise men, it will never be upon the stream. How can you put commerce on a stream until the stream is made navigable? You can not travel to a town if the bridges have not been built even though the rest of the road is good. You can not haul commerce over a river where there are sand bars at intervals over which your boat can not pass.

These gentlemen are simply in this situation: Here is a great stream. Between two important points there is a bar over which a boat can not pass. That exists for many years. We ask them to remove the bar, so that there may be commerce. They say, "We decline to remove the bar because there is not commerce running over the bar." It is the sum total, if I may employ the term, of illogical idiocy. You might as well say that you would never allow a railroad to be built because there was not commerce already moving over tracks that had not yet been laid, or that you would condemn a railroad enterprise be-

cause the railroad had not carried freight between two cities before bridges were built over the streams that must be crossed. That is the argument that I have often heard, but it is not an argument which appeals very strongly to men who think. The question is, Can the stream be made a great commerce carrier? Will it carry the commerce when the work is done, not before the work is done?

When you come to that test, sir, you can not find a respectable engineer in the United States who will not say that the Mississippi River, at least from St. Louis to the Gulf, can be made a mighty carrier of commerce, and that many of the tributary streams can be similarly utilized. "But," says the steering committee, "let us save a few million dollars and lose a few hundred million dollars to the country. Let us go out on the stump and proudly acclaim this new Republican financial policy. Let us in one hand present the bills which dispose of American dollars as though they were as thick as leaves"—as I said a while ago—"and let us in the other present a bill showing economy practiced at the expense of the country's development." That is a poor campaign slogan. It will get you about two votes in the United States.

Mr. Cooley, this great engineer I have quoted, declares that once the Mississippi River is properly harnessed and dams built at two points which he certifies will develop 1,000,000 horsepower, it will have probably 20 to 28 feet from St. Louis to the Gulf. Moreover, these dams will control the waters in their most turbulent portions, make the commerce move easily, and dispose of many other obstacles to boats. The Army engineers have all, in one way or another, sanctioned these statements. I know of nothing to the contrary. Board after board has met, survey after survey has been taken, plan after plan has been discussed and developed. The only trouble has been that we have proceeded by piecemeal instead of by wholesale.

I now direct your attention to the fact that the Government during the war, at a very considerable expense, undertook to relieve the congested condition of commerce by building fleets of boats to operate upon the Mississippi and the Warrior Rivers. The Government moved slowly; it generally does; but in this instance its efforts were retarded by war conditions, by the inability to withdraw steel and other materials from the uses which the war was compelling. The result of all that is that we now find they have acquired a fleet of boats operating upon the Warrior River, and those boats, we are told, have been a failure. I deny it. They have already, with inefficient wharves, operating for a long time without proper cooperation with railroad connections, operating to a large extent with experimental machinery or with machinery that was not built especially for that business, nevertheless reached a point where the enterprise is practically paying.

From a letter written by Capt. John S. Pratt I quote the following:

As to the future prospects for the successful operation of inland waterways activities, you are advised that it is my belief that operations on the New York Barge Canal can probably be made self-sustaining this year. At least all indications would point to that possibility. It is also believed that operations on the Warrior River may be made self-sustaining by the end of the calendar year 1921. I am not so optimistic in regard to operations on the lower Mississippi. I am of the opinion that it will probably take at least two years, and possibly a longer time, to place operations on the lower Mississippi on a paying basis.

The principal reasons for the longer time required in the development of the Warrior River and Mississippi River sections may be briefly summarized as follows:

(a) The old-type, inefficient floating equipment utilized during the past period of operations.

(b) Inadequate terminal facilities.

(c) The tariff fabric (joint rail and water rates) covering operations in these sections has only been recently completed. It still requires further development to include certain other sections of the country.

(d) The establishment of joint railroad and water interchange points.

(e) The project is entirely new and, like all other large investments and installations, requires a considerable period of time for development—

And so forth.

The engineer then proceeds to deal with the question of what is necessary to be done in order to make river transportation a success, but the whole purport of his letter is that there are no difficulties of an insurmountable nature.

As to the Mississippi—I am speaking of what we call the lower Mississippi, from St. Louis down—the Government acquired or ordered 40 steel barges, 6 steel tugboats, and 1 steel terminal barge. It purchased certain other equipment, a list of which I will put in the RECORD, and it chartered certain other boats; but of these 40 new steel barges especially adapted to that river, only 15 have been delivered. The rest are about ready for delivery. So that you have for the first time under contract and being completed a good equipment, an up-to-date equipment, for service upon this river. At a time like that, is it wise not to expend the money necessary to take the bars from the river and to protect the banks? Manifestly, it is the height of unwisdom.

On the upper Mississippi the Government has proceeded by the ordering of 19 steel barges. On April 1 of this year 14 of these barges had been launched. Four were under construction on the ways. I shall put in a letter showing the condition of this construction.

There being no objection, the letter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UPPER RIVER.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ENGINEERS,
Washington, April 21, 1920.

Memorandum for Hon. JAMES A. REED, United States Senate.

1. Under an allotment from the emergency shipping fund made by the President for the construction of barges and towboats for the upper Mississippi River, contracts have been entered into for the construction of 19 steel barges and 4 steel-hull towboats.

2. On April 1, 1920, 14 of the barges had been launched, 4 were under construction on the ways, and material for the remaining 1 was being collected. The average completion of all the barges was 88.64 per cent. The barges are being constructed under three separate contracts, as follows:

One with the Dravo Contracting Co., Pittsburgh, for 6 barges, of which 3 are 100 per cent completed, one 99 per cent completed, one 95 per cent completed, and one 80 per cent completed.

One with the Marietta Manufacturing Co. for 6 barges, of which 2 are 99 per cent completed, one 95 per cent completed, one 93 per cent completed, one 92 per cent completed, and one 72 per cent completed.

One with the Dubuque Boat & Boiler Works, Dubuque, Iowa, for 7 barges, of which 2 are 99 per cent completed, 2 are 95 per cent completed, one 85 per cent completed, one 48 per cent completed, and one 38 per cent completed.

3. The barges will cost approximately $110,000 each, and will carry, fully loaded, on a draft of 7 feet, 2,000 tons each.

4. One of the barges constructed by the Marietta Manufacturing Co. and one by the Dubuque Boat & Boiler Works were delivered in the fall of 1919, and towed by a self-propelled river dredge from St. Paul to St. Louis, each loaded with 650 tons of ore. The boats on this trip drew approximately 4 feet of water and the towboat 4½ feet. The trip was made without special difficulty or incident.

5. The towboats are being constructed under a joint contract entered into by the Marietta Manufacturing Co., Minneapolis Steel & Machinery Co., and the St. Louis Boat & Engineering Co. The cost of these towboats, including the contract work, the designs, drawings, inspections, etc., to be furnished by the United States, will be approximately $375,000 each. These boats have approximately 1,800 horsepower and will draw 4½ feet when in service. On April 1 the work on these boats was approximately 15 per cent completed. The contract calls for the delivery of the first boat April 27, 1920; the second, June 6, 1920; the third, July 16, 1920; and the fourth, August 25, 1920.

6. On account of the delays which have been experienced by severe winter conditions and the inability to obtain materials and difficulties with labor, the contract work on these boats has been greatly delayed, and they will not be completed until nearly the end of the season of 1920, if indeed they are completed at all during the present season, but undoubtedly the entire fleet of 4 towboats and 19 barges will be available for service in the spring of 1921.

7. The towboats are modern up-to-date boats of unusual power, and the barges have been especially designd for easy towing and handling in shallow channels, and the one experiment which has been made with the barges indicated that they were correctly designed to accomplish the purpose intended.

H. TAYLOR,
Colonel, Corps of Engineers.

Mr. REED. These barges cost the Government approximately $110,000 each. An experimental trip was made, and it was made with boats nothing like as efficient as this new equipment. That trip was entirely successful. That is on the upper Mississippi, where they haul barges containing 650 tons of ore with a draft of less than 4 feet of water. So that the proposition to throttle the Mississippi at a time like this is a proposition to destroy the very thing which the Government has been working for, and in which it has invested a large sum of money.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks I desire to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of an editorial printed in the Lakewood Press, as follows:

FAVORITE SONS.

The Rivers and Harbors Committee of the House of Representatives is the most important committee in Congress for Cuyahoga County. It is recognized as one of the most influential committees on the entire list, and all cities having a frontage on the Great Lakes, on either the Atlantic or Pacific Oceans, or on any river are especially interested in its make-up. Not only the vast shipping interests of Cleveland but the commercial interests of the entire county are affected directly by the appropriations that are needed for the

harbor, and for the dredging and straightening of the Cuyahoga River. Lakewood has a direct as well as an indirect interest in so far as the erection of the Lorain-Huron Bridge will be aided by the Federal appropriations for the river straightening.

Since the war started Congress has been compelled to stop almost completely appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors. While the greatest economy must still be exercised, the necessities of Cleveland and other great lake ports must be recognized in the next Congress. Congressman EMERSON, as a member of the committee, was able to obtain an appropriation of $5,000 for a survey of the Cuyahoga River in the present Congress, and it is highly important that the largest possible appropriation be obtained in the next Congress for the purpose of carrying on this river work so vital to the business interests of the entire county as well as the city of Cleveland.

The personnel of the committee in the present Congress is as follows: Charles A. Kennedy, Iowa, chairman; Peter E. Costello, Pennsylvania; S. Wallace Dempsey, New York; Henry I. Emerson, Ohio; Henry Z. Osborne, California; Richard P. Freeman, Connecticut; Nathan L. Strong, Pennsylvania; Niels Juul, Illinois; Amos H. Radcliffe, New Jersey; Andrew J. Hickey, Indiana; Caleb R. Layton, Delaware; Israel M. Foster, Ohio; Earl C. Michener, Michigan; John H. Small, North Carolina; Charles F. Booher, Missouri; Thomas Gallagher, Illinois; Thomas J. Scully, New Jersey; Samuel M. Taylor, Arkansas; H. Garland Dupré, Louisiana; Clarence F. Lea, California; William E. Cleary, New York.

As will be noted, Congressman EMERSON is fourth on the list. The present chairman, Mr. KENNEDY of Iowa, is not a candidate for reelection to the next Congress. The second man on the list, Mr. COSTELLO, of Pennsylvania, has just been defeated in the Republican primaries in that State and will not be returned. The rule of seniority is closely followed in making up these committees, and the return of Mr. EMERSON from the twenty-second district will insure that he will be either first or second man on the committee, a position that will practically insure he will be able to secure an appropriation for Cleveland Harbor and Cuyahoga River that the Federal engineers recommend. It is equally certain that no other man who might be sent from this district, however able, could in his first term secure the necessary influence; even if he was fortunate enough to obtain an appointment on the committee, he would be required to go to the bottom of the list. Under the most favorable conditions a Congressman is not able until his fourth or fifth term to aspire to the chairmanship of a committee of this importance.

It is because the South for a hundred years has held to the policy of retaining its experienced men in Congress year after year, until they attained influence and seniority claims, that the South has been able to shape legislation far more than the importance that section warranted. Naturally, in the past 50 years, whenever there has happened to be a Democratic majority in Congress, the South has secured practically the chairmanships of all the influential committees.

Congressman EMERSON filed his announcement of candidacy several weeks ago. No other candidate has yet filed, although several candidates have been reported as ready to enter the field. Under existing conditions, the Lakewood Press has declared frankly and unreservedly in favor of the renomination of the present Congressman. Not the least of the reasons that influences us is the knowledge that his return for a fourth term meant not only the approval of the patriotic American course he has displayed, but it meant the next Congressman from the twenty-second district would be either chairman or second man on the Rivers and Harbors Committee, a strategic position to obtain the necessary appropriations for the Cleveland Harbor and the Cuyahoga River. In this same connection this influential position will enable him to obtain the $500,000 appropriation of a Lakewood post office. It might be a quarter of a century before another man from this district will find himself in such a tactful position.

This is not a good year for "favorite sons." * * * We support HENRY I. EMERSON for Congress in this district. This is not the year for catering to the "favorite-son" idea, with so much at stake that will be inevitably lost if Mr. EMERSON is not reelected in the twenty-second district.

There are other issues to be discused later when the congressional campaign starts, but this one argument alone will be found as conclusive in the district against any "favorite son" in the congressional contest.

H. R. 14338.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ERNEST R. ACKERMAN,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, having been an employer of labor, both skilled and unskilled, for the past quarter of a century, I think I know something about work and wages. On the strength of this knowledge I have no hesitancy in saying there is not a class of workers in private or corporate employ as poorly paid as those now doing the very important work of the Post Office Department. Not only do they appear from all the facts submitted to be underpaid, but they are overworked because of the enormous amount of mail matter occasioned by the war and the department being necessarily short-handed.

I do not mean by this to admit that Congress is responsible for the present condition of the Postal Service. Perhaps a close scrutinization of the facts would show that no single agency is altogether chargeable. The Congress, however, has certain means by which limited corrective measures may be administered. The most important of these is in the question of equitable compensation.

We are all familiar with the causes and circumstances of living conditions and should not overlook the fact that they apply just as much to the public employee as to the private employee. The latter class have presented their cases to their employers and have been granted relief necessary to enable them to continue supplying the necessities and comforts of life. This bill just passed without a dissenting vote partially provided for one class of Government employees what other classes of workers were previously granted by their employers, but in my opinion it is not all that should be paid them; it seems, however, all that can be obtained at the present time.

I know of men who have been in the service for the better part of their lives who say they will be obliged to seek other employment unless increased remuneration above what has been given is granted. They have never been paid enough to be able to lay up much and have had to draw their scanty savings to live. In lieu of big wages they have been confidently looking forward to the Government's appreciation of faithful and long service in much the same manner as they would be rewarded by a pension from any other large employer, and now they have a reward by the enactment of the Lehlbach retirement bill.

It is frequently stated that the mail carriers and clerks should quit and go to work elsewhere if not satisfied with their present positions and salaries. It would be just as logical to tell a man who has worked for one of the big railroad systems of the country for a quarter of a century to sacrifice his seniority status by taking a job elsewhere for a couple of dollars more a month. The pensions and other prerequisites which come as the result of long and faithful service are all these men have to look forward to and are the only incentive to induce young men to enter this branch of the service.

The work of a post-office clerk requires skill, intelligence, endurance, and tact. Although from my youth I have personally been interested in the workings of the Post Office Department, I have never yet heard the Postal Service termed a fascinating employment in the sense that there was a real future to those engaging therein. To the letter carrier it is always the same thing. Day after day, year in and year out, rain or shine, sweltering in summer and battling the chill winds of winter, the mail man continues to go his rounds as a—

Messenger of sympathy and love,
Servant of parted friends,
Consoler of the lonely,
Bond of the scattered family,
Enlarger of the common life,
Carrier of news and knowledge,
Instrument of trade and industry,
Promoter of mutual acquaintance, of peace and good will among men and nations.

In the performance of these functions, the clerks who work through the long night hours sorting the mail in the swaying postal cars or report for duty hours ahead of the opening of the usual business day play no less an important part than the carrier who is the last medium of distribution or final link between correspondents.

There is no agency of the Government that comes into such close touch with the people as does the Post Office Department. There can be no politics in its administration, for the average individual looks for service when needing its functions, and they care not a whit what the politics of its employees are if they render efficient, faithful, and intelligent service.

The patriotism consistently shown by postal employees during the war, and their sustained cooperation with other governmental agencies, in a very large measure, indeed, contributed to the winning of the war. I need not dwell on their magnificent service in the sale of Liberty bonds and war-saving stamps. Neither is it necessary to more than merely refer to the numerous instances in which extra work was performed by clerks and carriers to fill the gaps in their ranks caused by many voluntary enlistments in the military service.

In 1886 the postal employees handled 3,474,000,000 pieces of mail. In 1904 the amount increased to 9,502,459,535. In 1913 that amount had been doubled, and continued to multiply until last year the task became so great that it was found necessary to abandon it in order to use the men and time on work of more urgent necessity. The cash receipts of the year, however, tell the story. They were, from all sources, $432,239,126.20 for 1919, $388,975,962.24 in 1918, $329,726,116 in 1917, $312,057,689 in 1916, and $287,248,165 in 1915. Of course, these figures include the 1 cent increase in postage while it was effective, but, nevertheless, an enormous increase in actual pieces of mail delivered to the people who pay the bill is also plainly apparent. If I know the heart of the American people, I do not believe that any one of them will object to paying for the extra service, and am convinced they should not.

National Revenues—Reduction of Taxation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM R. GREEN,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 1, 1920.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the Republican Congress which convened in December of last year took over the task of sustaining the financial needs of the Government under very difficult circumstances. The war, it is true, was over and had been over for a year, but a large portion of its debts were still not only unpaid but unsettled. The war had been carried on largely by sales of bonds, and one large issue had been made after the war was over. Besides this, when the revenue law of 1918, as it is called, although it was not passed until February, 1919, was finally revised it greatly reduced the taxes for the calendar year of 1919, which would be paid in 1920. This was done in anticipation of a great reduction in expenses following the war. The reduction occurred but was not so large as expected. Not only was the issue of Victory bonds made necessary, but there was outstanding $3,683,804,490 in short-time certificates of indebtedness on June 30, 1919. This amount had been reduced when the Republican Congress convened, but the Secretary of the Treasury still estimated there would be a deficit in the general fund on June 30, 1920, including whatever short-time certificates were then unpaid, of over $3,000,000,000.

The war had brought a great increase in our permanent and regular expenses. Before the European war the total expenses of carrying on the Government were about a billion dollars, including about $250,000,000 paid out for the Post Office Department, which was returned to the Treasury. Deducting this amount, the total expenses were only about $750,000,000 annually. Now the interest charge alone has been so increased by the enormous indebtedness created by the war that it is over a billion dollars annually. The war also required payments to the soldiers of the late war for compensation, insurance, the $60 bonus on discharge, hospitals, hospital service in the Public Health Service and the War Department, and the maintenance of a War Risk Bureau, having at one time nearly 15,000 employees, although it will be brought down by the Republican Congress to 5,000 or 6,000 at the close of this fiscal year on June 30. Besides this, the cost of living had so increased that the pensions granted to the Civil War and Spanish War veterans also had to be increased. No accurate estimate can be made of the total expenses on account of the last Great War and the former wars in the way of allowances to and expenses connected with the care of our soldiers, but it is safe to say that the total will be around a billion dollars.

In 1914 the expenses of our Military Establishment was only a little over $100,000,000. For the fiscal year of 1920, as nearly as can now be estimated, it will be over $800,000,000. This, of course, is caused by the large amount of war contracts which were settled and paid during this fiscal year and the expense of keeping our troops in Europe and elsewhere abroad, together with the expenses of demobilization and disposition of immense quantities of surplus material. In this connection it should be said that there is still to be paid on war contracts after July 1, 1920, large sums, the amount of which is not yet exactly determined. During the fiscal year 1920 it was also necessary to raise the wages and salaries of the employees of the Government in the lower grades, and this, in fact, had been provided for for the fiscal year of 1920 before the Republican Congress convened.

It is impossible here now to go into all of the details which caused the Secretary of the Treasury to estimate the expenditures for the fiscal year 1920 at $6,812,522,729 in his report submitted to the Republican Congress, but among these estimates were large provisions for matters which before the war had never been taken up by the Government, such as the Shipping Board, the wheat-guaranty fund, European food relief, the railroad control which cost the Government nearly a billion dollars, the War Finance Corporation, Housing Commission, and many other new undertakings.

The public anticipated a reduction in taxation following the close of the war. The taxes were, in fact, reduced, and very heavily reduced, but as no new law was passed reducing the taxes many people thought that they were not reduced, and others merely wondered how their income tax or excess-profits tax came to be much less than it was the year before.

When the "1918" law was passed in 1919, although it was not known what reduction could be made for the fiscal year 1920, fearing that a Republican Congress might get the credit for reducing taxes, the rates for the excess-profits taxes and income taxes for the calendar year of 1919 were reduced so much that it was not then believed enough revenue would be produced for the needs of the Government. On incomes above $4,000 the normal income tax was reduced from 12 per cent to 8 per cent. Below that amount, from 6 per cent to 4 per cent. The highest rates on excess profits had been 80 per cent. This was reduced to 40 per cent on incomes or profits in excess of 20 per cent, and 20 per cent on lower profits in excess of 10 per cent. This, according to the best estimates now obtainable, reduced the taxes which are now being paid on incomes and excess profits of last year the enormous sum of $1,450,000,000. Nevertheless assertions are frequently made that taxes have not been reduced, and many people are not aware that the reduction has been made.

The Republican Congress manfully set itself to the task of bringing expenditures down to the reduced revenues. The appropriation bills of the previous Congress had largely failed. The Republican Congress prepared new ones, reducing the appropriations nearly a billion dollars, and by its wise management has greatly reduced the deficit in the Treasury. Until the close of the fiscal year and the payment of the next installment of the income tax it can not be determined just how large that deficit will be.

Even with this explanation it may be that some will ask why taxes can not be further reduced for the next year. The answer is that at the end of this fiscal year we will still have a floating debt probably in excess of $2,500,000,000. This debt ought to be paid off. All short-time certificates of indebtedness ought to be taken up as soon as possible. This adds to the dangerous inflation of credits which now exists and which nearly all financiers agree renders our monetary system unstable and has greatly tended to increase the cost of living. Besides this the revenue from excess-profits taxes and incomes will be much less for the next fiscal year on account of the slowing down of business. It is probable that the loss of revenues from this source will be in the neighborhood of $800,000,000. If it had been possible to have a Republican tariff bill approved by the President it would be easy to largely increase the sum derived from customs duties and decrease the amount of taxes levied in other directions, but it was useless to prepare such a tariff bill when everyone knew it would be vetoed if passed. With reference to income and excess-profits taxes, the Secretary of the Treasury, in his letter to the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee on May 17 of this year, stated:

> It would be manifestly unsafe, in my opinion, to reduce now the income and excess-profits taxes to be collected in the calendar years 1920 and 1921.

He goes on further to say that he can see nothing in the financial prospects for the calendar year 1922 which would make impossible or unwise a modest reduction. My own opinion is that when once we have cleared up our floating debt and got rid of the enormous deficit which has been hanging over us that not merely a "modest reduction" but a very substantial reduction can and should be made in our Federal taxation. But for the present the Republican Congress must content itself with relieving the country from the enormous deficit in our Treasury which it inherited from Democratic management.

What I have heretofore stated with reference to the great increases in our regular appropriations not only shows how unfair but how foolish it is to make any claim that our governmental expenditures can or ought to be brought down to anything like the low amount that prevailed before the European war broke out. Indeed it was frequently stated on the Democratic side before the Republican Congress came in that there could be no reasonable expectation that our governmental expenditures for the next three or four years at least would be less than $4,000,000,000 per annum. Whether they are made less than that amount depends largely on our expenditures upon our Army and Navy, which for the ensuing fiscal year are estimated together at between $800,000,000 and $850,000,000. Unless these can be reduced, and I think they ought to be greatly reduced, we can not expect to bring our total expenditures for the following years to much less than $4,000,000,000.

If the President did not have a reputation for inconsistency that could not easily be made worse, his recent statement with reference to a reduction in taxation and change of form in taxation would certainly tend to lower it. He now says that taxes ought to be further reduced and their form ought to be

changed, but in his message of December 2, 1919, to Congress he used the following language:

It is of the utmost importance that in dealing with this matter the present law should not be disturbed so far as regards taxes for the calendar year 1920 payable in the calendar year 1921.

The Republican Congress did not disturb them, and we are still getting our revenue under Democratic laws. They could not be repealed because by reason of the waste and lack of economy of the Democratic administration a great deficit had been created. It has not attempted to change the present form of taxation, because it would be idle to propose a comprehensive Republican revenue measure until a Republican Executive occupies the White House. If this change be made, as everyone believes it will be made, I am safe in saying that the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee of the House will at once proceed to the formulation of a revenue bill which will not only reduce taxes for the calendar year 1921, payable in 1922, but collect them under a plan which will be more equitable and less oppressive to business than the present system.

The Federal Trade Commission and the Sugar Investigation in Utah.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON H. WELLING,
OF UTAH,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. WELLING. Mr. Speaker, there is no more sensible rule of the House than that which restrains the membership from criticizing the motives of Members of the Senate. Any other course would lead to endless friction and unnecessary bitterness. I trust, therefore, that what is here said can not by any fair construction be construed to be a transgression of the rule.

It seems to me that the same degree of courtesy and fairness of statement should characterize the attitude of the House and Senate to the executive and judicial branches of the Government. I hope what I say will be fair in that regard also.

On Monday, May 24, a distinguished Senator delivered a speech in another body in which he charged that the Federal Trade Commission was using the power of the Government to defeat him for reelection to the Senate. He condemned this arm of the Government service, sworn to execute and uphold the law, in positive, bitter language. Strongly asserting his own innocence, he proceeded to denounce the commission as a rotten political agency bent upon his destruction. He said:

When any department of our Government undertakes to secure the defeat or the election of a United States Senator through an investigation of the affairs of a sugar company, it is time that such a contemptible practice be called to the attention of the public.

I am positive the honest people of this country will not approve of any such rotten politics. This very thing is taking place in the State of Utah, and to prove this statement I have but to recite what has in the past and is taking place to-day.

* * * * * * *

Shame upon officials of a department of the Government if they have lent themselves to such action. I think I know the people of Utah well enough to know that this sort of politics will never be countenanced, and if the officials of Washington are acting in this matter upon the advice of politicians of the State of Utah their action will not assist in any way in my defeat or their success.

He then proceeded to prove what I feel certain needed no proof at all, to wit, his own innocence. He quoted an imposing array of messages passed between himself and certain unnamed officials of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Co. regarding the authorized increase in western sugar from 10½ to 12 cents per pound. After each quotation he called upon some official of the Department of Justice to indorse the transaction and justify the policy adopted.

After having proven that he was innocent of misconduct, which no person had ever charged against him, he then proceeded to prove that the Federal Trade Commission was guilty.

He did that to his own satisfaction, but it did not satisfy me, and for that reason I have asked to place this statement of fact in the RECORD. The only evidence the Senator presented in condemnation and denunciation of the Federal Trade Commission is contained in two brief telegrams. And here, let me say, it is significant that the many messages between this distinguished Member of another body and the sugar officials did not carry date lines, names, or addresses; but when he presented his case against the Government the names of the despicable officials and "financial crooks" went with a bang into the RECORD, along with their duplicity and crime. Here are the messages:

RIGBY, *13, 1920.*

GEORGE SANDERS,
Care of Dr. Snow, 60 First Avenue, Salt Lake City, Utah:

Expect to close; leaving here Saturday. What do you intend to do regarding Medford and Grants Pass proposed hearing? Wire me collect.

BEER, *Federal Trade Commission.*

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, *May 13, 1920.*

HENRY W. BEER,
Special Counsel, Federal Trade Commission, Rigby, Idaho:

Do not know what to advise you about proposed hearing at Grants Pass. Think you ought to have about three weeks from now. One of your investigators should be there a week in advance lining up witnesses. Do not be in too big a hurry to finish your case, as public sentiment is fast changing and almost entirely for Government prosecution. Sugar magnates anxious for you to get through. Palmer should keep you on job. If you keep a going for two months, it will cost SMOOT his Senate seat. Better kill some time with Washington authority. Ogden to-morrow.

G. E. SANDERS.

9059, May 14, 1920.

Mr. Beer is counsel for the Federal Trade Commission in charge of this sugar investigation in the West. George E. Sanders is a private citizen in no way connected with the commission or any other branch of the Government service. He was merely a witness who had asked to be heard and who had a perfect right to be heard. The fact that he made an improper or a false statement in no way reflects upon the character of the Government officials or the propriety of the investigation they were charged under the law to make.

There is not another syllable or word presented aside from these telegrams that admits of criticism. After quoting them, the distinguished Senator closed his case and asks the people to bring in a verdict convicting everybody who opposes his reelection of "rotten politics" instigated by "financial crooks."

But before the verdict is rendered, I want to remark that about the only "rotten politics" thus far disclosed are found in the speech about which I now complain. They can not be charged to the Federal Trade Commission. The principal "crooks" involved in this transaction are still unidentified and roaming at large.

I do not complain because these telegrams finally reached the floor of another body and were read into the RECORD there. Men may differ in their ideas of what is important. But how did the Senator obtain possession of these messages? I charge here and now that they were stolen for him by some "financial crook" who is interested in the Senator's political fortunes. Either that is true, or they were furnished to the Senator by Mr. Beer or Mr. Sanders. Sanders is, no doubt, properly ashamed of his message. At any rate, I feel sure he did not send a copy to the Senator. The Beer message is as straight and fair as a sunbeam. The only bad thing about it at all is the contamination it received by touching the fingers of the individuals who stole it for contribution to this comedy of errors.

These messages were both taken from the private files of the Western Union Telegraph Co., at Rigby, Idaho, or Salt Lake City. As the record now stands, they were purloined by Mr. Joseph A. Jones, chief special agent of the Oregon Short Line Railroad. I know Mr. Jones personally. He is an estimable gentleman, and I am sure he will agree with me that this was a bad job of detective work. But Mr. Jones was only the hired man. The real culprit will be disclosed if the Senator will put his cards on the table and publish the letter transmitting the messages without cutting off the signature.

Perhaps the Senator did not know at the time of his speech that he was dealing in stolen goods. But he knows it now. What effort has he made to correct this sweeping accusation against the Federal Trade Commission? It is true that he inserted a letter from the chairman of the commission in an obscure part of the RECORD, but he knew that that would be done by others if not by himself.

How did the Federal Trade Commission treat the contemptible suggestion of Mr. Sanders? At once, before the day closed, "as soon as I could reach a telegraph office," says Mr. Beer, a proper rebuke was administered to Mr. Sanders, and he was peremptorily ordered to appear and complete his testimony, delayed to suit his own convenience or the convenience of the sugar company. Here is Mr. Beer's second telegram to Mr. Sanders:

RIGBY, IDAHO, *May 14, 1920.*

GEORGE E. SANDERS,
103 First Avenue, Salt Lake City, Utah:

Commission not interested in political situation. Must take up Grants Pass matters as soon as I reach there Wednesday or Thursday of next week. Your attendance will be imperative regarding books and other matters relating to that situation.

BEER,
Federal Trade Commission.

This message was in the same file at the time the other messages quoted above were taken. How accommodating it was of the "financial crook" to take out just the "rotten politics" and leave all the truth behind!

The people of Utah have bestowed upon our distinguished Senator almost every honor within their gift. They will continue to honor him long after his service here is ended. They know well the character of service he has given them. His untiring industry has won the admiration of men of every party and creed. His unquestioned devotion to the State has not in the past been doubted by any man. For every honor he has brought to them they have given equal honor in return. It is now asserted that he is indispensable to the State and to the Nation. Both State and Nation would have been better served without this intemperate and hasty attack.

Why does he start at shadows? Why does he go out in full armor to fight windmills? Why does he hold up his hands to the ghost and cry, "Thou canst not say I did it"? Why does he flee when no man pursueth?

His Senate speech of May 24 bears the fatal evidence of its own poison and panic. He undertakes to quote the words and construe the motives of a dead man, beloved by every man and woman in Utah. He says of the visit of Gen. Richard W. Young to Washington, in the early part of this year, "He was here to learn, if possible, if there was any truth in the rumor that the Federal Trade Commission was going to make an investigation of the affairs of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Co.; and if so, upon what basis and for what reason." As a matter of fact, suit had been begun against Gen. Young's client four months before he came to Washington. The bill of complaint and Gen. Young's answer thereto were both in his pocket at the time of his visit here. If the Senator so woefully misunderstood Gen. Young in this matter, it does not require much imagination to convince me that he also misunderstood his reference to the political campaign at home.

Mr. Speaker, I had not expected to refer to this matter at all until the Utah papers, carrying press notices of the speech, reached Washington. Three hours after the speech was delivered these papers went to press with flaming headlines, crying to all the world:

Utah-Idaho sugar probe political move, is direct charge made by Senator SMOOT. Avers action was delayed in effort to defeat him for Senate. Reads telegrams in which Federal Trade Commission's attorney is told to hold up on work so as to "cost SMOOT Senate seat."

This headline is an accurate index to the mendacious and contemptible falsehoods which follow in the story below. As a matter of fact, the only delay in the prosecution of the case against the sugar companies was granted at the request of the sugar officials themselves. The record reveals the amazing fact that they asked for weeks of delay in addition to that granted by the commission, which additional delay the commission refused. How futile it seems in the light of these facts to charge that the delay was intended to injure the Senator politically. In fixing the date of this hearing I suspect the commission was equally influenced by the Senator's campaign for reelection and Dr. Cook's discovery of the North Pole.

The newspaper story proved that the Senator's speech had been carefully prepared for the press long before it was delivered and that the Senator's press service was running smoothly. In fact, the speech was read to at least two prominent Utah men some days before it reached the RECORD. The press story faked a Washington date line, to make it impressive and lend it authority. The same matter appeared in the Medford, Oreg., papers of that date. These papers continued to play up the story for days. Not one word reached their columns, so far as I have observed, containing the statement of the Federal Trade Commission which branded the whole newspaper propaganda as a lie from first to last. The poison had been sown and no hand was raised to stop its blighting touch.

I assert that it would be a wicked and an indefensible thing for the Federal Trade Commission to seek to influence the election of any man for public office. I submit that it is equally contemptible and indefensible for a public journal to wantonly and senselessly attack one of the agencies of public safety in the Government of the United States. This pitiful exhibition of partisan animosity could have been avoided entirely by a five-minute consultation over the telephone between the distinguished Senator and a representative of the commission. In place of that this whole business was nursed along for days, to spring in a sensational manner in the Senate after advance copies had been issued to the public press.

I am glad to know that the Federal Trade Commission is free from blame in this matter. Its officers have conducted themselves with dignity and with perfect respect to the rights of every man who comes to it with clean hands seeking justice. The only politics yet developed has been injected into the situation by nervous statesmen and local politicians, who go out and shoot at what they think is a bear and kill a farmer's cow.

The following letter from the chairman of the commission will justify every statement I have made and reassure every lover of good government and fair dealing in Utah. It will only disturb those who hoped to make political capital out of the crude and clumsy error of a private citizen:

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
Washington, June 4, 1920.

Hon. MILTON H. WELLING,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: I have your letter of June 2, in which you refer to a speech made by the Hon. REED SMOOT on the floor of the Senate on May 24 regarding the trial of the case of the Federal Trade Commission *v.* The Utah-Idaho Sugar Co. et al.

In your letter you say that you have my reply to Senator SMOOT of May 25, and you conclude with the request that I furnish you with a brief restatement of the essential facts in connection with this matter, including any additional developments since this correspondence was made public.

I address my remarks to that part of Senator SMOOT's speech in which he says:

"In the first place, I wish to go back some months when this unthinkable proposition was first brought to my attention by Gen. Richard W. Young during his visit to Washington as the attorney of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Co. He was here to learn, if possible, if there was any truth in the rumor that the Federal Trade Commission was going to make an investigation of the affairs of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Co.; and if so, upon what basis and for what reason. Think of my surprise when he told me that he had no doubt the investigation would be made some time before the next election, and among other causes assigned was the one that it would help to defeat me for reelection."

To the foregoing statement I beg to say that the records of the commission show that all of the investigation in this case was completed previous to September 2, 1919, and complaint issued on that day. The registered receipts show that the Utah-Idaho Sugar Co. received its complaint September 26; the American Sugar Co., September 23; A. P. Cooper, September 27; and E. R. Wooley, September 24. The Utah-Idaho Sugar Co., and all the other respondents filed their answers with the commission on October 27, 1919, so that by that time the case was at issue. Gen. Young visited the commission in company with Senator KING some time in the early part of 1920. He had in his possession at that time, when a conference was held with Mr. Porter, the chief counsel of the commission, and myself, the complaint and answer. There was no discussion about an investigation, for, of course, that had been completed a long time previous thereto. The conference was over the question as to how we would proceed with the trial and at what time. Mr. Porter and I urged that the testimony be taken at the earliest possible date. After a complete explanation on my part of our rules of practice and the method of procedure, Gen. Young seemed fully satisfied, and the conference, which had been most pleasant, broke up.

Our records show that we pressed for trial at the earliest possible date, and tried to have the case set for March 22, but that counsel for respondents, being busy with matters of legal importance, urged us to put it over till April 15. Mr. Beer, attorney for the Federal Trade Commission, was on the ground previous to March 22. The day was finally set for taking testimony only after our insistence on April 1. The records also show that the attorney for the commission insisted on hearings being held during the entire working hours on Saturdays, but counsel for respondents refused, and a compromise was finally reached whereby they worked half days on Saturdays.

The hearings commenced in Salt Lake City on April 1, and were held as follows: April 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, and May 3, 7, 8, 10, and 11. During the hearings the examination in chief of one George E. Sanders was taken at Salt Lake City. There seems to be a misunderstanding about Mr. Sanders's status. He is not, and never has been, an employee of the commission. He was solely a witness. His examination in chief was completed at Salt Lake City. During the cross-examination it appears in the record at page 3714 that Mr. Straup, attorney for one of the respondents, requested that part of the cross-examination of Mr. Sanders be held at Grants Pass, where there were some records which counsel for respondents desired to refer to. Mr. Beer had already notified counsel that he intended to examine other witnesses at Grants Pass, and consented to continue Mr. Sanders's cross-examination at that place. After the hearing at Salt Lake City, testimony was taken at Rigby, Idaho, and it was at that place that Mr. Beer sent the following telegram:

"RIGBY, *May 13, 1220.*

"GEORGE SANDERS,
"Care of Dr. Snow, 60 First Avenue,
"Salt Lake City, Utah:

"Expect to close; leaving here Saturday. What do you intend to do regarding Medford and Grants Pass proposed hearing? Wire collect.

"BEER,
"Federal Trade Commission."

He received the following reply from Mr. Sanders:

"SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, *May 13, 1920.*

"HENRY W. BEER,
"Special Counsel, Federal Trade Commission,
"Rigby, Idaho:

"Do not know what to advise you about proposed hearing at Grants Pass. Think you ought to have about three weeks from now. One of your investigators should be there a week in advance lining up witnesses. Do not be in too big hurry to finish your case, as public sentiment is fast changing and almost entirely for Government prosecution. Sugar magnates anxious for you to get through. Palmer should keep you on job. If you keep a going for two months, it will cost SMOOT his Senate seat. Better kill some time with Washington authority. Ogden to-morrow.

"G. E. SANDERS."

Immediately, and on the same day as the receipt of the telegram from Mr. Sanders, Mr. Beer wired him as follows:

"RIGBY, IDAHO, *May 14, 1920.*

"GEORGE E. SANDERS,
"103 First Avenue, Salt Lake City, Utah:

"Commission not interested in political situation. Must take up Grants Pass matters as soon as I reach there, Wednesday or Thursday of next week. Your attendance will be imperative regarding books and other matters relating to that situation."

I may say that the telegram was written while the hearing was being closed up at Rigby, and Mr. Beer sent Mr. Anderson, one of the examiners of the commission, to the telegraph office with it. Mr. Anderson is now in Washington and has identified this telegram of May 14 from Mr. Beer to Mr. Sanders as the one he sent on that date.

On May 24, and without having had any communication from Mr. Beer after the statement had been made by Senator SMOOT on the floor of the Senate, Mr. Porter, the chief counsel for the Federal Trade Commission, received a telegram from Mr. Beer, which telegram was contained in full in my statement to Senator SMOOT, and was incorporated by Senator SMOOT in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 26, 1920, page 7664. A part of the telegram from Mr. Beer contained a statement signed by Thomas J. Carney, the telegraph operator at Rigby, Idaho. I now have that statement in my possession. It reads as follows:

"May 13, 1920, I received a telegram from Henry Ward Beer, and while I was copying this message I noticed that Joe Jones, special agent for the Oregon Short Line, was standing behind me, I think, reading it as I copied it. May 16, 1920, Joe Jones called at the office to look over some papers regarding a rug missing in a shipment. As no one is here during the noon hour on Sunday, Mr. Jones asked me to leave the keys to the station with him. I was about to take the key to the office off the ring, when he told me to let him have all of them, as they wouldn't be so apt to get lost. I handed him all the keys. The agent, cashier, and myself went to dinner. I returned about 15 minutes after and found Mr. Jones looking over the Western Union messages. Soon as he saw me he put them back soon as possibly could. After he got over his nervousness he asked me if I had a copy of the message that was received for Mr. Beer May 14. I had a copy of the message that was received for Mr. Beer May 13. I told him I had a copy of every message received or sent, and told him that it was in the messages he was looking at when I came in. He then asked me to make a copy, and I refused to do so, as I didn't think he had a right to have same. After a little arguing, he said, 'All right; don't do it.' Signed, Thos. J. Carney."

In commenting on this telegram of May 24 to Mr. Porter, Mr. Beer said:

"Please note the dates. My telegram to Sanders was in the same bunch of messages with the Sanders telegram. Jones, who is not a Western Union employee, has deliberately concealed the facts as far as I am concerned. Trial is being conducted with absolute fairness to both sides, and not a breath of politics has been used directly or indirectly in connection with the hearings. Sanders but one of about 75 witnesses called so far for complainant. Senator SMOOT's name not mentioned in testimony or exhibits, except in list of stockholders of Utah-Idaho Sugar Co.

"HENRY WARD BEER,
"Special Counsel."

In conclusion, I beg leave to reiterate what I said in my letter to Senator SMOOT, that the commission has always rigorously refrained, and has so advised its employees, from taking any part in any matters of a political nature in its investigations and trials of cases.

Cordially, yours,

HUSTON THOMPSON,
Commissioner.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLAUDE KITCHIN,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, September 25, 1919.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8078) to regulate the importation of coal-tar products, to promote the establishment of the manufacture thereof in the United States, and, as incident thereto, to amend the act of September 8, 1916, entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes."

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, never since the birth of the Republican Party in 1856 has there been such a large division among the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee or the Republican Members of the House on a tariff bill as there is on the present dyestuff tariff bill. And never before in the history of the Republican Party was there as many as three members of the Ways and Means Committee who differed with the majority of their membership and filed a minority report against a protective tariff bill. There never was since the Republican Party was organized such a division of sentiment and thought and effort among the Republican membership of the Ways and Means Committee of the House as there exists to-day with respect to this bill. Almost every Republican member of that committee differs from every other member. There are hardly two Republicans on that committee that have the same thought right now with respect to this bill. In fact, I know one or two or three members each of whom not only differs with every other one but differs with himself. [Laughter.]

Now, take the distinguished chairman of the committee, for instance, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY]; he not only differs with the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] about some features of the bill, and with the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] about some features, and with the gentleman from New York [Mr. MOTT], and the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG] about some features of it, but the distinguished chairman differs with himself on this important measure. [Laughter.] The gentleman first favored the license feature of this bill. He was committed to the license principle by the first tariff bill he introduced since he was made chairman. I refer to the potash bill. It contained a license provision, and the license feature was practically the only provision in it. That is the feature which the dye manufacturers desire in this bill. He then came to differ with himself and opposed the licensing feature of this bill. The dye-using manufacturers, such as the textile, leather, and wall-paper manufacturers, oppose the licensing feature.

Then in a few days, when the dye manufacturers again had their inning, the distinguished chairman began to differ with his last position, and then favored the license feature of the bill. Then in a few days afterwards, when the manufacturers of leather and textiles, and so forth, the dye-consuming manufacturers of the country had another inning, the gentleman opposed the licensing feature of the bill, and when we took a vote to report the bill out of the committee the gentleman from Michigan, contrary to his immediately previous opinion, was in favor of the license feature of the bill, and voted for it. When he made his speech here the other day he said he was going to vote against the licensing feature of the bill, and how he stands now on the proposition and how he is going to vote on it the Lord only knows, for the chairman himself does not know. [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

Generally, when a fellow has been on both sides of a question, and as often as the gentleman has on this, he has been right one time. [Laughter.] But in this particular and peculiar and unique case the gentleman from Michigan has been wrong both times [laughter], as I shall show before I get through. The dye manufacturers, the dye producers, on the one hand——

Mr. JUUL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from North Carolina yield to the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. KITCHIN. Not now. The dye-producing manufacturers, on the one hand, and the dye-using manufacturers, on the other, can each console themselves with the fact that the distinguished chairman of this committee has been on their side at least twice on this question. [Laughter.] I remember when I was a boy my brother, about my size, and I had a punching bag which stood on a spiral cord about our height. It had the shape of a man's head and face. It was so arranged that the blow was always stricken on the back of the head, and when you struck it it would bound to the other side, turning its face toward you. I would strike it and it would bound to my brother with the face turned toward me, and my brother in turn would strike it back to me and it would turn around and look at him. [Laughter.]

Gentlemen, these dye-producing manufacturers, on the one side, and these dye-using manufacturers, on the other, have for the last several weeks used our distinguished chairman's head as a punch bag between them. [Laughter.] The dye-producing manufacturers have struck him from one side and he would turn around and look at them, and the dye-using manufacturers have struck him from the other side and he has turned around and looked at them. [Laughter.] Apparently he has looked at them both ways at once for the last six weeks. [Laughter.]

Now, I do not like to see my distinguished chairman treated in that way, and out of my high regard for him and to relieve him of all further embarrassment I have offered him a proposition on which he can stand with his head erect and his eyes in front and keep still, without being punched backward and forward by the different interests, and I am going to put forward that proposition on a motion to recommit. [Laughter.]

We have all heard of the old saying that when thieves fall out honest men can get their dues. Well, gentlemen, when I see standpat tariff Republicans like LONGWORTH and FORDNEY and MOORE and MOTT and YOUNG, and other Republican members of the committee, fighting among themselves, as they are on this bill, I begin to hope that the people will possibly get a part of their dues. [Laughter.] But I am not as hopeful as many others are. I never agreed with Grover Cleveland on all things. But in many I was in hearty agreement. He was in his day the best judge of the nature and instincts and principles of political parties. Grover Cleveland said that the only thing that kept the Republican Party together was "the cohesive power of public plunder." [Laughter on the Democratic side.] Now it does look when we see this great division amongst standpatters like MOORE and LONGWORTH and FORDNEY and YOUNG and MOTT, and the other members of the Republican Ways and Means Committee, that Cleveland's statement and theory as to the Republican Party is going to be repudiated. But while "hope springs eternal in the human breast," it does not spring so in mine. [Laughter.] No, fellow Democrats; let us not think that this division is going to be kept up, because

you must remember that "public plunder" by tariff is in front of them. [Laughter.]

The Republicans are like the fabled, jointed snake. When you struck it a hard blow it was said to be so jointed that it would break to pieces and go off into fragments in every direction, but that about sunset these fragments would begin to move toward each other from every quarter, and by nightfall they would all be back together, forming one live, whole snake again. [Laughter.] Well, sir, they have their divisions now. They seem like destructive divisions. It looks as if the Democrats now would have a chance to get in between and get something like justice and fairness in this tariff bill. But, gentlemen, just before the vote is taken you will see these fragments, like those of the jointed snake, coming from every quarter of this House and Capitol, getting together, and by the time the roll is called these Republicans will all be gathered together as one on the vote. [Laughter.]

I do not care what the 50 or more Republicans who declare they are opposed to the bill with the license feature in it say against it; I do not care how vehemently they vow they are going to vote against it. I do know how they are going to vote. They are going to vote for any kind of a bill that has in it a tariff to plunder the people. [Applause on the Democratic side.] And when the vote comes we will renew our faith in Grover Cleveland's statement. His opinion of the Republican Party is going to be vindicated here to-day when we take this vote, because there is tariff plunder of the many for the benefit of the few in sight, and the cohesive power of that plunder will bring them together on the vote. [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

Do you know why they have fallen out among themselves now? It is because the tariff plunderers have fallen out among themselves. [Applause on the Democratic side.] You see, the dye producers want this high, exorbitant tariff to enable them to get big prices and big profits out of the dye-using manufacturers. They want the high prohibitive tariff that they have in this bill in order to make the textile manufacturers, the leather manufacturers, the wall-paper manufacturers, and the paint manufacturers, and other dye-using manufacturers pay special tribute to them. These dye-using manufacturers heretofore, under Republican tariffs, have been among the chief tariff plunderers, but by this Republican bill they are made the victims of a special class of tariff plunderers, and, of course, they protest.

The dye manufacturers have some representatives on the floor of the House, and the dye-using manufacturers have their representatives on the floor of the House, and as the big tariff plunderers fall out, of course, their agents here have got to fall out. [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

But, gentlemen, they will get together and evolve some plan of action before the final vote is taken, and then you will see practically all of them register "aye" when the vote is taken. I know that is going to be the case. They have fallen out here because there is a contest between the two classes of tariff barons, two classes of tariff robbers. But in all the history of the Republican Party there never was a division among them when the contest came between the tariff plunderers and the people of this country. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

The Democrats on the committee are going to offer, on a motion to recommit, a fair and just tariff bill, a protective tariff, if you please, on this one industry that stands in a class by itself, and do justice both to the dye manufacturers and the dye-using manufacturers, and justice to the consuming public. We are thus going to give the patriotic Republican Members of the House an opportunity to do the square thing.

It is conceded by the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee that the dye and chemical industry is in a class all by itself. It is not only an absolute essential to the life of the Nation in time of war but is essential in time of peace for the maintenance of industries whose turnout is over $2,000,000,000 a year. The textile, the wall-paper, the leather, the paint, and many other industries could not exist unless they had a dye and chemical industry at home or abroad from which to obtain dyes and chemicals. The war found us without a dye industry. The manufacturer of textiles and other dye-using manufacturers were about to go under. They had to ransack the four quarters of the earth at any cost for dyes—wherever they could find a little dye here and a little there. The manufacturers that had any on hand had to divide it up among the other manufacturers. They had to take inferior dyes that were improvised here or elsewhere in order to bridge over until the time came when some necessary dyes could be manufactured here.

As I said, not only has the war proved that the maintenance of a dye and chemical industry here is essential to our manufacturers whose annual products amount to more than $2,000,000,000, but in time of war it is absolutely essential to the Government and the country.

Every country on earth is going to encourage the establishment of the dye and chemical industry because of its essential necessity in time of war or in time of peace. No nation hereafter can afford to be dependent for dyes and chemicals upon any foreign monopoly, as every nation was upon the German monopoly at the time the European war began. Least of all must this country be dependent for them upon any other country. Explosives, poisonous gases, and other chemicals will no doubt play the most important part in future wars. Whatever agreements there may be among nations, whatever covenants there may be with any league of nations, all nations will continue experimenting and developing these instruments of warfare. They can be produced nowhere except in the dye and chemical plants. Therefore it is absolutely necessary as a war essential that this industry be maintained in time of peace so that if war ever comes in spite of the League of Nations or international covenants we will be prepared not only to make the absolute essentials but in our chemical and dye plants we will have an experienced American crew ready to be turned over to the Government for its use and defense. The country which has the largest and most efficient dye and chemical industry will be the best prepared for war if war does come.

But, gentlemen, who discovered that they were essential and should be established and maintained? What party in this country first lifted its hand in encouragement of this war and peace essential industry? The Democratic Party. [Applause on Democratic side.] Ours was the first and only party that took steps for its establishment, encouragement, and maintenance here in these United States. In 1916 it was the Democratic Party, a Democratic House, a Democratic Senate, and a Democratic President that for the first time in the history of the Government put on the statute books a law that would encourage and protect and establish and maintain this great and important dye industry. [Applause on Democratic side.]

The Republican Party had been in power for more than 40 years. It had had control of the House, of the Senate, of the President. Let me show you what a pitiable condition 40 years of Republican rule left this industry in and what a helpless condition in the first emergency it placed the industries dependent upon dyes and chemicals. You do not have to take my word. I shall invoke, to confirm this statement, an authority no less and no more than the distinguished author of this bill, the Hon. NICHOLAS LONGWORTH.

I want you Republican gentlemen to pay particular attention to what I am about to read, and contemplate the shameless, the pitiable, the helpless condition that 40 years of Republican control left this war and peace essential industry in, and other dependent industries with their billions of capital. Contemplate, too, the distressed situation it placed the Government itself in. I hold in my hands the splendid report of Mr. LONGWORTH, the author of this bill, prepared and filed on behalf of the majority of the committee. Let me read you from page 3 of this report:

> The economic importance of the industrial side of this question is illustrated by the fact that industries in this country producing nearly $3,000,000,000 worth of goods each year are absolutely dependent upon coal-tar dyes, and industries producing as much more annually are indirectly dependent upon coal-tar dyes and kindred materials.

Now, listen carefully:

> For many years before the war we had practically no dye industry in this country.

Why? Answer: After 40 years of Republican control. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Read on:

> Such dye works as we had were merely assembling plants for German material.

Why? Forty years' absolute control by the Republican Party.

> Accordingly, all the huge industries requiring dyestuffs were absolutely at the mercy of Germany.

Why? Forty years of Republican control. [Applause on the Democratic side.] What a neglect of the vital interests of this country by the Republican Party! And what a confession! Let us read further:

> And they (our huge American industries) could have been dealt a crushing blow by Germany at any time the German trust saw fit.

Why? Forty years of absolute, undisturbed control of the tariff and other legislative policies by the Republican Party. [Applause on the Democratic side.] What an indictment—what a condemnation of the Republican Party by one of its most distinguished members. Let us read on. He said that after the European war began—

> if she (Germany) had had the power to send her own textiles into this country, she would have inflicted a blow upon our textile industry from which probably it would never have recovered.

Why? The only answer—40 years of Republican control!

Germany had not the shipping, Mr. LONGWORTH says. If her shipping had not been interrupted, if the British Navy had not barred her from free access to the seas and she had had the power to send her own textiles into this country, she would have inflicted a blow upon our entire textile industry, with its output of more than $2,000,000,000 a year, from which probably it would never have recovered, says Mr. LONGWORTH. Think of it!

In 1916 the dye and chemical industries of this country, few and small though they were, and persons interested in the expansion and development of a real dye industry in this country, came to a Democratic Congress for encouragement. They knew that they could not depend upon Republicans in or out of Congress to do the right and proper thing. They knew that they had been coming to Republican Congresses for 25 years or more begging for some protection and encouragement and getting none. They came here during the consideration of the McKinley bill in 1890; they came here during the consideration of the Dingley bill in 1897; they came here during the consideration of the Payne bill in 1909, and asked the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee and the Republican Congress to do something for them. For 25 years they had been warning Republican Congresses that this was a war as well as a peace essential industry; that if war ever came and shut us off from the foreign dyestuffs our whole textile and other dye-consuming industries might fall. But a deaf ear on every occasion was turned to them by the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee and the Republican membership of Congress. Why? They were writing tariff bills for the big industries, for the big fellows and not for the little ones. The little dye industry had only a few million dollars invested and they were few in number, while the textile industry, the cotton industry, the woolen industry, the silk industry, the leather industry, the paint industry, and the wall-paper industry and others using dyes amounted to billions of dollars and turned out billions of dollars worth of products. They were the big fellows. They opposed an adequate duty on dyestuffs, because they wanted to go to Germany and elsewhere and obtain their dyes in the cheapest markets. They preferred the German monopoly to the establishment of an essential home industry. The Republicans in Congress always agreed with them. They opposed the payment of tariff duties on what they bought. They favored tariff, high protective tariff duties, only on what they sold. They demanded that the Republicans in Congress put no or as low a tariff as possible on the materials they purchased—on chemicals and dyestuffs. The Republicans obeyed. This obedience caused the pitiable, helpless condition and situation described by Mr. LONGWORTH in his report.

The dyestuff fellows had not then grown big enough to walk up to the Republicans in Congress, as they do now, and demand of them what they must do. Men like the Du Ponts had not gone into the business then. They had not gone into it in 1916 when representatives of the industry came to a Democratic Congress. They are in it now. They have made their demands and into this bill their demands went—in normal time a prohibitive, monopolistic tariff.

Let me call attention to the fact that when the Payne bill was considered, which turned down the appeals of the little dyestuff fellows, Mr. FORDNEY, the present chairman, and Mr. LONGWORTH, the author of this bill, were members of the Ways and Means Committee. Before that very committee the dye manufacturers, the little fellows, appeared and said, "Gentlemen, if you will just give us 40 per cent ad valorem we will establish a dye and chemical industry here that will compete with Germany and the world." That was all they asked, 40 per cent, while this bill will amount in normal times to over 100 per cent. But at that time the big fellows—the textile and other dye-using manufacturers—standing in the back of the room in the rear of the little dyestuff fellows, shook their heads. Mr. FORDNEY was on the committee. Mr. LONGWORTH was on the committee. They heard the little fellows' appeal and saw the big fellows' shake of the head. Was Mr. MOORE a member of the committee then?

Mr. LONGWORTH. No; we did not have the benefit of his distinguished services at that time.

Mr. KITCHIN. Do you know what Mr. LONGWORTH and Mr. FORDNEY did? They walked right straight out of that committee into the House with a bill and a report in their hands giving the textile and all other dye-consuming industries everything they asked—they demanded—and refusing to give to the little, struggling dye industry anything it asked.

In 1916 the representatives of the dye industry and many patriotic persons interested in the building up and maintaining a real dye industry in this country came and put their case before a Democratic Congress. They knew that the fundamental principles of the Democratic Party were equal rights to all and special privileges to none. Republicans though they were, they decided to try us and see what we meant by "equal rights to all." They had found out by 25 years of experience and efforts that the Republicans neither practiced nor preached such a doctrine.

We were in full control. I was the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. They came down and we gave them a full hearing. They saw your humble servant sitting up there as chairman, with Democrats on his right—13 of them—and we did not look to them as bad and vicious and destructive as the Republican stump speakers and the tariff barons' press had described us. After looking us over they took faith. They asked for a great deal more than they needed; in fact they told us so. The Republicans on the committee, though, when at all times for 40 years they and their party had the power to do so, had refused to them any protection, any encouragement, then without power or responsibility wanted to "out-Herod Herod" in giving them tariff protection. They told the dye-industry gentlemen that what "Mr. KITCHIN and the Democrats offered or would offer would be a fake and a farce; it would be absolutely impotent to establish or maintain any industry"; that what they needed was the so-called Hill bill, a high, exorbitant, prohibitive tariff. But we Democrats kept a cool head. We were willing to do what was right and proper. We recognized that this industry was a war as well as a peace essential; that it stood in a class all to itself; that we should establish and maintain here in the United States a real dye and chemical industry, so that our Government and its vast industries should not be solely dependent upon foreign plants in times of emergency or of war. The dye men came down in behalf of the Hill bill, to which my friend Mr. LONGWORTH will refer in his next speech, with its excessive prohibition rates. Their star witness was Mr. Schoelkopf, one of the big figures in the dye industry now, and then the biggest dye manufacturer in the United States, making more than 50 per cent of all of the dyes that we made here. I knew what he had testified to in the hearings on the Payne bill and also before the Underwood Ways and Means Committee. He told the Payne committee that 40 per cent would protect and establish the industry here, and with that it could stand up against the competition of the world, and four years later he told the Underwood committee that if we would give them 35 per cent ad valorem they could establish the industry here and meet all competition. So after the hearings were over and Mr. FORDNEY and Mr. LONGWORTH and all of the Republican members were jumping around trying to out-tariff themselves for the dye industry, and thus atone for the wrongs they and their party had done to it for 25 years or more, I told the dye people the sentiment among the Democratic members with respect to the encouragement and establishment and maintenance of a dye and chemical industry here.

I said to them, "You go back home and get together the representatives of the dye-producing industry and the representatives of the dye-using industries, tell them what the Democratic sentiment is here about this matter, and then have them appoint a committee of three to represent all the industries—the dye-making and dye-using industries—and if you want to talk sense and right and justice then come down here and we will talk with them."

In about a week or 10 days they wired me that they had met in New York and had appointed a committee to confer with us. I wired them to come down. They came. I called in Judge HULL, of Tennessee, and Mr. McGillicuddy, of Maine, two members of the committee, and in my office we conferred from 7 o'clock in the evening until past 12 o'clock. We went over the whole situation. They represented the dye-consuming and the dye-producing industries. All finally agreed that the Hill bill was not the proper bill; that the rates were too high, higher than the industry really needed to establish and maintain itself against competition. I recall well that their spokesman said: "Mr. KITCHIN, the industry does not need the rates and provisions of the Hill bill, and while naturally we wanted all we could get, yet to build up and maintain the industry we must admit that a bill with provisions as suggested by you and your colleagues is all that is necessary. Give us that, and in five years we will have an industry here that will successfully compete with Germany and the world." Our committee reported such a bill. It was enacted into law. It is now on the statute books. It worked well and satisfactorily. The dye-producers and the dye-using industries approved it. I do not have to commend our work in this matter, but I want to tell you that it does gratify me when a standpatter like J. HAMPTON MOORE comes in and applauds an act which we Democrats prepared and passed over his protest, over his vote. It is enough to make a fellow like me feel good. How did this

Democratic act work in the face of the denunciations and prophecies at the time of its passage, of Mr. FORDNEY and Mr. MOORE and Mr. LONGWORTH and other Republicans that it would do no good, that it was absolutely impotent, that under it we could not establish any industry here, that it was a fake, that "Mr. KITCHIN had fooled the dye manufacturers," and so forth? I am going to let my good friend, Mr. MOORE, tell you. I am going to read it from his report on this bill filed a few days ago. I tell you when Republicans begin to fight each other the truth will come out sometime. When men like my partisan friend, J. HAMPTON MOORE, fight Democrats and Democrats only, it is the "doggondest" hardest thing to get them down to the truth, but I watched this fight among Republicans and I said, "Now, the truth may come out from one side or the other." [Laughter.]

Mr. LONGWORTH has showed us the truth about the industry under 40 years of Republican rule. Now, I am going to show how matters were changed when the Democrats did something for them that the Republicans had neglected for 40 years. I am going to give you the testimony of the man who voted against this Democratic measure because, as he claimed, it was a fake and a failure. Let me read you from Mr. MOORE'S minority report. The gentleman from Illinois need not ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania if he wrote this report, for he did, as I see the gentleman from Pennsylvania bows his head. He says that this Democratic act has worked wonderfully successful. He says that dye industries were being built up throughout this country under this Democratic law that he voted against. Turn to page 4 of the gentleman's report and we will read:

The protective tariff provided in the existing dyestuff law—

That was the law we passed over the gentleman's protest——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. May I answer? I have the record——

Mr. KITCHIN. No. This is the gentleman's last record; this is his report.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. May I have a minute of the gentleman's time to read this. I have Dr. Herty's testimony here.

Mr. KITCHIN. This is better than Dr. Herty; this is what the gentleman says in his report.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The hearing is here.

Mr. KITCHIN. I have the hearings, too. I have the gentleman's last word on the subject in his report of a week ago.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman read it?

Mr. KITCHIN. Let me finish reading this.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Surely; I will read it in my time.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman can read it in his own time. I am going to read that little language just one more time. [Laughter on the Democratic side.] On page 4 of his minority report Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE says:

The protective tariff provided in the existing dyestuff law—

Our Democratic law—

was admitted to be sufficient prior to our entering the war in Europe.

[Applause on the Democratic side.]

This stand-pat Republican says this Democratic law, the only law that was ever put on the statute books by any party to encourage and maintain this great war essential and peace essential, was sufficient to build up and maintain the industry. We have here the high priest of stand-pat Republicanism declaring solemnly in his report to be filed and kept in the archives of our Government that this Democratic law was all sufficient. Do not you know I am a little suspicious about having such an indorsement as that? [Laughter on the Republican side.] Now, I am going to be candid.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I hope the gentleman will please take his seat. [Laughter.] I refuse to yield at this moment. That was my opinion of the law when I first framed it. It was my opinion of its operation, and my prediction on the floor of this House when I presented it to the House and urged its passage. Its operation confirmed my opinion and verified my prediction. But I do want to know if the gentleman is willing here in this presence to confess that truth and will ask him: "Will you not put your hand on your heart and say that you told the gospel truth when you put that splendid commendation of that Democratic tariff law in that report?"

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Dr. Herty, of North Carolina——

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh now, gentlemen; I appeal to the court to make the witness, if he proposes to answer, answer it yes or no. [Laughter.]

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I am willing to take the statement of Dr. Herty. [Laughter.]

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman has got Dr. Herty on his mind, and I have got "Dr. Moore" on my mind. [Laughter.] You shall not get the mind of this House on as poor a subject as Dr. Herty when it has its mind on as good a subject as you. [Laughter.] I appeal to the manhood of the honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania and ask him to answer "yes" or "no." Will the gentleman please be courteous enough to answer "yes" or "no"?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does the gentleman appeal to my manhood for an answer to that question?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; I will take that back. If I did, I would not get any answer. [Laughter.] I appeal to your mercy to answer it yes or no. [Laughter.]

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I can answer yes or no; I can answer categorically.

Mr. KITCHIN. Answer it yes or no.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. So far as the——

Mr. KITCHIN. Do it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It is a good act, but Dr. Herty, a good North Carolina Democrat——

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman has got Dr. Herty on the brain. Dr. Herty is in Germany now, and we will let him stay there until you answer the question. [Laughter.]

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. He is from the gentleman's own State. He is a Democrat.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, out of all respect to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania, I have not time to fool with him unless he is going to give me a real manly answer, yes or no. Is this the gentleman's report?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes.

Mr. KITCHIN. All right. [Laughter.]

I wish to say here, inasmuch as the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania is going to voluntarily retire from the House, that in the recent mayoralty contest in Philadelphia he won one of the greatest victories ever achieved in a municipal election in this country, and I say it sincerely. [Applause.] I will tell you what I think of J. HAMPTON MOORE. There is no man in the House of whom I am more fond. I thought so much of him and wanted him to win the nomination for mayor so much that I wore a "J. Hampton Moore" button around with me. The Lord knows that before I die I want to see one good, able, honest, manly fellow mayor of the city of Philadelphia, and he is going to make that kind of mayor. [Applause.] Philadelphia may have had other such mayors, but I did not know them. I know J. HAMPTON MOORE, and I know that Philadelphia is going to have in him as good a mayor as any city in this country has ever had. [Applause.] Now, he is going out of Congress, and has no ax to grind or votes to get any more in his district, and with his nomination behind him—which means his election—it seems to me he ought to answer that question yes or no. [Laughter.]

Well, gentleman, the honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania put that commendation of the Democratic act in his report. I want to call another protective-tariff witness as to the virtue of this law. In the gentleman's minority report—and I have not time to read it—if you will turn to page 7, you will find another protectionist, a dye manufacturer, who commends this Democratic act.

You will find in his report that the National Aniline & Chemical Co., which, excepting the Du Ponts, is the biggest dye manufacturing company in the United States, commends this Democratic act. It asks for no change of rates from existing law.

Now, gentlemen, I wish to discuss the license feature of the bill. The Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee in 1916 and the Democratic Members of the House and the Senate, and the President, all cooperating together, felt that this was one of the industries that was in a class by itself, as I have explained. We felt it was the duty of Congress never again to permit the great industries of this country to confront the situation that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] described in his report.

It is our duty as Americans to so frame laws as to encourage and establish and maintain this big key war and peace essential industry. In ordinary times, in normal times, the act of 1916 would be all sufficient. But, gentlemen, we believe, both Democrats and Republicans, that this industry ought under all circumstances to be maintained. It is absolutely necessary. The Republicans believe that there should be a great deal higher tariff than is necessary. They believe in a prohibitive tariff. They want to give the dye manufacturers what the dye manufacturers want. The Democrats are willing to give what the industry needs. We do not want to establish and maintain an

absolute monopoly here, nor do we want a tariff so low that Germany or any other country can drive us out and establish their monopoly here. We want real competitive conditions. The tariff that the Democrats passed in 1916 will meet conditions in normal times. I agree with Mr. LONGWORTH exactly in the view that for the next two years no tariff will protect or maintain the industry here; you can make this tariff as high as the Longworth bill, which will be prohibitive in normal times, and you can make it twice as high, and that will not prevent Germany and it will not prevent Great Britain and France in the next two years from dumping upon us their millions and millions of dollars' worth of dyes which they have accumulated during the war for purposes of war materials. A dye, with just one little inexpensive turn, can be converted into an explosive or a poisonous gas or other munition of war.

Germany had on hand when this war closed, if my information is correct—and it seems that the departments and all the commissions that investigated the question think so—enough dyes and chemicals to supply the world for a year or two. Great Britain had a large surplus; so did France. What kind of a tariff could keep Germany and Great Britain from dumping this surplus on this market? Germany made the bulk of dyes used, not only in this country but throughout the world, for 25 years before the war. America was her greatest market. She sold 85 per cent of the dyestuffs that this country used. We produced here only about 15 per cent of our consumption. Germany is most anxious to again get this market. To do it she must destroy, if possible, the industry here. She could afford to sell here below cost. She would do it. She could afford to give away her products here in order to destroy our industry so that again she could monopolize the American market. Germany and Great Britain and France all would be interested in breaking down the American industry by one means or another, so that America, the biggest, richest market in the world, would be open to them. With their huge surplus on hand, no tariff, however high, could prevent them. But with the industry absolutely maintained and protected here for two years, the transition period from abnormal to normal by means of the license system, the foreign surplus will have been disposed of, conditions will become normal, and, in my opinion, existing rates will prove amply sufficient. If they should not, Congress would then be in a position to intelligently consider the proper rates. With a proper license provision for two years enacted we will know that the American industry will be protected against unfair competition, against the dumping of the foreign surplus below cost, and maintained with fair and reasonable competition. Germany and Great Britain could not hope to destroy the industry here. They would not try it. They could not effect anything.

I agree, therefore, with Mr. LONGWORTH in his report when he says that even the highest tariff rate in his bill will do absolutely no good toward maintaining the industry here for the next two years, and that the only way to protect and maintain the industry is by a license provision. But I am not for the particular kind of license board which he favors and which is contained in this bill.

I am opposed, as a permanent policy, to the license system. It is vicious in principle. It is undemocratic. It is unrepublican. It is un-American. But we do many things in an emergency that in ordinary times are undemocratic and unrepublican and un-American. We passed last year many acts, to bridge over temporary emergencies, that we would all vigorously oppose as permanent propositions. Now, in my judgment, if you, gentlemen, Republicans and Democrats, think it is necessary or that it is proper or that it is our duty to maintain this great peace and war essential industry which has been built up since the war began, and built up partly before we got into the war under the Democratic measure of 1916, there can be no question but that the only way that has been pointed out for us to absolutely maintain it for the next two years is by a temporary license provision.

That provision in the bill does not mean that one can not import. It simply means that he must get license to import articles in the chemical and dyestuffs schedule if he can not get them here at a reasonable price and on reasonable terms. The license board, or commission, must grant the license, if one shows that he can not get them here at a reasonable price or on reasonable terms and prompt delivery. We want to bridge over this abnormal period of two years, this extraordinary dumping period, you might say. We only provide for two years of license. Then American industries can stand on their own bottoms, protected only by the beneficent and sufficient Democratic tariff law that is now on the statute books. We Democrats take the position that this is no time to tinker with tariff rates. No one knows anything about the cost of production abroad in these abnormal times. No one has told us the cost at this time of production at home. Not a manufacturer of dyes has dared to tell us the cost of his production of a single dye or chemical he makes. How, then, with lack of such data, can we intelligently consider tariff rates at this time? Who can tell the just or proper rates? The only thing we do know is that the rates in the bill are the rates the dye producers of this country want. We do know that in normal times they are excessive and prohibitive. When the first popgun tariff bill was pending—the chemical, glass, and surgical-instrument, tariff bill—I stated the Democratic position as follows:

> Nobody knows at this time how to write intelligently or scientifically a tariff bill on the Republican theory or on the Democratic theory, because we have got to know, in considering and writing a tariff according to the Republican theory, what the difference is between the cost of production abroad and here; and in considering a tariff according to the Democratic theory we ought to have a reasonable knowledge as to the difference in the cost. It is admitted by everybody that this is not known at this time, and can not be known what it will be a week or a month or a year hence, because of the rapidly varying conditions. Here is the Democratic position: We realize the wisdom and necessity of maintaining the chemical and dyestuff industry and a few other industries essential in the production of materials for direct munitions of war, which industries were established here during and by the necessities of the war, but which are valuable in the production of necessary articles of everyday use. In the present and ever-changing conditions, having no data or facts upon which to intelligently base a tariff rate, the Democrats propose for a period of two years—a reasonable transition period from abnormal to normal conditions—a license system for importation of chemicals and dyestuffs and the few war essential materials referred to by me a moment ago; that the Tariff Board shall constitute the license board; that no license to import such articles shall be granted within the two years—the transition period from abnormal to normal—unless it be shown that they can not be obtained in the United States at a reasonable price; if such be shown, license to import shall be granted. This will with certainty protect these newly established war essential industries and at the same time prevent the manufacturers here from demanding exorbitant prices. By the expiration of the two years we can hope that conditions of production and values here and elsewhere throughout the world will become normal. By then the Tariff Commission and others can give Congress proper data as to the cost of production at home and abroad. We can then, if it ever could be done, ascertain the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad. Both the Republicans and Democrats will then be in an intelligent position to write a tariff and fix rates according to their respective theories. Why is not this the intelligent, reasonable, and patriotic position for all of us to take? We know and you know that any rate we can fix under existing conditions is a pure guess, unless we do as the Republicans propose to do by this and other bills, and that is give the rate the manufacturers desire and demand. As a permanent proposition we do not favor the import license system. We propose it as a temporary measure to bridge over the extraordinarily abnormal conditions throughout the world.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. I have heard my friend say here before that the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee [Mr. FORDNEY] is, as he regards him, an extreme protectionist. I should like to ask the gentleman what is his view of the opinion expressed by the chairman of the committee in his speech day before yesterday, when, in discussing the licensing system, he said this:

> The point I want to make is—though I will bow to the will of the majority of this House—that we ought to strike from this bill the licensing feature and adopt a bill with the rate of duties provided for in the bill as now framed and then enact an antidumping clause to protect fully and adequately all institutions engaged in the manufacture of dyestuffs as well as all others.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman may have changed, and doubtless has changed, his opinion on that two or three times since he made that statement. [Laughter.] I have heard the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY] say in the committee several times that he had never known of a sufficient antidumping provision. He thought he was against the license feature when he made that speech, because he fears that with it the tariff rates will not be as high as without it. He wants at all times and under all circumstances a sky-high tariff wall.

Mr. LAYTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; just for a moment.

Mr. LAYTON. With the licensing commission composed as it is under the bill——

Mr. KITCHIN. I am coming to that.

Mr. LAYTON. I have been trying to get at this two or three times.

Mr. KITCHIN. I am going to give the gentleman a chance to get right square at it now.

Mr. LAYTON. I want to know just this one thing: With the licensing commission composed as it will be under this bill of the woolen and worsted manufacturing associations, the cotton manufacturing associations, the pulp and paper associations, the pharmaceutical associations, and covering the whole broad realm of industrialism, what guaranty is there that a board composed in that manner, having it in their power to grant these licenses, will not open a floodgate of foreign importations of the articles each member of the board wants for his

industry rather than protect this dyestuff industry, and at the same time prevent their competitors from importing?

Mr. KITCHIN. According to their interests. The gentleman hits the nail on the head. They can do that under this provision which I oppose.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Just let me reply first to the gentleman from Delaware. The gentleman hits the nail on the head to a certain extent. They could do that if they could get a majority of that commission in favor of that policy. On the other hand, there are dye manufacturers on this board, too, and if they could get a majority of that commission with them they would not allow any dyes to come in, although the textile manufacturers might need dyes that they could not get here except at an exorbitant, hold-up price.

Now, let us see how that works. I am with you. I am against the licensing board provided for in this bill. I am for the tariff board; as to the license board, I will say in justice to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] that while he is committed to the principle of licensing, he is not committed to this particular licensing board in the bill. And that is true of other gentlemen. Though they might have voted to report out this bill, they were not committed to this particular licensing system, but after conference the Republicans on the committee thought this was the best way to get it out of the committee.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Just for a minute.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman spoke a minute ago about the antidumping provision, and stated that in his opinion it would not avail in this particular situation.

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not think it will.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I entirely agree with the gentleman on that proposition. Let me suggest to him two reasons: First, that it will be utterly impossible to keep a record of the prices for which 11,000 different colors are selling in Germany, because that would be involved in any antidumping provision. Second, that inasmuch as commercial transactions in Germany now are carried on with the mark, and the mark is at a discount in this country of something like 75 per cent, it would be utterly impossible to keep such a record as that.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman may be correct about that. I have not investigated the mark proposition or considered its decreased value in relation to imports.

I oppose this licensing provision in the bill because it is not a right, a fair, a just, nor does it provide for a constitutional method of making appointments of its members. I do not believe that any power, association, or corporation, or any outside of the Government itself should appoint officers of the Government, and even if Congress had the power to give the appointment of Federal officers to outside private interests, as this bill proposes to do, this method in the bill would be manifestly impracticable and unfair.

It provides that there shall be so many members of this dye-licensing commission; they must be appointed, some by the Cotton Manufacturers' Association, some by the Woolen Manufacturers' Association, some by the Druggists' Association, some by the Dye Manufacturers' Association, and so forth, all private corporations, all private corporate interests. Now, it would possibly—yea, probably—work as the gentleman from Delaware suggested, in this way: For instance, say, I am a cotton manufacturer and the gentleman from Delaware is a cotton manufacturer. We are competitors. We have large business; we are selling in the same territory; we sell the same class of goods, but he happens to be a member of this board. I am not. Now, I would have to go to him, or to this board of which he was a member, and tell them my whole business, how much dye I needed, what I was going to dye, what colors I wanted and the kind, and so forth. He would be without business instinct, he would be above ordinary men, if he would let me, his competitor, have those dyes that I wanted in order to compete with him. The minute I applied to the board he would at once know the condition of my business, what I was in need of, what colors I was going to put out, what kind of dye I was going to use on my hosiery and underwear, cotton cloth, and so forth. He would be keen and shrewd enough not to vote on it himself, but he would go to the men appointed by the drug association and other associations and say, "Here, I know about this fellow's business; he does not need those dyes at all; he is putting up a bluff," and so when it came to the board the gentleman would be tactful enough not to vote, but his associates would know all about it and they would vote not to let me have those dyes. The drug man would know that a manufacturer and producer of drugs, one of his competitors, was coming before the commission sooner or later for chemicals needed by him in production of drugs. He could count on the gentleman from Delaware whom he has favored to stand by him and not let his competitors have a license to import. That is the way it will or may work.

Mr. LAYTON. I wish the gentleman would not put me on that board. [Laughter.]

Mr. KITCHIN. He is not going to be appointed; he would do the fair, right thing; he would be disqualified. [Laughter.]

This license provision in the bill is absolutely null and void. If the author and other members of the Ways and Means Committee who voted for it had thought about it they would have known that the whole scheme was null and void. Never in the history of the Government has a proposition been submitted to the House or Congress permitting private interests, private corporations, to select Government officials to perform a high and important governmental function, except in this bill.

Mr. BUTLER. Congress can not delegate to private corporations such powers in that respect.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman is absolutely correct. If the majority members of the committee had thought for one moment, they would have known it. Any schoolboy would know that they had no right to allow private interests to appoint officials of the Government of the United States to perform the functions of that Government.

If the distinguished gentleman, the author of the bill, and others who reported it out had turned to the Constitution of the United States, Article II, they would have found that there are only four ways by which any officer of the United States Government can be appointed. All officers, according to the Constitution, must be appointed in one of four ways. First, by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; second, but "Congress by law may vest," the appointment of such inferior officers, "in the President alone" without confirmation of the Senate; third, "in the courts of law"; and, fourth, "in the heads of departments."

Now, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] and other majority Members want to abrogate the Constitution and say that members of the license board shall be appointed by the National Cotton Manufacturers' Association, the National Woolen Manufacturers' Association, the leather association, the dye association, and so forth. [Laughter.]

You know that the dye manufacturers want this bill, and they want the licensing commission just like it is in here, and some of the dye-using manufacturers—not all of them—want it because they are going to sit on the board and they would get their stuff in and keep their competitors' stuff out. They would let the dye producer hold up all but themselves.

Every man in this House knows that every man that is elected a Member of this House before he can vote, before he can act at all, must stand before the Speaker in the presence of the other Members, in the presence of the officers of the House, and swear to support the Constitution with this Article II, section 2, in it.

Some of us Democrats think that this is a sacred document and that sometimes, at least, we ought to recall that oath. But what chance does the Constitution stand in a Republican House or committee when a demand is made by the Cotton Manufacturers' Association, the Woolen Manufacturers' Association, and other associations to defy it? [Laughter.] They have been taught by the protective-tariff barons and manufacturers throughout the United States for the last 50 or 60 years that their first allegiance is to the petitions and demands of these associations. [Laughter.] They are not going to let the Constitution stand in the way of complying with their demands. Of course, the Constitution went out of the window and the demands of these protective-tariff barons went into the bill. [Laughter.]

I want to ask the distinguished gentleman from Ohio if he does not think there is a little doubt after reading these plain, clear provisions of the Constitution with respect to the method of these appointments provided for in the bill? [Laughter.]

Had we not better do the proper thing, we Members who believe with Mr. LONGWORTH that a temporary license is proper at this time, and have the license board constitutionally created and its members constitutionally appointed? If we are going to have this license feature, the right thing to do is to put it in the hands of a Government agency, and we Democrats propose, and some Republicans, I think, will agree with us—I would not be surprised if Mr. LONGWORTH himself were not favorable to it—that the licensing system should be put in charge of the United States Tariff Commission. Give it the power to grant these licenses upon the terms set out in the bill. The commission has been properly created and its members constitutionally appointed. It has been studying the chemical and dyestuff proposition for nearly two years. They are disinterested;

they are not representative of this industry or of that industry, and they are going to look at the evidence before them in a judicial way. I doubt if the domestic producers can fool them either, because they have been studying the cost of production at home and as much as they can abroad in this dye industry for the last two or three years, and before we actually got into the war they had sent men to Germany and elsewhere to study the cost of production abroad. They know something about it. They already have the facilities and the powers to find out the cost of production here and abroad. They should know what a reasonable price is. They, under the powers granted them, can send for the books of these dye manufacturers and can ascertain, if possible, what it costs to produce dyes or chemicals here. This license commission proposed in this bill has no such powers. Let us try to have a fair, disinterested license commission—the Tariff Board—and then in my judgment we will be on the way to maintain this big war and peace essential industry without extortionate prices to the people, to the dye-using industries, and without discrimination in favor of one industry against another.

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. BRYNES of South Carolina. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] on Tuesday referred to the manner in which the Chemical Foundation Co. was organized.

Mr. KITCHIN. I am going to come to that in a moment, but before that let me say, I shall offer a motion to recommit, to make the Tariff Board the license board, and also taking the Tariff Board's copy of the bill, which it presented to our committee, and on which it worked for a year and a half, and its suggestion as to amendments, so that the bill will operate just as the Congress intended for the present act to operate.

In this motion to recommit we have changed the rates of existing law in one particular. We have increased the ad valorem rates on group 2, the intermediates, from 15 per cent ad valorem plus 2½ cents per pound specific to 25 per cent ad valorem plus 2½ cents per pound specific, because all of the testimony before the committee shows that the ad valorem rate on the intermediates, group 2, should be substantially the same as on group 3. On group 3, the finished dyes, the duty is 30 per cent plus 5 per cent. This remains as in existing law. We have made the rate on the intermediates 25 per cent ad valorem, but that does not mean more cost to the user of the finished dyes. We add no further rate on such finished dyes. I believe that every Democrat in this House can afford to vote for it. In fact, I do not think that any Democrat can afford to vote against such a motion to recommit, and I would say that all patriotic Republicans ought also to vote for it.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman did not mean to convey the impression that the Tariff Board had recommended any changes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Not in rates; no. But it does think—rather its experts think—that there should not be so great a difference in the ad valorem rates on groups 2 and 3 as there is in existing law; that the rates should be substantially the same.

Mr. LONGWORTH. From what the gentleman said that would be the inference.

Mr. KITCHIN. I have in the proposed motion to recommit changed the rate of the existing law to comport exactly with the views of experts on that. We all—Republicans and Democrats—agree that the ad valorem rates on group 2 and group 3 should be substantially the same. We increase, therefore, the rate in group 2 from 15 per cent to 25 per cent ad valorem in our proposed motion to recommit.

Mr. HULINGS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. HULINGS. What is the gentleman's idea as to the effect of the establishment of a monopoly in the dye business through the ownership of all these German patents?

Mr. KITCHIN. I am coming to that, but will say now that such a monopoly, so far as the products covered by the German patents are concerned, would have been established if the Chemical Foundation had not been organized to purchase them to hold in trust for all Americans who produce or who desire to produce dyestuffs. Since the gentleman has called my attention to the Chemical Foundation Co., I will now take up its organization and its relation to the dye industry and the German patents. My friend MOORE has the Chemical Foundation and the Garvan rabies. [Laughter.] He has made several speeches on the floor of the House referring in criticism to Mr. Francis P. Garvan, the Alien Property Custodian and the president of the Chemical Foundation Co.

I want to say at the outset that I think the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] at first had reason for fearing or suspecting the Chemical Foundation Co., and I must confess upon the face of it, as it appeared to me without investigation, and as it appeared to several members of the committee and of the House, Democrats and Republicans, that the whole transaction of selling to Mr. Garvan and other officials serving under the Alien Property Custodian these 4,500 German patents did look suspicious. It looked suspicious to me, and that is the reason that induced me to go to the bottom of it and see whether there was anything on which to ground my suspicion or to justify it. Mr. MOORE attempted to do that, and he did have a most extensive hearing on the matter before the Ways and Means Committee. He called before the committee the parties to the transaction, the men who now have in their hands the stock of this Chemical Foundation Co., the men who control it, and he examined and cross-examined them, the men who were in any way connected with the transactions of the Chemical Foundation. I think he examined them for perhaps a week. I never saw a more rigid cross-examination in my life. He certainly had them on the stand two or three days, and he did go to the bottom of the matter and ascertaned every fact to the minutest detail connected with it, and when he got to the bottom of it I believe it was the judgment of every man on the committee that the bottom and all through to the bottom was just as clean as at the top, absolutely clean in every respect.

I never saw a single one of the fellows connected with the Alien Property Custodian or with the Chemical Foundation except Mr. Palmer in my life until this hearing before the committee. I never spoke to one of them, never saw one, and I doubt if I would know one if I should see him now. I suppose I would know Mr. Garvan, and I suppose I would know Mr. Choate, of whom I took particular notice, because the father of the latter gentleman was one of the most distinguished men the country ever produced, one of the most distinguished lawyers, and Mr. Choate is one of the most striking fellows you ever saw.

One thing impressed me about Mr. Choate. He looked like a strong, candid, frank fellow. He looked like a man of more than ordinary intellect and character, and he seemed in his testimony most candid and truthful in everything. He was the lawyer of this concern, the Chemical Foundation; he was on the stand about two days or more. I remember one thing I would remember him by. You see, this is a Republican committee, gentlemen; a majority of them were Republicans; Republicans control the committee, and the Republicans could put in what they wanted in the bill and we Democrats could not keep it out. When Mr. Choate was introducing himself to the committee he let the committee know that he had been a lifelong Republican; that all of his parents were Republicans; that his father and grandfather and all his family on both sides for generations back were Republicans; and that he was not only Republican by birth and association but from principle and everything else. I said, "Well, now, that is all right. That is bad enough; that is enough to impeach you, of course, but go ahead, we will not hold that against you." [Laughter on the Democratic side.] From that time Mr. Choate and myself became mutually very cordial. I have had several talks with him and also cross-examined him in the committee, and I want to say that a large majority of the men who have control of this Chemical Foundation are Republicans, lifelong Republicans. Even in spite of that, I looked into it most carefully and with the most rigid scrutiny and found that there was no sort of a suspicion on the part of anyone in this whole transaction, and I commend the patriotic spirit of these gentlemen, and I think you will, Republicans and Democrats, when I tell you the facts about it. Now, Germany did have 4,500 patents here which the Alien Property Custodian had in his possession. Some of them were very important patents—important to maintain this essential industry. Nobody knew what would be in the peace treaty about patents. In fact, I do not believe the war had ended. It was absolutely necessary from the investigation of the experts of the Alien Property Custodian's staff—and Mr. Garvan was one of them, Mr. Choate was one of them, and several others—they found it absolutely necessary for the people of this country to get hold of these in order to have a real established war industry; and they were right, it was necessary. Now, the question was, How could it be done? Because, if the war ended and the property—the patents—were still owned by Germany or her nationals, they would have to be turned back to Germany or her nationals and we could not get the benefit of them in this country. The formulas, the secrets, were locked up in those patents, and our laws protected Germany in those patents. Now, the only way to get them—for as long as the Government held them they would have to be turned back at the end of the war—was that

Congress pass a law permitting the Alien Property Custodian to sell any or all of this property or patents to American citizens, not only patents but any other property. Congress did pass such a law. Now, these were important dye patents owned by Germany or her nationals. Gentlemen, it was most advisable for our people to get hold of those patents, most advisable, almost essential to an American dye industry. If the Government held them, they would go back to Germany upon the termination of the war. Now, this law permitted the Alien Property Custodian, with approval of the President, to sell the patents and all other property of German citizens in his possession. Now, they decided to sell under the act of Congress in order that this country might have the benefit of these patents. They started to sell at public sale. What did they find out? Let us see if they did not do the wise thing.

If they had been a crowd of crooks, they would have done the wrong thing, the unwise thing. But let us see as honest men if they did not do as you and I would have done. You know these men on the staff of the Alien Property Custodian had looked into these patents and knew what they were and how essential and how important they were and how valuable they were to an American dyestuff industry. They knew as no other people in this country would know. They had experts and they found out, they unearthed how many there were and what they were, what they covered, and it took months and months to unearth them. Germany had patents for dyes, explosives, poisonous gases, and all those things. Now, they decided, and wisely decided. As I said, I hold no brief for them in respect to this department or any other department; when they are right I am with them, and when they are wrong I am against them. I want to find out the truth. Now, let us see if they did not do what any business and patriotic man would do, and most of the men connected with the transactions were Republicans. I think they acted patriotically and wisely. If they had put them up at public sale, what would have been the result? Just one or two dye manufacturers—the Du Ponts, say, or one or two of the large textile and woolen industries—could have gotten together and pooled and put in one bid and gotten them practically for nothing, and procured thereby a private monopoly, and the balance of the dye and textile industries would have been completely in their control, and what would have been the result? That would have been an injustice to the other dye-producing and dye-using concerns of this country, would have been an injustice to the thousands of textile plants of this country, to permit these patents to be sold at public sale, to be bought up by a combination of a few. It would not be right or just. The Alien Property Custodian and other officials of the Government and the President decided to sell, and did sell, at private sale these German patents to the men who had unearthed them, who knew in every detail what they were and how essential they were to hold and use in trust for the equal benefit of the entire dyestuff-producing and dyestuff-using industry, to be enjoyed on equal terms by all, big and little alike, and also to prevent any private monopoly in them. So they resolved very properly not to put them up at public sale. The President by Executive order under the law authorized the custodian to sell at private sale. The custodian could have sold, Mr. MOORE says, for much more than $250,000. Yes; he could; but the Government would not have benefited by it; only the German owners would have benefited by a higher price. The custodian could have gone to some textile manufacturers or could have gone to the Du Ponts or other big dye plants and sold these patents for perhaps several million dollars; but such sale would have given them a monopoly and have made every other dye-producing and dye-using plant in the United States absolutely subject to their will, to be favored or discriminated against as they wished.

He did not sell them to every Tom, Dick, and Harry. Why? Because they would not know how essential they were to the Government in time of war and in time of peace, and they did not wish to sell them to anybody who did not know thoroughly of the ins and outs and the labyrinths of these intricate, complex German patents. Not one of these men that is a trustee of the Chemical Foundation ever suggested himself. But Mr. Palmer, with his staff of advisers, and the President thought the best thing was to have a corporation formed—the Chemical Foundation—and have the stock put into the hands of men who knew; the men who worked out these patents and had investigated German and foreign activities heretofore in this country.

They thought that Mr. Garvan should be at the head of this foundation. He was the man at the head of the investigation of the German activities and knew all about their patents, what they meant to the dye industry in this country. He knew how important it was that these patents should not go into the hands of a private monopoly; and there was Mr. Choate; and there were some other gentlemen. And so they were sold to the Chemical Foundation for $250,000. What was the purpose? In order for the Chemical Foundation or its stockholders or officers to make money? Not a particle. That was as far from the purpose and intention of Mr. Palmer and the President and these gentlemen on the staff of the Alien Property Custodian and the stockholders and officers of the foundation as the earth is from the sun. No such thought ever crossed the mind of anyone connected with it. So these men did form this Chemical Foundation, was incorporated, and there were appointed or elected as trustees and directors of it men that had been working with Mr. Palmer on these matters and were on his staff. Nobody outside knew what this meant to the industries of the United States. I believe with all my heart and conscience that every person or officer that was connected in any way with the transaction, and every trustee, every director, the president, vice president, and secretary of this Chemical Foundation, and every stockholder had no other purpose in this world in being connected with it except to serve the entire dye-producing, dye-using industries, and to prevent these patents going into private hands for the purpose of private monopoly.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina has expired.

Mr. KITCHIN. Will the gentleman yield me five minutes more?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will yield the gentleman five minutes of my time if he will yield to me five of his later on.

Mr. KITCHIN. All right.

I said everyone connected with it has only one purpose and that is to serve the entire dye-manufacturing industry and dye-using industry without discrimination or favoritism, and no one has a purpose to serve himself or to make a penny out of it for himself.

I wanted to read just an extract from the hearings.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I wish to say that the time was yielded to the gentleman under misapprehension. The gentleman has used his 15 minutes extra. If he takes five minutes now, it would simply take that much time from this side.

Mr. KITCHIN. I gave you gentlemen an hour and three-quarters of our time, and you will still have 25 minutes if you give me five minutes now. I think it is manifestly just to these gentlemen.

I can not turn to the page right now. But this Chemical Foundation is controlled by five trustees. Every dollar of stock under the charter, under the written, signed, recorded agreement, must be turned over to the trustees and held 17 years, or until 1936, when these patents expire, and then anybody can have them, absolutely to be controlled by them for the benefit of the entire industry, to be enjoyed by all on equal terms and conditions.

These gentlemen are the trustees: Otto T. Bannard, chairman of the New York Trust Co. He was on the staff of Mr. Palmer. Hon. George L. Ingraham, late presiding justice, appellate division, first department, New York Supreme Court; Cleveland H. Dodge, Esq., one of the most prominent manufacturers and business men in the country; B. Howell Griswold, jr., Esq., of Alexander Brown & Sons, Baltimore, and Ralph Stone, Esq., president of the Detroit Trust Co., Detroit, Mich. The charter requires that every license they issue must be non-exclusive and issued to every American manufacturer on the same terms and at the same price and with the same charges in order to protect them. So the little manufacturer gets the benefit of them at the same price and terms as the big manufacturer, and they are required to issue it to every American citizen who desires to manufacture dyestuffs. These fellows are protecting the industry. Mr. Otto T. Bannard—what does he get out of this? He has not a dollar's worth of stock in it. What does he get as salary? Not a penny, and he never will get a penny. The same is true of Hon. George L. Ingraham. He does not get a cent and never will. Cleveland H. Dodge does not have a penny of stock, and not a penny of salary, and never can get a penny. Then there is B. Howell Griswold, jr. He has not a penny of stock, does not draw a penny of salary, and never will get any. Ralph Stone, not a penny, nor will he ever get any. They are all acting as a matter of patriotism and to protect the whole dye industry, to keep anybody from getting a monopoly, and, as I say, to protect the little as well as the big manufacturer. Each little producer can get the same terms and license to manufacture as the big industry. These gentlemen are the trustees, and they can elect the directors.

Now, there are three directors. The first is Francis P. Garvan, who is also president of it. He is the gentleman that has given the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] the

rabies. There is not a man of higher character or loftier patriotism in the United States than Mr. Garvan. He is a man of exceptional wisdom and ability. There is not a more efficient or capable officer to-day in the service of the Government. The vice president is Col. Douglas I. McKay, and the treasurer and secretary is Mr. George J. Corbett, of the Central Union Trust Co. Does Mr. Francis P. Garvan get a penny out of it? He has not a dollar's worth of the stock. Does he want to make money on a big salary? He does not get a penny's salary, and never will, and he can not draw a single cent's salary under the agreement. He serves from the purest and most patriotic of motives. He is interested only in seeing established here a great American dye industry. He knew about these German patents and how they should be protected and how the whole American industry should be protected, and he worked the whole matter out, and that is the reason the trustees made him the president. It was he and Mr. McKay and Mr. Corbett who worked out and unearthed the German activities and these patents.

Mr. KNUTSON. I would like to know where the $250,000 is coming back from?

Mr. KITCHIN. They issue $500,000 of stock—$400,000 preferred—only $1,000 can be held by one person or corporation, and these dye manufacturers and other manufacturers that hold the stock in it can only get 6 per cent, but they have no more power of voting of the stock or issuing of a license or the terms of the license than you have, because by the charter and written agreement all the stock is turned over to these trustees upon certain trusts which I have mentioned.

Another provision in the charter and agreement is that when the foundation has made enough to take up, or when this Chemical Foundation takes up, this preferred stock, then all the net earnings of the foundation thereafter shall go for research work free; research work in chemical and allied sciences for the benefit of the Government and the industries of the whole country. It is not a money-making proposition at all. Of course, the foundation will charge for the license small royalties, and in this way the money invested in the stock or property will be returned to the stockholders.

Gentlemen, I am grateful for your patience and attention. [Applause.]

Let us Reduce the Army, Useless Appropriations for Rivers and Harbors, Cut Out the Hundred Thousand or More Useless Job Holders, Increase the Appropriation for Good Roads—Money Spent This Way Would Mean More to the American People Than Any Other Way.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ROBSION,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 4, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 13742) to amend sections 3 and 6 of the act of July 11, 1916, and sections 5 and 6 of the act of February 28, 1919.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, under leave granted to me I desire to call the attention of the House to the bill under consideration as well as other matters connected with the question of Federal aid for roads.

Under the acts of Congress certain moneys were appropriated to aid the States in the construction of public highways. Certain amount of this money must be taken up and appropriated by the States to which it was apportioned before July 1, 1920, and such State or States that fail to let contracts and have them approved by the Secretary of Agriculture, the money apportioned to them would go back to the Federal Treasury. Kentucky has failed to let contracts and have them approved by the Secretary of Agriculture for $736,000 of Federal aid, which has heretofore been set apart by the Federal Government to aid the State of Kentucky in the construction of roads. Some of the other States have likewise failed to take up their part of the Federal aid, while other States have taken up all of their Federal aid. This bill grants an extension of time of one year to the State of Kentucky and other States to take up what remains of the Federal aid which should have been taken up before July 1, 1920. Our Committee on Roads reported the bill favorably and unanimously. It should pass by all means. If it does not pass, my State will lose more than $700,000 of Federal aid, and other States will also lose a great deal of Federal aid. I urge every Member of the House to give this measure his vote and support.

FEDERAL AID ENDS JUNE 30, 1921.

Under the present laws $75,000,000 has been appropriated for Federal aid for the year beginning July 1, 1920, and ending June 30, 1921. Unless the Congress makes further appropriations Federal aid will cease July 30, 1921. This must not happen. I have introduced a bill which seeks to appropriate one billion of dollars for Federal aid for roads. Two hundred million would be spent each year for five years. Owing to the depleted condition of the Treasury and the sum of money already available, it has been thought wise by the Congress not to make any appropriations for roads in addition to what has already been appropriated at this time, but I desire to say to the Members of the House that I shall insist upon my bill or some other similar bill being taken up when the Congress convenes next December and ask that appropriations be made to continue this great work after June 30, 1921.

ROAD BUILDERS AND OFFICIALS INDORSE THIS PLAN.

Recently there appeared before our Committee on Roads State road commissioners and other road officials from something like two-thirds of the States of the Union. There is a plan on foot in the Nation under the Townsend plan or bill to construct two great national highways at the expense of the Government. One running across the continent east and west and the other running north and south. It is believed that this will kill the present plan for Federal aid for the States. I should like to see two great highways through the Nation; but if the Townsend plan must be adopted at the expense of the present system of Federal aid for the States I am strongly in favor of continuing the present plan. The present plan will mean much more to the road interest and the commercial interest of the Nation. My bill proposes to continue the present system of Federal aid for the States, but it increases the amount of this Federal aid. The Townsend plan would only aid a few States and the few counties through which this national highway would pass. My plan of Federal aid will aid every county in the Nation. Under this plan it is possible to construct good pike roads to every county seat of every county in the Nation. This is what the Nation needs and must have. We have been for years appropriating large sums of money for the Army and the Navy, and in the last few years we have appropriated large sums of money to maintain the railroads under Government control. With trucks and other means of rapid transportation, good roads will help solve the problem of transportation. Of the great many witnesses who appeared before our Committee on Roads, from nearly all of the States of the Union, they all agreed that the appropriations for roads was the most popular and most beneficial to the Nation as a whole of any appropriation.

GOOD ROADS WILL REDUCE COST OF LIVING.

Some of the best authorities of the Nation have stated that nearly one-half of the perishable food products of the Nation is wasted each year because of lack of good roads to get these food products to the market. A great campaign has been on for some time to induce people to return to the farms. Nothing would contribute more to this movement than good roads. Good roads will make better farms and better farmers. It will greatly increase production and the farmer can get his products to the market and to the people. We must increase production in this country. Good roads will help the church and school. It will make farm life more attractive. While Federal-aid appropriations have not been large, they have proved a wonderful incentive to road building throughout the Nation. We should foster and encourage this good-roads sentiment. Appropriations for good roads benefit nearly every person in the Nation, and above all it brings the benefits of Government to the farmers. They have been neglected too long. Let us have a smaller Army, less rivers and harbors appropriations, cut off thousands of useless job holders, and give more money toward the construction of good roads. I would rather vote money for good roads than for any other purpose. I have talked with a great many Members of Congress, and most of them entertain like views.

We passed the bill authorizing the farmers to organize and cooperate in the handling and selling of their products. Now, let us push the good-roads movement so they may have the means to get their products to market.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. FIELDS,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920,

On House resolution 533, requesting the Federal Trade Commission to make certain inquiries into the prices of loose-leaf tobacco.

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this resolution is to secure through the Federal Trade Commission, created by law to perform such functions, information as to the cause in the decline of the prices of loose-leaf and other unmanufactured tobacco during the sale of the 1919 crop.

Tobacco is the chief money crop in my State and in portions of other States, and any condition that affects the price of the unmanufactured tobacco likewise affects the prosperity and well-being of the agricultural population of those sections. It is also one of the Government's greatest revenue producers, and any condition that affects the production of tobacco affects to an equal extent the revenues of the Government; and if the conditions that obtained during the sale of the 1919 crop continue, the production of tobacco must necessarily decrease, for the farmers can not live and produce tobacco at the prices received, in the main, for their 1919 crop. Therefore, the Government should be interested, as well as the farmer, in the undertaking proposed by the resolution which I have introduced and which is now under consideration.

Mr. Speaker, the conditions of which we complain are these: In the early market of the 1919 crop of tobacco the prices paid by the manufacturers or their agents were satisfactory to the tobacco producers, but within a few weeks the prices were reduced to figures far below the cost of production, and from the data furnished to me by tobacco growers and the managers of local tobacco markets it is apparent that that condition was brought about by manipulation among buyers. At least four of the large tobacco companies were represented on these markets, these being the American Tobacco Co., the Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co., the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., and the P. Lorillard Tobacco Co. There were others on some of the markets, but those referred to were generally represented and are referred to by the producers as the "Big Four."

For a few days, or possibly a few weeks, after the market for the 1919 crop opened there was competition between the agents of these companies, and, as I have previously stated, fair prices were paid, but ere long competition ceased, prices went down, and competition disappeared, notwithstanding the fact that the same buyers who had competed with each other a few days and weeks before were still on the same markets; but instead of bidding against each other for various grades, as they had previously done, an agreement seemed to have been reached between them or their firms whereby no two of them would bid on the same grades at the same time. One of them would bid on one or a given number of grades for a given period of time and the others would not bid on these grades, but would bid in the same manner on another grade or grades, no two of them bidding on the same grade or grades. This would continue for a few days and then they would alternate. The one who had first bid on grade A would bid on grade B; the one who had previously bid on grade B would bid on grade C; the one who had bid on grade C would go to grade D; and the one who had bid on grade D would bid on grade A; or on the smaller markets one of them would buy on one market one week, bidding on all grades without competition, while the others would likewise buy on other markets without competition, alternating from one market to another; but whichever way the scheme was manipulated it was done to the destruction of competition, leaving each buyer to offer any price that he might care to offer and leaving the producer at his mercy, without any remedy except to withdraw his tobacco from the market, which was soon found to be a dangerous policy, as tobacco that was withdrawn and later put up again seldom brought as much on the second bid as it had brought on the first bid; and, besides, the great bulk of tobacco is grown by tenant farmers or by landowners of limited means, who depend upon their tobacco crop to pay their expenses incurred while growing the crop and to carry them over to another crop. A large per cent of them were, therefore, unable financially to withdraw and withhold their crops from the market even had they felt inclined to do so, but were placed at the mercy of the manufacturers through the manipulations that I have just explained and were ruthlessly robbed by them. Much of the last year's crop sold at an average of 6 cents per pound, while it cost at the current prices of labor, feed, and other supplies essential to the growing and marketing of a crop 20 cents per pound to produce it, thereby bankrupting hundreds, yes, thousands, of farmers, both landowners and tenants. I am informed that thousands of tenants did not receive enough for their crops to pay their grocery bills, leaving them nothing with which to buy winter clothing for their families and other supplies necessary to their health and comfort.

Mr. Speaker, another evidence of the guilt of the manufacturers in manipulating the markets to their own advantage in violation of law is the concern manifested by their representatives here in Washington when I introduced this resolution. The resolution had hardly gotten out of the basket on the Speaker's table when the Washington correspondent of the American Tobacco Journal, a trust-owned paper published in New York, called me by phone to make inquiry about the resolution; then an attorney called me by phone to inquire about the contents and purpose of the resolution; then another attorney called me by phone and requested that I mail him a copy of the resolution; and then the Washington representative of the American Tobacco Journal called on me at my office and asked if he could discuss the matter with me. I told him he was at liberty to do so, and his first question was, "Is it your intention to push this resolution?" I assured him that I would prosecute the matter to the last ditch. He then asked me if I was not aware of the fact that the low rate of foreign exchange was responsible for the break in the tobacco market.

I told him that I was aware of the fact that the manufacturers had been handing that kind of bunk to the people, but I knew as well as he that it was absurd and without foundation so far as it applies to burley tobacco, approximately 90 per cent of which is manufactured and consumed within the United States and is therefore not affected by the rate of foreign exchange. I agreed with him that his contention might hold good so far as applicable to the black tobacco grown in western Kentucky and western Tennessee, 90 per cent of which is exported to Europe, were it not for the fact that that product is bringing on the average $4 less per hundred pounds than it brought during the war, when none of it could be exported for lack of shipping facilities. He could not deny the correctness of my contentions, nor did he attempt to do so. Again, when the resolution was reported to the House by the committee, that same gentleman called me by phone and asked me if I would please have my secretary mail a copy of the committee's report to the American Tobacco Journal. I mention these facts, Mr. Speaker, to show how much concern this resolution has caused the representatives and attorneys of the tobacco manufacturers, and will say in passing that if there was no guilt resting upon them or their companies, why would they be concerned about the resolution or the investigation which it proposes?

The resolution also attracted the attention of the Tobacco Growers and Dealers' Protective Association, whose members throughout the country have been robbed of the proceeds of their honest toil through the market manipulations of the Tobacco Trust. The association referred to issued an appeal through the Louisville Courier-Journal, covering a fourth of a page, to the tobacco growers of the country to forward to me data to use in support of the resolution, and at this point, Mr. Speaker, I desire to insert for the RECORD a copy of the association's appeal and a few of the letters received in support of the contentions that I have made. They read as follows:

[Courier-Journal Washington Bureau.]

HEARING THIS WEEK ON TOBACCO PRICES—FIELDS URGES GROWERS TO SEND HIM FACTS IN "BIG FOUR" PROBE.

WASHINGTON, *April 10.*

Hearings on the resolution of Representative W. J. FIELDS, Kentucky, for an investigation of the decline in prices of tobacco being paid by the "Big Four" will be held before the House Committee on Interstate Commerce next week, it was announced to-day.

Since he introduced the resolution, Mr. FIELDS has received many letters from growers in Kentucky and other States complaining of prices now being paid. One man said he sold part of his crop in the early days of the market at $42.25 to $46.75, but he was unable to get the rest of the same crop to market until early this year. Then he received $10.75 to $17.50.

Mr. FIELDS to-day requested that growers who have complaints furnish him with specific data setting forth the buyer, the market, and the prices paid. He will submit the data to the committee next week.

To the farmers and dealers in tobacco of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Tennessee:

Your attention is called to an article from Washington, published herewith, which speaks for itself. We request that the thousands of farmers and dealers who are vitally affected by the insidious actions of the so-called Tobacco Trust immediately write to Congressman W. J. FIELDS and acquaint him with the exact facts. Tell him how the various markets were conducted and exactly what happened when you disposed of your own crops. Let him know what prices were paid for a small proportion of the crop and relate what occurred shortly after the

season opened. Give him specific facts—and where a portion of the crop was sold early and the balance after the slump, state the exact difference in averages. Tell him who was the principal buyer on your local market and how the different buyers for the "Big Four" performed on markets which you are acquainted with.

Don't postpone writing or telegraphing, but do so at once. This is exceedingly vital and must be acted upon immediately. Let every man do his duty and furnish all information possible. There are thousands among you whose tobacco sold for less than cost of production. Sit down, write the facts, and present the matter at Washington.

THE TOBACCO GROWERS AND DEALERS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION,
H. B. GORIN,
J. V. SMITH,
W. H. SNOOK, *Committee.*

GORIN BROS.,
Louisville, Ky., April 13, 1920.

Hon. W. J. FIELDS,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I inclose herewith the commissioner of agriculture's report, on sales of leaf tobacco for the month of March, and wish to call your particular attention to the fact that 27,283,368 pounds owned by farmers was sold for an average of $11.36 per hundredweight, viz, about 11 cents per pound.

In view of the fact that tobacco can not be produced for less than 18 cents to 20 cents per pound, it would appear that an effort should be made at once to relieve such a condition. Also that an investigation should be undertaken to ascertain wherein the fault lies.

Thanking you for your efforts in behalf of the tobacco growers and dealers of Kentucky, I am,

Respectfully, yours,

H. B. GORIN.

The report follows:

NEW TOBACCO PRICES TUMBLE.

FRANKFORT, KY., *April 13, 1920.*

Tobacco sold during March at Kentucky warehouses totaled 52,704,158 pounds and brought $6,923,853 to the growers for an average of 16.34 cents a pound for old crop and 13.03 for 1919 crop, according to the report of W. C. Hanna, commissioner of agriculture. Several months ago the general average was above 35 cents. New crop burley averaged but 12.71 cents and represented 33,281,450 pounds of the total sales. The poor quality of the 1919 crop caused the average price for that kind to be lower than that for the older tobacco. The month's average of 13.03 cents for the 1919 crop is believed to be the lowest in many years.

Old tobacco.

	Pounds.	Average price.
Burley sold for growers	1,117,476	$16.25
Burley sold for dealers	292,950	22.38
Burley resale	179,850	24.75
Total and average	1,590,276	18.65
One-sucker for growers	2,410	26.63
One-sucker for dealers	5,085	12.77
One-sucker resale	3,630	14.97
Total and average	11,125	14.33
Unfired dark, growers	371,625	9.81
Total and average	371,625	9.81
Fired dark, growers	138,665	11.08
Total and average	138,665	11.08
Grand total and average	2,111,691	16.34

1919 crop.

	Pounds.	Average price.
Burley sold for growers	27,283,368	$11.36
Burley sold for dealers	2,674,297	18.47
Burley resale	3,323,785	19.22
Total and average	33,281,450	12.71
One-sucker for gowers	1,380,189	12.05
One-sucker for dealers	163,474	11.62
Total and average	1,543,663	12.01
Unfired dark, growers	2,319,415	11.21
Unfired dark, dealers	29,570	11.70
Total and average	2,348,985	11.22
Fired dark, growers	8,658,379	14.52
Fired dark, dealers	256,775	16.35
Total and average	8,915,154	15.71
Green River, growers	4,312,365	11.10
Green River, dealers	91,350	8.77
Green River resale	99,510	11.31
Total and average	4,503,225	11.06
Grand total and average	50,592,467	13.03

THE BLUE GRASS STOCK FARMS,
Berry, Ky., April 15, 1920.

Hon. WILLIAM J. FIELDS,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. FIELDS: In reference to House resolution 506, submitted by you in the House of Representatives on March 27, 1920, we beg to advise that we heartily applaud your efforts to have an investigation made to determine the cause of the sudden decline during the latter days of the tobacco market in Kentucky and elsewhere. This is a question that vitally concerns the farmers of your district, as well as farmers wherever tobacco is depended upon as the main crop. The situation demands immediate attention, and therefore we urgently implore every House Member interested in agriculture to give ear to your resolution, and that same be passed without delay. Even Members who hail not from tobacco States will, we hope, in the interest of reciprocity, vote to pass the resolution. We are large tobacco growers, operating two large estates, and submit the following data for the consideration of all concerned:

Cost of farm labor in Kentucky is $3 per day.

Hay with which to feed horses necessary to the culture of tobacco is $40 per ton.

Corn, $2 per bushel.

In the early days of the market of 1919 we sold several loads of tobacco for an average of $46.75 and $42.25. From the same identical crop, marketing tobacco of identical quality, we sold in the latter days of the market (1920) the balance of our tobacco, which we could not get ready for the market earlier owing to the scarcity of farm labor, at averages of $10.75 and $17.50. Understand the tobacco marketed early was of the same quality as that sold later. We would like to know the reason for the decline in price so that proper remedies may be applied. We can not possibly raise tobacco during the present times for less than 20 cents per pound and break even. Thirty cents a pound, even, would allow us a very small margin of profit.

Respectfully, your friend,

T. H. HUTTON,
Advertising Manager.

THE NEW CENTRAL HOTEL,
Maysville, Ky., April 10, 1920.

Hon. W. J. FIELDS,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have just had a letter from Mr. Luban Phelps, of Louisville, with a copy of your bill, 506, which I am glad to acknowledge as a good move. And wish you success in its passage and the bringing of certain tobacco companies to justice, both before the courts and in honest treatment, man between man, on the market.

The tobacco crop here—in more than half of the crops where tenants get half—has not paid the tenants for stripping and hauling to the market, many crops selling as low as 3 and 4 cents. Several million pounds of this tobacco is being held by speculators, and unless it can find a purchaser it will come into next crop and paralyze the situation entirely. And for this reason I am asking you to try and use your influence to get the proposed loan to France and Italy through, that they may be able to buy tobacco and relive a much distressed condition here that will grow much worse unless it can be done. And it is driving the labor all away from the farm and decreasing other farm products. The sooner this can be done the better, as conditions in this section of the country are extremely bad. Around Lexington the conditions are good, where all of the crop was bright. Should the money be loaned those countries in the next few days it will bring relief and help to keep labor on the farm.

Wishing you success and promising you to do anything I can to assist you, I am,

Yours, very truly,

A. M. PENN.

MAPLEWOOD FARM,
Danville, Ky., April 11, 1920.

Hon. W. J. FIELDS.

DEAR SIR: During the month of January, 1920, I put two loads of tobacco—about 5,000 pounds—on the floor of the People's Warehouse of Danville, Ky., which averaged 80 cents per pound. About 30 days after—on February 17—I sent in two more loads of about the same weight and very much the same quality, which only brought half the price of the first two loads, and being rather dissatisfied with the prices thought I would reject one basket through curiosity, so I tore up ticket and had it put on sale next day. On the 17th this basket of 280 pounds sold for 13½ cents per pound, amounting to $37.80, and the same basket was reweighed at only 275 and sold for $143.40 next day. The warehouse people nor buyers could not explain to me how it could happen that the same basket brought $37.80 one day and $143.40 the next day, a difference of $105.60 in one day, or nearly three times as much.

The only information I could get was from men familiar with the tobacco business that the company which bought the tobacco the first day were very short on that particular grade and through courtesy the other buyers would not bid against their buyer until he got caught up. I had about 10 or 15 more baskets that I should have rejected and gotten a thousand dollars more money than I did, as some only brought 10½ cents that sold before and after for same quality at around 90 cents. Some one robbed me, that's all I know for sure.

Yours, etc.,

GEO. F. ANDERSON.

All the big four buyers were on the market those two days and several others.

THE HARTFORD FIRE INSURANCE CO.,
WESTERN FARM DEPARTMENT,
Eddyville, Ky., April 13, 1920.

W. J. FIELDS, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: The tobacco condition in this section of the State is getting to be fierce. Tobacco opened up at a good price; for a time sold as high as $25 to $30; it has now fallen to $2, $5, $10, and $12. One good crop sold a few days ago at $2, $6, and $10. Quite a lot of the unsold has no market at any price.

Our people may have acted unwisely in not selling early, but that now is a fixed fact and can't be helped.

Do all you can to afford relief. Don't see how our tobacco growers can possibly get by with the high prices prevailing for supplies, stock, food, etc.

Sincerely,

S. R. GLENN.

SPRINGDALE, KY., *April 13, 1920.*

Hon. W. J. FIELDS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Received copies of H. Res. 506, in regard to prices of tobacco.

Having studied over the matter and talked with many tobacco growers, I can reach no other conclusion than a combine of buyers for

the different manufacturers agreeing to pay certain prices. They paid the high price for the grade of tobacco of which there was very little.

The same grade of tobacco from my farm that brought 40 cents in 1918 brought 20 cents February, 1920.

I thank you for the interest in Kentucky farmers.

Very truly,

Dr. C. L. GRAHAM.

—

HORSE CAVE, KY., *April 13, 1920.*

Representative W. J. FIELDS,
Washington, D. C.:

In response to your request through the Courier-Journal for information in regard to tobacco prices, I will gladly furnish you with the following information:

The first of last December I sold part of a crop of tobacco at Horse Cave for $37.50 per hundred and was unable to get the remainder on the market until last of February, and it brought 6 cents. I rejected it and sold the next week, and it brought less than 6 cents. Then I hauled it back home and hung it in the barn. I think it time for tobacco market to be put on steady basis.

Yours, very truly,

W. E. PAYTON.

—

TRENTON, KY., *April 13, 1920.*

The TOBACCO GROWERS AND DEALERS' ASSOCIATION:

DEAR SIRS: In regard to my tobacco crop, the market here opened up very well, but in a short while it fell down to nothing. I sold my tobacco on the West loose floor, Hopkinsville, Ky. I didn't want to sell that way, but the market was getting so bad I thought it best. I couldn't get any buyers to look at my tobacco. My crop sold from 5 cents to 24 cents, at an average of 17 cents.

The market is getting worse all the time.

Have taken notice of the market from the start, and the buyers have taken it time about. Some will buy a while and they will quit, and some more will buy a while.

I could of made more money to not raise this crop.

Yours, very truly,

L. R. BEDWELL.
Trenton, Ky.

—

GUTHRIE, KY., *April 13, 1920.*

Congressman WILLIAM J. FIELDS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your request printed in the Courier Journal, Monday, April 12, about the situation of the tobacco crop:

I was offered by Mr. T. E. Farmer, buying for McMurry, of Springfield, Tenn., $28.50 around for my tobacco in December, 1919. I didn't sell, as I expected more.

He offered me $20 and $10 in March for the same crop, in good condition, and we haven't been able to get a buyer out to look at our crops.

The loose-leaf floors are about the only places they will go, so you just don't get anything hardly when you go there.

We certainly need something done to help the farmers in our vicinity.

Yours, very truly,

J. E. EVANS, Jr.

—

TRIBUNE, KY., *April 14, 1920.*

Hon. W. J. FIELDS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We find statement in Courier Journal concerning the slump in the tobacco prices. I sold my first load of tobacco as high as $40 per hundred, the next two loads down to $18 per hundred, and the next load as low as $10 per hundred. This tobacco grew in the same field, fired in the same barn, all the same size, color, and body, and was sold over the loose-leaf floor at Providence, Webster County, Ky. The tobacco companies represented on this floor were the Imperial Tobacco Co., the Galohier (Ltd.), and the Taylor & Hodge Co. These buyers would guarantee some farmers so many dollars for their tobacco and pass the tobacco over the floor and bid it off at a high price to fool the farmers. Not only that, but the buyers would have a man outside the door to buy it on the wagons and pass it over the floor and make the tobacco bring $10 or $15 per hundred more, and many other swindling games were worked on the farmer, and that is what was done at Mayfield, Ky., that caused all that trouble. The farmers have been made slaves so long they have decided to come from under the masters of the so-called Tobacco Trust, and if you lawmakers ever aim to do anything for the farmers, now is the time. Next year might be too late. The people here are about ready for a break, and a few level-headed men are trying to keep it down, and if you folks at Washington don't do something pretty soon you need not wonder at the future. What I have told you are facts and can prove it. Please do something if you can.

JOHN L. WOOD.

—

RIVERSIDE FARM,
ADAIRVILLE, KY., R. F. D. No. 3, *April 14, 1920.*

W. J. FIELDS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your ad in the Courier-Journal in regard to tobacco will say the market has gone bad. Tobacco that sold for $30 per hundred at first will bring now from $10 to $26 for the leaf and from $2 to $9 for lugs. Was on the Springfield market yesterday. Will phone me; said going down every day. The buyers at Adairville are Morrow & Orand, Rice, and True & Snider. I think Morrow buying Tandy. Rice for Hock & Co. Not more than 50 per cent sold, I don't think, around Adairville. The farmers would love to see something done to relieve the pressure. I can't see anything to cause this state of affairs unless they have combined, which every one else thinks. Crops that sold for 30 to 34 around won't bring 20 now. With best regards, I am,

Yours, truly,

W. B. TYLER.

—

CALVERT CITY, KY., *April 14, 1920.*

Mr. W. J. FIELDS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I notice a request from you in the Courier-Journal to write you of the tobacco situation.

The buyers now are only offering 6, and 12 is the prevailing price. Mr. Coffman, buyer for American Snuff Co. (snuff people, as we call them), is only allowed to buy on our side of Clarks River; then only four crops per week, and not to go to any farmer's barn unless requested. This was told me by man on my land that has tobacco to sell. Mr. Provine, buyer for Stahel & Hayden, at Paducah, has been in my store twice in last two weeks, and Mr. Provine did not ask me if I wanted to sell, and he only will stop and look at any one's tobacco unless asked to do so, and no other buyer has bought any here, but been to railway here; made one trip. One John Flowers, buyer for Hodges Tobacco Co., said to me was not trying to buy; was just looking. This was week before last. Would pay 6 to 16 for best tobacco. Mr. Provine told me I had one barn of good tobacco; two weeks past could have bought it; now he could not. This was last week. I have some 75,000 pounds; bad conditions here.

Yours, truly,

LEE COX.

—

ROUTE 15, JEFFERSONTOWN, KY., *March 15, 1920.*

W. J. FIELDS,
Washington City.

DEAR SIR: The growers have been requested to present you with the conditions existing on the various loose-leaf markets. At Shelbyville, Shelby County, Ky., the market opened with an average around 50 cents on December 10, 1919. The average report will show that this remained about three weeks. About January 1 the decline was about one-half this price. I sold tobacco at Shelbyville about the 18th of December. Some averaged 35 cents, some 40 cents. On January 2, 1920, I sold tobacco grown on the same land at an average of 13 cents per pound. There was practically no competition between the buyers on the grades they were buying after the first two or three weeks. The American buyer, after the first few weeks, stopped buying but continued to be present at the sales in line with the other buyers. They continued paying a high price for a basket occasionally—in order to fool the people, I suppose.

Respectfully, yours,

W. H. THOMPSON.

—

GUTHRIE, KY., *April 17, 1920.*

Congressman W. J. FIELDS,
Washington, D. C.

YOUR HONOR: Please permit me to inform you of the present condition (in Tennessee) of the tobacco market.

The buyers here have gone into a combine. They are forcing the farmers to haul their tobacco to loose-leaf floors, where it is sold to the highest bidder. The buyers will not bid against each other. The buyers pretend to be bidding against each other but are only fooling the farmer. They refuse to buy from the wagon or from the barn. The loose-leaf dealer is making as high as $500 per day. This comes out of the farmers' tobacco, which brings a very small price, a price which is far below the cost of production. There is no competition whatever. We are at their mercy, which they fail to extend.

I was needing a little money to pay some debts which I made in producing this tobacco. I saw in the paper that tobacco was selling for a good price on the floor at Clarksville, Tenn., so I took some over; 2,100 pounds sold for 14 cents per pound, 300 pounds at 5 cents per pound, 450 at 2 cents per pound. Now, this was a good quality of tobacco. The man that bought my tobacco last year, paying me 25 cents round price for the whole crop, said that my crop this year was far ahead of the one I had the year before. The tobacco that I sold on the floor which I have spoken of averaged 11 cents. There must be something done at once to relieve the farmers in this section or the country will be bankrupt.

I have tried to lay a few of the circumstances before you. If you can help us in any way it will be appreciated.

Yours, very respectfully,

EDWARD CAMPBELL.

—

HORSE CAVE, KY.

Hon. W. J. FIELDS,
Washington.

MY DEAR SIR: Some time ago I noticed in the Courier-Journal that the investigation against the Tobacco Trust was held up for want of more direct proof as to the slump of prices. I herewith hand you this, which is substantially correct. The dates can be found if necessary. Some time in November, 1919, I began to buy tobacco on the Horse Cave loose-leaf floor, and at that date I bought two baskets—one short, bright leaf at 28 cents, and one bright trask at 41 cents. In December these two baskets were put back on floor for resale. The 28-cent brought 17 cents; the 41-cent brought 27 or 28 cents. They were rejected and placed back on floor, after being brightened up in March. The 28-cent brought 6 cents; the 41-cent brought 7¼ cents. The warehouse books will show that these baskets were never removed from the floor till after the last sale. If need be an affidavit will be given. The farmer needs some relief if possible.

Sincerely, yours,

W. W. MCPHERSON.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I think the data submitted is not only sufficient to warrant the investigation asked for but also sufficient to prove conclusively that violations of the antitrust laws have been committed by the tobacco manufacturers or their agents to the end that producers of tobacco have been willfully and ruthlessly robbed; and while that condition prevails the American Tobacco Co. declares a stock dividend of 75 per cent, as shown by an article I clipped from a New York paper and which reads:

STOCK DIVIDEND OF 75 PER CENT BY AMERICAN TOBACCO CO.

[By Associated Press.]

NEW YORK, *April 14, 1920.*

Directors of the American Tobacco Co. to-day announced a common-stock dividend of 75 per cent, payable to holders of class B common stock of record July 15.

A special meeting of stockholders was called for May 6 to approve the action.

If this resolution is passed, I shall do all in my power to assist the Federal Trade Commission in its investigation, and if the investigation discloses the guilt of the tobacco trust or its agents sufficient to warrant an indictment under the antitrust laws, I shall do all in my power to secure the indictment and conviction of the guilty—not alone for the purpose of redressing as far as possible the wrongs already committed but to prevent a repetition of these wrongs in the future. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I ask for a vote on the resolution.

National Highways.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. SUMMERS,
OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the question of a definite and permanent national highway policy is one of the important problems which Congress has not yet satisfactorily solved and one in which the people of every community in our great country are deeply interested, because of the many blessings of good roads to both the producer and the consumer in business and recreation.

Everyone is in favor of good roads, and it seems to me that more attention should be given to the matter of a national highway policy. I do not mean to disparage the splendid work which has been done by our Roads Committees of the Senate and House, by the various national highway organizations, or by our State highway departments, but I believe that Congress has not yet given its best thought to this great problem.

We now have in operation a "Federal aid" plan of road construction, by which the Nation joins with the State in financing the work on a fifty-fifty basis. It was a big step in the right direction, but can we improve upon it? Can we still further coordinate and unify the great movement of highway building? Can we find and adopt a plan which will be permanent, which the States will indorse whole-heartedly; a plan that will appeal to the business sense of the taxpayer?

I believe this can be accomplished, but I do not deign to offer either suggestion or criticism at this time. However, we are about to adjourn this session of Congress, and even though there is a political campaign ahead I hope that by careful study of this problem during the intervening weeks we will be prepared to satisfactorily deal with it during the next session.

For this reason I desire to call attention to a comparison of the present "Federal aid" plan and the Townsend bill; also to the resolutions of the convention of State highway officials at Louisville, Ky., last December, together with some facts and figures in connection therewith.

THE FEDERAL AID PLAN.

Embodied in what was known as the Shackleford Act, the "Federal aid" plan was enacted into law July 11, 1916, and has certainly proved a great constructive measure. By it there was appropriated the sum of $5,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and an amount greater by $5,000,000 for each succeeding year until for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, the sum of $25,000,000 was appropriated, the total amount for the three-year period to be expended outside of forest reserves being $75,000,000. It also appropriated $10,000,000 for forest roads to be expended at the rate of $1,000,000 per year for 10 years. Then the Sixty-fifth Congress amended the act so as to make its administration more liberal to the States and greatly increased the amounts appropriated.

The act provided that the moneys appropriated were to be used for new construction, but this was defined so as to include reconstruction and improvement. The Government pays half of the expense, and the other half is paid by the State, the work being done under supervision of the highway departments of the several States, each of which obligates itself to keep "properly maintained" the roads constructed, and this was defined as meaning "the making of needed repairs and the preservation of a reasonably smooth surface, considering the type of road," but not "extraordinary repairs or reconstruction." As a result, many miles of fine roads have been built, but the work has only commenced.

INCREASED APPROPRIATIONS URGED.

Last fall a large delegation of good-roads men from the Western States came to Washington to discuss the problem of how best to continue the Federal aid plan of highway construction, and later there was held in Louisville, Ky., a convention of State highway officials. This convention passed a set of resolutions urging the continuance of the Federal appropriations for road building on an enlarged scale, and also urged some changes in the apportionment of funds so that the public-land States should have a more equitable share, which apportionment they based on the nontaxable status of public lands and the permanent withdrawal of forest reserves from taxation and settlement. On the whole, however, the resolutions contemplated the continuance of the basic ideas of the Federal aid plan.

Finally, the 12 Western public-land States sent a delegation, some 30 in number, to Washington early this year. This delegation appeared before the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads and urged an appropriation of $300,000,000 for the continuance of Federal aid for three years on the original plan, but with the changes last suggested and not tying the plan necessarily to the Department of Agriculture. They also urged an additional $100,000,000 for roads and trails in the national forests, to be expended at the rate of $10,000,000 per year.

It can be readily figured from the above explanation that the total amount of the appropriations expended and expendable for the three years ending June 30, 1920, is one hundred and eighty-five millions, and that the total amount appropriated by existing laws is two hundred and eighty-nine millions.

THE NEW APPORTIONMENT PLAN.

The Federal aid acts adjusted apportionments between the States on a basis of the differences in their proportionate area, population, and existing postal road mileage and provided for the distribution of funds as follows: One-third in the ratio which the area of each State bears to the total area of all the States, one-third in the ratio which the population of each State bears to the total population of all the States, and one-third in the ratio which the mileage of rural delivery routes and star routes in each State bears to the total mileage in all the States.

Now, the Louisville resolutions of the State highway officials propose the road funds shall be apportioned as follows:

> The percentage which the patented land area bears to the total area of a State shall be determined by the Secretary of Agriculture; the 50 per cent now required as such State's portion of cooperation shall be multiplied by the resultant percentage as above determined, and the figures obtained will be the minimum percentage which each State shall be required to furnish of the total of any Federal aid project.

To figure the 50 per cent in the first place, however, the original plan of apportionment would be followed.

In this connection it is most interesting to note the areas of public land and forest reserves in the 12 public-land States, and these are shown in the following table, for which I am indebted to figures compiled by Hon. WILLIAM N. VAILE, of Colorado:

States.	Area.	Public land.	Forest reserves.	National parks.
	Sq. miles.	*Acres.*	*Acres.*	*Acres.*
Arizona	113,956	22,309,100	11,154,923	.....
California	158,297	19,505,217	18,814,659	963,316
Colorado	103,948	10,416,317	13,280,832	271,376
Idaho	83,888	14,316,108	17,606,792	.....
Montana	146,997	11,818,414	15,957,196	2,142,720
Wyoming	97,914	26,759,500	8,384,174	915,060
Nevada	110,690	55,246,831	4,971,335	
New Mexico	112,634	21,063,165	8,294,222	.....
Oregon	96,699	13,850,755	13,118,680	159,360
Utah	84,990	31,540,671	7,415,551	.....
Washington	69,127	1,283,319	9,940,372	107,360
South Dakota	77,615	1,010,773	1,090,075	10,552
	1,276,755	229,120,170	128,028,770	4,669,654

It may be seen from this table that the entire public-land acreage in those States is a grand total of 351,818,594 acres, or 43 per cent of the entire area of those States, and that of this amount 122,698,424 acres, or 11.9 per cent, of the entire area is forest-reserve and national-park land, which will never go into private ownership or become taxable.

THE TOWNSEND BILL.

The Townsend bill, S. 3572, proposes a substantial increase in appropriations by authorizing an expenditure of $425,000,000 for the four fiscal years beginning July 1, 1920, and ending June 30, 1924. Of this $50,000,000 is to be immediately available; $75,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and the balance at the rate of $100,000,000 per year for ensuing three years. This is practically the same plan of expenditure as urged by the western road delegation here early in February, and it is pointed out in support of the Louisville resolutions and plan of apportionment that each of the public-land State legislatures convenes in biennial session in January, 1921; that at these sessions the financing of road construction for the next two years will have to be decided.

But the Townsend bill has other features, and whether it is enacted into law or not at this time these other features have so many adherents that it is well to consider them.

It would place national construction in the hands of a commission of five men appointed by the President, with the approval and consent of the Senate, and with final power to accelerate the use of funds along sound and economical lines. This commission would investigate the principles of transportation and locate and construct highways to meet the requirements of future traffic and would concentrate national funds on a selected system of mileage. The commission would consult State highway departments with respect to the location of links of the national system, but leaves the final power of selection in the hands of the commission.

The bill has a primary purpose to provide the Nation with a connected network of highways which would serve as effective agencies in time of war. It further provides that the National Government must forever maintain all national highways, and also provides for uniform regulations of traffic on national highways. All roads under this act would be 20 feet wide. The overhead expense would be about 5 per cent, but undoubtedly a complete system of national highways would be created, constructed, and maintained and roads would not be built here and there according to purely local interests.

RELATION TO PRODUCTION.

As once suggested by former Secretary of Commerce Redfield, the advocates of highway traffic only aspire to supplement their elder brothers in transportation, the railways and the merchant marine, in a transportation trinity. The close relation of all three of these traffic factors seems definitely established.

Our merchant marine maintains our contact with the rest of the world and moves freight over our rivers and inland waterways. The railroad has long heralded development and progress, while the highways offer an infinite possibility of local communication. The highway aids the railways in the immense task of serving 110,000,000 persons spread over 3,000,000 square miles. They directly touch the home life of more people than all other transportation mediums combined.

In our domestic commerce freight now moves over 15,000 miles of canals and inland waterways, 259,000 miles of railways, and 2,753,334 miles of highways, but the distribution functions of the latter present potentials not generally understood. It is said the total of surfaced roads in the United States is greater than the railroad mileage, being 296,290, or 12 per cent of the public highway total, against 259,000 miles of railroad. Many miles of the highways, however, are not always passable. Exact tonnage figures are difficult to obtain, but I have heard reliable estimates of 125,000,000 tons on inland waterways in 1918, while in the same year 2,504,000,000 tons were moved by rail and 1,200,000,000 tons by motor truck. This proves the economic value of highways, in addition to their other values, and yet our late Food Administrator is authority for the statement that 50 per cent of the perishable farm produce in the United States rots on the ground because of the farmer's inability to get it to market.

In the year 1918 our agricultural crops, dairy products, produce, and domestic animal production reached an aggregate of more than $21,000,000,000. There were 5,638,000,000 bushels of cereals, 11,818,000 bales of cotton, 309,109,000 bushels of potatoes, 197,360,000 bushels of apples, 6,549,000 tons of sugar beets, 10,500,000,000 pounds of pork, 589,000,000 head of poultry, 1,921,000,000 dozen of eggs, and 8,429,000,000 gallons of milk. There are $70,000,000,000 invested in farms of the United States, a sum equal to the total of any three other industries that might be named, and I firmly believe that one of the prime reasons for high costs of things is inability to deliver maximum production at prices permitting a profit to the farmer and a saving to the consumer. Waste, due to unimproved roads, is already estimated, by figures developed in a congressional investigation, to reach the appalling sum of more than $500,000,000 per year, and yet it is proposed to spend only three or four hundred millions on roads in the next few years.

If we want to speed up production, if we want to reduce the high cost of living, if we want to reduce taxes, if we want to pay off our big war debt in the fewest possible years, let us build good roads, roads that will stand up under present-day traffic, roads that will be connected together in a great national system.

On the day when passage of necessary legislation by Congress provides for a definite system of national highways with a program of appropriations ample for their speedy construction the national life of our country will receive an impetus beyond the vision of any of us. Let us recognize the mistakes of the past and pledge ourselves to a clear and forward vision of the future.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. ASWELL,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. ASWELL. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, three days ago I presented to the House a list of many of the great constructive Democratic measures I have actively supported and aided in passing for the good of the people, some of which I helped write.

The South is honoring herself and contributing mightily to the return of normal conditions in the social and economic life of the Nation. The South to-day in this great crisis of reconstruction is the balance wheel of the Republic. That great and honorable class of citizens known as farmers are primarily responsible for this wholesome attitude. Other sections are demoralized and dominated by the spirit of the "red," but the South, true to her traditions, moves forward steadily and grandly, firm in the faith of her ability, willing and eager to do her full part in the Nation's readjustment.

Knowing the farmers are always loyal Americans, asking no special favors, but mightily opposed to special privileges to any class, demanding rightly but one thing—a square deal—I stand vigorously for the farmers' right to buy collectively at a fair price and to sell their products at a fair price, without being subjected to one-man decision, and to borrow money on long terms at a low rate of interest, which must be realized by legislation by the Federal Government. There is no middle ground. Every man in this House must stand up and be counted for or against the farmers. The Federal land banks, the rural credit system, and so forth, were meant for this definite purpose, but red tape and legal delay have discouraged borrowers and delayed action to help the farmers where help was most needed. The loan systems were new and experimental, but by experience we now know the need of immediate remedial legislation for the farmers. The various boards in charge need an awakening. How do you Republican leaders in temporary control of Congress stand on this vital matter? Stand up and be counted, I challenge you! You have done nothing in this Republican-controlled Congress to help the farmer or in any way to reduce the high cost of living or to reduce taxes, and have not permitted Democrats to initiate action. You depend upon the war profiteer for campaign expenses. The Democrats and the country hold you to account. What do you answer? Let the people answer, as they will, in November.

Through the trackless wilderness of a World War, where no American legislator had before traveled, no man had sufficient vision to know instantly the right way in every emergency. Conscientious and purposeful men grappled the problems with unrelenting energy, but who could know with a divine certainty that all was done for the best? Only the future can tell. I have studied every step of the way and done my honest best to serve effectively my constituents and my country. The results speak for themselves.

All men who work vigorously to accomplish results make mistakes. I am not an exception. I do not claim to have made no mistakes in the past nor to make none in the future, but I have eagerly tried all the way to do the right thing. I shall continue in this purpose to serve.

It is axiomatic that honest men even of the same party faith do not all agree at all times on governmental policies. So no man in public office need hope to receive the approval of all his constituents when he is called upon to take a stand on any public question, whether it be local or national, large or small. On this point I can honestly say that with the lights before me I have faithfully tried to serve those whom I have the honor to represent and for whom I vote and speak in this House. I have earnestly labored to be useful to my constituents in every way possible. I have sought to comply with every request for service which has come to me. I have answered promptly letters received from men, women, and children in my district, and whether matters mentioned by them were great or small, important or unimportant, whether they came from rich or poor, each and all have received my best effort and their business has been my chief concern.

Every citizen of the eighth Louisiana district who has called upon me for any service will bear testimony that I have responded cheerfully, faithfully, and promptly. I believe all our splendid service men, their wives and mothers, will gladly tell you that I have been their champion. I have served the farmer,

the home owner, the laborer, the business man, the high and the low—all my constituents, regardless of name, faction, or position.

I have not been content to perform merely the ordinary duties of a Member of Congress in legislative matters; I have eagerly sought daily opportunities for personal service, and I have failed in no instance to do everything in my power to secure the very best possible results. To this hundreds of my fellow citizens at home will testify.

In my congressional work I find my greatest happiness in the joy of service.

Governmental Control and Operation of the Telephone, Telegraph, and Marine Cable Systems.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. B. ROUSE,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. ROUSE. Mr. Speaker, the Congress of the United States, in the exercise of the constitutional authority vested in it by joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives enacted July 16, 1918, provided that the President may take possession and assume control of the telegraph, telephone, and marine cable or radio system or systems, or any part thereof, and operate the same in such manner as may be useful or desirable for the duration of the war. Acting under this resolution, the President by proclamation took possession and assumed the operation of the telegraph and telephone systems August 1, 1918, and on November 2, 1918, of the cable systems. The latter were operated for a period of six months and were returned to their owners on May 2, 1919. The telephone and telegraph systems were operated for a period of one year, and returned to their owners at midnight on July 31, 1919.

An impression of the magnitude and the character of this gigantic undertaking may be gained from the following:

Miles of wire	28,827,091
Number of telephones	11,713,228
Estimated number of messages or talks	21,842,425,620
Number of public exchanges	21,174
Number of employees	262,622
Salaries and wages paid	$175,668,299
Income from all sources	$391,476,926
Expenses and fixed charges	$319,116,293
Value of plant and equipment	$1,492,230,081

Of telegraph companies there were 14 which came under the joint resolution of July 16, 1918. These are:

The Western Union Telegraph Co., of New York.
The Postal Telegraph-Cable System, of New York.
The Canadian Pacific Railway Co., of Montreal (operating a commercial telegraph system).
The Central Idaho Telegraph & Telephone Co., of Weiser, Idaho.
The Colorado & Wyoming Telegraph Co., of Denver.
The Continental Telegraph Co., of Chicago.
The Federal Telegraph Co., of San Francisco.
The Marthas Vineyard Telegraph Co., of Woods Hole, Mass.
The Mountain Telegraph Co., of Denver.
The North American Telegraph Co., of Minneapolis.
The Northern Telegraph Co., of Bangor, Me.
The Philadelphia, Reading & Pottsville Telegraph Co., of Philadelphia.
The Postal Telegraph-Cable Co., of Dallas, Tex.
The Vermont International Telegraph Co., of St. Johnsbury, Vt.

All of these companies, with the possible exception of the Canadian Pacific Railway Co., of Montreal, were recognized as a part of the national system of telegraphs and telephones for the operation of which, during the year of Federal control, the Postmaster General is responsible.

The following cable companies were operating in the United States:

Western Union Telegraph Co.
Commercial Cable Co.
Commercial Pacific Cable Co.
Mexican Telegraph Co.
Commercial Cable Co. of Cuba.
Central and South American Telegraph Co.
United States and Hayti Telegraph & Cable Co.
French Telegraph-Cable Co.
German Atlantic-Telegraph Co.

The total value of the properties involved was more than one and one-half billion dollars.

The operation of these telephone, telegraph, and cable systems was under the supervision of the Postmaster General, Albert S. Burleson. These properties were operated during a period of war, under such abnormal conditions as had never heretofore existed. Increased costs of operation had been absorbed to the fullest extent; wages and rates had not been increased to meet the war conditions; the costs of labor and materials were increasing rapidly, and the efficiency of the service was rapidly decreasing when these properties were taken over by the Government. Notwithstanding these extraordinary conditions, the telephone and telegraph systems were efficiently operated and with less increase in rates than that of any other public utility during the war period; and with a cost of central organization during the entire period of Government control of less than two one-hundredths of 1 per cent of the revenues. There was a deficit of only $14,000,000, involving a business of approximately $600,000,000; and there would have been no deficit had it not been for the injunctions obtained by the State public utility commissions in many of the States against the slight increases in rates. The Supreme Court of the United States having decided that the Postmaster General had the authority to increase the rates, had the properties continued under governmental control, but a few months longer no deficit in their operation would have resulted. The owners of the properties were paid just compensation for the use of their properties, as required by the resolution of the Congress; and the properties were returned to their owners intact, without confusion, with their working organizations unimpaired, and their financial stability not impaired but strengthened in many instances.

No corporation or other business was managed more successfully than this gigantic undertaking. It is a remarkable achievement that under such extraordinary conditions this vast business was so successfully managed.

In a report, July 15, 1919, to the shareholders of the company representing nearly 80 per cent of the entire telephone service—the American Telephone & Telegraph Co.—is found the following from its president, the then greatest living wire expert:

It is gratifying now to say that your property has been maintained and will be returned in as good first-class condition as though it had never been out of your possession.

The following is taken from a resolution unanimously adopted at the national convention of the United States Independent Telephone Association, representing the remainder of the telephone service of the country:

Be it resolved by the United States Independent Telephone Association, representing more than 10,000 independent telephone systems with representatives present from all sections of the United States, in convention assembled at Chicago, June 26, 1919, That it hereby expresses to A. S. Burleson, Postmaster General of the United States, and his assistants, its appreciation for his fair, just, and impartial administration of the wire systems of the country.

The annual report of the Western Union Telegraph Co. for the fiscal year 1919 states, with reference to the governmental control of its properties:

The policy of the Post Office Department during the year of Government control was constructive and eminently fair to the property.

All the facts and circumstances in connection with the successful handling of these properties have been laid before the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, and before the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives; and the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, in presenting the general deficiency bill, June 2, 1920, stated on the floor of the House with reference to the management of these properties:

Mr. GOOD. * * * And in this connection I think I should say the administration of the wire systems of the United States was a splendid administration of those systems. There was a billion or two of property involved, and the Postmaster General took over these properties and handled them in a manner that I think reflects great credit upon his executive ability, and he turned back the properties, not as we turned back the railroads, but he turned them back with only an increase of about 10 or 11 per cent in rates. But he turned them back in a condition so that those systems can now carry on their work without an additional increase in rates. But he did it, not by yielding to every demand for an increase in wages, whether it was necessary or not, but by following a business policy that ought to have been followed in every department of the Government. The Postmaster General is to be commended in the conduct of this wire system, for he carried on its operation in a manner that was satisfactory, I think, to the public, to the employees in the main, and without cost to the owners of the systems, whose property he held. (P. 8269, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 2, 1920.)

These testimonials to the efficient management of the wire systems of the country during the period of governmental operation of the telephone, telegraph, and marine cable systems gladly acknowledge the rare business and executive ability displayed by the Postmaster General and those associated with him in their operation.

Work of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce During the First and Second Sessions of the Sixty-sixth Congress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ESCH,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me Thursday, June 3, 1920, to extend my remarks, I wish to submit the following statistical data regarding the work of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce during the first and second sessions of the Sixty-sixth Congress:

Up to and including June 5, 1920, there were referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House a sum total of 425 measures, as follows:

House bills	340
House resolutions	27
House joint resolutions	21
Senate bills	29
Senate joint resolutions	7
Senate concurrent resolutions	1
	425

Of these, 116 were reported out of committee, 105 have been acted upon by the House, and 103 have become laws; 90 bridge bills have been reported, and 83 of them to date have been approved by the President.

Hearings were held by the committee on 72 bills and resolutions, the printed testimony amounting to over 6,200 pages.

SUMMARY OF THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE.

Six members of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce are members of the Select Committee on Water Power, which considered and reported out the so-called "water-power bill," a great constructive measure which will make possible a long-needed development of power sites, but under such Government regulation as will adequately protect the interests of the people. (This bill was passed by decisive majorities in both Senate and House and was sent to the President on May 31, 1920.)

RECONSTRUCTION LEGISLATION REPORTED OUT.

(1) Transportation act of 1920, providing for the return of the railroads to their owners; to provide for the settlement of disputes between carriers and their employees; and amending the interstate commerce act in many particulars so as to broaden and increase the scope of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission. (H. R. 10453; approved Feb. 28, 1920.)

(2) Return of the wire and cable systems to their private owners. (S. 120, approved July 9, 1919.)

(3) Repeal of daylight saving. (H. R. 3854; passed House on Aug. 9 and Senate on Aug. 20, 1919, over presidential veto.)

(4) Amendment to the trading-with-the-enemy act providing for the return of certain property held by the Alien Property Custodian—moving toward the restoration of a peace basis. (H. R. 14208; approved June 5, 1920.)

AMENDMENTS TO THE WAR RISK INSURANCE ACT.

(1) Abolishing the office of Commissioner of Marine and Seamen's Insurance and the office of Commissioner of Military and Naval Insurance and transferring these powers to the Director, Bureau of War Risk Insurance; making it possible for converted insurance to be paid in a lump sum or in installments for 36 months or more, at the option of the policy holder; extending and making much more conclusive the definition of the term "beneficiary"; increasing the monthly compensation almost treble that paid in past; making retroactive the provisions of the law as to monthly payments; increasing materially the compensation for total temporary disability; empowering the Bureau of War Risk Insurance to make ratings as to relative disability, and for the ratings of partial and temporary, total and permanent, and partial and permanent disability, the monthly compensation shall be a percentage of the degree of reduction in earning capacity resulting from the disability and liberalizing such compensation; providing that all injured veterans shall be furnished with reasonable Government medical and hospital services, and such supplies, including artificial limbs, trusses, and similar appliances as the bureau may determine; providing for reciprocal arrangements with foreign Governments for the treatment of veterans; making possible the assignment of converted insurance; providing for automatic insurance of $25 a month for 20 years for the first 100 days after a person's admission to the military service; and authorizing insurance to be paid to the former service man's estate. (H. R. 8778—Sweet bill; approved Dec. 24, 1919.)

(2) Increasing the compensation of a service man who has lost both hands, both eyes, and both feet, in addition to $100 per month as originally provided, $100 per month for nurse or attendant. (H. R. 6450; approved Aug. 6, 1919.)

(3) Improving the facilities and service of the bureau; authorizing the bureau to establish throughout the United States and its outlying possessions such regional officers, not exceeding 14 in number, and such suboffices as may be deemed necessary in the best interests of the work committed to the bureau, thereby greatly facilitating and expediting action on claims of service men, the bureau being able by virtue of the 14 subdivisions to act in conjunction with such subdivisions of the Federal Board for Vocational Education and the Bureau of Public Health, resulting in eliminating red tape and promoting economy; authorizing the Postmaster General to receive war-risk insurance premiums and act for and turn over to the Secretary of the Treasury the money so received; authorizing the Postmaster General to receive and transmit to the bureau applications for converted insurance and applications for reinstatement of lapsed insurance—resulting in great convenience to the soldier and further eliminating red tape; providing for the payment of family allowances under certain conditions—promoting equity to dependents; providing further for the free hospital and medical treatment of honorably discharged commissioned officers and enlisted men; and providing for the stabilization and the making more attractive of Government insurance (converted insurance) and placing the whole plan of Government life insurance upon a sound basis. (H. R. 13558—Wason bill; passed House May 20, 1920.)

(4) Authorizing and directing the accounting officers of the Treasury to allow credit to the disbursing clerk of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance in certain cases. (S. J. Res. 189; approved May 26, 1920.)

RESOLUTIONS DIRECTING INVESTIGATIONS.

(1) Directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to make certain investigations regarding the present and future supply of tie timber. (H. Res. 186; reported to House July 30, 1919.)

(2) Directing the Federal Trade Commission to inquire into the proposed increase in the price of shoes and the price of sugar, clothing, and coffee. (H. Res. 217; adopted by the House Aug. 19, 1919.)

(3) Directing the Federal Trade Commission to investigate and report to the House certain information regarding sugar. (H. Res. 150; adopted Oct. 1, 1919.)

(4) Directing the Federal Trade Commission to make certain inquiries into prices of combed cotton yarns. (H. Res. 451; adopted by House Apr. 5, 1920.)

(5) Directing the Federal Trade Commission to make certain inquiries into prices of loose-leaf tobacco. (H. Res. 533; adopted June 3, 1920.)

DEPARTMENTAL MEASURES.

(1) Authorizing the Department of Commerce to participate in the National Marine Exposition held in New York in April, 1920. (S. J. Res. 148; approved Apr. 8, 1920.)

(2) Authorizing the Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, subject to the approval of the Secretary of Commerce, to consider, ascertain, adjust, and determine claims for damages occasioned by acts for which said survey is responsible in certain cases. (S. 3270; approved June 5, 1920.)

(3) To amend "An act granting additional quarantine powers and imposing additional duties upon the Marine-Hospital Service," approved February 15, 1893. (H. R. 11841; reported to House May 8, 1920.)

(4) To authorize the aids to navigation and for other works in the Lighthouse Service, and for other purposes. (H. R. 10183; approved June 5, 1920.)

ESTABLISH COAST GUARD STATIONS.

(1) To establish Coast Guard stations on coast of Lake Superior, in Cook County, Minn. (H. R. 9228; approved May 6, 1920.)

(2) To establish Coast Guard stations on coast of Green Bay at Strawberry Passage, Door County, Wis. (H. R. 11228; reported to House June 1, 1920.)

MISCELLANEOUS BILLS.

(1) Aqueduct Bridge at Georgetown. (H. R. 10328; passed House May 12, 1920. In Senate rider to deficiency bill; approved June 5, 1920.)

(2) A bill promoting safety in the interstate transportation of explosives. (H. R. 12161; reported to House May 1, 1920.)

(3) Governing tolls to be paid at the Panama Canal. (H. R. 7015; passed the House Oct. 1, 1919.)

(4) To exempt a certain tract or lots of lands in Cristobal, Canal Zone, from the effect of an Executive order. (H. R. 6222; approved June 3, 1920.)

(5) To authorize the sale of a portion of the Copper Harbor Range Lighthouse Reservation, Mich., to Houghton and Keweenaw Counties, Mich. (H. R. 14122; reported to House June 2, 1920.)

(6) To provide for the reimbursement of the United States for motive power, cars, and other equipment ordered for railroads and systems of transportation under Federal control. (S. 3319; approved Nov. 19, 1919.)

(7) Authorizing the President of the United States to manage and operate the Cape Cod Canal, in the State of Massachusetts. (H. J. Res. 311; reported to House June 1, 1920.)

Agricultural Cooperation—Collective Bargaining.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS L. RUBEY,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 31, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 13931) entitled "A bill to authorize associations of producers of agricultural products."

Mr. RUBEY. Mr. Speaker, I shall give this bill my very hearty support. It has been stated upon the floor of the House by those who are opposing it that it grants special privileges to farmers. I do not believe that the passage of this act will confer upon the farmers any privileges they do not now have. This bill gives them the right to organize for the purpose of marketing their products, and I feel certain that they have that right now. Some one may ask, Why, then, should we enact such a law? I answer that there have been a number of instances where farmers organizing associations of this kind have been prosecuted under the Sherman antitrust law, and while in every instance they have been acquitted, still they do not like to go into these associations as long as there is even a chance that they will be subjected to prosecution. The farm organizations and associations all over the United States have asked for the passage of this measure, so that all doubt may be removed as to their rights to organize and market their products. In other words, that the principle of collective bargaining may be recognized by law.

Produce! Produce! The cry "Produce!" comes from every section of the country. Not since the early days of the war has the appeal been as urgent as it has been for the past few months. Then the farmer was asked to produce to feed the soldiers and help win the war. Now he is asked to produce to feed the citizens of the Republic and help to reduce the high cost of living. The farmer is patriotic. When we were at war he put forth every effort and overcame almost insurmountable difficulties. He produced in greater abundance than ever known before. Now that we are at peace, our Army demobilized, the farmer can be depended upon to do his full duty. He is confronted with difficulties and hardships as never before—scarcity of labor, high cost of seed, machinery, labor, and everything needed in the work of production. Assure the farmer a square deal, a reasonable return for his outlay and his labor, and he will again produce the foodstuff to feed the toiling millions of America.

The House to-day, by the passage of this bill, will take a great, advanced step for the betterment of agriculture. Let us without equivocation confer upon the farmers of America the right to organize and form clubs, associations, and bureaus for the purpose of the preparation, handling, and marketing their crops and live stock without the fear of being arrested for some supposed violation of the antitrust law. For many years they have been contending for this privilege. It is only by this means that the producer can have any say-so whatever in what he gets for his products.

Gentlemen on the floor of this House talk about the great, independent farmer. The facts are he is most dependent, and the occupation he follows is the most precarious and uncertain of any occupation in the country. In the midst of his planting, cultivating, and harvesting he is subjected to all kinds of weather conditions. Sunshine and rain coming in due season are his best friends, and yet if they do not come in the right proportion and at the right time they may become his worst enemies. If the season is favorable and abundant crops reward his earnest toil, he has yet to transport them to market and turn them into cash. Acting single handed and alone, he is wholly at the mercy of the dealer. Acting in cooperation with his neighbors and the fellow members of his club or association, he becomes more independent. Acting together they may select their market, ship in carload lots, cut out unnecessary middlemen, save overhead expenses, and get a better net return.

Not only is it necessary, Mr. Speaker, to produce, but it is equally essential that the foodstuff produced be transmitted from the producer to the consumer as cheaply as possible. Under present conditions it costs far more to distribute than it does to produce. Prices of farm products increase very rapidly after the products leave the farm. Potatoes for which the farmer probably received $1 a bushel are selling in Washington to-day at seven and eight dollars. I am firmly of the opinion that under the provisions of this bill much of this waste will be eliminated, and in so far as that is done the bill will benefit both producer and consumer.

Mr. Speaker, there never was a time in the history of this Republic when the great industry of agriculture needed the encouragement and the help of the Government as it does to-day. That is the reason I made the strenuous fight I did for increased aid to agriculture when we had up in this body the Agricultural appropriation bill. For years the trend of the population has been toward the cities, and never so much so as at this very time. Life in the cities, with its varied attractions and with the short hours of labor and the exceedingly high wages paid, is fast taking the boys from the farm. Not only is it taking the boys but it is taking the men and the women. There are thousands of unoccupied farmhouses and millions of acres of rich, uncultivated lands scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land. How can the trend of this movement be changed from the city toward the country? Fortunate, indeed, will the Nation be if it can only hold those upon the farm who are there to-day. It can not be done by painting word pictures of the beauties and the glories of farm life. It is a case where "money talks." Farming must be made profitable. Congress owes it not only to the farmers themselves but it owes it to the people as a whole, who must depend upon the products of the farm for their food and clothing, to pass such just and equitable laws as will give renewed encouragement to the farmer and as far as possible enable him to meet the conditions which confront him.

Mr. Speaker, illustrating what I mean by Government aid to the farmer, I trust I may be pardoned if I refer briefly to the changed condition and the benefits that have come to the American farmer by the legislation enacted during the last few years.

FARM CREDITS.

Prior to the passage of the Federal reserve act the farmer could not borrow money on real estate from a national bank, and such a thing as credits based upon farm paper was not provided for by law. That act, passed in December, 1913, authorized national banks to loan money on real estate and made farm paper, based on agricultural products, a satisfactory collateral for rediscount, thus extending to the farmers two lines of credit he had never had before.

FEDERAL FARM-LOAN ACT.

For years and years the farmers of America, while offering the best security known among men—old mother earth—were compelled to pay excessive rates of interest, and in addition thereto frequently high commissions. Now, under the Federal farm-loan act passed in 1916 he is enabled to borrow money for a long period of time without paying any commissions and at the very low interest rate of 5½ per cent. Nearly $450,000,000 have been loaned under the provision of this act. But that is not all. The large loan companies, coming in competition with these Government rates, have been compelled to lower their rates and reduce their commissions, so that every farmer in the land who has borrowed money has been benefited by the enactment of this law.

FEDERAL AID TO PUBLIC ROADS.

Far-reaching in effect and of inestimable importance to agriculture was the passage of the act extending Government aid in the building of our public roads. Never before in the history of the country had Congress taken part in nation-wide wagon-road construction. Under the provision of this act and the amendments thereto $275,000,000 have been authorized by Congress, available for the construction of roads in every State in the Union and in every county in every State. The World War, for the time being, put a check upon road building, but since its close the movement has begun again, and to-day in every part of the Republic the Government is cooperating with the State and county, and such an era of road improving is going on as has

never before been seen in our history. Within the next few years we shall see this work completed, and the farmers will have good hard roads from their homes to the market places; roads over which they can haul their products in any and all kinds of weather.

PARCEL POST—RURAL ROUTES.

Hand in hand with good roads go rural routes and the Parcel Post System, carrying the mail daily to the door of the farmer and enabling him by means of the Parcel Post System to market his foodstuff and obtain from the near-by city or town the supplies needed by his family and in the conduct of his farm work. It has been my pleasure to have secured the establishment of many rural routes, and I hope the time may not be far distant when every farmer in this land may have a mail box in front of his home, and if that be not possible, then one within convenient distance, so he may get daily mail service.

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION EXTENSION ACT.

This act, commonly known as the Smith-Lever Act, was passed by Congress in 1914. It has been referred to as the greatest single contribution to agriculture ever conceived by any government. For many years the Department of Agriculture, through its experiment stations and other agencies, has been gathering together vast stores of information valuable and helpful to the farmers. This act provides the method of carrying this information directly to the farmer and showing its value and utility by actual farm demonstration. It is the most practical movement ever attempted, and through county agents gives aid and instruction to the farmer upon every phase of agriculture. The amount of money now available for this extension work from Federal, State, and local sources amounts to about $14,000,000 annually. It gives aid and encouragement not only to the farmer and the farmer's wife but to the young folks as well, with the result that boys and girls' clubs are formed in almost every section of the country.

BUREAU OF MARKETS.

In 1913 Congress took its first great step looking to the marketing of agricultural products. Prior to that time our great Department of Agriculture had devoted its work almost entirely to the aid and encouragement of production. With the creation of the Office of Markets it began its equally important work of aiding in distribution. In 1917 the name was changed to the Bureau of Markets, which more nearly designates the importance of the work that it is doing. To-day this bureau is performing a function for the farmers of America unexcelled by any other department of the Government.

HOG CHOLERA.

In recognition of the importance of the live-stock industry Congress has not failed to come to its aid and assistance. In 1913 the first large appropriation was made for the eradication of hog cholera. At the same time a law was enacted for Government control and the thorough inspection of hog cholera serum. The scientist who discovered and perfected this serum is a Missourian. He received no royalty for his discovery, but his reward comes in the consciousness of the good he has done for the hog raisers of his country. The loss from hog cholera has been reduced from 114 in every 1,000 to 41 in every 1,000, and it is estimated that the annual saving is $40,000,000.

TUBERCULOSIS OF CATTLE.

One of the most destructive diseases among live stock is tuberculosis of cattle. The annual loss from this disease is $50,000,000. Three or four years ago Congress made an appropriation and directed the Department of Agriculture to proceed with the control and eradication of this disease. It will take many years to completely eliminate it, but it can be controlled and greatly reduced. The means of combating this dread disease among cattle and hogs has been found and already marked progress has been made.

THREE MEASURES IN ONE.

Three of the most important measures enacted by Congress were the cotton-futures act, the grain-standards act, and the warehouse act. They were all passed in the Agricultural appropriation bill in the House in 1914. The cotton-futures act is the first successful attempt by the Government to control and regulate dealing in cotton futures by the cotton exchanges, and it is to be regretted that the same sort of control and regulation has not been extended to all exchanges dealing in food products. The grain-standards act provided for the establishment of uniform standards for grain and for Government supervision of the grading of all grain in interstate commerce. The warehouse act authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to license bonded warehouses and provided for standardized warehouse receipts. Under the provisions of this law receipts issued by a licensed warehouseman on staple farm products become as good as money in hand.

NO POLITICS IN AGRICULTURAL LEGISLATION.

Mr. Speaker, these are some of the great constructive measures for the benefit of Agriculture passed by Congress since March 4, 1913. There is not a farmer in America who should not be pleased with this wonderful record and commend the Congress for its activity in his behalf. Time and again I have proclaimed upon the floor of this House the fact that there should be no politics in the consideration of measures for the promotion of agriculture. In the formulation of these measures in the Committee on Agriculture, and in their consideration upon the floor of this House, no thought of political advantage or disadvantage has entered the minds of Members, but I believe that all have had in view as their sole object a sincere desire for the betterment of agriculture.

READY TO COMPARE RECORDS IF DESIRED.

However, Mr. Speaker, in these closing days of this Congress I note that some of my friends upon the Republican side of the House have begun to call attention to the things they have accomplished and to boast about them. If they want to compare records with us, we are ready to meet them. Here is the Democratic record as it relates to the one single industry of agriculture. It is that marvelous record of agricultural accomplishments to which I have referred and which I have set forth, and it is a record that has never been equaled, much less excelled, in all the history of the Republic.

Mr. Speaker, I rejoice in these great achievements for the promotion of agriculture. I rejoice because it is the greatest industry in the land, affects every man, woman, and child, and deserves every bit of aid that Congress can give to it. I may be pardoned for taking some personal pride in this legislation, because it has all come under my personal observation. As a member of the Committee on Agriculture I have assisted in framing these bills and have advocated them upon the floor of the House.

It has been the practice from time immemorial to say complimentary things about the farmer. Cato, centuries ago, said, "The agricultural population produces the bravest men, the most valiant soldiers, and a class of citizens the least given to evil designs." Washington declared, "Agriculture is the most healthful, most useful, and most noble employment of man." Public men flatter the farmer, and political parties all make promises to him in their platforms. I agree with the good things said about him, but I have been anxious to do something more substantial, and I have endeavored to do that by working for and assisting in the formulation of the legislation which has been passed for his particular benefit.

Federal Land Bank Loans.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAY STONE BRIGGS,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 18, 1920,

On the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 351) extending the provisions of an act amending section 32 of the Federal farm-loan act, approved July 17, 1916, to June 30, 1921.

Mr. BRIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I am convinced of the necessity for the adoption of the amendment of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], which provides for the purchase by the United States Treasury of the bonds of the Federal land banks up to March, 1921. The resolution as originally reported from the Committee on Banking and Currency provided that such purchases might be made by the Treasury up to June 30, 1920, but now such committee comes forward with an amendment to its own resolution limiting the purchase to bonds issued against loans approved only up to March 1, 1920.

It is urged that the reason for limiting the purchase of such bonds to loans approved prior to March 1, 1920, is to take care of so-called commitments or approved loans which were made after the land banks were instructed in February to grant no more loans after that month, that the attack on the constitutionality of the tax-exemption features of the bonds of the Federal land banks has had the effect of impairing the market for the sale of such bonds, and that the land banks have no money available with which to advance the loans made and for which in many instances mortgages have already been executed and recorded.

Of course, it is perfectly apparent that the purpose of the attack on the constitutionality of the tax-exemption features of the bonds of the Federal land banks was inspired by those interests which for years past, prior to the organization of the Federal land banks, had controlled the market for loans and had been accustomed to charging the farmers of the land, especially in Texas, 10 per cent for all the money loaned, to which were added large costs for attorneys' fees, abstracts, and commissions, with frequent renewal costs, if fortunate enough to be able to secure a renewal when needed. It was to put a stop to this practice and exploitation of the farmers of this country that Congress provided for the creation and organization of the Federal land banks.

These institutions are really cooperative farmers' organizations, the bonds of which so-called land-banks are given recognition and standing by the Government, and by reason of such have in the past been sold at low rates of interest, generally 4½ per cent, and the money thereby received been advanced to the farmers at a 1 per cent advance, with an additional 1 per cent to care for the amortization or sinking-fund feature of the loan. The effect of the creation and establishment of these Federal land banks had a most astonishing and wonderful influence in reducing the charge for money borrowed by the farmers of this land. In fact, their operation has been so tremendously successful that it has caused consternation in the ranks of the money lenders who were previously accustomed to fatten and grow rich upon the needs and misfortunes of the farmers. These interests have, therefore, done everything possible to discredit and embarrass the successful operation of the Federal land banks, but without any marked success until this attack on the constitutionality of the tax-exemption features of the law was started.

I do not believe that these interests really entertain the hope that such attack will be sustained. In fact, the trial court upheld the law and declared it constitutional. But owing to an appeal being taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, and that court having called for a reargument, which will delay any decision until the latter part of this year, prospective buyers of the bonds of the land banks are inclined to hold off from further purchases until the Supreme Court has finally acted.

It was to take care of this situation that the resolution before us was reported by the Committee on Banking and Currency, enabling the United States Treasury to purchase such bonds practically for such period as might reasonably be expected to intervene before the United States Supreme Court should hand down a decision in the case pending before it. In this way the land banks could continue to operate and give their invaluable aid to the farmers everywhere who needed and desired to borrow money at low rates of interest and on very long time. This original resolution would enable these land banks to act upon the pending applications for loans, already aggregating between $50,000,000 and $100,000,000. If the proposed amendment of the committee to its own resolution should be adopted, the Federal land banks will simply have to quit business until the United States Supreme Court has acted in the case now before it on appeal. In other words, such banks will have to stop business for probably 10 months or a year, have to discharge a large part of their office force, have to endure to a large extent the loss of their administrative and field organizations, and also have to suffer the injurious effects flowing from the disappointment of farmers to secure loans and from the general demoralization that attends the suspension of the operations of any great business.

Surely this Congress does not want this situation to continue any longer; and I insistently urge the adoption of the amendment of the gentleman from Kentucky, which will allow the land banks to continue business.

The Congress of the United States has advanced enormous sums of money to the railroad interests of this country and to other great interests for the continuance of their functions and the service which they have been accustomed to render. I can not conceive that the Republican Party will deny to the farmers of this land what it has granted to the great interests. If the amendment of the committee to its own resolution should be adopted, it can mean, however, nothing more or less than the grossest kind of discrimination against the farmers of the land and in favor of big business.

Surely no American can ever fail to remember with the greatest pride and satisfaction the wonderful example of patriotism and devotion to the interests of their country which the farming classes of the United States gave during the recent World War under the most difficult and trying circumstances that possibly ever faced them. Let us not forget this magnificent record in dealing with this question, and let us remember that these self-reliant, sturdy, honest, liberty-loving, and true Americans are not asking anything more than that the Government shall accept at par and current rates of interest the obligations of the farmers of this land, secured by as fine mortgages as can possibly be obtained, and which obligations, based upon such bonds, will be paid to the very last penny.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, the ending of the war has not ended all of the problems connected with it. We might classify our experiences of the past few years into three great divisions: First, our preparation to engage in the war; second, our actual participation in the conflict; and third, the solution of the problems resulting from the aftermath of war.

The Government was, of course, expected to provide men and arms and munitions for the actual conflict, as well as to direct the forces in the field and care for the wounded and disabled on the field of battle. It is true that other agencies were recognized as more or less official and were permitted to participate with the Government because of their previous experience.

For example, the American Red Cross, to which the Government had intrusted the care of the wounded, and the Y. M. C. A., which was authorized to provide entertainment and handle much of the canteen service, naturally entered upon those duties coincident with the Government's own activities. Later other agencies, which were invited or volunteered, responded to the full limit of their resources, and rendered magnificent services, which merited and received the country's grateful appreciation.

But I would say that foremost among such volunteer agencies, acting both as a whole and individually, came the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, with their then half a million patriotic American citizens making up the membership of the order.

This great order seemed to sense with prophetic vision the frightful consequences of war, and proceeded to set in motion and bring to successful fruition or achievement through its Elks War Relief Commission a service most essential and timely which had not been anticipated or performed by any other agency.

As an illustration, the Elks War Relief Commission very early realized that our arms could not be engaged against the enemy without the resultant loss of life and the wounding and disabling of many thousands participating. The Elks were the first to suggest to the Government the building of a reconstruction hospital, and offered to purchase a site and erect a building for the purpose, to be turned over to the Government gratis for use during the period of the war and as much longer as needed, and our Government hastened to accept this generous and timely offer.

The Elks Reconstruction Hospital, at Boston, was thereupon erected, completed, and equipped in record time, and was the only hospital of the kind ready in time to receive and treat the first of the disabled returning soldiers, sailors, and marines of our fighting forces.

Two large base hospitals in France, completely outfitted and equipped by the Order of Elks, were among the most efficient operated during the war.

It is a matter of record that the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks largely financed or assisted in financing the Salvation Army during the period of the war, thus making it possible for that great uplift organization to successfully accomplish results among those in the trenches that have received the unstinted praise of practically every person connected with the American Expeditionary Forces abroad, as well as the mother and father of every boy in the service. It has been publicly stated by Commander Evangeline Booth that but for the assistance of the Elks the Salvation Army could not have accomplished the results that it did at the front. This in itself is a great tribute to any organizaion.

Few things are of greater importance than the rehabilitation of those patriotic American boys who served our country overseas and who have now returned to us physically disabled as a result of wounds received in the most honorable service any citizen can render his country in time of a great national peril.

To have rendered such service in a great international crisis when the safety and civilization of the world were involved is even a greater honor and distinction.

Congress has endeavored to make proper provisions for the rehabilitation of the wounded and disabled heroes through a program for their vocational training and reeducation.

This is a new departure in the functions of Government. It is, however, no longer an experiment, because it has now reached that point in practical operation where it is proven that any physically disabled man can be vocationally trained or reeducated so as to be made independent and self-supporting, and a self-respecting member of society.

Our attitude toward vocational training is shown by the fact that the law providing for it was passed by unanimous vote in both Houses of Congress. But there have developed some obstacles to the successful carrying out of the Government's vocational-training program that could not be foreseen when the law was being enacted.

Here, again, the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, through the Elks War Relief Commission, has shown a broadness of vision and a spirit of practical progressiveness that, in my opinion, merits the sincerest appreciation and highest regard of every citizen of this country. Particularly is this true because of the timeliness and the generosity with which the Elks met a very urgent and pressing need and emergency. But this is, in fact, a well-known characteristic of the Order of Elks.

The vocational-training law makes these disabled men eligible for training on their discharge from the hospital, but their training compensation is not payable in advance and few men on leaving the hospital are able to maintain themselves even for the short period while they must await their Government allowance. The Elks War Relief Commission generously and, we might say, providentially met this serious situation by providing a large revolving fund with which to meet the financial needs of these disabled men and permit them to immediately enter upon their training courses.

The practical value of this fund to the Government's vocational-training program is shown by the fact that official Government records show that on June 1, with a total of 37,024 disabled men in training, there had been 28,671 separate instances in which they had been financially assisted by the Elks fund for a total amount of $502,898.05. Officials connected with the Federal Board for Vocational Education have stated that thousands of these boys either could not have entered upon their training in the first instance or could not have continued it except for this assistance received from the Elks. I do not hesitate to say that in my opinion the Elks have not only done much to insure the success of our vocational-training undertaking but have saved the situation in an emergency which might have meant failure but for some such assistance as they have furnished through their broad vision and wide understanding.

Our law makes no provision for caring for those patriotic American boys who enlisted in the armies of the Allies and were wounded in that service. But the Order of Elks is caring for them, and they can receive vocational training at the expense of the Elks, just as those disabled in our own military forces are trained or reeducated at the expense of our Government.

In all these matters undertaken and so successfully carried out by the Elks there have been no public drives or no street canvassing for funds, and no money has been solicited or received by them from any sources outside the individual Elks or the subordinate Elks lodges.

As was stated on the floor of the House by the gentleman from Washington [Mr. MILLER] at the time this generous offer was accepted on behalf of the representatives of the Government:

The Elks fund thus provided is the first instance of the kind in the history of the country where a great patriotic, fraternal organization has come to the aid of the Government in so timely, helpful, and substantial a manner.

And greater than all this giving of money, greater than the erection of the magnificent reconstruction hospital at Boston, or the equipping of the two large base hospitals in France, or the donations and assistance to the Salvation Army, has been the spirit of sympathy and helpfulness reflecting the fraternal fellowship in which the membership of the splendid Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks has by personal contact encouraged so many thousands of our wounded and disabled heroes to successfully carry on in refitting or reeducating themselves for the future.

The patriotic services rendered by the Elks War Relief Commission have been so distinctive, and have so favorably impressed those of us who have had occasion especially to investigate the subject of the vocational training of our disabled soldiers, sailors, and marines, that I desire to record the names of the members of it as a slight mark of appreciation. The chairman of the commission is Hon. John K. Tener, a former Member of the House of Representatives and a former governor of Pennsylvania, and the secretary is Mr. Joseph T. Fanning, of Indiana and New York. The other members are Mr. James R. Nicholson, of Massachusetts; Mr. Edward Rightor, of Louisiana; Mr. Fred Harper, of Virginia; Mr. Bruce A. Campbell, of Illinois, all past grand exalted rulers of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks; and the present grand exalted ruler, Frank L. Rain, of Nebraska, ex-officio member.

The cooperation of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks in the Government's vocational-training program has attracted wide and favorable attention. I desire to insert in the RECORD the following editorial comment on the subject from the New York Evening Post, one of the oldest and most conservative newspapers in this country:

TRUE FRATERNITY.

The story of how the Order of Elks turned itself into a big brother society for the benefit of the disabled soldiers is one of the most inspiring narratives that have come out of the war. As told before the House Committee on Education by Mr. J. W. Lysons, a representative of the war relief commission organized by the Elks, it shows a combination of sympathy and practical assistance that deserves to stand as a model. Finding itself at the signing of the armistice with unappropriated funds, the commission selected from numerous suggestions for the disposition of this money the plan of aiding in the work of the Board for Vocational Education. The sum of $100,000 was set aside for this purpose, and an additional sum of $200,000 was made available as a revolving fund to be lent to young men in training who were in need of aid. There were many soldiers who were unable to enter training because they did not have money for their first month's expenses. What have been the results? Of the total of 26,000 men in training on March 1, 1920, under the Vocational Board, no fewer than 22,574 have received help from the Elks. The amount loaned to them has reached over $400,000, of which over $200,000 has been repaid.

This is the smaller half of the story. What the Elks really gave was something rarer and more precious than money—human sympathy and persistent personal effort. This was needed in a special manner. Men had to be persuaded to take up vocational training. Some of them had the feeling that the country owed them a living. Some were earning good incomes by selling or even begging on the street. Some were disheartened. In many instances representatives of the Elks went before the board and worked to shorten the delay that hung over it. All these activities required tact and patience as well as the will to help. The Elks have given a notable demonstration of true communal effort.

I also desire to submit for the RECORD a letter from the War Department containing the thanks of the Surgeon General for the splendid war relief work done by the Elks, declared to be "first in that respect," the letter being as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, November 3, 1919.

Mr. JOSEPH T. FANNING,
Secretary Elks War Relief Commission,
50 East Forty-second Street, New York City.

DEAR SIR: I am directed by the Surgeon General to acknowledge with thanks your letter of the 31st of October. From it and from the report you so kindly inclosed there will be no difficulty in obtaining a review of the excellent work done by the Elks War Relief Commission during the late conflict. You are to be congratulated upon the unusually fine showing of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. From what I know of the subject I think you stand first in that respect.

With kind regards, I remain,
Sincerely yours,

CASEY A. WOOD,
Colonel, Medical Reserve Corps, U. S.

The National Budget v. Presidential Prerogative.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. ANDREWS,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 9783) to provide a national budget system and an independent audit of Government accounts.

Mr. ANDREWS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I sincerely regret that the President has deemed it necessary to veto the budget bill (H. R. 9783) recently passed by Congress, and proposing a national budget system and an independent audit of Government accounts.

The bill provided for far-reaching practical economies in public expenditures. It would have systematized public business and exposed extravagances and duplications whenever and wherever they might appear in the expenditures of the Government. Such reform has been needed for many years, but the war expansion of public business has greatly increased the demand for legislation of that character. The passage of that bill and the recent amendment of the rules of this House prepared the way for intelligent retrenchment in the conduct of

public business. The value of an independent audit can not be fully appreciated without an examination of existing conditions and their comparison with the conditions that would obtain under the proposed legislation.

The accounting system of the Government is now under the jurisdiction and control of the Secretary of the Treasury. The six auditors are assigned definite jurisdictions in the examination and settlement of the accounts of the different departments and independent establishments of the Federal Government.

The Comptroller of the Treasury is the appellate officer of the auditing system. He and also his assistant are likewise under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Treasury. These accounting officers are now appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and are subject to removal at the pleasure of the appointing power. It is impossible to prevent the exercise of undue political and executive influence in the examination and settlement of Government accounts. Moreover, it is impossible under the existing system for Congress to utilize the knowledge and skill of the accounting officers in the investigation of expenditures in the various departments and independent establishments of the Government.

Suppose, for instance, the Committee on Expenditures in the War Department should find it necessary to call the auditor for that department as a witness in connection with the wasteful extravagance of the War Department during the recent war. Under the law he not only examines and settles the accounts of the War Department but he is also the legal custodian of all contracts and files of settled accounts arising under the Secretary of War. The keener the challenge as to the integrity of that department or its lack of economy in public expenditures the greater will be the need of his testimony in ascertaining the facts. At the same time, however, the Secretary of War would realize that his testimony should not be allowed to enter the records of the investigation. He could complain of that auditor not only to the Secretary of the Treasury but likewise to the President concerning any testimony that that officer might give to a committee of Congress in such case. Does anyone doubt for a moment the bearing of such conditions upon the mind and actions of that auditor as an accounting officer? Can anyone doubt what action would be taken with respect to the immediate discharge of such an accounting officer if the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the President should be opposed to such an investigation? The more serious the nature of the exposure the more urgent would be the Executive demand that that auditor should remain silent. If, on the other hand, however, public interest should demand that he should speak and reveal the knowledge in his own possession and in the files of his office, and if the terms of the bill which the President has vetoed should have been enacted into law, that accounting officer would be emancipated from Executive influence and could respond to Congress itself, and the files of his office would be available to the congressional committee making the investigation. These statements will clearly illustrate the extent to which all officers and clerks in the accounting offices of the Government would be placed in a position of safety and independence, so that any branch of the Government with legal right to the information they possessed could secure it without interference on the part of those who might be personally involved in any disclosures of facts. Notwithstanding these weighty arguments urging an independent accounting, the President has pressed them aside and substituted for them an assumed presidential prerogative.

The provision of the bill to which the President objected reads as follows:

> The comptroller general and the assistant comptroller general shall hold office during good behavior, but may be removed at any time by concurrent resolution of Congress after notice and hearing when, in their judgment, the comptroller general or assistant comptroller general is incapacitated or inefficient, or has been guilty of negligence of duty or malfeasance in office, or of any felony or conduct involving moral turpitude, and for no other cause, and in no other manner except by impeachment.

The President says that he considers this provision unconstitutional, and for that reason he is constrained to return the bill without his signature. His reason is expressed concisely in the words of his message, as follows:

> It has, I think, always been the accepted construction of the Constitution that the power to appoint officers of this kind carries with it, as an incident, the power to remove. I am convinced that the Congress is without constitutional power to limit the appointing power and its incident, the power of removal derived from the Constitution.

Thus, the President declares to Congress and the country that it is far more important to retain an assumed prerogative of the appointing power, and on that basis veto this bill, than it would be to approve it and thus bring to the people of the United States one of the greatest reforms that has ever been proposed in the American Congress. That reform will save many millions of dollars to the people of this country. Nevertheless the President deems it his duty to defeat that reform in order to preserve for himself and his successors in office the prerogative to remove a comptroller general and an assistant comptroller general at the pleasure of the Executive. Does that declaration disclose a wise public policy? Is it in keeping with the financial interests of the American people?

My personal observations and experience in the accounting system of the Federal Government for nearly 18 years compel me to express the deepest regret that the President has regarded an Executive prerogative with respect to these two offices of greater consequence than the economies and savings that the proposed legislation would bring to the people of the Nation.

It has been clearly shown in the debates on the consideration of the bill and on this veto message that the President's position is untenable under the terms of the Constitution. This "incident" to which he refers is subject to limitations by congressional action. I think it has been clearly shown that the provisions carried in the bill would give to the Government an independent audit of public accounts, and that the plan proposed for the appointment and removal of those two officers harmonizes with the Federal Constitution.

Mr. Speaker, this veto message seems to indicate that this great reform can not be adopted and put into effect before the 4th day of next March. If that be true the genuine friends of this reform should stand together firmly in its support until the opportune moment arrives.

Our Democratic friends frequently complain on account of high taxes and large appropriations. So do I. But when we complain we should not overlook the fact that all Federal taxes now collected from the people are exacted under revenue laws written by Democratic Congresses and that the large appropriations are forced upon us to pay contracts made by a Democratic administration. Hence every Democrat who makes such complaints indicts his own party. Then let him forsake the error of his ways and vote the Republican ticket. High taxes can not be avoided until Democratic contracts are paid off.

This budget bill would have been a great assistance in forcing a reduction of expenditures and a consequent reduction of taxes, and the fight for its passage will be renewed by the Republicans next December.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MOSES P. KINKAID,
OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 31, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 13931) entitled "A bill to authorize the association of producers of agricultural products."

Mr. KINKAID. Mr. Speaker, we understand the object of this bill is to authorize farmer producers to form associations for the purpose of collectively preparing for market and then marketing their products. It is only farmers who are to be admitted as members of such an association or corporation. Associations of this character formed under State laws are not to be interfered with in any way by this Federal enactment. No intention exists to in any manner control intrastate operations under State laws by the provisions of this bill, and when enacted it will only grant the right to operate in interstate and foreign commerce.

Mr. Speaker, as I regard it, the purpose of the bill is to provide merely for the protection of the farming industry against the commencement of unwarranted criminal prosecutions against their legitimate endeavors in a collective way. It is intended to safeguard them against the commencement of criminal prosecutions such as have heretofore been instituted against the kind of farmer organizations which the bill contemplates, which prosecutions have failed because no violation of the Federal antitrust acts was shown. However, the decisions so far made have not settled the proper construction of these statutes so definitely as to certainly preclude the commencement of criminal prosecutions in the future on an alleged state of facts differing more or less from what has hitherto been complained of.

It is not that legislation is required to permit an organization of farmers to do something unusual, or morally or legally wrong, that this legislation is sought. In fact, the difficulty is rather with the existing antitrust statutes and the construction which is sought to be placed upon them in opposition to farmer organizations. In the unsuccessful prosecutions heretofore had the

antitrust statutes were invoked to prevent farmer organizations from enjoying and exercising the right to hold and dispose of their productions in identically the same way that one natural person may lawfully do. All that is sought by this bill is that several farmers may form themselves into an association, and this artificial legal person or entity be protected in holding and preparing for market and selling the productions of its stockholders, just as an individual farmer may do or as a manufacturing corporation may hold and dispose of its productions in a business way. But the opponents of this measure—and there are a good many of them—talk "equal rights for all and special privileges to none," as if farmers by this measure were asking for special or exceptional statutory privileges not allowed to other associations or corporations. But it is the observance of this very just and laudable rule that farmers here invoke; it is to prevent the violation of this rule of legislation and the rights of citizenship that this legislation is asked by allowing to farmer producers the same rights as are conferred upon industrial corporations. It is a fact that many of the industrial corporations with which the farmer is compelled to deal are severally composed of, say, from 1,000 to 50,000 members. They fix the prices the farmer must pay them for their manufactures, and together these great aggregations of capital, at the same time, arbitrarily fix the prices at which the farmer must sell his products to them. On the other hand, if the farmer seeks to associate himself with his neighbors for the purpose of working together to secure a fair price, they are threatened with criminal prosecutions for alleged violation of the Federal antitrust laws.

Mr. Speaker, a specific object sought by the bill is that farmers be permitted a fair opportunity to realize more nearly the market prices on their productions that ultimate consumers are required to pay, thus for the mutual benefit of the producer and the ultimate consumer. It is a generally recognized fact that in too many instances the middleman realizes a greater share of the price paid him by the ultimate consumer than he himself pays the producer for the product. This is not only extremely unjust to the producer, but at the same time operates injuriously to the consuming public by augmenting the high cost of living in a direct way.

Only a few days ago I received first-hand information that sweet potatoes were being retailed to the ultimate consumer here in Washington at the rate of $7 per bushel for which the farmer producer had been paid but $1 per bushel. Six hundred per cent of unearned increment added to the price paid to the producer manifestly constitutes nothing less than outrageous profiteering. It is apparent that by cooperation under the provisions of this bill these sweet-potato producers might be permitted to realize, say, $2 per bushel and the ultimate consumer required to pay not exceeding $3.50 per bushel, yet allowing a reasonable margin for freight charges and a fair compensation or commission to a middleman, whether the go-between work be performed by a third party or by a representative of the association. While the instance I have mentioned may be an extreme case, and it is to be hoped that but few producers and ultimate consumers are made victims of such a high rate of profiteering, it is more or less typical of the impositions which the farmer producer and the ultimate consumer are made to suffer throughout all the States of the Union. Such practices constitute one of the chief factors in the high cost of living. The experiences are the same in the handling of all farm products, including cattle, hogs, and sheep fed and fattened for the live-stock markets. By organizing under this bill producers of all farm products will only be invoking the first law of nature, the right of self-preservation. The manufacturer sells his products on a cost-plus basis. He charges to the product all labor, material, and every other item of expense, and then he adds a sure profit, and the sum of these constitutes the price at which he sells at wholesale to the dealer, and the dealer adding his compensation for handling and profit added, the ultimate consumer, including the farmer producer, must pay the aggregate of all these amounts as the ultimate price.

On the other hand, each farmer acting singly has found himself obliged to accept the price offered him by the dealers, regardless of the items going to make up the expense it has been to him to place his product on the market. He must sell at that price whether it be at a profit or at an actual loss. Unfortunately, it is too often the case that farmer producers themselves contribute very materially to bringing down the price below what is warranted by the law of supply and demand by oversupplying or flooding the market by too many shipping or selling at the same time. By collective marketing the producers may equalize the distribution and sale of their products, and thus stabilize market prices. Farmer producers in these associations will seek only to secure to themselves the unhampered operation of the natural and just law of supply and demand. It is true that one of the virtues of the operation of the bill is that its effect will be to diminish the opportunities of speculators to baffle the law of supply and demand, to influence lower prices when buying of the producer and higher prices when selling to the consumer. Farmers by being thus associated may at the same time protect themselves against unequal distribution of their products and reduce opportunities for unconscionable manipulation of the market.

The discussions have already disclosed an instance of an association of fruit growers formed in California after the idea of this bill which, during the first year of the organization, realized one-fourth for their share of the prices the productions cost the ultimate consumer. But, keeping up their organization and improving the system, they realized the next year one-half of the price paid by the ultimate consumer, and persevering, further, for a third year the members of the organization realized three-fourths of the price paid by the ultimate consumer. This vindicates the purpose of the bill, which is to render it practicable to bring the farmer producer and the ultimate consumer nearer together for their mutual benefit, that the farmer may realize more and the ultimate consumer pay less for the products. All will grant that any intervening agency or middleman should receive a reasonable compensation or commission, but it is the rankest injustice that the middleman should receive more for having the products merely pass through his hands on their way to the ultimate consumer than is realized by the owner of the farm who produces the same by the sweat of his brow.

Deportation of Anarchistic and Revolutionary Aliens.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

OF WASHINGTON.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, December 20, 1919.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration (H. R. 11224) a bill to amend the act entitled "An act to exclude and expel from the United States aliens who are members of the anarchistic and similar classes," approved October 16, 1918.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, this deportation bill adds to section 1 of the deportation clauses of the act of October 16, 1918, enough words to make it sure, in the opinion of your committee, that the letter and spirit of the law of October 16 shall be carried out. The terms of the anarchist deportation act of October, 1918, are enlarged, and it is made plain that membership in organizations which preach anarchy, or revolution by force, or destruction of property, is cause for deportation of aliens. Not only is a membership in such organization made a cause for deportation, but the circulation by aliens of anarchistic or revolutionary or sabotage-teaching literature is made a cause for deportation.

The enlargement of the terms, definitions, and designations of the existing law seems to be necessary for the reason that while the agents of the Department of Justice, as well as agents of the Immigration Bureau of the Department of Labor, have made and are continuing to make arrests of aliens under its provisions, the Secretary of Labor has rendered decisions, which are brought out in reports and instructions from the Department of Labor, rendering such arrests futile. These decisions will be found in the committee's report on this bill, particularly the decision of the Secretary of Labor dated February 28, 1918, and known as the alien I. W. W. decision.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, as the decision of the Secretary of Labor is final in matters of deportation, and as the decisions of that department have resulted in failure to deport aliens actively at work for the destruction of this Government, the necessity for the amendment becomes not only apparent but urgent.

Not only is this bill necessary because there are a good many of these alien reds now in the United States, but many thousands are at the ports of the world seeking passage to the United States to do propaganda work for world revolution. Not only do we need this bill, but before present emergency passport laws expire, we must give careful attention to a restrictive immigration measure. We can not hold the doors open to the terrorists of the world who think this the greatest field of all because of our guaranty of free speech and free press.

The number of deportations of alien anarchists and revolutionists since the passage of the Burnett Act has been almost nil. And yet those from foreign lands who are here in the United States gnawing at the very foundation of our Government are increasing in numbers, in audacity, in boldness. Their literature is damnable. Their books and their newspapers openly preach sabotage and boldly urge revolution.

The committee reports this bill firmly convinced that the House, the Senate, and the citizens of the United States generally are through with being told by alien revolutionists, communists, and anarchists, who are within our borders by our courtesy and by our grace, how to run our Government. Free press is ours, not theirs; free speech is ours, not theirs; and they have gone just as far as we can let them go toward running over our most precious rights. [Applause.] They have been here as guests in our house. They have misbehaved most woefully. They are welcome no longer. They must go. [Applause.] And those who come from foreign shores in the future must come only on probation or not at all. [Applause.]

These alien revolutionists themselves are deceived as to what are their rights under the Constitution of the United States. Many polite parlor Bolshevists here in the United States—citizens either by birth or adoption—have a wrong notion also about constitutional rights of aliens, and lend comfort and sympathy, and give advice to revolutionists, which can only serve to get all hands into trouble sooner or later.

Those who apply to deportation cases the doctrine of reasonable doubt or the constitutional rights of accused persons, recognized in criminal courts, are in error. Deportation proceedings are not criminal proceedings and they can be reviewed only by the civil proceeding of habeas corpus. The courts will not reverse or annul the decision of an administrative board or authority under the executive department unless the proceeding was without jurisdiction or clearly in contravention of law. An alien's domiciling himself in this country is merely the exercise of a privilege. He is usually here under the provisions of a treaty giving to the nationals of this country the same rights and privileges as are accorded those of the most favored nation. He has no constitutional right to stay here for which he can claim the protection of a jury trial. All that talk about reasonable doubt is mere subterfuge.

Mr. Chairman, we all have sympathy with those who come from other countries to our shores with good purposes. In the past every opportunity that has been ours has been theirs. Opportunity is still here, the socialists to the contrary notwithstanding. Our present immigration laws work distressing hardships in many details, and your committee is at work on a bill to cure several apparent defects. The committee has divided its work as follows:

First, deportation; second, naturalization and Americanization; third, immigration.

We present the deportation bill. The naturalization bill is on the House Calendar. An immigration bill is being worked out.

A few weeks ago, by direction of a resolution of the House of Representatives, the members of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization were at Ellis Island on a mission of inquiry. My friends, in one day at Ellis Island I experienced almost every emotion that one can know. In one corridor I saw a poor British girl, gaunt, sad, about 35 years of age, clearly a plain working girl, without one sign that might have marked her as a woman of the "submerged tenth," who had come to the United States to live with her sister. On her arm was a baby. The father's name was unknown. The sister's husband had written to say that they would take care of the mother and baby, although they had three or four small children of their own and their income was quite limited. It was held that this British girl and her baby were liable to become public charges, and that wretched woman, who looked ready to jump into the river and become, in the words of Hood—

> One more unfortunate,
> Weary of breath,
> Rashly importunate,
> Gone to her death—

was denied admission and sent back to Britain's shore.

In the next ward was a Jew with his wife and some children coming to this country, all bright, clean, well dressed. On hand to receive them was their son, a resident and citizen, I think, of Boston, and worth several thousand dollars. As so many foreign-born in the United States are doing, he had sent for his relatives. He had sent for the father, the wife, and the mother, and the rest of the children, and there they were. The children and the wife could read, but the poor old father could not read, and that resulted in an inquiry. The law says that if the father is illiterate and past 55 years of age, he may be admitted. The inspector asked the father how old he was, and he, being an honest man, said that he was 50 years old. Down went the gates; "excluded," was the verdict. That showed to me and other members a flaw in the law. It stands to reason that if we are going to admit fathers, a father 50 years of age is more likely to be an asset to the country than one 80 years of age.

We went from there and saw an Italian woman, who was trying to enter the United States. Her brother was there to meet her. She had lived in the United States and her husband took her back to the old country. He died and she married again, and the second husband was killed in the war. She had four children. The brother came from Buffalo to receive her. He brought $800 to show that he was able to take care of her. He said he had an eight-room house in Buffalo, and said that he would take the family and guarantee to care for them. But it could not be. She was declared to be in danger of becoming a public charge and was ordered back. She was in tears and the brother was in tears. Under the law they could not come together even for a kiss or a handshake without special permit from the officer in charge.

Our committee looked into this case, and lo and behold, it developed that the oldest boy, undersized, 16 or 17 years old, had himself been born in the United States, and nothing could deprive him of his citizenship or send him out of the country. On the boy's proud possession—citizenship in the United States of America—it was easy to arrange for the admission of the mother.

Then, Mr. Chairman, we went from these sad sights into a room where they were 85 or 90 noisy, yelling individuals, howling against civilization and particularly the United States. Every one of them was a member of the Russian Workers' Union, a revolutionary organization which starts out its constitution with the words:

> We are atheists, we are anarchists, we are revolutionists.

There they were frothing at the mouth because they were about to be sent out of the United States; they go to-day or to-night, I believe, back to Russia, where they can be anarchists, terrorists, Bolshevists, or whatever they please. Our country was not quite free enough for them and they are mad about it. But Russia is a little too free for them, and they are mad about that. Having defied all law in the United States, they had invoked all of it in an effort to keep from being deported. I wonder why? [Applause.]

In an adjoining room was Alexander Berkman, anarchist and degenerate, bemoaning his sad fate. He is due to depart to-night. He had just come from court where he had put up a plea that deportation to Russia carried with it a possibility of death for him. In court he was defiant. He said:

> The anarchists, Socialists, Bolsheviki, and I. W. W. of the United States are lovers of the country and are merely taking exception to the laws of deportation, which were passed as war measures to be used after the war. I have been an anarchist for 32 years and have served 16 years in prison; but, nevertheless, I expect to die an anarchist.

But his plea in court failed. He cringes. He fears death. Why? Did he not both shoot and stab Frick in an effort to bring death to him? That was 28 years ago, and Berkman was released from prison 14 years ago. He was subject to deportation the day he came out of prison and should have been deported that day. [Applause.]

But for all these years he has gone over the United States teaching and preaching anarchy, craftily leading others to deeds of terror—to the murder of men, women, and children. He organized an anarchist gang in San Francisco that led to the Mooney outrage. He has boasted that he is a terrorist. Now, as he whines and cringes at Ellis Island he is a poor spectacle. The United States offered him everything. It owed him nothing. It owes him nothing now. If he is executed in the country of his birth, to which he goes for this country's good, he can console himself on the scaffold there with the thought that he richly deserved to be hanged here.

Let him go and let his foul, filthy, treasonable books go with him. Back to Russia, Alexander Ossippiwitch!

Emma Goldman, too, was there, ready to start—defiant and mad through and through. She said:

> I am going to fight the Government to the last ditch against deportation. If I am deported, I do not want to go at the expense of the United States, but I am willing to go at my own expense and pick the port at which I shall land.

The Russian Workers flaunted in our faces their literature. They handed out a Russian publication describing the purpose of the communists. Let me read you a little.

> The first group is to proceed, in a direct and revolutionary way, to destroy all forms of authority and central power and of the bases of private and State property.

The second group is to seize by force all means of production, all the land and inventory, to proceed at once to the creation of free productive communes on autonomous federative lines, who are to organize production and consumption from the bottom upward, conforming to the communist principle.

That is the stuff they were handing out at Ellis Island. Now, mark this. It is hard to find the line between those who call for social revolution and those who call for bloody revolution, or between those who call for the stateless communism. A socialist is not an anarchist, but an anarchist usually steps up from socialism. Find the line, my friends, if you can. If you can not find it, have nothing to do with any of them.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

Mr. BUTLER. Why is it necessary to hunt the line?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Because there are professors in the United States universities, and writers for the newspapers and the magazines, and men even in the Government itself who split hairs about the dividing line.

Mr. BUTLER. My friend does not think that ought to bother us concerning these aliens. If these people do not believe in us, send them back.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Well, those we saw ready to be shipped out certainly do not believe in the Government of the United States.

I have some of the actual records here. Here is the case of Peter Bianki, as dangerous an anarchist as ever came to the United States. Capt. Swinburne Hall and others speak of him as polite, gentle, well intended, and decry the fact that the United States is deporting him for the good of the United States. I can show you here in the record where he was examined, and questions were put to him trying to soften his answers, trying to get him to say "state socialism," where he said "anarchism," and working him down from damnable anarchy to something soft and sweet that could not be objected to. There are the papers, and I wish I had time to read them. Bianki seemed to have been here two years. He is a member of the Russian Workers' Union. They say that that was a school and an uplift organization. Do not be deceived. It is an anarchist outfit, pure and simple. It was organized in the United States before the cataclysm in Russia. They have been here all of that time. I think they say that there are 7,000 in New York City; there are a few here in the District of Columbia, all digging, digging, digging at the foundations of the Government.

These communists, I. W. W.'s, anarchists, Russian Workers, are all one and the same. Their speakers talk the same language; they use the same halls; they have the same methods; their damnable literature is all alike.

I hardly know where to start to show you some of it, but I will show you this first. Here is the protest of these 86 or 87 Russian Workers to our committee, while we were there, against the treatment they were accorded, because the authorities had put up a bar to keep their friends from handing pistols in to them. This is their protest and their resolution that they would starve.

Mr. CARAWAY. Well, nobody objected to that.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. And while our committee was there their attorney came in and officially asked the committee when they could get to their cases, the hearings on which he had been blocking. I told him I thought it would be just about Christmas, and now I call attention to the fact that it is now about Christmas, and I think soon they will be on their way overseas, because they are anarchists. Their platform, their constitution, is so exceedingly revolutionary that no agent of the Government can split hairs about it. But enough of that.

Here is Haywood's "Drop of Blood." You see he has put drops of blood upon it. Here is what he says has happened to the I. W. W.'s. Let me say that everything that has happened to a few of them they have made happen, in violation of law, to other people. They kill, they plant bombs, they set fires, they assassinate; but whenever anyone of their number gets caught they beg and appeal for the protection of the very laws that they themselves have urged to be broken.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Where was that printed?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. In Chicago, at the printing headquarters of the I. W. W. He names in this a list of martyrs to their cause, some 12 or 14—oh, most terrible martyrs! Hilstrom and others! For every 14 names in there I can name you dozens whom they have killed and assassinated in the United States, from Gov. Steunenberg in 1905 down to Capt. Warren Grim, Dale Hubbard, Arthur McIlfresh, and Ben Casagranda, the four uniformed service men assassinated in cold blood, picked off as they paraded on armistice day at Centralia, in the district which I have the honor to represent in Congress. Those boys were murdered. The I. W. W. puts out a circular alleging self-defense, and trying to make much of the fact that the line of marching soldiers broke and ran from the middle of the street when the rifle fire belched forth from the I. W. W. halls and rendezvous on both sides of the street. What did they want our service men to do, stand there and be picked off by these terroristic murderers? Our soldiers did not stand, but I will tell you what they did do. At the command of the mayor these soldier boys defended the jail and saved 25 or 30 of these "no God, no law, no work" fellows from discovering that not only is there a God but that there is a hell. [Applause.] All but one, who was caught on an outlying road and lynched. Of course, the minute the shots were fired the soldier boys did stampede the hall, but let me repeat that when the mayor of that little city—it is a small town—called on these service men of the United States to go to the jail and defend these I. W. W.'s against the mob, these soldiers, who had seen their own comrades assassinated, defended the assassins and conspirators against the citizens. Oh, that was Americanism for you. [Applause.] I. W. W. martyrs! Drops of blood! It is outrageous, and is intended only to create class warfare, hate, revolution. This bill will make aliens a little chary about distributing that kind of stuff.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, I notice that Haywood has named as one of the martyrs Joseph Hilstrom, who was tried and convicted and executed under the laws of Utah for one of the most brutal murders that ever took place in that State.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes; and I do not want anyone here to lose sight of the fact that whenever one of these murderers is arrested and held, under due process of the law, he immediately makes a sympathetic appeal, with the aid of all of these fellows, to the people, and begs for contributions from the working classes. The appeal for money is always made to honest organized labor, and a great many times honest labor has been the goat and has contributed the money. In the State of Washington, in behalf of Mooney, they made this appeal for money and raised about $10,000. Only $1,000 of that went into the Mooney defense, and the $9,000 was used up in care and keep and overhead charges of these revolutionary agitators, such as Haywood.

I call your attention now to this paper, called the One Big Union Monthly, wherein it refers to the American Legion as a revolutionary body! What are they trying to do? Trying to make more class hatred every hour, every minute.

Here is the actual I. W. W. appeal for funds. Union men are asked to contribute. Circulars are sent through the mail by the northwest defense committee—I. W. W., of course—dragging the nickels and the dimes from honest union workingmen to defend these assassins and murderers. Out of the round-up which we made in Centralia, of the 30 or 40 I. W. W.'s in that hall, 16 were aliens, who were preaching and disseminating propaganda to destroy this Government. Those aliens are here only because of our good grace and courtesy of the United States and on sufferance. Some very good people think we can not deport these alien terrorists. Some Government officials think that our present laws do not reach them. This bill will reach them. They are welcome here no longer.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me for a moment?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. This morning some of us received a communication which is an appeal from the League for Amnesty to Political Prisoners, located in New York City, and it is in respect to three Russians in New York City, whose convictions were recently sustained by the Supreme Court, in the case of Abrams against The United States, on the 10th of November. We are asked to contribute for the purpose of in some way relieving those three people from the injustice that is supposed and asserted in this communication to have been done them.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. If I have time, I will show you who is behind these amnesty appeals. I will show you the original letter from the Paterson, N. J., anarchist society starting the movement. Those Ferrer Society fellows at Paterson claim they are philosophical anarchists. Perhaps so, but it is my observation that "philosophical" anarchists are always much interested in the other kinds that make the bombs and do the dirty work. I have here a "political prisoner" appeal from Emma Goldman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will inform the gentleman that he has consumed 15 minutes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I call the attention of the House to a few more dirty documents. Here is an appeal in revolutionist newspapers, published by aliens, to the negroes

of the South, which makes some of the other appeals look like a cent. Here is a telegram dated Washington, D. C., March 26, 1919. It is addressed to the Immigration Service at Ellis Island and says:

Assistant Secretary directs that deportees arriving to-day be not deported. Take from ship. Allow attorneys to see them.

This is signed by Frederick C. Howe, who was immigration commissioner at Ellis Island at that time, but was here in Washington that day. Why he was in Washington talking it over with the Assistant Secretary of Labor and arranging to take off of the ship aliens who under the law were about to be deported—not only take them off, but let them out on their own recognizance—I leave to you to say who was appearing for the United States at that stage of the proceedings. Mind you, these were alien anarchists or revolutionists. And the work goes on. Here is a letter from Emma Goldman. She writes in behalf of a person named Goldberg, who was a procurer.

Mr. BUTLER. Writes to whom?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. To Frederick C. Howe, the United States commissioner of immigration, and she mentions as friends and men upon whom he could rely the names of Matthew A. Schmidt and David Caplan. She guarantees that they will guarantee Goldberg, the principal, and those two people were among those convicted of blowing up the Los Angeles Times.

Mr. Chairman, I ask permission to insert the text of the measure, and any amendments that may be made to it in this or the other body. I call attention that the bill itself covers only the first section of the present anarchist statute. The first section denies admission to the United States of the classes enumerated. The other sections provide for the deportation of all such classes.

Now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I conclude by quoting from the last known letter of Theodore Roosevelt, written in January, 1919, to the American Defense Society:

There can be no divided allegiance here. Any man who says he is an American, but something else also, isn't an American at all. We have room for but one flag, the American flag, and this excludes the red flag, which symbolizes all wars against liberty and civilization, just as much as it excludes any flag of a nation to which we are hostile. We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, of American nationality, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house; and we have room for but one sole loyalty, and that is loyalty to the American people.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I thank you for your attention. [Applause.]

The text of the act, as signed by the President June 5, 1920, is as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 1 of the act entitled "An act to exclude and expel from the United States aliens who are members of the anarchistic and similar classes," approved October 16, 1918, is amended to read as follows:

"That the following aliens shall be excluded from admission into the United States:

"(a) Aliens who are anarchists;

"(b) Aliens who advise, advocate, or teach, or who are members of or affiliated with any organization, association, society, or group, that advises, advocates, or teaches opposition to all organized government;

"(c) Aliens who believe in, advise, advocate, or teach, or who are members of or affiliated with any organization, association, society, or group, that believes in, advises, advocates, or teaches: (1) the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or (2) the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers (either of specific individuals or of officers generally) of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character, or (3) the unlawful damage, injury, or destruction of property, or (4) sabotage;

"(d) Aliens who write, publish, or cause to be written or published, or who knowingly circulate, distribute, print, or display, or knowingly cause to be circulated, distributed, printed, published, or displayed, or who knowingly have in their possession for the purpose of circulation, distribution, publication, or display, any written or printed matter, advising, advocating, or teaching opposition to all organized government, or advising, advocating, or teaching: (1) the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or (2) the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers (either of specific individuals or of officers generally) of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, or (3) the unlawful damage, injury, or destruction of property, or (4) sabotage;

"(e) Aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization, association, society, or group that writes, circulates, distributes, prints, publishes, or displays, or causes to be written, circulated, distributed, printed, published, or displayed, or that has in its possession for the purpose of circulation, distribution, publication, issue, or display, any written or printed matter of the character described in subdivision (d).

"For the purpose of this section: (1) the giving, loaning or promising of money or any thing of value to be used for the advising, advocacy, or teaching of any doctrine above enumerated shall constitute the advising, advocacy, or teaching of such doctrine; and (2) the giving, loaning, or promising of money or any thing of value to any organization, association, society, or group of the character above described shall constitute affiliation therewith; but nothing in this paragraph shall be taken as an exclusive definition of advising, advocacy, teaching, or affiliation."

Increased Compensation for Postal Employees.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALLEN T. TREADWAY,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 14338) to reclassify postmasters and employees of the Postal Service and readjust their salaries and compensation on an equitable basis.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I have the deepest sympathy in the movement to increase the pay of all classes of postal employees, realizing to the fullest extent that they have been underpaid by our Government for years past. Furthermore, I heartily agree with the sentiment voiced that the schedule of pay recommended—a minimum of $1,400 and a maximum of $1,800 to clerks and carriers—is too small to satisfy the needs of these men, a great many of whom have families. I feel, however, that I should vote in support of the bill, H. R. 14338, which is the result of the report of the Joint Postal Wage Commission, in view of the fact that the increases recommended are the largest that can be secured at this time. I sincerely hope that opportunity may be afforded to vote upon additional increases when Congress next convenes, in order that these men may be properly compensated for the important and exacting work that they perform in Government service.

Since I have been in Congress I have consistently favored a just and fair scale of wages for postal workers, and in previous sessions have urged in the committee hearings and on the floor of the House that Congress be liberal in its provisions for those who handle our mails. Every man, woman, and child in the United States is beholden to the mail carrier, for who is there among us who does not feel a slight stir when he notes the approach of the "mailman" to our door with his missives, perhaps of love from dear ones away in a far land or bearing letters of greatest importance in a business or personal way.

Our postal employees are a splendid class of people. They are educated and well trained and we all recognize them to be of our highest type of citizens. It has been repeatedly stated that even under the advanced schedule of pay reported in this bill they will not receive as much as the ordinary day laborer. They have not the right to force their demands, however, like the man who is an artisan and who is a member of a labor organization.

All throughout the period of the war these men performed their very arduous duties, and especially here in Washington we recall how their burdens were multiplied, as they must have been throughout the length and breadth of the land.

During the past winter, which was one of the most severe that New England has ever known, and in which my own district suffered unusual hardship, our postal carriers were obliged to be on the job each day and carry their heavy packs of mail through snow that was many feet deep in a series of blizzards that swept western Massachusetts. Were they allowed to stay at home on days when the snow was deep? No; they must brave the storm and cold and distribute the mail every week day despite the weather.

In the letters that have come to me during the past six weeks on the subject of increases for postal employees I have been impressed with the large number of merchants, bankers, manufacturers, and business men of all lines who have written me urging that just wages be given the postal workers. It is right that these various business interests should show concern in the pay of the clerks and carriers in the Postal Service, for business largely depends upon the efficiency of the mail system of this country. Likewise the newspapers of the country seemed united in their support of added compensation along the line indicated, and scores of editorials were forwarded to me dealing with the subject.

In closing I want to state that I will vote for this bill, not in the sense that it adequately meets the needs of the Postal Service, but because it does give some increase in pay, which is better than the present scale of wages. Were it possible under the rules by which this bill is now considered to offer amendment for additional increases I should be glad to support such a motion, and my hope is that when Congress again convenes I shall be allowed the privilege of voting for a more substantial raise in pay to postal employees, who deserve just and liberal remuneration for the important task that they perform in the life of this country.

Compensation to Postal Employees.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE BLACK,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 4, 1920.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, I am earnestly in favor of an increase of salary to postal employees and I heartily supported the bill which we have just passed for that purpose and think it will do a great deal of good, but there has been some misapprehension as to salaries which are now paid to postal employees and as to the different increases which have been granted to them by Congress from time to time. Therefore, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, I insert a letter which was recently written by Postmaster General Burleson to Charles T. Gwynne, secretary Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York. This letter gives some interesting information which has been carefully compiled from official records and shows that Congress has not been as neglectful of this worthy class of workers as some uninformed critics have charged.

MAY 27, 1920.

CHARLES T. GWYNNE,
Secretary Chamber of Commerce, State of New York,
65 Liberty Street, New York City.

SIR: Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of May 20, relative to the movement to secure increased compensation for the postal employees throughout the country. In reply permit me to state that I greatly appreciate the opportunity that your request affords me to place before you certain facts in connection with the salaries of postal employees.

Statements have frequently been made that the salaries have not been increased for many years. These statements are made in error, as the Congress has been more than liberal to the Government employees. They are assured of a permanent position and in normal times at a salary higher than that paid for like service in other employment. In hearings held during 1917 and 1918 by a subcommittee of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, House of Representatives, it was shown that the average salaries paid post-office clerks and city letter carriers in the years 1908–1915 were considerably higher than the average paid employees of the United States Steel Corporation.

The Congress provided for reclassification of post-office clerks and city letter carriers effective July 1, 1907, which authorized automatic promotions at the end of each year's efficient service until the maximum grade was reached. These increases in compensation were made without any new legislation. On June 30, 1907, there were 24,577 city letter carriers in the service, and their average salary was $899.91. At the present time there are 35,952 carriers in the service, and their average salary is $1,543.56, an increase of 71.52 per cent. During the current fiscal year promotions authorized by the Congress for city letter carriers, including the increase provided by H. R. 151, amount to $11,059,250.

The number of clerks at first and second class post offices on June 30, 1907, was 26,447, and their average salary $831.94. The number of clerks now employed is 47,751, and their average annual salary has increased to $1,546.86, or an increase of 85.93 per cent. The number of clerks in the grades above $1,200 on June 30, 1907, was 1,407, while to-day there are 31,784; and above the $1,500 grade there are 8,781. While the number of clerks since 1907 has increased less than 100 per cent the number of supervisory officials has increased more than 600 per cent; but these additional places in the supervisory grades have provided many more increases in salary than the number indicates, as an additional place in the $3,000 grade would promote one person in each grade from $1,200 up. The increase in compensation for clerks and supervisory employees at first and second class post offices during the current fiscal year is $10,269,510.

The entrance salary fixed by the reclassification act which went into effect July 1, 1907, was $600, and the maximum salary $1,200. The entrance salary was increased on July 1, 1913, to $800, and on July 1, 1918, to $1,000, and on November 8, 1919, to $1,200, or an increase of 100 per cent. The maximum salary has been increased from $1,200 to $1,650, or an increase of 37½ per cent.

The average salary of railway mail clerks has increasd from $1,161 to $1,796.96, an increase of 54.77 per cent since June 30, 1907.

The average annual salary of all road clerks is $2,051, including travel allowance, or an increase over average annual salaries of all clerks in 1910 of $887, or 76.2 per cent.

The increases provided by the Congress have raised the average salaries of city letter carriers since June 30, 1913, from $1,059.68 to $1,543.56, or 45 per cent; of clerks in first and second class post offices, from $1,064.66 to $1,546.86, or 45 per cent; of rural letter carriers, from $1,062.37 to $1,717.89, or 61 per cent; and of railway mail clerks, from $1,239 to $1,796.96, or 45 per cent.

The following table shows the average annual salaries of various employees in the Postal Service.

	June 30, 1907.	June 30, 1913.	Mar. 12, 1920.
City letter carriers	$899.91	$1,059.68	$1,543.56
Clerks, first and second class offices	831.94	1,064.66	1,546.86
Rural letter carriers	709.42	1,062.37	1,717.89
Railway mail clerks	1,161.00	1,239.00	1,796.96

Shortly after war was declared the Congress enacted legislation which gave employees in the Postal Service, beginning July 1, 1918, an increase of $200 per annum for those receiving $2,200 and less, and a 5 per cent increase for those receiving more than $2,200. This increase amounted to about $40,000,000 in increased compensation annually.

During the present Congress a resolution was passed providing for bonuses involving an additional expenditure of about $35,000,000 annually, so in addition to the regular promotions provided in the appropriation bills the employees are now receiving approximately $75,000,000 annually in increased compensation because of the war.

The clerk or carrier who was receiving $600 on April 1, 1913, has been promoted through automatic promotions and other increases granted by the Congress until now he receives $1,650, or an increase of 175 per cent. The clerk or carrier who was receiving $1,200 on that date is now receiving $1,650, or an increase of 37½ per cent.

The statement that no increases have been provided for employees in the Postal Service for many years is absolutely untrue; but, on the other hand, there has been a steady and gradual increase of the salaries of these employees each year.

The following table shows the average salaries on June 30, 1913, and March 12, 1920, and the percentages of increases:

Postal Service.	June 30, 1913.	Mar. 12, 1920.	Per cent increase.
Post-office inspectors	$1,804.45	$2,151.12	19.21
Clerks, division headquarters, post-office inspectors	1,247.23	1,663.00	33.33
Clerks in post offices	1,064.66	1,546.86	45.31
City delivery carriers	1,059.68	1,543.56	45.68
Railway postal clerks [1]	1,289.00	1,796.96	45.04
Rural carriers	1,062.37	1,717.89	61.70
Postmasters [2]	502.38	684.20	36.20
Assistant postmasters	1,222.80	1,778.00	45.41

[1] In addition to the average annual salary shown above for railway postal clerks, their travel allowance has been increased from an average of $92, on June 30, 1913, to an average of $190, Mar. 12, 1920, or 106.6 per cent.

[2] The low average salary of postmasters is explained by the fact that the salaries of all postmasters (including those of offices of the third and fourth classes, where the salaries are quite low in a number of instances) are included in the computations.

The Postmaster General has stated in his annual reports and before committees in Congress that he believed the Government should be a model employer, that it should pay salaries from 15 to 30 per cent greater than that paid by private concerns for work of similar nature or responsibility, and that when the salaries were not such he himself would willingly recommend to the Congress an increase. Of course, the salaries paid in the Postal Service are those fixed by the Congress, and they can in no wise be increased by the department without legislative action. Realizing the abnormal conditions which existed in certain centers because of the peculiar local industrial conditions, and that the salaries paid postal employees in these localities were not sufficient, the Postmaster General last July took the initiative in the necessary steps to enable him to increase the compensation where the conditions warranted an increase. A resolution (H. Res. 151) introduced by Representative MADDEN on July 19, 1919, provided that the Postmaster General may increase the salaries then authorized by law not to exceed 35 per cent where unusual and abnormal conditions prevailed. The passage of this resolution was urged by the Postmaster General, but it was opposed by certain representatives of the postal employees, who, instead of the provisions of this resolution being granted, urged and insisted that a horizontal increase be made. The department in seeking this legislation was asking permission to follow the same methods that would be adopted by any business corporation doing a national business, as no such corporation would think of paying the same wages throughout the United States.

It is impossible to bring the salaries of the employees at the smaller towns, or where industrial and unusual conditions do not prevail, up to the level of those where such conditions exist without spending unnecessarily hundreds of millions of dollars. The recommendation of the department was not followed, but instead a horizontal increase was made in the salaries, which made many increases where they were not justified, and, on the other hand, made increases insufficient to provide for the cities where abnormal and unusual conditions prevailed. The Congress did what it believed evidently to be for the best interest of the service, and this letter is not intended in any wise to reflect upon its action; but the department is still of the opinion that had the recommendations of the Postmaster General been followed the salaries could have been readjusted at much less cost and in a much more satisfactory manner. The department is still of the opinion that instead of a further horizontal increase in all instances the Postmaster General should be given authority to exceed the present compensation now paid where the circumstances justify so doing, not to exceed 25 per cent.

Many statements have been made that the employees are leaving the service in "droves" and that the service is threatened with a "breakdown" or "collapse." These statements are not based on facts. The resignations in the entire Postal Service of the country during the year ended June 30, 1919, were 11 per cent for clerks and 5.7 per cent for city letter carriers. In the New York City post office there were employed 6,618 clerks, of which 760, or 11.48 per cent, resigned. There are employed 2,769 letter carriers, of which 103, of 3.72 per cent, resigned. During the current fiscal year, up to the present time, there were employed 7,221 clerks, of which number 1,080, or 14.96 per cent, resigned, and of the 2,829 letter carriers employed 121, or 4.28 per cent, resigned. Of the number of clerks resigning practically 50 per cent have been in the service less than one year and are therefore inexperienced and not efficient clerks. A table giving this information in detail by grades is attached. This shows that the turnover in the Postal Service in New York City represents on an average about 12 per cent annually, making the average term of employment more than eight years. For carriers the average turnover is less than 4 per cent, making the average term of employment 25 years.

I feel that this turnover is far less than that represented by any corporation or utility, be it public or private. More than 80 per cent of the clerks and 90 per cent of the carriers in the Postal Service to-day have been employed for more than two years. The same people, therefore, are distributing and delivering the mail that were doing so more than two years ago; and the department has allowed the postmasters all the additional help neded; so if the service being rendered the public

to-day is inefficient, only one conclusion can be reached, and that is that the employees are not rendering as efficient service as they were two years ago; if not, the conclusion that must necessarily be forced upon us is that they are deliberately failing to do so. Personally, the Postmaster General does not believe this to be so, as he believes that there is not a more faithful or patriotic set of men employed by either a public or private corporation than the postal employees.

Little consideration seems to be given by some to the fact that the Postal Service is the only service that has declared no embargoes and has accepted for transportation at any and all times merchandise regardless of quantity and handled it with promptness and dispatch not equaled by any other transportation agency, and that the disturbances by railroad and express strikes have thrown into the Postal Service an unprecedented volume of mail.

Statements have been made in publications from time to time that an unprecedented number of men are leaving the service and that these are experienced men, but our investigations disclose that such is not the case. In the city of New York more than 4,000,000 outgoing letters are mailed daily, and a like number are received. As it is necessary to handle each of these letters four times, you can see it makes necessary more than 32,000,000 handlings of letters daily; and this is done with less than one error in each 10,000 leters handled, which is a record for efficiency of which the Postal Service may justly feel proud.

A. S. BURLESON, *Postmaster General.*

Postal Employees' Salaries.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHRISTOPHER D. SULLIVAN,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, in voting for this bill I do so with but one regret, and that is that the commission did not see fit to recommend greater increases for postal employees than are carried in this bill. But since it is the best we can get at this time, I shall cast my vote in support of the bill with genuine pleasure, feeling that to some extent the increase in salaries which it does carry will help to relieve these employees in meeting the very heavy expense under which they are now laboring because of the increased cost of living.

To my mind there are no class of people in the Government service more deserving of substantial recognition than are the employees of the Postal Service. It is very much to be regretted that men who have been in the Postal Service for many years have found it obligatory to separate themselves from it because of the fact that they were not able to support their families upon the very small compensation which they received from the United States Government. By these separations of men who were highly skilled and trained in postal work the country—more especially in the large cities—has suffered a very serious setback until at the present time the service is so demoralized that it is meriting severe criticism. Millions of dollars in profits from the Postal Service are annually turned back into the Treasury, while tried and true employees are leaving the service because of inadequate remuneration. I do not believe that it was ever intended, nor do the American people expect, that the Postal Service shall be run as a profit-making source of governmental revenue, and I feel quite sure that every American citizen would much prefer to see less profits turned in and better wages paid to the faithful body of postal employees who serve them day in and day out throughout the year.

Nowhere in the Government service do we find a more faithful and efficient set of employees than in the Postal Service. Our very existence as a Nation is dependent upon the efficient performance of duty by these postal employees, for without an efficient and sufficient mail service our economic progress must fall. And yet these men upon whom we are so utterly dependent for progress and advancement are paid far less than the ordinary truck driver or window washer.

Mr. Speaker, I am sorry indeed that this bill does not carry with it a minimum salary of $2,000 per annum for experienced clerks and carriers. However, small as the promotions as carried in this bill are, it is a step in the right direction, and it may be that the next Congress will carry on the good work until finally these faithful servants of the country are given remuneration commensurate with the dignity and character of the important service which they render. When this is done we will have a better Postal Service, for then we will have a body of postal employees who will experience a feeling of contentment and be better able because of it to give the kind of service which the American people believe they are entitled to have in the handling of their mails.

The Republican Party's Hypocrisy on Irish Freedom Unmasked.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. RAINEY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. JOHN W. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, on the 26th day of last January, as the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that date bears witness, I stated, on the floor of this House, that the Republican leaders of this House were not sincere in their pretense of favoring the original Mason resolution; that the Republican Party controlled this House; that the Republican Party, through its majority on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, could report out the original Mason resolution; that the Republican Members on the Committee on Foreign Affairs would never report out the original Mason resolution, which appropriated $14,000 for sending American diplomatic and consular agents to Ireland; that the Republican leaders in this House would not allow the original Mason resolution or any other resolution on Irish freedom that was worth the paper on which it was written to pass this House. And, Mr. Speaker, in these closing hours of this last day of this session I here and now challenge the Republican leaders to live up to their alleged pretenses of devotion to Irish freedom, or to plead guilty to the charge of "playing politics" throughout this session on the Irish question, and, in the end, doing nothing tangible for Irish freedom.

Mr. Speaker, the Republican Party, through the Committee on Foreign Affairs of this House, held lengthy hearings on this question months ago. A former Member of this House, Hon. Bourke Cockran, together with Judge Cohalan and many others interested in the Irish question, came to Washington. They represented the sentiments of millions of American citizens; they gave their time to present the reasons why the original Mason resolution should become a law; and what has the Republican Party done? Has the Republican Party passed the original Mason resolution? Has the Republican Party even reported the original Mason resolution out of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of this House? You know, Mr. Speaker, that the original Mason resolution is dead and lies buried in the Committee on Foreign Affairs of this House, where the Republican leaders last January decided it was to die, stillborn.

Hon. Bourke Cockran and Judge Cohalan and the people they represent deserve the dignified treatment due American citizens, and how have you Republicans treated them? They asked for the bread of congressional recognition of Irish freedom through the adoption of the original Mason resolution and you have handed them a stone. And that is the Republican record after 15 long months, since you came into power, for you had the votes and plenty of time, if you Republicans really wanted to help the cause of Irish freedom. The Republican leaders knew full well that if the original Mason resolution or any other resolution on Irish freedom was allowed to come to a vote in this House there were enough Democratic votes on this side of the House to pass any resolution on the Irish question that came to a vote at this session of Congress. Let the Republican leaders answer to the American people. Let them in answering remember that promise is not performance. Let them know now, for the Republican leaders have not seemed to realize it to date, that the millions of American citizens who have devotedly wished and expected this House to pass a resolution helpful to Irish freedom are not to be treated the way some parents answer the pleas of their children—by listening to them, patting them on the back, sending them away with smiles and promises, and never doing anything to carry out those promises.

Finally, let the Republican leaders and the Republican Members of this House and Senate never forget that "You can fool some of the people all of the time, all of the people some of the time, but you can not fool all of the people all of the time," as you Republicans will realize when the millions of American citizens who petitioned you to pass a resolution on Irish freedom cast their ballots next November and thereby decree that your successors in the Sixty-seventh Congress shall be composed of a majority who will have the ears to hear, hearts to sympathize with, and the stamina and backbone to vote for and pass a resolution which will hearten and encourage patriotic Irish people who are now struggling against the thralldom of the same alien nation whose yoke your own Revolutionary heroes threw off in 1776.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. WILSON,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 14038) to reclassify postmasters and employees of the Postal Service and adjust their salaries and compensation on an equitable basis.

Mr. WILSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the Congress, the bill now under consideration, which embodies and proposes to enact into law the findings of the joint committee that has had under investigation and consideration for more than a year the reclassification of salaries in the Post Office Department, is, in so far as it provides for increased salaries to employees in this department, a great disappointment to many of those Members of Congress who are interested in the welfare of the postal employees of the country and desire that they receive an adequate return for services well and faithfully rendered.

The prompt, efficient, and honest handling of the mail lies very close to the happiness, well-being, and prosperity of the whole people of the United States, and all citizens who have the well-being of their country at heart are vitally interested in having the postal employees paid a wage that will be commensurate with the mental and physical requirements and the character of the services rendered and that will tend to increase the efficiency of the Post Office Department.

Without carping at or criticizing the joint committee that has had an arduous task in working out this reclassification so as to work equity among the postal employees, and recognizing the magnitude of the undertaking and also recognizing the many good features in this bill as a whole, it can not, however, be denied that the Government has been dilatory in granting increased pay to its postal employees, and that the increases provided in this bill are not commensurate with the character of the services rendered and with the increase in the cost of living since 1914.

These employees and postmasters performed a great and patriotic service to their country in sticking to their underpaid positions and keeping the Postal Service functioning during the war. These men resisted the lure of the higher wage that they could have obtained in munition factories, industrial plants, and private enterprises, feeling that it was their patriotic duty as citizens so to do, and believing that the Government would right the injustice as soon as the stress of war was over. That faithful, uncomplaining, and patriotic service in time of the country's great stress makes the meagerness of the increase in this bill all the more apparent and will tend to make these employees feel that the great service rendered by them is not appreciated by the country.

But, Mr. Speaker, they can disabuse their minds of the latter conclusion, for I believe that a majority of the Members of this House are prepared to-day to vote a much larger increase than is in this bill if they had the opportunity so to do, but these Members of Congress are tied by a rule jammed through by the majority steering committee, a rule which permits only limited debate on this great measure that involves the happiness and well-being of thousands of our best citizens who are in the Postal Service and the efficiency and perpetuity of our greatest Government agency, and which rule prohibits any amendment or changes in the bill.

The committee, under this rule, in effect says to Congress, "Here is our bill; if it suits you vote for it; if it does not suit you vote against it; and if a majority of you vote against this bill the postal employees will get no increase at all." This bill comes on the floor of the House after both Houses have determined to adjourn from June 5 until the first Monday of December, and under those circumstances the Members of Congress who favored larger increases all along the line determined that under all the circumstances it was better to vote for this bill and permit the postal employees to get the increases provided than to vote against it and have the old salary continued at least until next January, the earliest date on which another bill could be enacted.

This bill does not, in my opinion, under existing conditions, provide a living wage for post-office clerks, city and rural carriers. The civilized world to-day recognizes it as the inherent right of labor to have a living wage. The old theory that labor was a commodity and could be bought on the market, as other commodities were bought and sold, has been condemned by the civilized people of the world. These are employees of the Government, and the Government under the Clayton law expressed the opinion of the Nation in that statute, which says "labor is not a commodity or article of commerce." The War Labor Board, in its agreement duly sanctioned by the President's proclamation, declared as follows:

1. The right of all workers, including common labor, to a living wage is hereby declared.
2. In fixing wages minimum rates of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort.

It must follow from this that the Nation, having declared this as its policy in relation to all labor, is bound to carry out its declared policy in dealing with its own employees, and Congress on reassembling ought, as its first duty, to revise and amend this bill so as to provide to each employee of the Postal Service a living American wage.

But, Mr. Speaker, what constitutes a living wage is, of course, an open question, but it can not be denied that it ought to be such a wage as will permit the industrious and conscientious worker to maintain his family and himself under reasonably healthful and comfortable standards; to house, feed, and clothe and care for his family and himself; to provide insurance against sickness and death; to provide for his old age; and allow a reasonable sum for educational, recreational, and religious purposes.

The best scientific estimates at hand, based on honest, careful, and wide investigation, demonstrate that the scale of wages in this bill is below the estimated amounts required to maintain a family of five under American conditions.

The age-old ideas of the relations of employer and employee; of labor and capital; and the relative places on the scales of justice, of human rights as distinguished from the rights of property, are slowly being transformed into a newer idea, which recognizes that while property has rights—rights that must be secured and protected—purely human rights must be given the preference over property rights. The thought of the world has moved slowly in the development of this idea of purely human rights, but while its movement has been slow, its trend in the last decade has been ever forward and sure. The statutes of the several States and of the Nation, crystallizing this new idea into the law of the land, giving toil a new legal status and making for social justice, all reflect the new conscience of the American people.

The nations of the world give expression to this new concept of labor in that section of the covenant of the League of Nations which says:

The high contracting parties, recognizing that the well-being, physical, moral, and intellectual, of industrial wage earners is of supreme international importance, have framed, in order to further this great end, the permanent machinery provided for in section 1 and associated with that of the League of Nations.

They recognize that differences of climate, habits, and customs, of economic opportunity and industrial tradition make strict uniformity in the conditions of labor difficult of immediate attainment. But holding as they do that labor should not be regarded merely as an article of commerce, they think that there are methods and principles for regulating labor conditions which all industrial communities should endeavor to apply so far as their special circumstances will permit.

Among these methods and principles, the following seem to the high contracting parties to be of special and urgent importance:

First. The guiding principle above enunciated, that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second. The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third. The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life, as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth. The adoption of an 8-hour day or a 48-hour week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth. The adoption of a weekly rest of at least 24 hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

Sixth. The abolition of child labor and the imposition of such limitations on the labor of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh. The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth. The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labor should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth. Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to insure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

Without claiming that these methods and principles are either complete or final, the high contracting parties are of opinion that they are well fitted to guide the policy of the League of Nations, and that if adopted by the industrial communities who are members of the league, and safeguarded in practice by an adequate system of such inspection, they will confer lasting benefits upon the wage earners of the world.

We are moving forward and progressing each day to better things. Out of all the clamor, agitation, and apparent misunderstanding between capital and labor, employer and employee, will come mutual understanding and agreement as to the rights of each under the new social order, and the day is surely coming when an adequate wage will be willingly paid by the employer, and in return therefor the employee will cheerfully render ade-

quate service, all as a matter of right and justice to employer and employee.

This new idea has not evolved of itself, but is the result of years of persistent, intelligent, and organized effort on the part of the toiler and wage earner, who aspires to higher and better things for himself and his family. His efforts to obtain his desires may ofttimes have been misdirected and the means employed open to censure, but I do not share the fears of many honest citizens that the aspirations of labor and the unrest resultant therefrom portend the downfall of this Nation and organized government throughout the world.

The appellation "radical," now applied so indiscriminately as a term of disapprobation to all who aspire to change the old order for a newer and juster one, representing more nearly the common aspiration of mankind, raises no fear in the thoughtful student of history and observer of the times, for he knows that all of the great human rights and liberties that are ours to-day were obtained only by great effort and agitation, and that the men who led in those great movements were the "radicals" of their day.

The honest wage earner, who is ready and willing to render efficient service for adequate pay, is to-day as always the very bone and sinew of the body of our Nation, and who than he has more interest in the security of property and the preservation of civil liberty, and who more than he could be expected to show greater devotion and fealty to the Government that secured to him "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"?

That nation of free peoples is safe when the wealth-producing heads of families aspire to higher and better things in life for their children than were vouchsafed to themselves. When such hopes and aspirations cease to exist in the great body of wealth producers the nation will decay.

The so-called unrest of to-day is the accompaniment of the transition from the old order to the new, and the adjustments of the new order of social and economic justice to present-day conditions. I am confident that this readjustment will be gradually and peacefully made, and with it will come a happier, stronger, and better free people, more firmly founded on the bedrock of the Constitution that guarantees justice, civil and religious liberty, and the security of private property, and with a greater love and veneration for our free institutions founded on that Constitution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROLLIN B. SANFORD,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. SANFORD. Mr. Speaker, Representative ISAAC SIEGEL, of New York, has delivered a series of addresses throughout the country on "What ails America." His activities in behalf of real Americanization work are well known, and has received favorable commendation from those who are interested in having both native and foreign born to be real Americans. Speaking at New Haven, Conn., lately, Congressman SIEGEL said, in part:

"When war was declared on April 6, 1917, by this country, with its 110,000,000 of people and with its resources over $350,000,000,000, there was but one purpose in the minds of all. That was to win the war as quickly as possible.

"Within a few months, however, manufacturers and employees realized potentially of their power and each one immediately endeavored to obtain a larger amount of money for what he was giving to the Government.

"Extravagance ran riot. We spent approximately thirty billions in the war. True we loaned one quarter of it to the Allies and it may be paid back some time in the future.

NOT READY FOR PEACE.

"Peace found this country unprepared for it. We were not ready for war and were not ready for peace.

"On November last we reached the highest peak in the amount of money which had been issued by the reserve board. Gradually the peak went down. Suddenly within the past two weeks it has climbed even higher than on November last.

"Currency is like a rubber band. You can stretch and stretch it, but the purchasing value of a dollar bill becomes smaller.

"At the present time the greatest stretching point has been reached and with it has come the noticeable fact that as the wages have increased the cost of living has been added thereto. Following the higher cost of living the consumer has found that he has had to pay more and more.

SHOE MANUFACTURERS' PROFIT.

"No sensible American will deny that the workingmen deserve higher paid wages for efficient and thorough work. No sensible American will deny to the manufacturer, jobber, wholesaler, or retailer a fair, reasonable profit, but when the Central Leather Co. of America shows an increase of over $2,000,000 for the three months during 1919 greater than the same period of time in 1918, and when its stock shows a dividend of $9.25, compared with $3.85 for the same period of last year, no person can tell the consumer that shoes will be purchased at a more reasonable price at present as long as leather dealers show this extraordinary gain in profit.

MUST STOP FOR RELIEF.

"We can only obtain relief by starting with the manufacturer down to the employee and consumer. Each must make up his mind to make a lesser profit upon each article than he has been making during the war period. Workingmen must conclude that while engaged in work he must produce to the utmost. The consumer must make up his mind to purchase at the lowest price that which can give the greatest use and at the place where he can pay the cheapest price.

"You have heard that in the city of Lawrence, Mass., during the past six months, more silk shirts have been sold there than in 20 years before.

"Omaha, Nebr., is a city consisting mainly of native born. Its citizens have been reaping a harvest with superabundance of money, and the younger element have been wasting money and run amuck. The result is the city has been topsy-turvy—a man charged with crime thrown into the fire and the mayor of the city nearly lynched.

"In Chicago a similar condition occurred.

BOSTON POLICE WERE MONEY MAD.

"In Boston, a city full of historic and patriotic memories, known all over the world for its high education, the police department declines to perform its duty and forget of their sworn obligation to stand by the Constitution of the United States and by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Series of riots, robberies, and thefts the like of which no city has ever known took place. These policemen were willing to give up every consideration of their fellow men because they had become money mad. The Washington policemen realized that they must not be placed in the same position and they quickly responded to the public opinion throughout the country.

"I can point out to you everywhere the same spirit of unrest and the same desire to accumulate wealth. Goldsmith very ably says, 'Ill fares the land where wealth accumulates and men decay.'

"We, of course, realize that the soldier boys have done their share on the other side. We realize that they gave up their lives in France or were incapacitated; we realize that they have done their share by America; and we realize that they performed an immense piece of work. However, back in some parts of the country many men and women do not realize what America is, and they do not seem to understand what America represents and what its institutions represent. Here in America, Americans born two and three and four generations back, do not know what this country typifies. It does not typify the mere making of money. Citizenship implies more than that. Citizenship implies desire and will and obligation to give all that you possess in behalf of the country in which you live. It typifies the love of good character, and it typifies another thing, love of country, the same as a man who loves his own parents.

"It does not mean jealousy or avariciousness. It means a desire to serve. While the whole country is discussing Col. Roosevelt at the present time, perhaps a few words of his might answer very much if we get the country thinking, 'Fear God and no man.'

"Let me say to you to-night, as far as the immigration committee is concerned, it is determined upon one thing—that in the United States there is not going to be room for a living creature, no matter how small he can be, if he is not willing to stand by America 24 hours a day. There has been too much talk about taking things easily and calmly. We have taken things easily for a long time.

"It is only during the past two years that the immigration bill really provides for illiteracy test and examination both physically and mentally. It gave the Government all the power which it could ask for, in order to effect the deportation of undesirables. I will say to you also that in our investigation the astonishing feature has been that we find that the man who can

not read English or any language, in fact, is the very man who is ready to listen to people who have no love for America. Take the steel strike at the present time. Sixty per cent of them can not read or write the English language. They remain slaves naturally to the will of their more educated brethren.

"Prohibition is one of the other important questions before us to-day. Whether we agree with prohibition or disagree with it, the time has come, and it is here now, that the American people have made up their minds that if they are fit to elect Members of the House of Representatives and the United States Senate they are fit to ratify amendments to the United States Constitution by a direct vote and not through State legislatures or legislators who get frightened very quickly at the clamor that is made to them by means of certain propagandists.

PUT EX-PRESIDENTS IN SENATE.

"Some people say, 'What shall we do with our ex-Presidents?' I have offered a suggestion that since every ex-President has a vast experience in governmental affairs, I know of no place where he could do the most good than in the Senate of the United States. If we put a justice of the Supreme Court upon the bench for life, I think the ideal way of utilizing the wonderful service which an ex-President can render would be to put him in the Senate of the United States for life.

"Just think what a wonderful balance of these ex-Presidents were they: Cleveland, or Taft, or Roosevelt, or they will be Wilson, after their terms shall have been served and they will have spoken in the Senate of the United States. So would be the case if we had a Taft in the Senate of the United States to-day—and we must have counterbalance to-day in the Senate for this reason.

"In addition to this, I would make every member of the Cabinet an ex-officio Member of the House of Representatives. I would have him come and explain everything that he is doing.

SAYS TRYING TIME IS COMING.

"So, therefore, my friends, I must reiterate that we are bound to go through very trying times in the next year or two. There can not be any dividing line. Either you are with America or you are against it. We have got to wipe out lynchings here in this country. There can not be one law for the whites and another for the blacks. There can be only one law in America, and that is respect for law; to this country we must stand shoulder to shoulder; to go forward determined, whether we be Jew or Gentile, to make it grander and more beautiful, because it is the greatest country on the face of the earth, and will continue in the future as in the past as the land of liberty by the great Power which governs nations and governs men."

Tribute to Mr. Howard E. Butz.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN K. FOCHT,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Speaker——

A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches, and loving favor rather than silver and gold.

So said Solomon.

Howard E. Butz nourished and cherished the good name he inherited; thus he possessed all there is of worldly wealth worth while, and of this rare type of manhood, in our humble way, we shall strive to translate our impressions gathered from a close personal contact at intervals and at times from the distant point of vantage, which was uninterrupted for a period of nearly 40 years.

Our earliest acquaintance found us witnessing his marriage at the mansion home of his young bride in the heart of the broad and picturesque Buffalo Valley. The honeymoon then entered upon continued in beautiful domestic harmony and mutual helpfulness from the altar to the grave.

Vaughan said:

To God, thy country, and thy friend be true; then thou'l't ne'er be false to anyone.

Howard Butz was all that is admonished in this quotation, and more. He believed that God rules in the affairs of men; he was possessed of passionate patriotism, and not only stood true to his friends, but went unselfishly with them through storm and trial and fire.

We had a full and fair glimpse into his very inner self, and know that he knew the eternal truths and died without regret or fear. He knew his life had been one of service, nor did we wait until our farewell by his grave side to express appreciation of his noble work, which will endure as his best and everlasting monument.

Stepping out into the great world of swift competition, he chose journalism as his profession. In that he matched the success of our greatest editors and, as a writer on political and economic subjects, was clearly the leader of the profession in central Pennsylvania. His habits of mind were of profound thought, and he wrote with skillful analysis and a vision that was clear, while his conclusions were based on unanswerable logic. When time and occasion required, Mr. Butz wrote with great power and faultless diction, and for many years was the peer of the most forceful editorial writers in the State, many of his productions in the heat of campaigns being reproduced in the metropolitan press. In fact, his editorial work was so highly regarded that more than once the opportunity was offered him to become attached to potential city dailies. As an editor he was of the Benjamin Franklin type, combining with his editorship counselor, philosopher, publicist, and political leader. He was possessed of rare intuition, sagacity, and oversight and accuracy of vision as a constant participant in the ebb and flow and whirl of American politics. He can not be measured by the standards which apply to the average country editor, capable as many of them are.

His was a place fixed by the breadth of his achievements extending far beyond the newspaper drudgery encompassed by local environment and opportunity. We might mention the names of many who found place, power, and high estate through his dexterous handling of political initiative. With no overmastering personal and political ambition, he applied his rare talents to aiding others, and for more than a quarter of a century was conspicuous for his helpfulness of many men on their way to preferment. He just naturally led, and usually to victory. Never carried away nor controlled by sudden impulses, his judgment was invariably balanced and accurate. Of fixed principles, he never wavered, never faltered in the face of the fiercest combat. And what he believed and taught he lived to see vindicated by results. Howard Butz was unassuming and knew nothing of ostentation, but on the contrary was amused by it when seen in others, for he knew the world and its foibles as he understood the true philosophy of life and what constitute the substantial and enduring, and the eternal. Nothing on earth ever overawed him, although for the rights of others he held the profoundest respect and was always ready to defend them.

Howard Butz knew and walked with men of humble vocation, and with men financially great, politically powerful, and intellectually master minds. All men looked alike to him just so they were true men. Like Lincoln, he did not care whether men were of high or low estate, but what he wanted to know was, Are they right or wrong?

Of unblemished purity of private life, he possessed rare moral qualities, and in the first and last analysis these qualities rule the world. They must stand against and survive the wear and tear of life's daily conflict. With these powerful forces for the making of a life for great good was combined superior character, and men of character are the world's motive power. A lover of life and nature and his fellow men, he attracted all hearts by the goodness and fullness of his own. Qualities of mind and heart are not easy of description, but we know of the acts of kindness and love, of his tender impulses, of the generous things said and done.

The life work of Mr. Butz was performed amidst exceptional environment and where a true estimate was sure to be made of his qualities, for in Huntingdon and Huntingdon County there is unusual moral refinement, and in this balance one must be weighed, and in a residence of nearly 40 years the general judgment rendered could not be otherwise than unerring. In Huntingdon there has long existed a social fellowship rare in its example of genuine fraternity and free from the narrow prejudices of provincialism. We saw a community of superior manhood and womanhood bowed in grief, and sincere was the lamentation over the loss of their loved friend and citizen. Tributes of rare beauty and touching sentiment have been contributed by neighbors, and this could have come only from the promptings of genuine, ardent admiration and profound respect.

Our effort is to say something of Mr. Butz as we knew him and regarded him, and which may be of value to those who remain. Emerson said, "To help the young soul, to add energy, inspire hope, and blow the coals into a useful flame," is service for man to do. Another writer says that what a man writes to others furnishes a better mirror of his own life than

can be reflected or portrayed by a biographer. Hence a letter written our youthful son several years ago by Mr. Butz will furnish an example of his thoughtfulness, his interest, and sound advice, as well as his philosophy and humor. Note the clearness of expression that the boy might understand, and his patience, and the evident fervency and sincerity he projected into the letter which unfolds much of the character of the writer:

[Established 1843. The Huntingdon Globe. Howard E. Butz, editor-proprietor, Huntingdon, Pa.]

DEAR BROWN: A week or two before announcement was made in the Saturday News that you had entered upon the career of a journalist, your father gave me that information by letter. I was glad to hear it; gladder still when I saw your name in caps at the masthead, where I hope it will remain long after your illustrious sire and your subscribers have joined the angels on the far-away shore.

The greatest editors of the world grew up in the business. Benjamin Franklin, Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana, Aleck McClure, and a host of other beacon lights started as you are starting, so go to it! Make washing the rollers a joy rather than a task; set by hand each week some of the matter the other fellow could easily run up on the machine; read proof without resorting to those little cuss words that often speak sulphur; spell and punctuate properly; cultivate your Dad's trenchant literary style; and then some day—perhaps not in mine—the world will take off its hat as you pass along, and people will say, "That's Brown Focht, the great American journalist."

I welcome you to the ranks. As your dad well knows, I am old enough in years to be your grandfather, yet I am young enough in heart to welcome you, my lad, as a brother.

God's blessing upon you in all things!

Sincerely, yours,

HOWARD E. BUTZ.

MR. BROWN FOCHT,
Lewisburg, Pa., December 26, 1918.

To have acquired and held the confidence and friendship of Howard Butz for nearly 40 years is one of the proudest testimonials to which we will ever care to point. To him in this temporary farewell, in this afterglow following the sunset, might be fittingly applied the words of James G. Blaine in his eulogy on the martyred Garfield:

"Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on the farther shore and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of eternal morning."

And of the last sentence by Secretary John Hay in his masterpiece on William McKinley, when he spoke of "how he loved, revered, and served his country, and showed in his life how a citizen should live and, in his last hour, taught us how a gentleman could die."

Americanism.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES P. BUCHANAN,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I have speculated with profound interest over our indifference to the very grave importance and value of our cherished political ideals. It is incumbent upon us to impress in every possible way the real doctrines we profess, if our republican Government is to survive. Loose language and indifference to what should be held as sacred in the application of American principles is a danger we can not afford to ignore.

It is entirely possible that the political heresies injected into American life is largely due to thoughtlessness and to carelessness in our common disregard of what is vital in our political creed. It is very likely that the vicious and shameful madness to which so many of our communities were subjected lately and in earlier outbreaks were attributable largely to our own blindness and neglect. We have not fully exercised as a people the guardianship of the liberties committed to our trust. That we have drifted from the safe mooring and anchorage of first principles we are compelled to admit. That representative democracy has lapsed from the teachings of the fathers not even a superficial student will deny. Our original standards have been lowered to the wild winds of fanaticism and ignorance. We are worshiping at alien shrines, and false doctrines steadily weaken our strongholds of safe and sane practical democracy. And, Mr. Speaker, it lies at our own door, for we have forgotten and neglected the self-evident truth that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." In no way are we more guilty of unpardonable neglect than in the pernicious growth of loose political language and disregard of cardinal principles. We sadly need a holy name society to exemplify the value of purity in our political nomenclature. For instance, it is not at all reassuring to note the common, everyday prostitution of our fine old generic term "Americanism." It is so commonly misused that it has about lost its attractive and useful and forceful meaning. On the street, in the public gathering, even in Congress, it is frequently a meaningless and insignificant term. Often the editorial and leading article of the public print discusses Americanism, omitting entirely to give any clue to its appropriate significance. And yet, Mr. Speaker, the clear technique of patriotism is most impressive. It habituates us to the accurate conception of loyalty in the genuine citizen and imbues us with a true love of country.

"Words are things," and we are well aware of the truth of the proverb. Even ordinary language is sometimes so badly used that it makes trouble, as every lawyer knows. The slightest mistake in language, even a mistaken letter in a word, has many times proved a serious blunder. I am no purist, and I am not posing as a language critic, but if the loyal citizenship of the United States is not interested in the phraseology that expresses his patriotism, it is high time to study his lesson. As I see it, Americanism should suggest and convey the broad and deep sense of its fundamental value. Every time it is used it should be so terse in its application that any audience would instantly catch the thought and meaning. Its appeal is more than that of the superficial exponent of American character and of American spirit. It goes to the deep basic principles on which rest the birth and growth and power of this unique western Republic.

It is vital to our existence that the philosophy of our Government and its institutions be thoroughly understood and grafted into our consciousness; and should be grown in our political faith. Our welfare depends on righteousness in thought, word, and deed. And in no way can anything that strengthens the truth in our national life be omitted or neglected. To inspire devotion to our country its creed must be expounded to carry conviction to the depths of our nature, far deeper than any surface impression. There is a far profounder sense in every sentiment and fact of American life than is presented in the blazonry of the parade. There is a meaning to our flag far nobler than is conveyed by its visual beauty. It is more than a symbol of power.

Its associations and its story are written in the lives of the people and the fellowship of the millions who abide by its laws. Its entire history is a transcript of the indestructible gospel of human liberty. And these eternally sacred things that unfurl and wave with its folds are greater and grander than the applause when the harrangue over Old Glory stirs the shouts of the multitude.

Americanism signifies the distinctive thing that underlies and molds and sustains American character. It is all-embracing in the weave and web of our constitutional fabric. It is the very inspiration of American life, and it is the soul of America itself. American character is born and bred on American soil of American blood and was nourished at the breasts of American motherhood and grew to American manhood on the very elixir of the principles of human liberty.

American spirit is another thing. It is of the blood and is temperamental. Its energies are qualities grown in the open air, on the campus, on the farm, and in the gymnasium.

It comes from the athletic field and thrives in the crisp air of the mountain and in the training camps of discipline and of authority. It is the schooling that develops and insists on respect and obedience when the authority of the law is in command, and it grows into the very fiber of our citizenship. American spirit is that second nature that springs and prospers in Anglo-Saxon blood and grows by its indomitable momentum toward the inevitable superiority of its destiny.

I yield to no man, Mr. Speaker, in my admiration for all that the term American manhood implies. My pride knows no limit for the superb qualities of its prowess, its enterprise, and its splendid achievements. It has been tried and proved on every field and by every form of manly power and savage force, and never has its spirit flagged nor its strength diminished. It has successfully coped wherever the physical man has been tested in competition the world over. In all the arenas of intellectual combat its victories have reflected honor upon the American name.

But what is the Americanism so much discussed to-day?

I have pondered its flippant use, and regret the shallow misconception of its dignity and its value in these times when cant and political insincerity go hand in hand.

It is a sore trial to him who believes in the full scope and meaning of representative democracy to suppress the resentment he feels when he sees the perils that cumulate with the disrespect that shatters the American ideal. Such is one of the insidious influences that are eating away our intrinsic Americanism. If a household term that harkens back to the throes of our birth describes nothing but the passing heroism of the splendid day, what becomes of the principles and purposes that justified the sacrifice and has sustained us in our right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"? These substantial fundamentals must suffer when our very countersigns are degraded to the prostituted vision of the alien and the demagogue.

No wonder if this peaceful and prosperous people are torn and terrorized by the constant riot of the economic world. No wonder that indecision in the discussions of the council chambers of the Nation fails to allay the alarm that springs from the restless turmoil.

How can it be otherwise when the gospel of the creed of the Republic is expounded by erratic and fantastic aliens and demagogues who can never know what true Americanism means?

What can we expect when we commit the interpretation of the truths we hold as sacred and self-evident to profane lips, which disseminate perverted views through ignorance and malice, and which delight to preach sedition and practice its destructive principles?

But the solid in American character is sound and will hold its own by every test. The Republic will right itself under the inspired leadership of truth and honor.

Gloom and anxiety will break before the rising tide of conservative power, which is so sure to sweep to the gutter the irresponsible and dangerous elements who have, with no gratitude and with no appreciation of the great privileges of the free government they have enjoyed, plotted its destruction.

But we know in what manner of men we trust, and they will not fail us. Let us see: When the mightiest problems that ever engaged the thought of man were thrust into our consideration we sprang to the momentous duties of the hour. Judicial America, with instinctive care, weighed them all, and without a quibble decided our course, measured by the standards of American justice and right.

When "grim-visaged war" threatened mankind and bore down upon our provincial people before we could count the cost or figure its scope, and with no time to prepare, heroic America committed her ship of state to the maddened waters without a selfish motive and without a reservation.

When the frightful tide surged at the beck of a cruel and centralized nationalism, and our "force without stint" was pledged to cooperate in the great international struggle for civilization and humanity, we spoke the ringing accents of American pride and chivalry as we faced the tremendous task.

When our mobilized Nation called to the colors our young manhood and womanhood, and created an unprecedented Army and Navy with incredible dispatch, we scored the most wonderful feat of all time by the hustle and genius of American activity and power.

When our Navy eclipsed imagination in transporting to the shores of France an army of millions with its vast equipment, impossible save by the limitless resources and superhuman will of this dauntless Republic, it astonished the world by the infinite grasp of American discipline, its intrepid daring, and the marvelous skill of its seamanship.

When, to meet the military emergency of the countless demands of the well-nigh impossible construction of harbors and camps, and barracks and roads, and every conceivable facility needed to win the war on alien soil was accomplished, a new chapter was written in the annals of American push and efficiency.

When, like magic, that untrained host of young America was whipped into the compact and mobile American Expeditionary Forces, under the direction and leadership of American military genius, it was the triumphant exploit of the faculty for organization so well known to the expert militant American captains of industry.

In the acid test of campaign and battle, whenever the fabulous Hindenburg line was to be broken and its insuperable barriers crumbled before the irresistible dash and momentum of a Pershing attack, there was written again, again, and again the unfading glory of American arms.

And we could add many to the great feats inherent and incident to the military and naval morale of American spirit and power.

But, Mr. Speaker, when all the unrivaled graces of American manhood are noted, if we go no deeper we fail to grasp the sublimated Americanism that attracts the statesman and grips the historian and leads the world.

Time would fail us to name and rate the qualities of American genius that have overcome every obstacle to American growth at home and abroad.

Many and monumental as they are, they can not fathom the trancendent soul of Americanism nor translate the genius of its meaning. The mental, physical, and spiritual elements that combine to create distinguished character in the individual or the community are not monopolized by any one people. They are not peculiar to Anglo-Saxon blood. They are not foreign to the heroic make-up of virile man in any part of the world. But in all manly qualities the American ranks above the commonplace. To him who thrills with pride as he contemplates his native land and reviews the good old colony times there come hallowed memorials of the simple life, when the oracles of civil and religious liberty opened the vista of free government to the champions of human freedom and the fathers of our country, who were the giants of those days, became the inspired heroes of all time. And when royalty and loyalty were synonymous in the vocabulary of the tyrant the fires of freedom blazed on the altar of American liberty. Americanism first saw the light when oppression and persecution fired the spirit of independence in our liberty-loving forbears of that historic day. And the same dangers called the same American championship to the rescue when, in our day, civilization itself hung in the balance.

As we triumphed by successful war in seventy-six, when we were but the infant personality of American independence in its cradle; as the power of right against might was exemplified in that unequal struggle; and, as was realized, the dream of the ages in the creation of this Republic, so is it to-day. When that selfsame challenge—"nearer, clearer, deadlier than before"—rang out its boasted supremacy and menaced mankind its doom was sealed by this grown-up giant of the West. As it was in the illustrious triumph of American arms for American ideals in '76, so it is in our Titanic overseas contest for humanity in the arena of an expanded world. With the cry of victory on our lips and with the memory of the principles enunciated in our great declaration, the birth of the Republic was the inevitable and crowning glory.

And now, in the infinite measure of world-wide problems devolving upon us for solution, because of our unconquerable battle line, who can doubt the ability or the wisdom with which we will respond to the unavoidable demands of the final settlement.

In the hard and stupendous trial, shoulder to shoulder with the experienced veterans of war-worn Europe, our untried and untrained boys proved once more the dauntless spirit of American blood and the measureless power of its resourceful manhood.

Our military and naval exploits are again the vouchers for American victory. Our American name is just as unselfish and unsullied as when we plucked bright honor for ourselves in our fight for civil and religious liberty on our own shores. We were more than generous when we expended ourselves and all we hold and made it a community interest for allied but alien peoples in distant lands, and by that sacrifice the clouds of impending disaster are lifted from the people of the earth.

But the cry, "Watchman, what of the night?" is heard. Does it portend dark hours for the Republic at the hands of clashing and conflicting interests? Surely not, for abiding hope and confidence reply: "The morning—the morning cometh and also the night."

But, Mr. Speaker, brilliant and bold as was our surpassing valor then and now, splendid as our feats of arms have ever been, our military record is not our supreme claim for distinctive honor and merit. Physical courage has been characteristic of the virile individual and people, in every era, nor can it be discounted or discredited. As an element of character in the individual or in the group, grit and pluck are the soul of heroism and are essential when "knighthood is in flower." But feats of physical prowess and intellectual daring, however conspicuous, do not eclipse the fundamental and priceless values that come from the brain and heart and hand of the constructive ability that plans and develops for human welfare and happiness.

Certainly the strong man—Samson and Hercules and Theseus, and all the symbolic types of strength and power that overcome and overthrow—will command our inborn love for the heroic.

But after the conflict comes the survey of the battle field, and the result must be weighed and determined by the quiet processes of intelligence and thought.

When the tide of revolution had swept from our shores the foes of independence and the priceless boon of freedom was ours, constructive measures for the future were incumbent upon the leaders and authorities of colonial affairs.

With the same fortitude and patience and intrepid character that had immortalized them in their struggle for independence, the great personalities of revolutionary fame set themselves to the difficult task of creative work. And to say they succeeded is more than superfluous, for the story is familiar to all, and the incalculable blessings of our daily life constantly declare to us the fatherhood and motherhood of our pride—

> Not that we deduce our birth
> From loins enthroned and rulers of the earth,
> For higher yet our proud pretensions rise;
> The sons of parents passed into the skies.

It is not worth while to detail the experiences that led to the adoption of the Constitution under which our Government was formed. That intensely interesting subject, so familiar to our intelligent citizens, has been a fireside story for more than a century. A cursory glance is as far as we can indulge ourselves to-day. We know that the heat of controversy over its consideration and adoption by the committee representing the 13 original States was continued by the legislatures of those States and discussed by each one of them in exhaustive debate.

It would be more than a "twice-told tale" to comment on the growth of the sentiment through June and July of 1776, when the historic Fourth became a memorable date for all time.

It is not essential, though always engaging to patriotic thought, to dwell upon the evolution of the Articles of Confederation, coincident and associated as they were with the adoption of the great Declaration.

Such details would be trite, impertinent, and tiresome. But it is interesting to note that the time required to write and adopt the Declaration of Independence included the Fourth of July, 1776; that the time to produce the Articles of Confederation extended to November 15, 1777, and they were not adopted by all of the 13 States until March 2, 1781. From 1776 to 1789 our governmental life was regulated by the tentative authority of the Articles of Confederation. They served us well through the War for Independence and for some years afterwards. But the "more perfect Union" was a necessity clearly seen by the patriotic statesmen who had been closely connected with the young Republic from the days of its conception.

Through these leaders the Constitutional Convention was assembled on the 25th day of May, 1787. It unanimously chose George Washington as the presiding officer, and four months were consumed in its labors. Their concentrated thoughts and tireless ability—their inspired statesmanship through four months of unremitting toil—were rewarded with the drafted charter of American liberty. Our organic law had been written, and was ready and in shape for critical inspection, ready to verify the truth of the well-known eulogy of Gladstone, who declared: "The American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

The peerless expression of American constructive genius had at last succeeded in formulating the long-sought ideals of government. The dream of humanity, in its search for an efficient barrier against the usurpations of arbitrary and despotic power, was at last realized in this consummate expression of man's fondest hope.

After the world's disappointment and humiliation over its experiments and efforts for relief from the defects of human government, this great instrument of organic unity and regulated conduct impressed the wavering senses like the revelation of a New Testament of the political scriptures. But the throes of labor were yet to throb with pain before the birthright of freedom could be entailed in fee simple. It had yet to run the gauntlet of acceptance or rejection by the Thirteen Confederated Colonies, known, even then, as "the United States of America."

Plato's Elysium and More's fantastic Utopia and all the haunting delusions of time vanished to their lands of impracticable fiction when the accepted and welcomed decree to create the American Republic advanced its standards.

It is here, Mr. Speaker, that Americanism was conceived and born. The Constitution of the United States embodies every element that justifies the term; only as we are affected by its organic peculiarities and distinctive ethics may we appropriately and consistently adopt and use that characteristic and illustrious expression. If we are Americans just because we own and occupy American territory, in what respect do we differ from the savage from whom we took it by force? If we identify Americanism with physical courage and power as our main traits of manhood, wherein are we superior to any people whose valor and indifference to danger have marked the earth with ruin? The great captains of the past are still the exemplars and exponents of military leadership by whose side we claim no exceptional comparison. In literature and in the arts and sciences, while we have kept the pace, our achievements have not written the American name above the celebrities of other lands and older civilizations. In many instances we have successfully coped with them, and sometimes we have surpassed them and led the world. But we are satisfied with the average which we have well maintained with the foreign competitor in all the phases of life.

In the business world we are leaders. Our captains of industry are veritable genii in the field of material enterprise and development. Our inventive talent has won imperishable honor and has not been eclipsed. In the realm of statesmanship our record is superlative. Our great constructive thinkers are our household gods. They are enshrined in the American heart for all time. No statesman of any age can stand with Washington and Jefferson and Madison and Monroe and others of their day and ours who were the inspired authors and pioneers and champions of the Constitution of the United States of America. In the achievement of that marvelous instrument of organic humanity there is no parallel. It is essentially American by its birth, by its growth, and by every one of its unique provisions for free government. And it is stamped with the stamp of genuine Americanism through and through. If there is anything distinctive in American thought, American spirit, or American character, it is because these principles of our constitutional lives have been vitalized by the breath of liberty, without which the Constitution itself is nothing. It alone is authority for the ideas and the principles that are to-day prostituted in all the meaning and the sanctity that belong to our great charter of human freedom and human rights by the narrow bigotry of sectional and partisan and hypocritical sentimentalism. In its proclamation of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," the self-evident right of every normal human being to assume control of personal and proprietary affairs is emphasized. This sacred right of individual liberty is conferred by law on the day of mature age. At 21 childhood has passed and the dignity of manhood, with all the responsibilities of the citizen, must be assumed. Thenceforth individual self-government charges him with accountability for every personal act and holds him amenable and liable for every abuse of others or of himself. This self-evident fact leads inevitably to the family as the first unit of government, which establishes itself by necessity. It organizes intuitively and naturally, and automatically becomes governmental, and growing into the community develops the larger and more important bodies of civilized society known to us by familiar names.

The spirit of independence, coincident with human nature itself, has been the irresistible impulse toward free government in every age. It lies at the root of civilization, and expands spontaneously with the evolution of the human race. This spirit of independence, which constitutes the very lifeblood of manhood, and circulates with every heartbeat of the genuine American, is the primary and principal motive of the Constitution of the United States, and its inspiration was the passion for local self-government, the sole and exclusive theory of concrete, applied, and practical democracy. It is the foundation requirement on which must rest the efficiency of all law which operates by the consent of the governed. This local self-government fired the heart of the Pilgrim and speeded the *Mayflower* to its anchorage at Plymouth Rock. It was the prayer and the hope of the Puritan, the Huguenot, and the Moravian that enabled them to brave the perils of an ocean voyage and to endure the hazards and dangers of a savage frontier that they might worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience.

It was the right of local self-government that controlled the great master spirits and creative minds of the American Revolution to make the Constitution teach the rights of civil and religious liberty. These rights and their related guaranties are the specific essentials that confer upon us the Americanism of which we so proudly and justifiably boast.

In the confusion of these doubtful times it is plain that we are demoralized and drifting from the safety of the cardinal principles of our written and verified organic law, and that we should steer at once to the tried and well-known harbor of the Constitution of our fathers.

The lure of the expedient should not longer delude by the devices of a temporary and shifting ideal. The substantial and permanent and dependable truth must be recognized and applied to the reconstruction of our national character, if we are to exist and prosper in our national Americanism. Our splendid past was never guilty of the showy bluster of any single reformatory doctrine or measure of annihilation to accomplish that cure and

correction of mere ailments, which by all analogy can only be treated by the sovereign States through the regulative laws and penalties for misconduct.

Our glorious past was deeply spiritual, and we were bred in the solemn conviction that the foundation stone of liberty was laid in the abiding "declaration and testimony" of free government. We enshrined, deep in our heart, the constitutional privileges we enjoyed, as the exponent and synonym of unalterable local self-government, and the confirmation of its related precepts and practices. The right of personal, individual freedom to apply the privileges of civil and religious liberty according to the dictates of conscience, together with free speech and the freedom of the press in the dissemination of independent views on topics of general and patriotic character and interest was and is now the soul of the constitutional prerogative. And that is at present and always will be the unadulterated and genuine Americanism to which we can swear allegiance and proclaim as distinctive and true and to the manner born.

To-day the ideas and terms of what we feel are sacred in patriotic parlance, and noble in the generous liberalities of our great Republic, are bandied about as trivial and contemptible and made vague and vicious by indefinite and doubtful application.

Surely the crises of the day will be able to summon the statesmanship that can lead us in righteousness, peace, and prosperity, and if, as our unerring compass, the Constitution has proved infallible, may we not still depend on its illuminating power to guide us safely on the way? There is nothing superior to that old tried instrument of statecraft, and we must hold to it as the divinity that shapes our end.

Founded in the nature and needs of man, identified with the material efficiency of the Government, suited to the common customs of social order, endeared by its fine ideals of altruism and philanthropy, mutual and benevolent in its purposes and ministry, sound and sacred in its doctrines of equality, admired and indorsed by the wisest and best of men, the Constitution of the United States stands an authority for the primary principles of liberty, and a model for organized free Government without precedent and without a peer.

In the District of Columbia and in many cities throughout the United States schools are maintained at public expense for the purpose of teaching Americanism. Unfortunately, in many instances the lessons in these schools are confined to teaching the English language, home economics, and kindred subjects. There is no doubt that the teaching of these subjects is very laudable and necessary to the immigrant seeking to become familiar with the manners and customs of his adopted country, the greatest country in the world, but is it not more important that he should become imbued with the spirit of our forefathers, who wrested our fair land from the savages and suffered on the field of battle that this country should indeed become the "land of the free and the home of the brave"? It is just as important that the history of the trials and sacrifices our forefathers underwent from colonial days to the present in gaining our liberty, formulating and adopting our Constitution, and establishing and conducting our Government should be taught. Every citizen should teach real Americanism by precept and example and let the true light of Americanism shine forth to other nations of the world, lighting the way to freedom and justice. It is also the duty of every American citizen to preserve uninjured this priceless legacy transmitted to us. Let each real American at the end of each day, week, month, and year ask himself the question, "What have I done to instill Americanism and preserve the heritage transmitted to me?" For my part I can truthfully say that by every effort of hand, head, and heart I have done all in my power to teach true Americanism, to preserve uninjured my Government, and to serve my country during peace and war, individually and officially. To that end, as a Member of Congress, when our flag was insulted, American lives sacrificed, and American citizens sent to the bottom of the sea without warning by German submarines, I voted for war against the Imperial Government of Germany. Further endurance would have been national cowardice and disgrace. After we declared war I voted for the selective draft as the most effective, efficient, and expeditious manner to raise an army sufficient to overcome the enemy and at the same time preserve, as far as possible, the productive resources of our country. Thereafter I supported every war policy requested by the Commander in Chief of our organized forces, which brought to a successful termination the most unselfish war on our part ever waged in the history of the world.

In order that the blessings of government, like the dews from heaven, might descend upon us all, I have supported many measures that have been of vast benefit to the people of the entire country as well as to the people of my home State and district, among which may be mentioned the following legislation:

1. For carrying out the provisions of the act establishing a Bureau of Animal Industry to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to collect and disseminate information concerning live stock, dairy, and other animal products.
2. To prepare and disseminate reports on animal industry.
3. For inspection and quarantine work, including all necessary expenses for the eradication of scabies in sheep and cattle, the inspection of southern cattle, the inspection of work relative to the existence of contagious diseases of animals.
4. For investigating the disease of tuberculosis of animals, for its control and eradication, methods of treatment and prevention, independently or in cooperation with farmers' associations, State, or county authorities.
5. For investigations and experiments in animal husbandry.
6. For experiments in animal feeding and breeding, including cooperation with State agricultural experiment stations.
7. For scientific investigations in diseases of animals.
8. To enable the Secretary of Agriculture, in cooperation with the authorities of the States concerned or with individuals, to make such investigations and demonstrations as may be necessary in connection with the development of live-stock production in the cane-sugar and cotton districts of the United States.
9. Voted for Federal aid for State schools and colleges and for vocational educational measures.
10. Voted for measure to require Government to educate and train soldiers disabled in the war with Germany.
11. Advocated and voted for the measure to increase the pay of school-teachers in the District of Columbia.
12. To cooperate with the States, through their respective highway departments, in the construction of rural post roads.
13. For construction and maintenance of roads.
14. For investigations of the best methods of road making and the best kind of road-making material and for furnishing expert advice on road building and maintenance.
15. I favor keeping faith with the people in the matter of good-roads construction in the United States and pledge myself to the policy of carrying on this work in each and every county in the State. I will see to it that every county shares in these appropriations and has a fair deal. I have the friendship and confidence of the various departments of the Federal Government that have to do in various ways with this question of road building, and it will be my desire and purpose to see that justice is done to all the counties in this matter.
16. Helped to pass the good-roads act, which appropriated millions for building roads by cooperation between county, State, and Federal Government, these roads to lead from the farms to the towns and cities.
17. For investigating the history and habits of insects injurious and beneficial to agriculture, the study of insects affecting the health of man and domestic animals, and ascertaining the best means of destroying those found to be injurious.
18. For investigations of insects affecting southern field crops, including insects affecting cotton, tobacco, rice, and sugar cane.
19. For investigations of insects affecting such crops, including insects affecting the potato, sugar beet, cabbage, onion, tomato, beans, and peas.
20. For the investigation and improvement of cereals and methods of cereal production and the study of cereal diseases.
21. For the investigation and improvement of grasses, alfalfa, clover, and other forage crops.
22. For the purpose of more effectually providing for the national security and defense and carrying on the war with Germany by gathering authoritative information concerning the food supply, by increasing production, by preventing waste of food supplies.
23. To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to investigate the relative utility and economy of agricultural products for food, clothing, and other uses in the home, with special suggestions, plans, and methods for the more effective utilization of such products for these purposes.
24. Helped to pass law taking tariff tax off of bagging and ties and agricultural implements.
25. Helped to ratify law providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.
26. Have defended at all times the South's plan and policy of race separation in schools and churches and railroad trains, contending that this was the wisest and best way to handle the race problem.

27. Advocated separate cars for negroes and whites in the District of Columbia, city of Washington, and voted for law prohibiting their intermarriage.

28. Advocated and helped to bring about the separating of the races in the Government departments at Washington, placing whites in one room and the negroes in another.

29. Helped to establish the Bureau of Markets, giving needed and valuable assistance and information to both producer and consumer.

30. For investigating and reporting upon farm drainage and upon the drainage of swamp and other wet lands which may be made available for agricultural purposes.

31. To make investigation relating to the production, transportation, storage, preparation, marketing, manufacture, and distribution of agricultural food products.

32. To carry into effect the provisions of an act to establish agricultural experiment stations in connection with the colleges established in the several States.

33. To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to make studies of cooperation among farmers in the United States in the matters of rural credits and other forms of cooperation in rural communities; to diffuse among the people of the United States useful information growing out of these studies.

34. To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with the several States in the employment of agents to acquire and diffuse useful information connected with the distribution and marketing of farm products.

35. For investigation and demonstration within the United States to determine the best method of obtaining potash on a commercial scale.

36. For investigations of cotton, corn, and other crops introduced from the tropical regions and for the improvement of cotton.

37. For investigating, demonstrating, and promoting the use of standards for the different grades, qualities, and conditions of cotton, and for investigating the ginning, grading, stapling, baling, marketing, compressing, and tare of cotton.

38. For farmers' cooperative demonstrations and for the study and demonstration of the best methods for meeting the ravages of the cotton boll weevil.

39. To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry into effect the United States cotton futures act.

40. To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to meet the emergency caused by the existence of the pink cotton bollworm in Mexico, and to prevent the establishment of such insect in the United States by the employment of all means necessary.

41. To prevent the movement of cotton and cotton seed from Mexico into the United States, to make surveys to determine the actual distribution of the pink bollworm in Mexico, and to exterminate local infestations in Mexico near the border of the United States in cooperation with the Mexican Government or local Mexican authorities.

42. To conduct surveys and inspections in Texas or in any other State to detect any infestation and to adopt necessary control measures.

43. On account of the menace to cotton culture in the United States arising from the existence of the pink bollworm in Mexico the Secretary of Agriculture, in order to prevent the establishment and spread of such worm in Texas and other parts of the United States, is authorized to make surveys to determine its actual distribution in Mexico; to establish in cooperation with the States concerned a zone or zones free from cotton culture on or near the border of any State or States adjacent to Mexico; and to cooperate with the Mexican Government or local Mexican authorities in the extermination of the local infestations near the border of the United States.

44. Advocated and helped to take away from cotton exchanges final decision in the matter of settling disputes arising between buyer and seller regarding grades named in contract and aided in placing a provision in the law requiring the Secretary of Agriculture through expert cotton men in the department to determine the grade and classification of the cotton in dispute, thus requiring the seller to deliver spinnable cotton and the grade named in the contract. This required the seller to call upon the producer for real cotton with which to fill his contract.

45. Aided in the fight on the 28 grades of stuff called cotton tendered in settlement of future contracts on the exchanges, which caused the farmers of the South to be robbed of millions of dollars every year through this system alone.

46. Aided in passing a law which reduced the number of grades from 28 to 10, thus enabling the buyer to compel the seller to deliver real cotton—cotton that represented the real crop—and not the dog-tail stuff that used to be kept and tendered on exchanges in settlement of future contracts. Under this new plan, when the delivery of cotton was demanded, the seller had to go into the spot market and buy the cotton from the farmers and merchants with which to fill his contract, and the exchange was in this way in a measure made to help distribute the crop.

47. Voted appropriation to carry out provisions of the act to secure cotton statistics which enabled the farmers, merchants, and bankers of the cotton-growing States to handle the cotton business intelligently and in a businesslike way. The Government heretofore was publishing only the reports of cotton ginned, and the cotton spinner had all the information that he needed regarding cotton produced, but the farmer and merchant did not have any authentic information regarding the consumption and exportation of cotton.

48. Voted for appropriation to carry out provisions of the act for the Government to gather and publish statistics giving the amount of cotton consumed each month by the cotton mills of the United States, the amount of cotton on hand from time to time at the mills and warehouses of the country, the amount exported each month, and the amount of old cotton left over at the end of the year. Before this much-needed information was obtained the speculators would give out false and misleading reports regarding the amount of cotton being consumed and exported. When certain speculators and spinning interests in the East and in New England demanded that a price be fixed on cotton and two bills were introduced in the House—one to fix the price at 15 cents and the other at 20 cents—it was found that the purpose of certain Members of the House who did not live in the cotton-growing States was to fix the price at not more than 20 cents a pound, and I fought the proposition bitterly, and by helping to defeat it prevented distress and suffering in the South and saved millions of dollars to the farmers, merchants, and bankers of the cotton-growing States.

49. In the fall of 1918 and spring of 1919, when foreign interests and bear speculators in America united their forces in one mighty effort to break down the price of cotton in the United States and succeeded in breaking the exchange price from $40 to $75 a bale, when the banks of the South had loaned large sums of money on cotton, and when these banks continued to carry the loans, even after the price of cotton had been beaten down below the amount on which the banks had made the loans, certain speculative and spinning interests tried to get the Government to arbitrarily withdraw from the local banks Federal reserve aid, so that the farmers and merchants would be forced to sell their cotton, although to do so meant financial loss and distress throughout the cotton-growing States. Then it was that I, with other Members from the cotton-growing States, declared that the scarcity of cotton and the large world demand made cotton the finest collateral in the world and its speedy rise in price a certainty, and that the Government should not lend itself to the mean and unholy purpose of conscienceless speculators who were seeking to rob the cotton producers of the fruits of their toil.

50. Have advocated and helped to pass laws providing for the publication and distribution of bulletins and periodicals on diversified farming and scientific agriculture. They deal with every phase of modern life upon the farm, including the health of human beings and the health and care of farm animals.

51. Aided in the fight in the Democratic caucus to require the Federal reserve banks to loan money on cotton-warehouse receipts.

52. Helped to pass the farm-loan banking system. Under this system farmers have borrowed more than $300,000,000 with which to buy new farms and lift mortgages from old ones.

53. Helped to pass the Smith-Lever agricultural extension act, which gathers, publishes, and distributes throughout America the best thought and methods touching the various phases of profitable, up-to-date farming and scientific agriculture, and it is the most valuable and comprehensive farm demonstration plan ever devised.

54. Aided in passing the law providing for the distribution among the counties in the various States of Army trucks and other machinery to be used in the construction and maintenance of public roads.

55. When the fathers and mothers of our American boys who gave their lives in defense of our country and the civilization of the world asked that the bodies of their brave sons be brought back and buried in American soil, I urged the passage of legislation to fulfill this obligation to these patriotic fathers and mothers of America and bring the precious bodies of their boys back home.

56. I voted for and helped to pass the Federal reserve banking act, which took away from Wall Street the power to produce a panic.

57. I have opposed in every way measures that seek to foist upon America any plan or system that smacks of military despotism.

58. Have opposed universal military training, saying that I would oppose it on account of the negro problem in the South if there were no other reasons for doing so.

59. I helped to secure legislation to send out of the country those who advocated the overthrow of our Government. Under this law these deadly enemies of our country are being sent back to their own countries.

60. In regard to the railroad question, I insist that the railroads must be put upon a paying basis, with reasonable profits, and then required by law to serve the public efficiently, and that those who work for the roads must be paid such wages as will permit them to share in the prosperity enjoyed by the roads, to the end that they and their families may live decently and worthily. Am the friend of both labor and capital and favor as few restraints as possible upon the proper activities of both. Have favored laws that protect and safeguard both human and property rights.

61. In the matter of differences or disputes arising between railroad employer and employees, I favor absolute justice to both in the matter of protecting and safeguarding the rights of both and safeguarding at all times the rights and interests of the public, which must be respected and safeguarded.

62. I fought centralization of government and never lost an opportunity to defend the doctrine of State rights.

63. Have supported every measure looking to the best interest and advancement of the cause of education.

64. I favor speedy action on the peace treaty and urge the repeal of all special laws growing out of the war that restrain and harass the citizen in the free and honest management of his own private business.

65. Have advocated in the House and elsewhere the doctrine that America and the other civilized nations should set up an international tribunal for the settlement of disputes by arbitration, to the end that the peace of the world may be preserved and the cruel and useless slaughter of human beings prevented.

66. As one of the conferees on the District of Columbia appropriation bill in the Congress just closed, in standing out against the 50-50 plan—that is, the Federal Government paying one-half the amount and the District the other half—we forced the Senate to agree to the Federal Government paying 40 per cent and the District of Columbia 60 per cent of the expenses of conducting the city government, resulting in saving the taxpayers of the country $2,200,000 per year. In many other instances, by my advocacy of economy, have cut the appropriations and saved large sums of tax money.

67. Voted to repeal the daylight-saving bill.

68. Voted against the Esch-Cummins railroad bill, which gave a Government-guaranteed profit to the railroads and contained other obnoxious provisions. I am opposed to the Government guaranteeing out of the taxpayers' money a profit to any corporation or individual.

69. The Republican majority in Congress reported a bill for the appropriation of $12,000,000 for the vocational training of disabled soldiers, which was insufficient for this great work, and I offered an amendment increasing the amount to $18,000,000, which met with Republican opposition, but was solidly supported by the Democrats and resulted in a $2,000,000 increase won against a Republican majority. It later developed that more than $18,000,000, the amount of my amendment, was needed, and it was appropriated at a succeeding session of Congress. The highest duty of the Government is to repair, as far as humanly possible, the disabilities incurred by our boys in the war.

70. Have been a member of the Appropriations Committee for five years, and have been faithful to my duty to the taxpayers during that entire service, advocating and practicing at all times strict economy, although at times it has been absolutely necessary to appropriate as high as $20,000,000,000 in one session of Congress.

71. On one occasion I cast the deciding vote in my committee which resulted in saving the taxpayers $300,000.

72. I voted against the Alaskan Railroad bill, which provided for the construction at Government expense of a railroad in Alaska, originally estimated to cost $35,000,000. At this time $48,000,000 have been appropriated, and $52,000,000 authorized for this purpose. When we take into consideration that Alaska is as large as the States of Washington, Oregon, California, and my own State of Texas, taken together; that it is mountainous and volcanic, with intensely cold climate, the sun shining only a few months in the year, making it unfit for agricultural purposes, and that all told there are not as many white inhabitants in this entire vast area as there are residents in Austin, Tex., it is evident that the construction of this railroad at such a great expense is not only premature but an extravagant waste of the taxes of the people, with no reasonable benefit resulting that is commensurate with the expense involved. When this Government-owned railroad is completed, its operation will constitute an enormous annual burden upon the taxpayers of the country with no returns from the investment.

73. As a member of the Appropriations Committee I initiated and put through that committee and through the House an appropriation for $40,000 for the renovation of the old post-office building at Austin, Tex., which was also passed by the Senate.

74. In every public-buildings bill that has been reported to the House and Senate I have had provision made for the construction of a post-office building at Georgetown and Taylor, Tex., and a post-office site in Lockhart, Tex. These bills failed of passage in the Senate, but when Congress passes a public-buildings bill I shall see that the above building projects in my district will be provided for.

75. I voted against nation-wide woman suffrage and nation-wide prohibition. In doing so, I carried out the old ideals of the South of State rights, in defense of which those who wore the gray sacrificed their all in the battle tides of the sixties. Both the above amendments were submitted to the States. The prohibition amendment has been legally ratified by 45 States, and it is now a part of the Constitution of our country. The suffrage amendment has been ratified by 35 States, and, in my opinion, will be ratified by the necessary three-fourths of the States before the election in November. It will then be a part of the Constitution of the United States; and I, with every other good citizen, will urge the enforcement and efficient administration of these as well as all other laws of our Government. I look upon these questions as settled, and they should no longer constitute division and dissensions among our people.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, if we convince every citizen in every part of this broad country of ours that our Government is seeking to serve all the people, advance them morally, intellectually, and materially, and imbue them with the glorious history of our country, with the sacrifices made for its establishment and maintenance; that our public officials are striving to see that the blessings as well as the burdens of our Government shall rest equally upon the heads of all; that justice is administered to all and special privileges to none, and that it affords to all its citizens the greatest opportunities of any Government on the face of the earth to make their mark in life, by instructing themselves, by improving themselves, and by living for their fellow men, then will we have real Americanism that will challenge the admiration of the nations of the earth.

The Republican Leader.

I have done the State some service.—Othello.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. KING,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 25, 1920.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, on a bleak November morning, 1860, in the most humble surroundings, a boy was born. At the age of 6 he became an orphan, and as he then gazed in boyish awe into the inscrutable future who would have said that in this lad the elements existed which one day would make him a leader of the people?

From thence on one continuous struggle indicated his always forward way. Eighteen found him working as an Iowa farm hand. Thus physically equipped and reinforced by practical district-school education, like many another who preceeded him, he set his face to the West.

As a miner he dug with honest hands the minerals of the earth, as a railroad contractor he helped to throw across the continent the bands of steel which tied in commerce the East and the West.

As a citizen, with indefatigable industry, he wrought for the upbuilding and advancement of his community.

In due time his fellow citizens, recognizing his early contest with adversity and his public worth, in honor of his untiring

efforts in behalf of the people, elected him a Representative to the Fifty-fourth Congress, and repeated such election for every succeeding Congress since then, save one.

For 22 years this faithful, honest, and effective man has stood not only as a Representative but as a live exponent of his great State.

The legislative escutcheon of this man bears no stain. The foul garments of scandal have not been heard to stir in his activities. His face still carries the clear, open countenance of the orphan boy, unmarked by the lines of error.

At the convening of the Sixty-sixth Congress the Republicans of the House, well knowing the unsettled condition of the Nation, the prevalent unrest of its citizens, and the disorder of its legislation, before embarking upon the river of doubt chose from among all others as their captain and pilot this individual who had so well been trained for the mission and in whom the citizens of his State and his country had great faith.

One year of his leadership has demonstrated his practical infallibility. The destiny not only of the party but of the Republic was in his hands. One false move and all might have been lost. Not many times before in our history has the ground trembled so threateningly beneath the feet of the Representatives of the people. Emerging from the trans-Atlantic war, which had thrown mankind into misery and madness, the situation of the United States has been one pregnant with dire possibilities. The highest statesmanship was demanded. Yet, with calmness, ability, and fortitude, this modest but resourceful man, step by step, move by move, has proceeded positively, certainly, and successfully toward the desired goal.

The victory is his. Extravagance and waste has fled before him. He has reintrenched constitutional privileges of the people. The dragon of tyranny has before this modern St. George withdrawn its talons from the horizon of our destiny. The full effect of his work in this cataclysmic period can not be truly comprehended by his contemporaries, but the future student of our times will write in a high place on the proscenium of history the name of this citizen, statesman, and patriot—FRANK MONDELL, of Wyoming.

Picture Brides.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. RAKER,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 4, 1920.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, the question of exclusion of Japanese from entry into the United States has been very acute. It is a question that will not be settled until settled right. There has been much said about the "gentlemen's agreement" between the United States and Japan and the admission of Japanese women thereunder, known as "picture brides." It was strongly contended that under this "gentlemen's agreement" these Japanese women should not be admitted. Since the two Governments entered into this agreement large numbers of the women—the so-called "picture brides"—have been admitted. There have been many admitted—it runs into the thousands.

Every effort was made to prevent this immigration. Partial results were obtained, from this work, when on December 20, 1919, the Government of Japan notified the United States that it had issued an order that no more passports would be issued to "picture brides" about to leave for the United States, after February 29, 1920.

This question has had my attention and consideration for the past nine years and more. Certain correspondence has passed between the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Labor, the Commissioner General of Immigration, and the commissioner of immigration at San Francisco, and myself. I insert some of this late correspondence as it is quite interesting, as well as instructive, on the "gentlemen's agreement" and the "picture brides."

That correspondence is as follows:

APRIL 2, 1920.

Hon. BAINBRIDGE COLBY,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: About December 20, 1919, the newspapers carried the story that the Japanese Government had issued an order that no more passports would be issued to the so-called "picture brides" to come to the United States, and had advised our State Department accordingly.

Is this order being carried out by the Japanese Government?

Would your department send me copy of this order?

Are our immigration officials carrying out their part and denying admission to these Japanese "picture brides"?

I am,

Yours, most truly,

JOHN E. RAKER, M. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 6, 1920.

Hon. JOHN E. RAKER,
House of Representatives.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 2, in which you inquire as to the accuracy of the newspaper report that the Japanese Government has issued an order that no more passports will be issued to so-called "picture brides."

In reply I have to quote to you a statement as given to the press by the Japanese Embassy and published on December 22, 1919, reading as follows:

"The Japanese ambassador, on instructions from his Government, has the honor to make the following communication to the Government of the United States:

"The Japanese Government, placing supreme importance on the promotion of friendly relations between Japan and the United States and having carefully examined in that spirit the situation created by the question of the so-called 'picture brides,' have decided to adopt measures for the prohibition of such brides from proceeding to the continental United States."

It is understood that this control was made effective in Japan in February of this year. There has been no complaint in regard to the effective working of the measures adopted by the Japanese Government in this regard.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

BAINBRIDGE COLBY.

APRIL 2, 1920.

Hon. WILLIAM B. WILSON,
Secretary of Labor, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SECRETARY: About December 20, 1919, the newspapers carried the story that the Japanese Government had issued an order that no more passports would be issued to the so-called "picture brides" to come to the United States, and had advised our State Department accordingly.

I am advised that notwithstanding this order, the immigration inspector and officials are still admitting such Japanese "picture brides" to land at the San Francisco port.

Are not these officials disobeying the law and regulations of your department in admitting these women? Can not some action be taken to prevent their future entry if, in fact, they are now being admitted?

Will you kindly advise me just what is the present status relative to admission of Japanese "picture brides"? I am,

Yours, most truly,

JOHN E. RAKER, M. C.

APRIL 13, 1920.

Hon. A. CAMMINETTI,
Commissioner of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR COMMISSIONER: Some days since I wrote you in regard to Japanese picture brides. On April 10 I sent the following telegram to Commissioner of Immigration White at San Francisco:

"Hon. EDWARD WHITE,
"Commissioner of Immigration, San Francisco, Calif.:

"Are Japanese picture brides being admitted into the United States at the San Francisco port notwithstanding the order of the Japanese Government that no more passports would be granted to picture brides and they would be prohibited from proceeding to the continental United States? Kindly advise me.

"JOHN E. RAKER, M. C."

And to-day have received his reply, of date April 13, which is as follows:

"Hon. JOHN E. RAKER, M. C.,
"Washington:

"Referring your wire 10th instant, you advised 35 Japanese photograph brides arrived *Fenyo Maru* 8th instant, all having passports issued prior to February 29, which, I understand, though never officially advised, was the last day on which Japanese Government was to issue passports of picture brides.

"WHITE."

Would you kindly advise me as to the present position taken by your department, as well as the Department of Labor, on this subject, inasmuch as the Japanese Government has decided to adopt measures for the prohibition of allowing such brides to proceed to the continental United States.

Respectfully submitting the same, I am,

Yours, most truly,

JOHN E. RAKER, M. C.

MAY 24, 1920.

Hon. A. CAMINETTI,
Commissioner of Immigration, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR COMMISSIONER: From reports from San Francisco I note that another batch of 150 picture brides were admitted. What seems to be the matter? Is the Japanese Government breaking faith, and are they going to permit the picture brides to enter, notwithstanding their order? Under the order of the Japanese Government should not the department hold up and refuse admittance to these brides and by proper proceedings return them to Japan?

I wish you would let me know the situation in your office on this matter.

Respectfully submitting the same, I am,

Yours, most truly,

JOHN E. RAKER, M. C.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, May 28, 1920.

Hon. JOHN E. RAKER, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. RAKER: Answering your letters of the 24th instant, one of which was addressed to the Secretary of Labor and the other to the Commissioner General of Immigration, I beg to advise that the

department wrote you quite fully with respect to the subject of Japanese picture brides on April 12 last. As you do not make reference to this letter in your two communications, under acknowledgment, it is quite possible that the same has never been brought to your attention. I am therefore inclosing a copy herewith, which seems to constitute about as complete a response to your request for information on the subject as it is possible for the department to make.

Very truly, yours, JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE,
Acting Secretary.

—

APRIL 12, 1920.

Hon. JOHN E. RAKER, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. RAKER: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2d instant, in which you advise that on or about December 20, 1919, the newspapers carried a story to the effect that the Government of Japan had issued an order that no more passports would be issued to "picture brides," about to come to the United States, and that said Government had advised the Department of State accordingly. You state that notwithstanding this order it appears that immigration officials are still admitting Japanese "picture brides" at the port of San Francisco. You ask, in this connection, just what is the present status under the immigration laws of Japanese "picture brides."

The department has never had official advices to the effect that the Government of Japan had discontinued, or intended to discontinue, the issuance of passports to Japanese women about to come to the United States after going through a ceremony of marriage, by proxy, under the laws of Japan, with a resident of the United States of their race. It has seen more or less comment in various newspapers concerning this supposed action of the Japanese Government, however. There appears to have been little, if any, cessation of the issuance by the Japanese Government of such passports, however, for these women still continue to arrive, armed with the necessary evidence of marriage by proxy to resident Japanese, and with passports issued apparently in regular manner.

Referring to the request made in the last paragraph of your letter under acknowledgment, the department believes that it can best advise you of the status of Japanese women coming to the United States under the circumstances above related by quoting from a letter which it addressed to the Secretary of State on August 25, 1919, as follows:

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th ultimo (FE), inclosing for comment and recommendation a copy of a letter dated July 24, 1919, from Hon. JAMES D. PHELAN, United States Senator, having reference, among other things, to the immigration to this country of Japanese aliens, particularly women of that race. The desire to furnish certain statistics bearing on the contents of the Senator's letter which were only recently obtainable has prevented the earlier transmittal of comments and observations on so much thereof as relates to the subject of immigration from Japan.

"The understanding or agreement with Japan on the subject of immigration, often referred to as the 'Gentlemen's agreement,' was put into operation in 1908. The number of male and female arrivals from Japan, as well as departures for that country, before and since the date of the understanding and discussion of those statistics form another part of this communication."

As the Senator's letter suggests, a large percentage of the women who come here are of the class usually known as "picture" or "proxy" brides.

The question of the admission of this class as wives of Japanese domiciled in the United States has repeatedly—it might be said continually—received the earnest study and consideration of this department as well as that of your department. As you are aware, the agreement contains the stipulation (in substance) that Japan would issue "no passports good for the American mainland to either skilled or unskilled Japanese laborers, except to those who have previously resided in the United States, or the parents, wives, or children of Japanese residents."

The policy of the former Department of Commerce and Labor in dealing with this class of cases was to admit only after the performance of a marriage ceremony in accordance with the laws of this country, if the applicants were otherwise admissible under the general terms of the immigration law then in force and they presented passports issued under said agreement. This, in effect, allowed a "picture bride" while in an immigration station at a United States port to qualify as the wife of a resident of the United States in order to become admissible under the immigration law, something not contemplated by its provisions. In other words, a woman, no matter whence she might come, arriving at one of our ports without the qualifications required by law for entry might qualify by being permitted to do after arrival that which, as one of the necessary elements for admission, should have been a fact before arrival.

This department, on assuming jurisdiction of the enforcement of the immigration laws, did not regard the practice which was then being observed as satisfactorily solving the problem. However, no change was made pending the acquisition of the information necessary to establish a system that would meet the requirements of the law; but when the present immigration act, containing the illiteracy clause, was passed it became imperative on or before the taking effect thereof (May 5, 1917), as a percentage of the women who applied for admission as such wives had been found to be illiterate, to fix the legal status of these marriages.

In the absence of treaty provisions (and the treaty with Japan makes no provision therefor), the validity of a marriage is to be determined by the law of the place where it was contracted or celebrated (lex loci contractus), and if valid there it will generally be regarded as valid in any State or country in which the parties may subsequently reside, although it would have been invalid by the law of said subsequent domicile if contracted or celebrated there. The favored-nation clause in the treaty with Japan is an aid in the application of this doctrine.

It therefore became necessary to ascertain what was the law of Japan on the subject. The matter was accordingly made the subject of correspondence between this department and your department and between your department and the ambassador of Japan to the United States. On April 7, 1917, the ambassador, after informal discussions, presented, through your department (see your letter of Apr. 18, 1917), an excerpt from the civil code of Japan containing the marriage laws of that country. This not being altogether clear as to the so-called photograph marriages, this department, on April 24, 1917, following a study of said excerpt, stated that its purpose was to ascertain not only the terms of the law of Japan with respect to marriage, but also whether the laws of Japan provide for and make legal a marriage contracted under such laws while one party to the marriage is living in Japan on the date the marriage takes place and the other party is at the time actually in a foreign jurisdiction. Further correspondence ensued, and on April 30, 1917, your department referred to this department (your number 894,4054) a copy of a note from the ambassador, Mr. Sato, from which the following is quoted:

"I beg to state that in the law of Japan it is provided that marriage is complete and takes effect immediately upon its being notified, either in writing or orally, to the registrar by both parties with the participation in the act of at least two witnesses of full age and its being accepted by him; that if a document is employed for such notification it must be personally signed and sealed by the parties and the witnesses, but it is not necessary that the parties personally appear before the registrar; that if the notification is made orally, both the parties and their witnesses must personally appear before the registrar.

"There is no provision in the Japanese law specifically for a case where one of the parties to a marriage contract lives in Japan and the other under foreign jurisdiction, nor has there appeared before the court any case involving this point, for the reason that the places of actual residence of the parties concerned form no essential requirement for a marriage to be legalized. Such being the essence of the formal marriage in Japan, a Japanese man residing in this country can marry a Japanese woman residing in Japan by personally signing and affixing his seal to the document to be presented before the registrar in Japan, and the validity of such marriage is amply attested by the issuance of certified copy of the family registry bearing the official seal of the registrar, which document the so-called 'picture bride' proceeding to this country is always provided with.

"I may add that the marriage system of Japan being as hereinbefore stated, it would be inappropriate to use the phrase 'marriage by proxy' in relation to the subject under consideration."

After further informal consideration, in the course of which the ambassador submitted an exhaustive memorandum on the subject, and after the matter had been most carefully considered by the officials of the Department of Labor, including the Secretary, it was concluded, from the information then before the department, wholly aside from any question of policy involved, as a rule of administration as follows:

"That the validity of these marriages be recognized unless or until it is definitely shown that they are not legal marriages under the laws of Japan, or until it satisfactorily appears that the residence in the United States of one of the parties brings the consummation of the marriage ceremony within the jurisdiction of our laws; that proof of such marriages be required not only by a certified record of the registrar but also by a certified copy of the notification of marriage made out by the party to the same living in the United States, and that marriages at our ports be prohibited."

Orders to the Immigration Service, still in force, were issued accordingly.

It should be observed, in addition to the foregoing, that as to the class of marriages above discussed, the said agreement is claimed to affect such of them as are married under the provisions of the Civil Code of Japan referred to by providing that Japan will issue passports to the wives of "Japanese residents" of the United States. In the administration of the rule just cited such passports, so long as the agreement is in force, are accepted unless fraud or mistake in their issuance shall be made to appear.

This department deems it not inappropriate to invite attention to the fact that, according to information claimed as authentic, Japan is not the only country whose laws permit of the contraction of marriages while one of the contracting parties is in a foreign jurisdiction. Spain and Portugal, it is alleged, allow the marriage of a resident of one of those countries with a resident then in a foreign country by permitting representation of the absentee by an attorney in fact, appointed by power of attorney. There may be other nations that have like systems, differing in details, perhaps, from the systems claimed to exist in Spain and Portugal or from the Japanese method, but agreeing in effect.

Very truly, yours, LOUIS F. POST,
Assistant Secretary.

—

[Same to Wilson, Secretary of Labor.]

MAY 24, 1920.

Hon. BAINBRIDGE COLBY,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: In re Japanese "picture brides."

About the 20th of December we were advised that the Japanese Government would grant no more passports to "picture brides," the order to take effect some time around the 1st of February is my recollection at this time. Since that order has taken effect large parties of "picture brides" have been admitted at the port of San Francisco. In April there were 149 admitted. I note from a press dispatch from San Francisco, under date of May 17, the following:

"JAPANESE BREAK FAITH.

"[By United Press.]

"SAN FRANCISCO, *May 17.*

"Despite assurances from the Japanese Government that 'picture brides' would be denied passports to this country 150 prospective brides of Japanese in this country arrived to-day on the liner *Periso Maru.*

"The Japanese officials explain that the passports for the women were granted before the official ban was decreed.

"Immigration Commissioner White will investigate the circumstances surrounding the admission of the 'picture brides,' he said."

Under the order of the Japanese Government can not some course be taken whereby we may enforce the gentlemen's agreement and this present lot of 150 "picture brides" be rejected and the same determination for future applicants for admission receive the same order from our officials in denying their admission.

It appears to me that this subject is worthy of very close investigation, to the end that this immigration of Japanese "picture brides" be prohibited.

Respectfully submitting the same, I am,
Yours, most truly, JOHN E. RAKER, M. C.

—

MAY 29, 1920.

Hon. JOHN E. RAKER,
House of Representatives.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 24 in regard to the immigration of so-called "picture brides" from Japan.

In reply I have to advise you that the undertaking of the Japanese Government was to discontinue the issuance of passports to "picture

brides" at the close of February last. It was made clear, however, that in accordance with the usual practice in Japan each passport and visé is good for six months; it is therefore probable that some "picture brides" will be found proceeding to the United States until the expiration of this period, namely, until the end of August next. This is more likely to be the case, in view of the fact that passage on Pacific vessels is very hard to obtain and must be applied for months in advance; but the next few months should show a marked diminution in the number of this class of arrivals.

The department finds no reason to doubt the effectiveness of the measures taken by the Japanese Government in this matter, as indicated by the very marked falling off in the number of immigrants of the class indicated since the Japanese Government's adoption of such measures. Should you, however, find evidence to the contrary, I beg to request that you communicate it for appropriate consideration by this department.

I am, sir, your obedient servant, BAINBRIDGE COLBY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 10, 1920.*

Hon. EDWARD WHITE,
Commissioner of Immigration, San Francisco, Calif.:

Are Japanese picture brides being admitted into the United States at the San Francisco port, notwithstanding the order of the Japanese Government that no more passports would be granted to picture brides and they would be prohibited from proceeding to the continental United States? Kindly advise me.

JOHN E. RAKER, M. C.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., *April 12, 1920.*

Hon. JOHN E. RAKER, M. C.,
Washington:

Referring your wire 10th instant, you advised 35 Japanese photograph brides arrived *Tenyo Maru* 8th instant, all having passports issued prior to February 29, which, I understand, though never officially advised, was the last day on which Japanese Government was to issue passports of picture brides.

WHITE.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
IMMIGRATION SERVICE,
San Francisco, Calif., April 23, 1920.

Hon. JOHN E. RAKER, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: Again adverting to the subject of Japanese photograph brides arriving at this port, I have the honor to advise you that there were 61 females of the class mentioned who arrived on the steamship *Anyo Maru* on the 20th instant, and their passports all antedated February 29 last.

Respectfully, W. T. BOYCE,
Acting Commissioner.

MAY 24, 1920.

Hon. EDWARD WHITE,
Commissioner of Immigration, San Francisco, Calif.

MY DEAR MR. WHITE: I note in a dispatch from San Francisco by the United Press that the Japanese are breaking faith with the United States. This press dispatch states that 150 prospective brides arrived on May 17 on the liner *Periso Maru*, and that you were investigating the circumstances surrounding the admission of these brides with some hopes of their being excluded.

Under the order of the Japanese Government to issue no further passports, are not these picture brides trying to enter the United States unlawfully, and ought they not to be excluded? I am taking the matter up with the authorities here hoping that we will be able to have some definite determination on this matter and the continued stream of these people prohibited.

If you took a picture of this like the last one you sent me, I would appreciate it greatly if you would send me one. Any information that you can supply me regarding their admission and rejection, and the reason they are admitted, if at all, would be greatly appreciated.

Respectfully submitting the same, I am,
Yours, most truly, JOHN E. RAKER, M. C.

Pensions and Increase of Pensions.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. KING,

OF UTAH,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Friday, April 23, 1920.

The Senate had under consideration the bill (H. R. 9369) to revise and equalize rates of pensions to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, to certain widows, former widows, dependent parents and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, when the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SPENCER] addressed me I was stating that no opposition to the pending measure, or any pension bill, would be successful. It seems to be the accepted canon of conduct to approve all forms of pension legislation and discourage any opposition thereto. Senators who have the temerity to offer objections to pension bills or appropriations generally, if they are not censured by some of their associates, are regarded with rather ill-concealed displeasure. There are so many appropriation bills reported, and they come from so many different committees and sources, that they cease to attract attention and provoke little, if any, discussion, and secure the attendance of but a limited number of Senators while they are before the Senate. We seem to be living in the war period so far as the questions of figures and expenditures and appropriations are concerned. The statement is often heard that an appropriation which is sought carries "only $1,000,000," or "$65,000,000," the latter being the amount sought by the pending bill. We speak of $1,000,000,000 as our fathers spoke of $1,000.

The expenditures of our Government as late as 1800 were less than eleven million dollars. In 1830 they were only fifteen million dollars. In 1840 the annual expenses of the Government were twenty-four million dollars, and in 1850 a little more than forty millions of dollars. In 1860 the entire expenditures of the Government were less than sixty-four millions of dollars. During the Civil War the expenses were greater than in preceding years, and the highest amount was reached in 1865, when the aggregate expenditures were $1,295,099,290. In 1875 our annual budget was less than two hundred and seventy-five million dollars. In 1885 the expenses of the Government were but $260,226,935, and in 1890 the total amount was less than three hundred millions. It was not until 1899 that the half-billion-dollar mark was passed, and for that year the expenses of the Government were nearly six hundred and six millions of dollars. In 1900 the Government expended almost four hundred and eighty-eight millions, and in 1904 they reached more than five hundred and thirty-two millions. In 1908 the expenses of the Government were $621,102,391; 1909, 1910, 1911, and 1912 exceeded this amount by approximately twenty-five millions of dollars for each year. In 1913 the ordinary expenses of the Government were nearly six hundred and eighty three millions, and in 1914 they were more than seven hundred million dollars. In 1915 our expenses recorded seven hundred and thirty millions, and in addition twenty-nine millions were appropriated for the Panama Canal and seventeen and a half million upon our public debt. In 1916 the ordinary expenses were only seven hundred and twenty-four million dollars and the expenditures for the Panama Canal were seventeen millions and the payment upon our public debt twenty-four millions.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, the ordinary expenditures of the Government were $1,980,297,941. Of this amount $19,745,015 were required in Panama Canal operations, $25,000,000 were paid for the West Indian Islands, eight hundred and eighty-five millions were loaned to our Allies, and nearly nine millions were subscribed for Federal land-bank stock.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, the ordinary expenses of the Government were $12,696,702,471. Of this amount $4,738,029,750 represented loans to our Allies, nineteen millions were devoted to Panama Canal operations, and sixty-five millions were utilized in the purchase of farm-loan bank stocks.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, $4,850,687,186 were expended by the War Department and $1,278,840,486 by the Navy Department. The Interior Department received an appropriation of more than two hundred and forty-four million dollars, the Shipping Board received more than seven hundred and seventy millions of dollars from the Federal Treasury, and one hundred and twenty millions were expended in the operation of the railroads.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, our expenditures were $18,514,879,955. Of this amount, $3,479,255,265 were loaned to our allies, and $86,000,000 were employed in the purchase of farm-loan bank stocks. Of this stupendous sum, the War Department received $8,995,880,266 and the Navy Department was allowed $2,002,310,785. The Shipping Board received $1,820,606,870 and $350,000,000 went to the Railroad Administration and $302,000,000 to the War Finance Corporation.

Under date of July 9, 1919, the former Secretary of the Treasury, Senator GLASS, in a letter to Mr. FORDNEY, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House, stated that the expenditures for the war period amount to $32,427,000,000. Of that amount, $9,384,000,000, or about 29 per cent, were met out of the tax receipts and revenues other than borrowed money, and that on June 30, 1919, the gross public debt amounted to $25,484,000,000.

In a communication to the banking interests of the country made by former Secretary GLASS, he stated that he anticipated the Government receipts for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, would approximate $6,535,000,000—$4,940,000,000 from internal revenue, $260,000,000 from customs, $3,000,000, from sale of public land, and $300,000,000 from miscellaneous sources.

During the war it was necessary to raise large sums by taxation, and billions of dollars were collected from the people

largely through income and excess-profits provisions found in existing revenue laws. Notwithstanding that more than a year and a half have elapsed since the armistice was signed, war-revenue legislation is still upon our statute books, and billions of dollars annually are being taken from the people to meet the expenses of the Government, with no assurances from the party in power in Congress of economy in public matters or of relief from war-time taxation.

The total revenue collected from April 6, 1917, to October 31, 1919, from customs, income and profits tax, internal revenue, and miscellaneous revenues aggregated $11,280,000,000. The customs receipts during that period amounted to but $520,000,000, and income and profits taxes and internal revenue totaled $9,527,023,426. It will be observed that the revenue derived from customs constituted but an inconsiderable part of the aggregate receipts of the Government, being at an approximate ratio of 1 to 22.

The heavy burdens of taxation resulting from the war-revenue acts are being continued because of the lack of proper retrenchment and the extravagant and enormous appropriations which are daily being made by the legislative branch of the Government. Appeals for economy and reform have been unavailing, and, in my opinion, the appropriations which will be made and which will be required to cover expenditures by the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, will be between five and six billions of dollars; and legislation which is now under consideration, if enacted, will swell the demands upon the Treasury to at least $7,000,000,000. This heavy burden contributes to uncertainty in business and reacts unfavorably upon industrial conditions, including the prices of commodities. Most taxes in the last analysis are borne by the consumers; and there are many evidences that the billions paid as excess-profits taxes are shifted to the ultimate consumer.

Information imparted to the public from time to time concerning the conditions of many of the great manufacturing industries and large business enterprises reveals the fact that the heavy taxes paid by them to the Government have not been deducted from dividends or surplus but have been added to the cost of production and carried as a burden to those who are the final purchasers and consumers of their products. Business conditions of the United States are such as to demand the most serious consideration upon the part of all who are interested in the welfare of our country.

The employee and the middleman—indeed, all classes of society—are vitally interested in business conditions. The employer must be prosperous in order that there may be profitable labor for the employee. Excessive taxes are obstacles in the pathway of economy and prosperity. Congress should have considered the economic factors involved in the present-day situation. Rigid economies should have been practiced. Government agencies should have been restricted in their war activities, and thousands of employees of the Government should have been returned to their homes and to useful industry. Peace-time appropriations are required and peace-time revenues should be collected. There should have been important changes in our revenue laws and taxes materially reduced. But appeals for economy have been unheeded, and we have day by day added millions and tens of millions to the already oppressively burdened people of our country.

This bill carrying $65,000,000 is regarded with no more concern than if we were appropriating 65 cents. Senators must realize that with constantly diminishing exports the amount collected, even under present revenue laws, will be much less for the coming year than during either of the two preceding years. If less than one-twentieth of our present revenue is obtained from customs and the balance from income and profits tax and internal revenue, and our expenditures exceed the enormous amount annually collected during the war, it becomes apparent that with the reduction in revenue which will be inevitable, because of reduced incomes and profits, the Treasury will be unable to meet appropriations made, and resort must be had to temporary loans or the sale of bonds. It will also be remembered that the eighteenth amendment, and the laws passed pursuant thereto, will reduce to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars the annual revenues of the Government.

I have sought to learn what the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Committee on Finance of the Senate proposed to do in order to obtain revenues to meet the expenses of the Government. No concrete plans have been submitted so far as I am advised. A number of bills have been introduced which seek to increase tariff duties. The dye bill is upon the calendar, but that measure would not increase the revenues if enacted into law. It seeks to establish an embargo, coupled with a licensing system, both of which under the circumstances seem to me to be obnoxious. It has been proposed that we increase the tariff on pearl buttons and tungsten and magnesite.

As I understand this plan there is no intention of obtaining revenues for the Government but of preventing importation, thus giving a monopoly to the domestic producers of the articles mentioned.

The statesmanship of the majority party seems to be wholly incapable of meeting the situation, and we are drifting under intolerable economic and fiscal conditions into a perilous sea. Upon every hand there are multiplying evidences of inadequate production in those things essential for the welfare and life of the people. Some industries exhibit a small increased production, but as I recall not a quantitative increase but rather an increase in values, which results from various causes not necessary for me to discuss at this time. Absurd and uneconomic plans are suggested to meet the serious financial and industrial situation confronting our country, but no sound and practicable measure is submitted and no action taken or recommended by the party in control of legislation.

The fallacy is encouraged that the Government by its mere fiat, or by entering into business, or by employing more people, or by making larger appropriations can heal all industrial and economic wounds. The thought does not occur to the advocates of these nostrums and vagaries that their realization would still further impair the health of the patient. The sovereign remedies required are more work, more production, more industrial activity, greater thrift, the most rigid economy in private and in public life, and the investment of the savings and accumulations of the people, thus resulting in more homes and business houses and factories and enterprises and productive forces. There is no reason why there should not be continued and increased prosperity. We have the raw materials not only sufficient for our own needs but to supply many of the nations of the world. Our resources are inexhaustible, and capital has not been seriously, if at all, impaired by the ravages of war. Our man power measures up to the highest standards, and the genius, ability, and high character of the American people give them a preeminence over all other nations and our country a primacy to which no other nation can aspire. While other nations are burdened with debts and Europe is in chaos and ruin we are prepared for every emergency and competent to meet every storm.

Notwithstanding the large sums received from taxation, the United States is now indebted in the sum of $26,000,000,000. The annual interest upon this amount is approximately $950,000,000. A large sum will also be required for sinking-fund purposes. These amounts are to be added to the ordinary expenses of the Government, and unless there is immediate retrenchment the amount we will be called upon to raise by Federal taxation will range between four and six billions of dollars annually for an indefinite period. This is too great a burden to place upon the American people; and every public official who has to do with public revenues and public expenditures must set his face against every form of extravagance and resist the importunities and pleas for Federal aid in behalf of multitudinous matters to which the attention of Congress has been called. I am led to inquire how the United States is to obtain sufficient funds to meet the legitimate and ordinary expenses of the Government during the coming years. It is clear the prewar sources of revenue will prove inadequate, and the present system of taxation must be perpetuated or some other method of raising revenues devised. We can not hope to raise from customs but a small part of our annual needs. Indeed, if the purposes of leaders of the majority party in Congress, as reported by the press, are to control, the amount received from customs will bear a smaller proportion to the total revenues derived in the future than it does at the present time.

The Republican Party has never exhibited any partiality for a system of direct taxation, and it is safe to predict that it will follow its past and present predilections. There is some opposition to the Federal Government employing the inheritance tax as a means of revenue. Some States regard that as a proper and exclusive field for State taxation and have objected to Federal invasion of that source. In my opinion the Federal Government will continue this method of taxation.

Criticisms have been offered by a limited number to the continuance of the income tax. Notwithstanding the fact that for nearly a century the power of the Federal Government to impose income taxes was scarcely questioned, its authority was finally denied by the Supreme Court; but a constitutional amendment opened this source of revenue to the General Government. It will remain as a part of the permanent system of taxation. No political party would dare to announce opposition to a policy which regarded personal and corporate incomes as a source of revenue.

The income tax has yielded a considerable portion of the revenue of Great Britain. For hundreds of years incomes were

taxed in the United Kingdom, although there are some who have believed that the system was originated by Pitt. A report by the Commissioner of Inland Revenue in 1885 referred to the land tax of 1692, and states that it was in fact a property and income tax, and that personal estate was quite as much the object of charge as land. The elder Pitt, speaking of the proposal to raise the "income tax to 7d. in the pound," declared that it would cause a revolution. He knew the difficulties to be encountered in enforcing a system of direct taxation, and like many other statesmen he often sought the easier way; that is, the indirect system of taxation, though in its application it bore more oppressively upon the poor. He stated:

> You can get the money by an easier method. By the method of indirect taxation you can tax the last rag off a man's back, the last mouthful of food from his mouth, and he won't know what is injuring him; he may grumble about hard times, but he will not know that the hard times have been produced by taxation.

We can readily believe that many of the revenue acts following the Civil War were in line with the philosophy of the elder Pitt. There has always been opposition to a just system of direct taxation. The owners of property have violently opposed the enactment of laws which sought to meet the expenditures of governments by a system of direct taxation and have urged indirect taxes on consumption. Autocratic and imperial governments have sought to exempt the rich and the property class from the burdens which ought to have been laid upon them. We may learn valuable lessons concerning fiscal policies and taxation by reading the history of France for a hundred years prior to the French Revolution. And the democratic upheavals in the Italian cities and towns are replete with lessons from which we may derive benefit even in this day. Whenever the democratic forces have broken down the ramparts of autocracy and absolutism they have attempted to remove taxes from the necessaries of life and to impose a direct system of taxation. When there was a subsidence of the democratic wave in Italy the octri and indirect taxes again were imposed upon the people.

Alexander Hamilton introduced a system of indirect taxation and made it a part of the internal fiscal system of our Nation. There was opposition to this system, and a Representative speaking in Congress in 1790 said:

> The time will come when the poor man will not be able to wash his shirt without paying a tax.

Many political economists take the view that indirect taxes are taxes on labor. Of course, there are some objections to an income tax, and it results in some injustices; but there are so many irrefragable reasons in its behalf and so much of justice and equity in the system that by common consent it will remain a part of the revenue system of the Government.

In its application some have contended that certain classes and interests have not borne their fair share of taxation, while others have been oppressively dealt with. For instance, it is stated that the farms of Wisconsin in 1910 paid but 3.86 per cent of the income tax levied by the State, while the manufacturing interests paid 20.39 per cent and the merchants and bankers paid 27.23 per cent. I am unable to state the relative value of the agriculture interests and the property owned by the manufacturers, merchants, and bankers. However, the income tax does not rest upon the value of the property owned by the taxpayers, and I believe that in the employment of this plan of obtaining revenue better and fairer methods will be adopted, so that any just ground for complaint will in time disappear.

The present excess-profits tax yielded for the 19 months, beginning April 6, 1917, and ending October 31, 1919, $6,700,000,000. It will be observed that this amount is considerably more than one-half of the entire revenue of the United States during that period. There are many complaints against this method of deriving revenue. During the war there could be no just ground of objection to this plan of taxation. With the return of peace, it may well be that material changes should be made in the provisions of existing revenue acts.

I am directing attention to the various sources of taxation for the purpose of showing the difficulties that will be encountered in raising sufficient revenue to meet the expenses of the Government unless there shall be adopted a policy of strictest economy. The American people will not willingly submit to these enormous taxes. They will demand reductions, and reductions can not be made unless economies are practiced. I appeal to Senators against the wild and unnecessary appropriations which are receiving legislative approval. I protest against some of the pension bills that are being enacted and the socialistic demands that are being gratified.

Unless the American people from their annual income and production save sufficient for capital investments there will be interruption in all lines of business development. We must not only have capital for domestic investments—and capital will only come from savings—but if we would continue our foreign commerce there must be capital available for foreign investments. By that I mean we must be in a position to sell products and take in payment therefor stocks, securities, or other forms of property which foreign purchasers may have available. Our surplus products will thus find markets and be converted into capital investments to the benefit and profit of all. For many years the United States was a debtor nation. Holland, Great Britain, France, and Germany invested hundreds of millions of dollars in the United States. Their capital aided in the construction of railroads, manufacturing plants, smelters, and the development of our mines. Tens of millions annually were received as dividends and profits from these American business enterprises, and a portion at least were in turn converted into capital investments in our own country.

European nations are now unable to purchase our raw or finished products to the extent of their needs. They would gladly increase their purchases, but they have no means of payment. They can not pay with gold or commodities because of their impoverished condition. We may be compelled, if we would have their trade and find markets for our surplus products, to make capital investments in other lands.

Our future prosperity and economic and industrial development will be determined by production and thrift. Production will put us in the way of saving and accumulating, and thus capital will be created, and it must constantly be produced to avoid economic decay. It would be well if we remember the wise words of Adam Smith:

> Man is generally considered by statesmen and projectors as the materials of a sort of a political mechanics. Projectors disturb nature in the course of her operations on human affairs, and it requires no more than to leave her alone and give her fair play in the pursuit of her ends that she may establish her own designs. * * * Little else is required to carry a State to the highest degree of affluence from the lowest barbarism but peace, easy taxes, and a tolerable administration of justice, all the rest being brought about by the natural course of things.

In framing revenue legislation to meet governmental needs there must be no retrogression and no reactionary policies. A forward-looking system must be devised, not one which hedges about wealth and presses more heavily upon the toilers of the land, but one which rests upon equity and finds support in the principles which make for social justice. These other words of Adam Smith, written more than 130 years ago, must not be forgotten:

> The subjects of every State ought to contribute toward the support of the Government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State.

However, there is some incongruity in this classical statement which has not escaped the criticisms of political economists, but I will not pause to discuss the matter.

I was interested in the suggestion just made by the distinguished Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN]. I am not sure that I fully comprehended the meaning of his statement, but if I interpret him correctly his view is that the Federal Government should impose taxes which would be confiscatory of the property of some individuals. Mr. President, we do not have in the United States, as they have in Great Britain, as pointed out by the Senator, the feudal system, and no entailed estates. The men of wealth in our country, with but few exceptions, have risen from poverty and their accumulations are the result of their own unaided efforts.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Senator entirely misunderstood me if he thinks I advocated the confiscation by the Government of the property of the individual who happens to be rich. I spoke of large landed estates which men continue to withhold from use. What I meant was this, and I advocated it publicly in California a number of years ago in connection with certain railroad grants: Here were large grants comprising millions of acres of land—and there are many individuals who have millions of acres of land—and the terms of the grants were not complied with; the grantees would not sell, or if they did sell they sold at prices far above those provided in the grant. In such cases I advocated a system such as that in force in New Zealand.

The bird that can sing and will not sing ought to be made to sing. If the railroad company would not comply with the terms of the grant in regard to selling the land, either as to the quantity and price, a system of graded taxation might be imposed so that it would be more profitable to sell than to hold. That is the idea I intended to convey awhile ago; I do not

advocate confiscation of estates, but where a man or a corporation owns and controls—as the lords and landed proprietors of Great Britain did—immense bodies of land, and charges rack rent and makes no use of his holdings for the public good, then I say that some system of taxation ought to be imposed to meet pension or other appropriations that will compel the disposition of such estates in an equitable, just, and fair way. I did not mean to intimate that I favored the confiscation of property.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I agree with the Senator that where land grants have been made subject to the conditions to which he refers they should be enforced. It is quite likely there have been too many land grants by the States, as well as by the Federal Government, and I have no doubt some grantees have failed to meet legislative requirements. The States have the power to deal with unused real estate and large areas of territory which are held for purely speculative purposes. Of course taxes must be uniform and equal. But uniformity has reference rather to class than other conditions. I have no doubt that the States will in a just and proper way reach conditions which retard legitimate and proper development of the Commonwealths and bear oppressively and unjustly upon the people.

I have sometimes felt that there should be liberal exemptions from taxation with respect to homes. We should be a nation of home builders and home owners. The family hearthstone will soon be as extinct as the dodo. With the advent of hotels and apartment houses we are losing much of the beauty and power and glory that come from the home.

I have made these observations, Mr. President, with respect to expenditures and taxation, with a view to awakening, if possible, not only here but throughout the country, an interest in the action of Congress with respect to appropriations. If it were possible to arouse any public sentiment for national economy, for a policy restricting appropriations to purely governmental purposes, I should feel that an important step forward had been taken and that a national reform was imminent. But I confess to a belief that no such reform is imminent—that we will go on expending billions with insufficient regard to the terms of the appropriations made and with an entire disregard of the inhibitions, expressed or implied, placed upon the Federal Government.

The bill before us is for a very large sum. We have paid out in Civil War pensions more than five and one-half billions of dollars. Our appropriations for the coming year for Civil War pensions will be nearly $300,000,000. In 1870 they were but twenty-nine million. In 1880 they exceeded fifty-six millions. Our pension budget for the coming year, including vocational training, rehabilitation, insurance, and so forth, will exceed $600,000,000. In 1889 the Civil War pensions were almost eighty-nine millions, and in 1890 one hundred and six millions were appropriated. In 1892 the aggregate was in excess of one hundred and thirty-nine millions; in 1893, one hundred and fifty-seven millions; in 1895 the appropriation amounted to almost one hundred and forty millions; and in 1897 that vast sum was reached. In 1898 there was a total of one hundred and forty-four millions, and for each year following until 1907 the amount was substantially one hundred and forty millions. In 1908 the amount reached one hundred and fifty-three millions, and 1909 called for one hundred and sixty-one millions; 1910 substantially one hundred and sixty millions were appropriated; in 1911 one hundred and fifty-seven millions; in 1912 one hundred and fifty-three millions; in 1914 the total was one hundred and seventy-two millions; in 1915 more than one hundred and sixty-five millions; in 1916 one hundred and fifty-nine millions; in 1917 one hundred and sixty millions; in 1918 almost one hundred and eighty millions; and in 1919 the stupendous sum of $222,159,292 was paid out to the beneficiaries under Civil War pension acts.

In these figures, with the exception of 1919, I have stated the amounts in round numbers. Between March 4, 1861, and June 30, 1919, there were numerous general laws passed providing for pensions, and in addition there were more than 56,000 special acts granting pensions to those whose names appeared upon the rolls of the military or naval branches of the Government during the Civil War or to their representatives.

There are now before us four omnibus pension bills carrying large amounts. They are calendar Nos. 227, 228, 229, 230. I do not know the purpose of the chairman of the committee, but presume he will press them for consideration and passage.

Let me briefly refer to a few provisions of these omnibus bills to show the character of pensions for which special pension acts are being passed. No. 178 grants a pension to the widow of a deserter. No. 140 gives a pension to a woman who has been married twice since the death of her ex-soldier husband. No. 533 grants a pension to the daughter of an ex-soldier who died in 1868. She is already enjoying a pension, but this provides an increase. No. 189 indicates that the beneficiary served less than 90 days as a substitute. He is to receive a pension, though a Federal law prohibits mere service pensions for those whose names were upon the rolls for less than 90 days. Another paragraph calls for an increase in the pension already paid to the son of a deceased soldier. No. 1038 increases the pension of a woman who married an old soldier in 1897, and upon his death she married another pensioner in 1913. He died in 1917. Both marriages were nearly 50 years after the war. We are called upon to increase her pension. And there are hundreds of similar cases in these omnibus bills. Calendar No. 227, one of the omnibus bills referred to, contains 112 special pension provisions of this character. The next omnibus bill contains 78 separate claims for pensions. They are not to be distinguished from those which I have just mentioned. Calendar No. 329 carries 121 special pension bills and calendar No. 377 contains 110.

Many of these special bills are unworthy, and to grant pensions in this indiscriminate way is unfair and unjust to the taxpayers of the United States as well as to those who are justly entitled to pensions.

I have stated upon a number of occasions that I was in favor of pensions in behalf of the widows and orphans of men who gave their lives for their country, and that I would heartily support pensions for those who were wounded or who incurred disabilities while in the service of their country.

I believe in disability pensions, but this mad policy of service pensions for everyone does not commend itself to my judgment. We have repudiated the invalid-pension plan which was adopted and which met the approval of the American people. We have yielded to organized demands, to political pressure, and to influences not always free from selfishness, so that we are now fastening upon the country a policy of pensioning everyone whose name appears for a few days upon the military or naval rolls of the United States. In order to obtain pensions it is not necessary that one should be injured or wounded or have incurred any disability, or be incapacitated from manual labor, or be in need of contributions from the Federal Treasury. We are applying the policy that the Federal Government is a dispenser of gifts and bounties and pensions and moneys without reference to the principles of justice and common sense which should underlie Federal action. The Federal Government is the rich Prince Fortunatus; it is a benevolent overlord to whom the people may look for aid and benefactions; it is to nurse and coddle and assume paternal authority and control over individuals, communities, and States.

Upon a former occasion I gave some attention to the provisions of the bill under consideration. I referred to the fact that on the 10th of June, 1918, a general pension act was passed carrying a substantial increase "to all beneficiaries covered by its provisions, and for the continuation of the policy of special pension legislation to meet extreme cases not adequately covered by the general laws." The report accompanying this bill states that in the hearings preceding its enactment the officers of the Grand Army of the Republic stated that if legislation were passed "no further call would be made upon the generosity of the Government for soldiers or their widows and dependents." They, of course, embodied the demands of those who were seeking pensions, as does the bill before us. The promises then made are now disregarded, and the same forces which secured the passage of the act of June 10, 1918, will secure the passage of this bill. The report accompanying this measure states:

> This bill proposes to increase the pensions of all the veterans of the Civil War to $50 per month regardless of length of service, and to increase the pensions of widows from $25 to $30 per month.

It is not required that the person to receive the pension shall have been wounded or shall have suffered any disability or shall now be in any manner disabled; nor is it required that he shall be in need of a pension. The door is thrown wide open, and the invalid-pension policy is discarded and thrown into the scrap heap and the service-pension plan riveted upon the country. The committee report declares that "it is no answer to any arguments that it adds $65,000,000 to the burdens of an already overtaxed country. We are overtaxed to-day because of the continuance of extravagant expenditures initiated during the war, and which so far we have scarcely made serious efforts to curtail."

The report further states that prior to the war our annual expenses were less than $1,000,000,000, whereas "to-day, nearly two years after the war, we are calling and providing for more than $5,000,000,000 yearly to meet the running expenses of the

Government in time of peace." This report was written and signed by the distinguished Senator from North Dakota [Mr. MCCUMBER], who is chairman of the Committee on Pensions and one of the leading members of the Committee on Finance of the Senate. It is condemnatory of the extravagance of this Congress, and if consistency were to control the committee it would be opposing instead of supporting the bill now before us.

My attention has been called to a number of articles by Mr. Burton J. Hendrick, appearing in the World's Work a few years ago. He discusses the pension system at considerable length and points out the evils which have characterized its administration and the evolution by which the invalid-pension plan is being superseded by one which grants pensions for only a few days of military or naval service. His presentation is a strong indictment of some of the legislation which Congress has enacted and the abuses which have attended the administration of pension legislation. In the course of his discussion he states:

From 1861 to 1890 a military or naval pension in the United States signified one thing, and one thing only. It was a payment made as part compensation for injury received or disease contracted in the service of one's country. It was not a reward for patriotic deeds—such service naturally has no financial equivalent—or national charity doled out to a soldier in his old age. For those wounded in battle, however, or disabled by disease or physical infirmities, the Nation has always acknowledged a certain financial responsibility. Such men had lost, to a greater or a less extent, the ability to support themselves; it was the Nation's duty to assist in such support; it was no humiliation for the soldier to accept it; he had certainly given a real consideration for value received. Until June 27, 1890, that was the fundamental idea underlying the American pension system. That is the idea which has governed all systems of military pensions. It is the principle regulating the present-day pension schemes of most European countries and of the South American Republics.

Even on this basis, however, our pension list gave occasion for enormous abuses. These abuses did not arise from the fundamental nature of the pension system, which was not necessarily evil, but from the liberality, carelessness, and criminality with which it was applied. In 1866, one year after the Civil War, we were paying something more than $15,000,000 to its survivors. In 15 years this had grown to $56,000,000. In nine years more—1899—it had jumped to $86,000,000. In 1872 Pension Commissioner Baker, appointed by President Grant, said, referring to the large expenditure for that year—$30,000,000: "We have reached the apex of the mountain." This statement clearly reflected the opinion of his day. In the minds of most people there was no reason why the pension list, after the first period of five or six years succeeding the Civil War, should increase, the pension system remaining as it was. That system, as already explained, pensioned only invalids, men wounded or otherwise physically disabled in service from the years of 1861 to 1865. At the close of the war most soldiers actually wounded clearly understood that fact; a missing arm or leg is a palpable misfortune. Most soldiers injured by disease seriously enough to incapacitate them for manual labor also clearly realized their condition. Men of this type and their dependents—widows, minors, mothers, fathers, orphan brothers, and orphan sisters—were then our only legal pensioners. Nearly all, therefore, in the natural order of things, should have gone upon the pension rolls in the few years immediately succeeding the war. A certain proportion, in comfortable circumstances or having conscientious scruples against pension, would not apply or delayed their applications until want forced them to take this naturally repugnant step; but the great mass of honest pensioners ought to have gone upon the rolls fairly quickly. That is what Commissioner Baker meant in 1872 when he said that "we have reached the apex of the mountain." The fact that the pension list in the next 18 years increased threefold, with no fundamental change in our pension system, shows that there was something wrong somewhere.

The explanation involves one of the most humiliating chapters in American history. The English historian, Lecky, in his "Democracy and Liberty," criticizes the democratic idea mainly because, under this system of government, the tendency is always for one section of society to rob the others. He instances the American system of military pensions as a case in point. Whatever one may think of Lecky's general criticism, this particular illustration is an apt one. The history of the Civil War pensions is simply a story of a small minority laying violent hands upon the Federal Treasury. For 40 years Congress has practically abdicated its control over pension legislation.

The author refers to the "new professional characters, the pension attorney and the pension doctor," who scoured the country for pension candidates "to discover some niche in the pension laws that would admit the most undeserving." Advertisements were published and methods of a most reprehensible character employed to secure pensions from the Government.

Mr. Hendrick then proceeds:

The whole system was an invitation to fraud. With all possible precautions the taxpayers would have been swindled out of millions every year, but Uncle Sam made no attempt to safeguard himself. The proceedings on which pensions were granted were all ex parte.

One has only to read the reports of certain high-minded pension commissioners—such as Bentley, 1876–1881; Lochren, 1893–1896; and Henry Clay Evans, 1897–1902, all ex-Union soldiers, whose feelings as bona fide veterans were outraged by the infamous crimes constantly perpetrated in the name of patriotism—to understand that these frauds existed on a gigantic scale. Occasionally they became so notorious they got into the criminal courts.

It is a very sordid page which the author presents to our view, but he states that instead of discouraging Congress legislation was enacted which encouraged the perpetration of these frauds. He refers to the mass of laws enacted between 1862 and 1890 and characterizes the regulations as being indefensible. He refers to the law legitimatizing "broomstick" marriages and their issue, to the act of 1888 providing for all widows' pensions whenever granted as dating from the date of the husband's death. The "arrearage" bill, as it was called, and the "broomstick" marriage law, Mr. Hendrick says, "enormously increased the business of the fraudulent claim agent." And in the same category he places the act of 1879 granting "arrearages" to all invalid pensioners. The latter law increased the pension expenditures from thirty-three millions in 1874 to seventy-five millions in 1880 and ultimately involved an expenditure of $200,000,000. A new principle, Mr. Hendrick states, was introduced in 1890 under which every person whose name appeared upon the rolls who was incapacitated for manual labor from causes not due to his own vicious habits obtained a pensionable status. The wealth of the recipient of the pension was immaterial and it was also unimportant that he had large property from which he derived an annual income of thousands of dollars or that he was receiving large sums from professional or other services not calling for manual labor. In three years under the operation of this act the pension expenditures increased to $157,000,000 and the pension rolls reached nearly a million names. Laws were passed which made "heroes out of deserters" and "bounty jumpers" and made them beneficiaries of Federal appropriations. Mr. Hendrick gives many illustrations of the abuses resulting from pension legislation and the inexcusable character of some of the legislation enacted.

When he wrote his articles the chapter was not complete. Since then we have passed general pension bills and thousands of special pension acts, and with the passage of the one under consideration we will have increased the annual appropriations for Civil War pensions to nearly $300,000,000.

In his concluding article Mr. Hendrick indicates that the record of pension legislation has been so unsavory that we can "prevent its repetition." He directs attention to the fact that there are between four hundred and five hundred thousand persons whose names appeared upon the rolls during the Spanish-American War and the Philippine insurrection, and that organizations are being effected and "further political methods are being adopted in an effort to create another huge pension roll." He then declares, "This thing the present generation can and must stop."

The author was not familiar with present-day conditions or he would not have indulged in this language. There is a bill before us which has passed the House which relates to those who were connected with the Spanish-American War and the Philippine insurrection, and which contains provisions for pensions not dissimilar to those found in the legislation which the author so vigorously condemns. Of course, that bill will pass whether meritorious or not, as all bills will providing pensions.

Prof. William H. Glasson has discussed in his book called Federal Military Pensions in the United States the pension laws, and has submitted in a candid manner facts concerning pension legislation, and has revealed conditions connected with such legislation and its administration, that will bring a spirit of depression and profound regret to many Americans. Prof. David Kinley, the editor of the volume referred to, declares that "the moral degeneration caused in time by the changing view of the true character of pensions led also to the evil of extending them to men whose service was brief and resulted in no injury to them." He states that "pensions were taken without compunction by some men who, while technically entitled to them, had other means of support, and, indeed, were sometimes rich; to say nothing of young widows of old soldiers. For such people to take pensions is to throw a shadow of graft on the whole system."

The editor's preface arraigns in striking manner our pension system, and he declares that under it and as a result of it party leaders and parties formed their platforms and policies to suit the influences and organizations behind this legislation, and that "the Public Treasury became, in the minds of many, a proper source of loot."

Mr. President, liberal pensions should be paid to the deserving, but the policy of pensions which is being suggested by many, extending as it does not only to mere service pensions in the military and naval branches of the Government, but into many activities of the people whether they relate to Government or to private or corporate service, all to be paid by the General Government, is in contravention of the letter and spirit of cur Constitution and is promoted by the socialistic movement which is active and persistent in our midst.

It can not be disguised that legislation, both State and National, is being sought in harmony with the development of socialistic policies; and there has been Federal and State legislation that has tended to divert the minds of the people from a

proper conception of individualism, and a true appreciation of the importance of the development of those virtues which contribute to character and individual strength, which, after all, must persist if there shall be a government of the people. The persistent demands for Federal intervention and paternalistic control in private matters and State concerns are indicative of the centralizing trend in our political affairs.

With Louis XIV the thought was that he was the State and the source of power.

It has been a long and painful struggle to establish a representative democracy, to get rid of the conception of State authority and power, and to place upon the people the crown of authority.

Under the old view the individual was wholly unimportant; his personality merged in the State from which was supposed to flow the streams of justice or mercy or prosperity that vitalized the arid wastes and deserts of human existence. The State among many peoples in ancient times was regarded as omnipotent and the ruler as the incarnation of authority and power. The life of the individual merged in the supposed superior rights of the State. Political tyranny was associated with economic tyranny. It is true, however, that in the Old Testament there was emphasized the view of individual responsibility and development, but withal the desire, the welfare of society, and the establishment of justice and righteousness in the social organism was ever present and controlling.

Christianity came to exalt the individual, to place him upon sunlit peaks, not in the shadows of darkened valleys. Under this divine faith man became the child of God and heir to His mercy and goodness and blessings. The valley became exalted and the mountains of power and arrogance and privilege and monopoly were cast down, and henceforth the world was to take on new life. Justice and freedom, political and moral, were to guide humanity. The swarming millions were the children of one Father. The peacemaker, the meek, the oppressed, were to be lifted up. Slaves felt that their chains were stricken from their limbs and that they were to become links in the great chain of life and constitute a part of the social structure. There was added to individual life a new dignity, and the humblest and the poorest felt that he was part of the vital and omnipotent power which controlled not only men and nations but the universe itself and that there was that within him, immortal and indestructible, which could not be lost in a social pantheism or in a divine immanence which denied personal and individual immortality. It were well if there were carried into the social and political problems of the people the true meaning and spirit of the Christian faith.

The Declaration of Independence was a clarion call for individualism, for individual freedom, for individual responsibility and development and progress. We can not repeat too often those words that should be a challenge in the ages to come:

> All men are created free and equal, and they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

There was wrought into the framework of this Republic that conception of individual responsibility. There was a recognition of individuals as the source of authority and of power. States and social organisms received their authority from the individual. Their grants were from the people. Jefferson's words of fire, which burned into the hearts of all, have guided the forces of liberty and democracy unto this day. His prophetic voice was raised against tyranny and oppression in every department of life. Freedom and liberty and the expansion and growth of the human soul were the themes which inspired this great teacher, whose name will be revered so long as free government endures.

Individualism is not selfishness, nor does it seek any inglorious isolation or any distinctive individual supremacy. Those ends are just what true individualism is not. Democracy conceives the units and individuals to be living, dynamic forces which may not achieve full perfection or worthily wear the crown of individual greatness and success and honor unless in conjunction with successes and achievements upon the part of others. The lone peak that lifts its head above the plains does not arrest the clouds and bring the gentle rains to moisten the thirsty soil. But successive peaks side by side gather the moisture from the passing clouds and all combine to bring joy to earth and happiness and prosperity to man.

But it is impossible for individuals and groups of individuals, as well as nations, no matter how high their purposes or how perfect their chart and compass, to always steer a course free from obliquity and danger. Life is a struggle, and progress and increased perfection come only after contests and trials. Political and economic heresies have destroyed nations which were breasting the mountain tops from which they might look out upon the promised land of freedom. And this great Nation, born of heroic struggles and glorious victories, and pointing nations toward the heights of justice and liberty, has been beset by dangers and encompassed by foes. From the beginning there have been influences at work seeking to change our form of government and to lead the people into lines of thought destructive of those principles and of their very spiritual and moral attributes. Toryism and the forces of retrogression have from time to time fought furiously for supremacy. The apostles of a destructive socialism and wild and visionary schemes for industrial and economic revolutions have dogged our Nation and invaded the homes and sought to poison the minds of the people. Predatory forces at various times have attempted to seize the reins of authority and power and to use the Government for private ends and to obtain personal and corporate privileges.

I have upon a number of occasions called attention to the sinister forces which, following the Civil War, endeavored to fasten a policy upon the Nation which struck at individualism and the principles of equality and justice which must persist if this Republic shall endure. By legislation favors and special privileges were sought and often obtained.

When the powers of the State or the General Government were prostituted to aid corporations or individuals, there was introduced deadly poison into our body politic, the eradication of which was impossible and the evil effects of which persist for an indefinite period. And it is paradoxical that the same forces which sought to utilize the Government for corporate advantage and special privilege should be among the first to cry aloud against evils of State socialism and the destruction of that perfected and splendid individualism which maintains liberty and is a sure fountain of justice and progress.

During the World War dislocations occurred in the lives of individuals, as well as in the policies and systems of governments. Unrest and instability appear everywhere, and disorder and often chaos threaten individuals, communities, and States. The lives of individuals have been changed, and the activities of communities and States modified. A different outlook upon life and upon the economic and social and political problems is presented to many. We have become so accustomed to the overthrow of nations and the destruction of thrones and the ruins of political and industrial systems that many persons have assumed that cataclysmic changes are to be continued. The idea of a return to a period of rest and orderly progress and slow and labored growth in the political or social body is regarded with dismay; it seems too monotonous. All sorts of pseudo-philosophies find followers. Visionaries and dreamers, extremists and charlatans, sincere reformers and subtle Machiavellian schemers appear throughout the disordered and distracted nations, and with seductive whisperings and tumultuous cries contribute to the instability and hysteria and distress which even at this hour sweep round the world. There are needed throughout the world influences that will still the tempest and quiet the raging waters, and bring faith and hope and peace to the hearts of men. Now more than ever the qualities of courage and steadfastness of purpose and devotion to the great truths which the past has established are required. This is an hour for self-examination, for close analysis of our hearts, for that calm and profound introspection which must always obtain among thinking people. Out of this welter will come order; and strong nations founded upon law and social justice, by the very force of their example and their moral qualities, will influence disorganized forces and guide refractory peoples into paths of progress and peace. It is a lesson which the world is learning that there are moral ties which bind humanity, and spiritual forces which rivet nations and peoples together.

There is need in our own land for a recurrence to first principles. The smoke of battles must be cleared from our eyes, and our ears must be closed to the martial strains of war, and with unselfishness and that spirit of patriotic sacrifice which should inspire and guide us all we should determine whether we have departed from the faith.

Defenders of the Constitution of our Government and of our institutional life are needed now as they were needed in the days of Webster or of Lincoln. This must still be a people's government, a democratic government, a government wherein the crown of power and authority rests upon the people. The old landmarks must be preserved. Our Nation is so constructed as to not only permit but require progress and development. In the language of Gov. Coolidge, it should be as "progressive as science and as reactionary as the multiplication table." It

is not founded upon fleeting and ephemeral principles. Some of the false teachers in the land can not conceive of progress or of growth except through revolutionary and destructive changes. Change is not always progress. It is often a precursor of or the result of death. The highest form of progress is orderly, serene, tranquil.

Many changes are insisted upon which are destructive of the very theory upon which this Government rests. There are those in our midst who are insisting upon the nationalization of industries and the erection of a socialistic State that would reverse the wheels of progress and profoundly change this Republic. Socialism is a denial of the natural rights of man, and indeed of the noble appeals of the Declaration of Independence.

Mr. Grunlund and other socialist writers have declared in substance that philosophical socialism is a repudiation of the theory of natural rights. Their theory is—

> It is society, organized society, the State, that gives us all the rights we have. * * * As against the State, the organized society, even labor does not give us a particle of title to what our hands and brain produce.

This view, of course, is destructive of individualism and those sources of power and progress which have found expression in the lives and achievements of the American people. Manifestly the State can confer no rights or grants of power; its power is such as the people granted to it, and where it goes beyond such grants its acts are tyrannous and often oppressive. There has been a constant struggle in organized States between those who have supported the State in its usurpations and efforts to abrogate rights and institute privilege and those who sought to assert and maintain individual rights and restrain Government to its legitimate and proper functions.

Mr. Hirsch has stated in his Democracy versus Socialism his conception of the meaning of socialism:

> Socialism is an empiric system of organization of social life, based on certain ethical and economic conceptions. Its ethical conceptions consist, generally, of the denial of individual natural rights and the assertion of the omnipotence of the State; especially of the denial of the right of the individual to the possession of the products of his labor, and the assertion of the right of the State to the possession of the products of the labor of all individuals.
>
> Its economic conceptions are that competition and private property in land and capital and the consequent exaction of rent, interest, and profit—that is, surplus value—by private persons are social evils responsible for the material and mental destitution of vast masses of the people.

He further states that its industrial, distributive, and political proposals based on this conception are the abolition of private property and private control of the instruments of production, land, transportation, trade, loan capital, and public debts. Private ownership and management by the community acting through the State are to be substituted for private rights. Its political proposals involve the extension of the power and function of local governmental bodies and international control of international production and trade.

It is to be noted that in the international congresses of socialists the program discussed looks to the destruction of most nationalistic formulas and the breaching, if not the demolition, of all laws relating to the preservation of nationality and to the ultimate union in one international group of the peoples of different nations.

Because there have appeared political and economic evils in our Government, encouragement has been given to the socialists who are advocating revolutionary economic changes, and their diatribes and appeals have been accorded more serious consideration than otherwise would have been given them.

Legislation enacted by States, as well as by the Federal Government, reveals that some progress has been made by the advocates of State socialism. It can not be denied that there are persons giving support to both the great national political parties who are seeking to mold these political organizations into practicers if not preachers of a paternalism which will eventuate in an exaggerated form of State socialism.

Many of the colleges of our land are filled with teachers of socialism and are sending from their doors advocates of policies, economic and political, which are utterly at variance with the political philosophy upon which this Government is based. Measures are presented for consideration in the Federal Congress which can not be defended upon any formulæ known to this Republic, but which find their support in the hysterical preachments of neurotic people or the socialistic creed of Karl Marx, with more or less of dilution.

It may be true that when a ship is being driven before the winds it may not steer a straight course, and expediency may require, in the face of political and economic storms, some slight departure from a rigid and inflexible course. But danger, if not disaster, attends the renunciation of principles and policies resting upon safe foundations. More than ever is there necessity for devotion to those principles of individualism which will produce such striking and beneficent results. There is no hope or promise of better conditions or amelioration from world-wide distractions by precipitating an economic or political revolution in our land. The virile qualities of the American people have brought us to the proud position of world eminence which we occupy. There would be no alleviation of conditions by State control of private enterprise or the assumption by the State of a charitable and philanthropic attitude toward the people. The Government is not an eleemosynary institution; it does not exist to furnish employment to the people, to grant bounties or pensions for their support and maintenance.

Let me quote the words of President Wilson, found in chapter 11 of his New Freedom:

> I do not want to live under a philanthropy. I do not want to be taken care of by the Government, either directly or by any instruments through which the Government is acting. I want only to have right and justice prevail, so far as I am concerned. Give me right and justice and I will undertake to take care of myself. If you enthrone the trusts as the means of the development of this country, under the supervision of the Government, then I shall pray the old Spanish proverb, "God save me from my friends, and I'll take care of my enemies," because I want to be saved from these friends.

There is true Americanism in these words of Mr. Wilson, quoted from another chapter of the same work:

> For my part, I want the pigmy to have a chance to come out. And I foresee a time when the pigmies will be so much more athletic, so much more astute, so much more active than the giants that it will be a case of "Jack, the giant killer." Just let some of the youngsters I know have a chance and they'll give these gentlemen points. Lend them a little money. They can't get any now. See to it that when they have got a local market they can't be squeezed out of it. Give them a chance to capture that market and then see them capture another one, and another one, until these men who are carrying an intolerable load of artificial securities find that they have got to get down to hardpan to keep their football at all. I am willing to let Jack come into the field with the giant, and if Jack has the brains that some Jacks that I know in America have, then I should like to see the giant get the better of him, with the load that he, the giant, has to carry—the load of water. For I'll undertake to put a water-logged giant out of business any time, if you will give me a fair field and as much credit as I am entitled to, and let the law do what from time immemorial law has been expected to do—see fair play.

And these words from chapter 11 of the same volume should be received with acclaim by Americans at this hour:

> The reason that America was set up was that she might be different from all the nations of the world is this: That the strong could not put the weak to the wall; that the strong could not prevent the weak from entering the race. America stands for opportunity. America stands for a free field and no favor. America stands for a Government responsive to the interests of all. And until America recovers those ideals in practice she will not have the right to hold her head high again amidst the nations as she used to hold it.

I referred a few moments ago to Max Hirsch and quoted a paragraph from his work entitled "Democracy versus Socialism." He expresses in such a clear manner what individualism means and what its achievements are, I desire to quote further from his work:

> Individualism, affirming the existence of equal, natural, individual rights, seeks the further evolution of society in the direction of its past evolution until society shall have become fully subservient to the welfare of the individuals composing it, seeking to attain such general welfare through the removal of the remaining infractions of the natural and equal rights of all individuals, "the freedom of each to exercise all his faculties as he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other"; the right of each to the fullest opportunities for the exercise of his faculties, limited only by the equal right of all others; and the unlimited right of each to benefit by his own beneficial acts, reward being proportioned to service rendered.

The attacks made upon our Government are not always frontal, but nevertheless they are aimed at the weakening of the foundations of the Republic and the substitution of some other political and economic order. Papers and magazines of influence and philanthropists and preachers of power and reputation for piety, noble women actuated by altruistic purposes, and men of fine sentimentality, in their desire to better conditions of humanity are daily giving support to measures which increase governmental authority and power and limit individual rights or State power. Some of their plans would involve the paralysis of individual initiative, or, at least, encourage efforts for governmental favors and bureaucratic activity. Those characteristics which have been so preeminent among the American people and have led to such inspiring results are either uprooted or atrophied by these constant attempts upon the part of men and women of the highest purpose. As a result we find men and women shirking responsibilities which shape character and which must be discharged if local government is maintained.

The idea is too often inculcated that legislation supplies remedies for all governmental ills. Work and thrift and self-

reliance and the fine qualities which the pre-Revolutionary fathers so strongly exemplified are regarded as evidences of a provincialism not compatible with the cosmopolitan traits of the American people. Legislation is regarded as the "cure-all" for lack of family discipline, imperfect educational systems, laxity in moral standards, intellectual ineptitude, social and financial inequalities, inefficiency in industrial activity, unproductiveness of human labor or of natural resources, and religious lethargy and spiritual devitalization. Indeed, statutes are to be the sovereign remedies for the multitude of imperfections and inequalities and errors and evils which now in a greater or less degree manifest themselves among the people.

There would be humor in these distracting appeals were it not for the tragic consequences which they may entail.

State socialism is not new. Marxian philosophy, which is controlling Russia to-day, has found supporters in many ages of the world. But wherever its principles have been applied its consequences have been disastrous. Progress has been checked and there has been a crystallization of society upon a lower plane or a disintegration of its constituent parts resulting in demoralization and ruin. Men can not be coddled and nursed into the kingdom of righteousness, nor be made worthy to be placed at the table of the just and the good. Character is a plant of slow growth and develops and becomes productive through a variety of processes, including trials and vicissitudes. Exotic plants may show temporary beauty and glory. The enduring forms in most struggles for life and liberty come up through tribulation and are subjected to many acid tests.

Dr. David Jayne Hill correctly appraises the results of the imposition of a new bondage which State socialism would be under the name of freedom:

> If the State were, in fact, a wise, beneficent, and provident entity, capable of exercising a truly parental care in protecting the interests and preserving the liberty of the people, the only considerable evil resulting from its unlimited authority would be the weakening of the individual through his complete reliance upon his benevolent guardian and the consequent suppression of personal initiative, effort, and responsibility. But, in truth, the State possesses none of these characteristics. It is, in reality, merely a sum of legalized relations, in whose name and by whose authority certain definite persons, called the government, control the activities of the community.

Sir Henry Maine speaks of evolution from status to contract, but there are efforts both reactionary and radical to destroy the right of contract and return society to a collodial state. State socialism is destructive of proper evolutionary forces which must ever operate in the biological as well as in the social organism. But the unit of evolution is the individual, and the differentiations exhibited in him cut the steps in the steep mountain side which lead individuals, groups, and nations to higher levels. They constitute—

> * * * The rungs by which men climb;
> Those glittering steps; those milestones upon time;
> Those tombstones of dead selves; those hours of birth.

Dr. Nicolai, in his book called "The Biology of War," has stated that it is immaterial how we formulate our morality, that the important thing is to determine and understand that man is an individual unit and at the same time a part of a superordinate organism. "Whoever knows this and realizes it, not merely as a truth which can be acquired but as a living law in him and a feeling, is a human being indeed and in truth." In striking sentences he shows the results of individuality and the necessity of its development:

> Virtue can be taught, but only through self-knowledge. This settles the subjective aspect of the matter, for there is no virtue which is identical for all. Every virtue, like everything else, is dependent upon the individuality of the one. But this subjectivism has its limitations. There is an objective and general principle of virtue that plainly proclaims that it is impossible for a virtue or even a characteristic to develop if the rudiment of it is not present in us. Out of this natural impossibility grows a positive demand. All men should recognize as clearly as possible the powers and potentialities that lie within them and develop them to their highest perfection. The individual man should consider how or by what means he can accomplish a maximum achievement and best serve mankind. * * * The modern Socratic theory of evolution does not require a man to remain permanently in the place where a rational or irrational destiny has placed him; it desires a man to seek out his place in the world in such a way that it will have meant progress to him.

Wherever there are limitations upon individual action they should be tested by the proposition whether or not they are necessary for the preservation of equal rights and freedom for all. We should never forget the words of Jefferson:

> Who has destroyed the liberty and rights of men in every government which has ever existed under the sun? The generalizing and concentrating of all activities and powers into one body, no matter whether the autocrats of Russia or France or Austria or of the Venetian Senate.

And a paternalistic government, developing into a socialistic state, is as great an autocrat as any of the Governments alluded to by Jefferson. The government of Lenin and Trotski, fashioned along the lines of Marxian socialism, is as tyrannical and destructive of liberty as any the world has ever produced. The individual is as unimportant as the servile slave who toiled on the banks of the Nile to erect pyramids or colossal temples to commemorate the reigns of despots. State socialism which may be conceived in benevolence functions only as an autocratic power, and succeeds, if it succeeds at all, when it brings into inanimate and protoplasmic mass those who submit to its system and become slaves to the ambitions and tyrannies of the autocratic few.

I have referred to the fundamental concepts of Christianity as supporting the view of individualistic development. Science points the way to the same course. Without accepting all the implications which have been drawn by many from the writings of Darwin and Haeckel, I think there is sufficient proof to support the view that there is a tendency of individuals to vary in all directions within certain limitations, and that there is a transmission of such variations in a greater or less degree. The principle of natural selection does have application in the development of man. Any social organism which prohibited or limited these differentiations in mental and physical traits manifestly would be inimical to individual progress.

The intellectual achievements of the nidividual, whether viewed as the manifestation of the principles of evolutionary development or not, are contributing factors to the ultimate advancement of the community or State life. And so we measure social progress and the political liberty of the State by the heights gained by the individuals therein.

Students of sociology find in the progress of society, if not the application of the principles of biological development in their entirety, at least analogies which are striking and furnish irresistible deductions that the most advanced social condition—and by that I mean the one in which there is the greatest happiness and moral progress—is found in those communities in which the fullest and freest opportunity has been afforded for the development of those individual and personal characteristics which in the aggregate constitute character.

Uniformity is the tendency of applied socialism. What is desired is not mere diletantism but the rich fruits that individual differentiation secures. The rivalries that are attended with full and free opportunity restrained only by just and lawful means, now as in the past, will give the truest liberty and the highest form of civilization. The moral impulses of the people, that altruism which rises to higher levels with the passing years, will mitigate the sharpness of individual contests and rivalries and hold in check predatory instincts, and with the application of the moral and religious truths of the Christian faith man more and more will feel increased responsibilities and will regard himself as a trustee and no longer will exclaim, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

If the nation be regarded as a moral organism with maximum duties as to the enlarging and directive sphere of its activities, there should nevertheless be a minimum of coercive functions to the very lowest terms. Indeed, the "essence of morality is spontaneity," not conduct which is the result of force. Many of the devotees of State socialism decline to perceive that in its operations there is compulsion and a maximum of directive power, even when the members of the State have become so enemic and atrophied as to no longer function as entities and are reduced to that stagnant monotony which responds to no mental stimuli and is moved forward or backward only by compulsive forces. The struggle for individualism is nothing more or less than the contest for greater participation in all the activities and processes of life.

Let me call attention again to the fact that ours is a Government which derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. Not a forced consent, not a mass consent, but the consent of the units, the individuals of the State. The great revolution in England was in defense of those personal rights which, with modification of language but with slight variation in meaning, are expressed in the first 10 amendments to the Constitution of the United States. Congress shall make no law that interferes with the personal rights of the individual. His right to freedom of speech and freedom of thought, to freedom of religious belief—these and other personal and individual rights constitute the bulwark of American liberty. Imperfect economic or industrial conditions must not be made the pretext for iconoclastic assaults upon the principles of free government. Social justice and political and civil liberty are attainable under the provisions of the Constitution. The socialism of Marx and Engel and Lenin and Trotski leads to destruction and death.

The Coal Miners and Operators Are Not Profiteers. The High Price of Coal is Due to the Lack of Transportation. We Have Ample Coal, Mines, and Miners to More than Supply the Needs of the Nation if an Adequate Supply of Cars is Furnished. Without Cars the Nation Faces a Serious Situation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ROBSION,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted I do not feel it would be out of place to give to the Congress and the country some information relative to the coal mining and transportation situation. There has been much said by the press and the public outside of the coal-mining sections, charging both the operators and miners with profiteering. I have given some considerable study and thought to the coal-mining situation. I am more especially familiar with the bituminous coal industry in southeastern Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. I know that these charges are untrue. Most persons to sustain their charge of profiteering cite Mr. McAdoo's report on corporate earnings printed as Senate Document No. 59. Perhaps no public document was ever more unfair or misleading. Mr. McAdoo admits that he selected only the coal companies "which in 1917 earned 15 per cent and more on their capital stock." In 1917 there were more than 7,000 separate coal producers. His so-called report only includes 392. There were only 392 out of more than 7,000 coal operators whose earnings were 15 per cent or more. There were about 7,000 whose earnings were either nothing or less than 15 per cent. The earnings of the 392 are based on the capital stock. Many of these companies had much more invested in their business than was represented by the capital stock, some of them three times as much or more. We can see that Mr. McAdoo's so-called report is so erroneous, unfair, and misleading as to be of little value in reaching a sound conclusion. I am convinced he issued it for political reasons.

UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY MAKES A REPORT.

The United States Geological Survey report on coal production for 1917, page 958, shows that the total output of bituminous coal was sold by the operators at an average price of $2.26 per ton at the mines. Of course, out of this sum all expenses and taxes had to be paid.

During the year of 1918 the coal prices were under the control of the Government. On November 19, 1919, Dr. Garfield, United States Fuel Administrator, stated publicly that the average price allowed the bituminous operators for 1918 was only $2.61 per ton. He stated that this permitted an average "margin" of 46 cents per ton; but Dr. Garfield claimed that out of this 46 cents per ton Federal taxes of 30 cents per ton and State, county, and municipal taxes had to be paid. We can see this left a very small margin of profit. The United States Bituminous Coal Commission reported that some 1,551 companies examined by them produced about one-third of the soft coal of the country, that 337 of these lost money, and the average profit of the other 1,200 or more was less than 11 per cent.

The Federal Trade Commission has recently issued two reports on cost and selling prices of bituminous coal, showing that the operators' profits for January and February, 1920, were only about half the amount of profits which were made in the same months in 1918 under Government control.

CONDITIONS HAVE GROWN WORSE.

The United States Fuel Administration's engineers, after making a very careful survey of the coal-mining industry, made a report in which they declare that a 50 per cent car supply will increase the cost of production of coal 40.5 per cent, and a 40 per cent car supply will increase the cost of production nearly 55 per cent. For instance, if the cost of production with a good car supply was $2.80 per ton, the cost of production with a 40 per cent car supply would be $4.34 per ton.

The car supply in eastern Kentucky for the nine months beginning August 2, 1919, and ending May 2, 1920, would not average more than 40 per cent. For months efforts were made to run the mines, not counting the strike of more than a month last fall. With this condition of the car supply, the cost of production, not counting the increase of wages and the increased cost of supplies for these nine months, would be nearly 55 per cent. After careful investigation I have come to the conclusion that more than one-third of the coal mines in eastern Kentucky have lost money every month since January 1, 1920, and the principal cause of this loss was a shortage of the car supply.

Few persons living outside of the coal-mining region realize the heavy overhead expense of a mine for the days it is idle. Great quantities of water must be removed, falling slate must be taken care of, and other work must be carried on just the same when the mines are idle as when the mines are in operation.

Again, few people realize the tremendous hazards undertaken by persons who invest their money in the development of coal mines. No one can see inside of the hill or mountain. Frequently great sums of money are expended in opening up a coal mine, and it turns out to be a mere "pocket" of coal. The vein may be thick and workable near the surface and run out. Sometimes there is a fine showing of coal on the outside, and when the vein is explored into the mountain or hill, you run into a mountain of rock, and the seam of coal disappears. Fires break out in the mine, the hill or mountain falls in, and there are other hazards that enter into the coal-mining business. There are more "drawbacks" and "flarebacks" in the mining industry than nearly any other business. There is an old adage among the mining people, "When prices are good and orders are plentiful cars are scarce, and when cars are plentiful prices are low and orders are scarce."

CARS, CARS, AND MORE CARS.

It is true that the price of coal has advanced materially, but the price of a great deal of the materials and equipment has advanced nearly 500 per cent, and because of the increased cost of living, wages have greatly advanced, but the thing chiefly responsible for the increased cost of coal is shortage of the car supply.

Attorney General Palmer is reported in the press as threatening to prosecute the coal operators and coal miners for profiteering. There is no agreement or understanding between the coal operators and the miners to increase the price of coal. It has been claimed throughout the country that the miners and coal operators do not want a good car supply, but that they want a shortage of coal cars in order to boost wages and the price of coal. This charge is absolutely without foundation.

Ever since last August I have been working in conjunction with representatives of the miners and coal operators of Kentucky and Tennessee in an effort to secure more cars. These representatives of the miners and operators have made many trips to Washington and elsewhere in an effort to secure more cars. These efforts have not been spasmodic, but have been daily and constant for more than nine months, but we have met with failure and disappointment. The car supply to-day is rotten, and the coal industry throughout my section is demoralized because of this condition. If Mr. Palmer would push the railroads, and they will furnish the cars, the price of coal will drop in a short time to normal, but if present conditions of transportation continue coal prices will go higher. I might add, however, that the coal operators do not receive more than about half of what the consumer pays for coal. It is true that the freight rates are high, but I am satisfied that the middlemen, the men that have very little invested and are subject to very little hazards, are the fellows who are making the big profits in coal. The miners and operators are not making the big money. When the war broke out nearly every operator in eastern Kentucky was deeply in debt. Many of them had been losing money for years, and many others had been forced into bankruptcy.

THE RAILROADS MUST FUNCTION.

Private control of railroads is on trial. The failure to furnish transportation is causing widespread dissatisfaction, and unless the railroads of the country give better service there will be a clamor for a change. Both miners and operators in my section are greatly disappointed because of the lack of service since the railroads were returned to their owners. It is fair to say, however, that the Government during the period of Government control did not keep up the rolling stock. The tonnage of the country has greatly increased and the railroad facilities of the country have been diminished. We do not have the motive power and the cars in the country to handle the business. We might also add that the switchmen's strike over the country has had a great deal to do with the shortage of cars. It is believed in some quarters that the railroad owners are themselves contributing to this condition in order to obtain more favorable legislation. I do not believe Congress will give any further grants to the railroads, and if they do not function

the people will insist upon a change. I warn the railroad owners of the country to respond to the needs of the Nation, and if they fail the responsibility will be largely upon their heads. If the Nation is to be furnished with coal and the price is to be within reach of the people, the railroads must furnish an adequate supply of cars to the mines. A good car supply will solve the fuel problem of the Nation.

THE LIFE OF THE MINER IS FULL OF HARDSHIPS.

Some fellows sitting in big newspaper offices writing long articles denouncing the miner as a profiteer do not know what they are talking about. I hear a great many high-salaried clerks and officials here in Washington abusing the miner and charging him with being a profiteer. They would not know a coal mine if they should see one. Many of them sit on soft chairs with steam heat in the wintertime and electric fans in the summer time, receive from $10 to $20 per day for every work day in the year, and their average time is less than six hours per day for each work day of the year. It fills me with indignation to hear men like that denouncing the miner as a profiteer.

A large part of the population of this country know absolutely nothing about mines or the hardships of the miner. Under the new wage scale, as I understand it, the mine laborer on the outside receives from $4 to $5.60 per day, and the laborer on the inside of the mine receives $4.56 to $5.60 per day. Most of the coal is dug and loaded by the ton. They receive from 77 cents to 88½ cents per ton for digging and loading the coal. The working conditions in a mine at the very best are very disagreeable. The bottom or floor of the mine in most instances is wet, covered with mud or water. Most coal ranges from 25 to 45 inches in thickness. The miner generally must work on his knees or lie down in this mud and water to dig and load the coal into small cars. Most of these cars hold about a ton. He must push this car of coal from his room to the entry, where it is taken from the mine with horse power or electrical power. The air inside of the mine is more or less impure. Your life is always in peril from overhanging loose slate and rock. No miner knows what hour the roof may fall in and maim or kill him. It is, indeed, a hard and dangerous life. How many of these fellows who are denouncing the miner would be willing to go into this dangerous place and double up in this small space or lie down in the mud and water and dig and shovel coal all day for even $10 or $20 per day, and have regular work? But, as I have shown, the miners in my section for the last 9 or 10 months have not averaged more than about 40 per cent time. That is about two and one-half days to the week. Suppose a man receives the $5.60, the maximum per day, for three days per week. This only amounts to $16.80 per week. He must pay rent and feed and clothe his family for seven days on this sum. We can readily see that he must content himself with the bare necessities of life. Very few food products are produced in the mining regions. Nearly all of the food products must be shipped in. Prices are higher than they are at most places. Most miners have big families. How could they get along on less than $17 per week? But many of them receive much less.

A great many people have denounced the miners for demanding a six-hour day and a five-day week. As I understand this matter, the miners are demanding that the operators guarantee them 6 hours per day and 5 days per week; in other words, 30 hours of work per week. For the last 9 months or more they have been receiving about 20 hours of work per week. They say they can not live on 20 hours of work per week, and they must have 30 hours of work per week in order to support themselves and their families. They can not make a living for themselves and their families under the present prices with 2 or 3 days' work per week. The miners are entitled to a living out of their work for themselves and their families. They must have a living. If they do not get cars and can not put in good time, the price of coal must go up, and the country must suffer for fuel. I can not impress upon the Members of this House and the country too strongly the importance of having an adequate car supply to take care of the coal industry of the country. So, after all, the fuel problem is a transportation problem. There is plenty of coal, plenty of coal mines, and plenty of coal miners to produce more coal than is necessary to take care of the Nation and all of our export trade if we only had the transportation.

If the Attorney General, the big editors of the country, and certain elements of the public would study this problem, they would cease to denounce the miners and the operators as profiteers. Both undergo more hazards, and the miners undergo more hardships, than nearly any other industry or class of men, and receive less profits than any other class. I want to see the miners of this country receive a square deal at the hands of the American public.

The Sixty-sixth Congress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY U. HARDY,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. HARDY of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, cussing Congress has been an American pastime privilege for about 131 years. It has been practiced in and out of season by those in and out of power and by all classes of people most of the time.

People pray to God for all manner of blessings they never expect to get and go on praising God for His infinite wisdom.

People appeal to Congress for any and all kinds of physical and moral relief and against all kinds of physical and moral regulation and Congress is cussed because every wish that is wished can not be granted.

It is fortunate for many of us that God does not grant every prayer. And it is fortunate for the country that Congress does not grant every petition. It could not do it; there are so many conflicting petitions.

If Congress were run by one man, and you or I were that man, perhaps we could get done just what you or I would like to have done. But our Congress is not run by one man. In some countries the Congress does reflect the wishes or orders of the one man. But those countries have been having distressing times recently.

Our Congress represents the composite thought of 110,000,000 people. The House with 435 Members and the Senate with 96 Members reflect and represent the people to whom they are directly responsible. They are elected to represent not only their districts but to serve, as best they can, the whole United States. These Senators and Representatives come from every section of the country—some from thousands of miles apart. Most westerners have seen the East, but many easterners have never seen the West and know little of it.

Each Member comes down to Washington full of the thoughts and ambitions of his constituency. He soon finds that there are 435 districts in the United States of America and each Member has more or less of a program. The thoughts, aspirations, and programs of the Members may differ about as much as the altitudes or weather of their respective districts.

These programs take the form of bills, are introduced, and are referred to committees. The committee asks for information and reports from the appropriate departments and holds hearings on the bills. A bill must stand the searchlight of rigid investigation from many sources before it gets out in the House or Senate. Then it must run the gantlet in the House and the Senate, and no matter how innocent a bill may appear on its face, the chances are that some knowing Member from another section will point out blemishes or birthmarks that damn it in the minds of many, or some parliamentarian may choke it to death in the early stages of delivery. If the bill comes through safely, it may be so defaced and reformed by committee amendments or House or Senate amendments that its proud father would not recognize it in its own cradle.

Members realize the impossibility of always having their own way, and they know that practically all legislation is in the interests of the whole 110,000,000 people. Members know that legislation must be brought about by conference and compromise—by giving in a little here and there and taking what they can get, and that on the whole the wisdom of the many is better than the dictation of the few.

Back home the individual is apt to think that his views ought to be adopted by the Nation without amendment; hence his disposition to cuss Congress for its failure. But it is good-natured and not vicious and only an American prerogative, not countenanced under some forms of government.

Withal, the American Congress has gone on all these years doing business at the old stand—doing the best it could under all circumstances—and has really given us a pretty good government. In all the world there is no better example of a free parliamentary body, nor one that is more representative of the people and more responsive to the will of the people.

The Sixty-sixth Congress may not have accomplished all that any one citizen would like to have had done, but it has a great program of constructive work to its credit.

It is an easy matter to plunge either the family or the Nation into debt. It is a difficult matter to call a halt on family or national extravagances and rearrange family or national expenditure to a reduction of income.

To this end the Congress directed its first attention. War-time appropriations were necessarily great and expenditures were made with a lavish hand.

The total appropriations by all the Congresses, from Revolutionary days down to 1917, were $25,600,000,000. The total appropriations of our war-time Congresses, from 1917 to 1920, were $47,668,000,000.

Appropriations are made largely on the recommendations of the different departments of the Government. These estimates and demands are brought in, considered by the committees and two branches of Congress, and met as nearly as possible or as nearly as seems absolutely necessary.

During the 20 years preceding this war the estimates of the departments were cut down $500,000,000 by the House—a rather large sum. But it is dimmed into insignificance when compared with the accomplishment of the present Congress.

When this Congress met in May, 1919, it found that several of the appropriation bills had failed of passage in the former Democratic Congress. For these bills the departments had estimated $4,514,151,326 necessary. The Democratic House had passed bills amounting to $3,767,975,974.73. The new Republican Congress got out its pruning knife and cut the appropriations to $2,828,283,432.76.

Thus the country was saved, on these first bills alone, $1,685,867,893.64 from what the administration asked for, and $939,692,541.97 from what the former Democratic House had appropriated.

Similar big sums were cut from the estimates coming up on the regular appropriation bills at the second session. It is hard for a governmental function to reduce its own activities or estimates. The departments all want to extend rather than reduce. Somebody must go in with the ax, and this Congress has used the ax freely.

The administrative departments estimated their needs at $6,334,312,929.46.

This Congress appropriated for these items $4,859,890,327.80.

So, on the regular appropriation bills, the Republican Congress saved the people the magnificent sum of $1,474,422,692.16.

If this Congress had no more to its credit than the saving of money—the cutting down of extravagances in governmental affairs—it would be a notable Congress in the country's history.

But there is another story worth telling.

The West has big interests and few Representatives in the House. The 11 Western States have representation as follows: Colorado, 4; New Mexico, 1; Arizona, 1; Utah, 2; Nevada, 1; California, 11; Wyoming, 1; Idaho, 2; Montana, 2; Washington, 5; Oregon, 3; having altogether only 33 Members. The State of New York alone has 43 Members and Pennsylvania has 36. So it can be seen that the West does not dominate the House. But it has taken care of itself fairly well. Fortunately, the leader of the majority comes from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL], and is of large influence in the House, both because of large ability and long service. Wyoming has been wise in retaining his services in Congress over many years. Many States have lost much by changing Representatives frequently. No new Member can cut much of a figure in any legislative body. In no such body does long service count for so much as in the Congress.

From the standpoint of pork-barrel bills for the West, there is nothing to brag about. This has been a porkless Congress, thanks to those in control.

But some of the big measures passed have been of special interest to the West. I might mention among these:

The railroad legislation.
The oil-leasing act.
The water-power act.
Reclamation acts.

THE RAILROAD LEGISLATION.

When the Congress voted to turn the railroads back to private ownership a sigh of relief went up from the land. That Government operation had been an expensive failure was apparent to all. Some of the railroad employees opposed the move and still advocate Government ownership of one form or another. Some railroad employees give credit to Government operation for big wages. But even all the railroad employees do not advocate Government ownership, and many are smart enough to appreciate the fact that war times and not Government control are responsible for present salaries.

The great majority of the people who are not interested in railroad stocks or railroad jobs are strongly opposed to the nationalization of industry. The vote in the Congress fairly represented the people of the country, I believe, and many who voted against this bill are bitter opponents of Government ownership and voted against this particular bill for other reasons. The vote in the House was: For, 249; against, 150; in the Senate: For, 47; against 17.

The West is interested in this subject perhaps more than other sections. The West has been built up and developed along the lines of the railroads. These roads would probably never have been built under Government ownership. The initiative of private industry has always been more enterprising and bold in its undertaking than governmental functions. The future of the West is undoubtedly brighter under private enterprise than under governmental control. The blighting effect of Government dictation and bureaucratic control over the resources and enterprises of the West has been felt in many quarters.

The railroad legislation may not be perfect. It was the best bill that could be gotten through at this session. It is not permanent law and can be amended at the will of the people through Congress.

The legislation is too big a subject to discuss here in full, but I want to quote Senator CUMMINS on one of the most criticized subjects—the alleged guaranty.

In a recent address, explaining the new railroad law, Senator ALBERT B. CUMMINS, of Iowa, demonstrated the urgent need of the legislation and disproved some misrepresentations concerning it. He showed that farmers and other shippers have suffered great loss, due to inadequacy of railroad equipment, and that the railroads are without funds to purchase cars and engines. He explained that the new law authorizes short-time loans of $300,000,000, but that additional funds will be necessary, which must be raised by other means.

"To accomplish this end," said Senator CUMMINS, "the law establishes a rule of rate making for the guidance of the Interstate Commerce Commission, to continue during a period of two years. The rule directs the commission to adjust rates of transportation so that they will, as nearly as practicable, yield an income equal to 5½ per cent of the value of the railroad property as determined by the commission. This does not mean that each railroad will earn a net income equal to 5½ per cent. Under such a basis some of them will earn 2 per cent, some 4 per cent, some 6 per cent, some 8 per cent, a few more than 8, and a few less than 2. And in order to guard against excessive incomes any railroad earning in any year more than 6 per cent upon the value of its property must pay one-half of the excess above 6 per cent to the Government, creating a fund from which the commission may make loans to railroad companies upon proper security for the purpose of purchasing the equipment and facilities of which the country is in such dire need.

"Ignorance and malice have conspired to misrepresent this part of the law. The people are being told that Congress has guaranteed a return of 5½ per cent to the railroads, including all their watered stock. This statement is wickedly false. The provision is not a guaranty in any sense. It creates no obligation upon the part of the Government, and not one penny can ever be paid under it from the Treasury. Furthermore, it is not a guaranty, because, in fixing rates, the commission must estimate the volume of the traffic for the ensuing year, and that estimate may, of course, be above or below the traffic actually moved. Moreover, the commission must estimate the cost of maintenance and operation for a future period, and it is manifest that this can not be reduced to a certainty.

"The Constitution forbids rates which will yield, taken the country over, less than a fair return; and in these days it will not be insisted by any fair-minded man that 5½ per cent is an excessive return. Nor does the provision permit the commission to consider water and worthless stocks and bonds, or stocks and bonds of any kind. The commission is to consider only the real value of the railroad property actually used in the service of transportation. The basis of 5½ per cent is a temporary measure to meet an acknowledged emergency.

"It has been said by some superficial or malicious critics that under this provision railroad companies can expend recklessly and unnecessarily large sums for maintenance and operation. There is not the least foundation for this criticism. The act specifically provides that the commission must take into account honest, efficient, and economical management of existing transportation facilities, and further it gives the commission authority to make rules controlling expenditures for maintenance. The Railroad Labor Board adjudicates disputes respecting wages. So the public is protected at every point."

THE OIL-LEASING BILL.

The people of what are commonly known as the public-land States have always been opposed to what has been called the leasing or permit system as applied to the resources of the West lying within such States. Some five or six years ago, however, those who were best advised came to the conclusion that the thickly populated States in which there were no public lands, having the preponderance of the vote in both Houses of Congress, were determined to force upon the people of the West such a system, and that unless the West accepted such system their resources would continue to be, as they had been since about 1909 or 1910, tied up by withdrawal orders removing from exploitation and development great areas in practically all of the Western States.

To gain relief from this situation the representatives of the public-land States in Congress and many agencies outside of Congress endeavored to have passed what has been commonly called the oil-leasing bill covering the coal, phosphate, oil, oil shale, gas, and sodium lands on the public domain. Democratic Congresses struggled with the question for at least six years without being able to write upon the statute books any law which would permit of the development of such lands. It is to the credit of the present Congress that at last such a bill has been passed and become a part of the law of the land, and

under its provisions there will be afforded an opportunity to develop the resources of the West which has been practically denied for a number of years past.

The bill, while not being all that the West could wish or all to which it is entitled, is more liberal in its terms than the one which failed in the last Congress and should bring about an orderly development of our resources, which will be for the benefit of the whole country, and at the same time will place in the reclamation fund and in the treasuries of the various States in which the lands developed are situated a fair proportion of the money arising from the royalties which are to be paid.

THE WATER-POWER BILL.

Practically the same situation which has existed on the lands above referred to has applied to the great water powers of the Western States in reference to their development, and with this subject Congress has been struggling for the last six or seven years. This Congress has now passed and the President has signed a comprehensive bill authorizing the development of all of the water powers of the country under a commission composed of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of Agriculture, and while this bill is more restrictive than it should be, it also is a better bill, from the standpoint of the West, than the one which failed in the last Congress, though it also fails to give the West that liberal treatment of its resources which was extended to all of the older States in passing title from the Government to private ownership of Federal lands lying within their borders.

The importance of this water-power bill to the West can readily be realized when it is stated that the United States Geological Survey estimates that there is in excess of 44,000,000 horsepower, or 71 per cent of the total potential available horsepower in the United States, to be found within the States of Washington, Oregon, California, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Colorado, Utah, and Nevada, and that of this vast amount but 1,622,021 horsepower, or 3.68 per cent, has been developed and is now being utilized.

SOME OTHER LEGISLATION PASSED.

The constitutional amendment providing for woman's suffrage was passed and referred to the States for ratification. This was a happy consummation of 50 years of work and hopes of the women of the land.

The prohibition-enforcement act was passed over the President's veto.

The daylight-saving act was repealed, being passed over the President's veto.

The incorporation of the American Legion.

Amendment to the war-risk insurance act increasing the allowance in certain classes of serious injury.

Creation of office of General of the Army of the United States in terms providing for the appointment of John J. Pershing to that office.

The Sweet bill amending the war-risk insurance act, with the view of increasing the efficiency of the bureau and greatly liberalizing the provisions of the act in the payment of compensation to disabled soldiers, sailors, and marines.

An act authorizing the Secretary of War to transfer certain surplus motor-propelled vehicles and motor equipment and road-making material to various departments of the Government and for the use of the States.

The Fuller bill, providing for increase of Civil War pensions, with a minimum of $50 monthly.

The Sells bill, providing for increase in Spanish War pensions.

A measure was enacted amending and strengthening the Lever food and fuel control law; its provisions were enlarged and severe penalties were imposed upon those found guilty of hoarding and profiteering. The law was amended so as to enable the Department of Justice to prosecute those who were responsible for the high cost of living.

The telegraph, telephone, and cables were returned to their owners by proper legislation.

A joint resolution temporarily to protect the dye industry of this country.

A bill to regulate the entry of aliens into the United States and authorizing the President to prescribe rules and regulations and fixing severe penalties for the violation of the provisions of the act.

An act making it unlawful to transport stolen automobiles and other motor vehicles in interstate commerce.

An act providing for the completion of the Alaskan Railroad and making a part of the required appropriations.

An act to provide for vocational rehabilitation and the return to civil employment of disabled persons discharged from the military or naval forces of the United States. This law will be of the greatest benefit to the brave men who entered the service and offered their lives to their country and who were disabled while performing such service.

Two acts providing for additional compensation for employees of the Postal Service.

An act to provide for the payment of travel pay to men upon discharge who enlisted in the Regular Army prior to April 2, 1917.

An act to prevent the duplication of public-health activities. It was shown that in the city of Washington there were over 40 different branches engaged in public-health activities, many of which involved an unnecessary duplication of work.

Provision for naturalization service and appropriating approximately $390,000 for Americanization work.

An act to exclude certain radical classes of aliens from the United States, and provisions for the enforcement of the immigration law.

An act requiring heads of departments to purchase from other departments materials and supplies no longer needed because of the cessation of war activities.

Placing certain medical and surgical supplies at the disposal of the American Red Cross.

Preventing Government employees from representing those who have claims against the Government.

Providing for the transportation of alien enemies to places of internment and to remove them to the countries of which they are citizens.

Authorizing the leasing of mineral lands within Indian reservations in certain States.

Prohibiting the payment of propaganda by executive departments from public funds. This will lead to prohibiting an abuse of the use of Government funds by heads of departments.

There were covered into the Treasury unexpended balances to the amount of $95,000,000.

The several reclamation projects under way have been well taken care of.

The civil-service retirement law will enable old men in the Government service to be retired, to the mutual benefit of themselves and the Government.

An act to provide for vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry.

The shipping bill.

The Army and National Guard reorganization bill and amending the national-defense act.

An act to establish a Woman's Bureau in the Department of Labor.

An act giving preference rights to soldiers in homestead entries.

IMPORTANT BILLS VETOED.

The country has been working for a budget system for many years. This Congress passed a very complete budget bill, which was vetoed by the President.

The country is anxious to get on a peace-time basis and get away from the war-time laws. So the Congress passed a resolution declaring a termination of a state of war. The President vetoed this resolution.

The Congress passed a joint resolution repealing all war laws with the exception of the Lever Food Control Act and the trading-with-the-enemy act, but the President vetoed this act.

MANY INTRODUCED—FEW PASSED.

It may interest gentlemen of the House as well as the public to know that there were introduced in the House during this Congress 14,460 bills and 381 joint resolutions, and in the Senate 4,511 bills and 210 joint resolutions.

There were passed and enacted into laws 279 public acts, 72 private acts, and 52 joint resolutions.

OF A PERSONAL NATURE.

This is my first term. New Members do not run the House. I have not tried to upset the customs nor change the rules nor overburden the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I have been busy and have enjoyed my work. I was highly honored in being put on the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, one of the large exclusive committees. Having served as postmaster at Canon City, Colo., and being a publisher, I find that many of the problems coming before this committee are familiar to me.

I appreciate the friendships made in the House and Senate and the many courtesies shown me by the many Members.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I wish to conclude these remarks by inserting a story told of a part of my work as seen by a Washington correspondent.

A CONGRESSMAN AT WORK.

[By Louis Ludlow, Washington correspondent, in Pueblo Chieftain.]

The duties of a Congressman have grown greatly in the past few years. Ten years ago Congress was not in session more than half the time, perhaps less. During the past four years it has been in session most all of the time, and Members feel that in future years they will have little time to enjoy back home, where their honors are most appreciated.

Besides requiring a Member now to spend most of his time in Washington, the work to be done by the Member has grown greatly since the World War began.

A Congressman now has practically two jobs to work at, either one of which would keep an active man pretty busy all of the time. The House meets in session every day in the week. It takes no week-end recess and observes few holidays. It meets at 12 o'clock noon and runs until 5 or 6 o'clock, and sometimes later. Committee meetings occur in the morning and at nights. To keep up with legislative matters would keep any man pretty busy.

The office work has grown with the war. If a Congressman did nothing more than look after the many things that come to him from the district, he would have long hours and plenty to do. With the committee work and the sessions to attend, a Member must do the office and departmental work in between times and at night. There are many lights burning in the House Office Building every night.

A hundred letters would be a pretty big day's mail in any business house back home. But I saw 200 letters on Congressman GUY U. HARDY's desk last Monday morning. When he left the mail, the mail carrier said: "I leave more letters in this office than in any other office on the floor." The secretary told me that Mr. HARDY seldom gets less than 100 letters a day and often more.

A Congressman's letters are on every conceivable subject. A few relate to legislation. Some are requests for bulletins and garden seeds. From the Western States many relate to public-land office matters, and a Colorado Representative is a frequent caller at the General Land Office, looking after the interests of his constituents. All Members get many letters from ex-service men and all are anxious to give all assistance possible to these patriots.

As a Washington correspondent for one of the great western dailies, I have covered the House Office Building for several years. I have seen Members come and go, and I have observed the work grow until, as has been suggested, it has become a two-man job.

GUY U. HARDY, though a new Member, has set a pace for many of the olders Members in performing service for the ex-service men and their families. The most of his 100 or more letters a day relate to their affairs. He has a large district with many isolated points. The boys in small towns and in the country have not the advantage of a recruiting station or a Red Cross establishment to drop in for information and help. So they write to HARDY, their Congressman, and he looks after their business like a father. The Lord only knows how they have found out so generally that he can help them, but they surely have gotten the information, as his daily mail so fully indicates.

You wonder what they all want. Well, here are a few of the things: Many men want their bonus, many have travel pay to adjust, some officers have lost-baggage claims. Many allotment and allowance claims have been bungled and need adjustment. Some paid for their bonds and never got them. Some want their insurance straightened out or converted and do not know how to go about it. Many have lost their discharge papers and want duplicates. Some need help in getting their compensation adjusted or vocational-training information. Many, in the country especially, need help in getting the uniforms they are entitled to. All are entitled to a service button, which Mr. HARDY gets and sends to all who write him. Many letters come from mothers who need insurance adjustments, to get their young boys out of the service, and now letters are coming in from mothers who want the bodies of their boys brought back from France.

Of course, all of these matters are not necessarily the duties of a Congressman, and many of them could be accomplished without his aid, but many folks do not know how to go at it, and many who do have found out to their delight that Congressman HARDY has been able to do more for them in a week or so than they have been able to do through months of correspondence. Mr. HARDY has simply made a specialty of this work, knows where to go and how to go about it, and he gets results. And he takes as much pleasure in it as if each boy's case was that of his own son.

I suppose every Congressman has had some difficult cases and unusual experiences. Here is one I think is worth telling: The day before Christmas, on my rounds, I dropped in to see HARDY. He was out. His secretary told me he was down trying to get a boy out of jail. That night I heard the story. The day before, a young soldier, a Regular, came over to the House Office Building with a hard-luck story. His chum was in the guardhouse charged with stealing an automobile tire. His chum had served nearly seven years in the Regular Army and was just about to be discharged. In fact, his discharge was made out and was on the general's desk ready to be delivered. The boy had hoped to get out for Christmas. He was a truck driver assigned to Walter Reed Hospital. A few days before Christmas he brought a large tire into the shop, which he said he had found. An officer in another department down town traced the tire to the hospital and had the boy arrested and thrown into the guardhouse. The friend found little luck in getting help until he told somebody that the father of the boy lived in Pueblo, Colo. Then he was passed on to HARDY, who represents the Pueblo district. HARDY used the phone a good deal that night, convinced himself that it was a worthy case, and got a line on the officers who would have to be seen. The next day he spent the whole day driving around the city through a fierce blizzard seeing the people interested. He wound up at Walter Reed with all the charges withdrawn, and convinced the general that the discharge should be signed and delivered before Christmas. It wasn't a case so much of pull or influence as one for diplomacy and human sympathy.

I asked HARDY, "Did the boy steal the tire?" "Oh, I don't know," he replied, "but I don't care if he did; I'd have done the same thing for him if I had had serious doubts about the matter. I think any boy who has served in the American Army for seven years is entitled to the benefit of any doubt and surely deserves to go back into civilian life under the most favorable circumstances."

Congressman HARDY has had between 3,000 and 4,000 cases up for ex-service men, and working up each case requires from 3 to 10 letters and often a visit to one of the departments.

HON. CHAMP CLARK'S ADVICE.

Out of this service has grown real practical experience and an extensive acquaintance with Members of Congress and the various chiefs of bureaus, divisions, and departments, which is not only valuable to my constituency but the source of no little pleasure to me. The experience thus gained is an asset the importance of which was clearly pointed out by ex-Speaker CHAMP CLARK, the great Democratic leader, in an address delivered by him on the subject of "The making of a Representative." At the time he delivered the address in 1916 the ex-Speaker was serving his twenty-second year as a Congressman, and therefore knew whereof he spoke. He said:

"A man has to learn to be a Representative just as he must learn to be a blacksmith, a carpenter, a farmer, an engineer, a lawyer, or a doctor.

* * * * * * *

"It is an unwise performance for any district to change Representatives at short intervals. A new Congressman must begin at the foot of the class and spell up. Of course, the more brains, tact, energy, courage, and industry he has, the quicker he will get up. If he possess these qualities, and if his constituents will keep him in the House, he is as certain to rise as the sparks are to fly upward. No human power can keep him down. It is only fair and rational to assume that every Representative's constituents desire to see him among the 'top-notchers.'

* * * * * * *

"No man should be elected to the House simply to gratify his ambition. All Members should be elected for the good of the country.

"The best rule, it seems to me, is for a district to select a man young enough to learn and to grow, with at least fair capacity, industrious, honest, energetic, sober, and courageous, and keep him here so long as he discharges his duties faithfully and well. Such a man will gradually rise to high position and influence in the House. His wide acquaintance with Members helps him amazingly in doing things. We live in parlous times. Abraham Lincoln's favorite argument for his own re-election was that it is unwise to swap horses in the middle of the river—which applies to Congressmen as well as Presidents.

"I can speak freely on this subject without violating the proprieties, for my constituents have kept me here 22 years, and for 20 years have given me nominations without opposition, for all of which favors I thank them from the bottom of my heart. Their generous action and unwavering friendship have enabled

me to devote all my time to the public service. I have not been compelled to spend any portion of my time in 'mending my fences.' My constituents have attended to that. God bless them!"

MEMBERS PAY FOR SPEECHES.

Of course, it is well known to Members, but it may be of interest to the public to know, that speeches sent out by Members of Congress are not furnished free by the Government, but are paid for by the individual Members. The cost at the Government Printing Office is about the same as the cost would be at my own print shop in Colorado. Members spend about $75,000 a year for such speeches printed.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS T. McFADDEN,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. McFADDEN. Mr. Speaker, on April 19, 1920, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a decision in the case of the First National Bank of Canton *v.* John Skelton Williams, Comptroller of the Currency, which is of vital interest and incalculable benefit to the national banks of the United States. The character and purpose of the suit are succinctly stated by Mr. Justice McReynolds, delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court:

> Appellant, whose place of business is within the middle district of Pennsylvania, brought this suit in the United States District Court for that district, seeking an injunction to prevent John Skelton Williams, Comptroller of the Currency, from doing certain things under color of his office declared to be threatened, unlawful, arbitrary, and oppressive.
>
> The bill alleges that, in order to injure complainant's president, toward whom he entertained personal ill will, the comproller determined to destroy its business, and to that end he had maliciously persecuted and oppressed it for three years, in the following ways among others: By often demanding special reports and information beyond the powers conferred upon him by law; by disclosing confidential and official information concerning it to banks, Members of Congress, representatives of the press, and the public generally; by inciting litigation against it and its officers; by publishing and disseminating false statements charging it with unlawful acts and improper conduct and reflecting upon its solvency; and by distributing to depositors, stockholders, and others alarming statements intended to affect its credit, etc. And further that, unless restrained, he would continue these and similar malicious and oppressive practices.

Prior to May 1, 1919, the comptroller's activities toward the bank were such that its reputation and credit were being rapidly undermined and the institution itself placed in imminent peril of destruction. It appeared that unless the protection of the law could be invoked this reputable, prosperous, and growing national bank would be ruined. In this extremity the bank was advised by its counsel that its only salvation lay in the issuance of an injunction by a Federal court. At this moment of extreme peril the bank was confronted by the following dilemma:

As a general rule the Federal court has no jurisdiction over the person of the defendant unless its process be served upon him in the district in which the action is commenced. Since the comptroller is located in Washington, this would have necessitated the commencement of a suit in the District of Columbia, far from the home of the bank, where it and its officers were unknown, involving costly delays due to the distance, the great expense, inconvenience, and extreme difficulty in bringing witnesses and voluminous bank records. Therefore a suit in the District of Columbia would have afforded little, if any, real remedy in such a crisis. Accordingly such a right to an injunction was a mere theoretical protection without practical value. The bank was, however, advised that under the special provisions of the national-bank act a suit might be commenced in its home district in Pennsylvania; that service of process could be made upon the comptroller in the District of Columbia, or wherever else he might be found. Such a suit was accordingly commenced in this manner. The procedure was without precedent. No court had ever clearly held in a similar case that jurisdiction could be thus acquired. The defendant immediately moved to quash this service and to dismiss the bill upon the ground that this service was invalid and that the court therefore never acquired jurisdiction over the defendant. The district court sustained the comptroller's contention; it dismissed the bill; it decided that service of process upon the comptroller in such a case as this was governed by the usual and general provisions of law, and that the provisions of the national-bank act did not authorize a suit of this kind.

But this decision has now been reversed. The Supreme Court of the United States has unequivocally decided that an action to enjoin the comptroller upon the grounds stated in the opinion is permitted and governed by the national-bank act; and that such a suit is properly instituted in the Federal district where the bank is located; and that service of process can properly be made upon the comptroller wherever found. This is the first decision to this effect ever made.

The importance and value of this decision are twofold:

First. The opinion proceeds upon the assumption that if the facts alleged and summarized in the portion of the opinion above quoted are approved upon the trial, an injunction will be granted; whereas up to the present decision it has been universally assumed that the powers of the comptroller are absolute, that his acts are beyond the controlling power of the courts, and that his activities are beyond the reach of the law.

Second. It is now firmly established that in any case wherein a national bank is aggrieved by arbitrary or oppressive action on the part of the comptroller or his agents it may seek an injunction from the Federal judge in its own district where it is located, and it may serve the process upon the comptroller wherever he is found without any difficulty.

There can be no doubt that if a national bank is obliged, as has hitherto been believed, to commence a suit against the comptroller in the District of Columbia only, where the comptroller is located, then the remedy as a practical matter is of no value, because of the inconvenience, delays, and expense incident to litigation in a district far distant from the home of the bank. To compel a national bank far distant from Washington to seek protection in the Washington courts is plainly, in effect, to deny it legal redress. Under the decision of the Supreme Court the protection of the law has been made available to a national bank wherever located, in its own home, where its reputation and that of its officers is known, and where it can seek and obtain its remedies speedily and without unnecessary expense.

The establishment of such a legal remedy will go far to make it unnecessary to avail of it. Its existence will in itself constitute an effective deterrent against arbitrary, oppressive, or unlawful practices.

So much for what has been accomplished. Benefits of at least equal importance to national banks remain to be gained through the trial and final determination of the suit. The Supreme Court has defined a speedy and readily accessible remedy. It remains for the court, upon the trial, to define the wrongs for which the remedy may be invoked. Specifically, it is still to be determined whether or not the comptroller may harass and oppress a national bank through frequent and unnecessary bank examinations or by calling continuously and without good reason for special reports; whether he may enforce the payment of penalties for failure to comply with such calls; whether he may use his office for the purpose of obtaining information for public distribution, with a view to destroying the reputation and credit of the officers of the bank or of the bank itself; whether he may, by arbitrary grouping of legally independent loans, charge that the bank is guilty of making excessive loans, and may demand that such loans be called; whether his agents will be permitted by the character and length of their examinations and their conduct during such examinations to impose unnecessary burdens upon the bank and excite discussion or doubt with respect to its financial condition; whether his bank examiners may open the private papers and packages of customers left with the bank for safe-keeping; whether he or his agents may disclose to competing banks or the public generally confidential information obtained in his official capacity; whether he or his agents may incite litigation against a national bank on the basis of information officially obtained; whether he may compel the production of private books or papers for the purpose of subjecting a bank or its officers to penalties or forfeitures or criminal prosecutions; whether he may cause to be called wherever found the loans of an officer of a bank for the purpose of destroying his credit and that of his bank; whether he may cause to be published in the newspapers or circulated by letter over his signature, reports and statements concerning the bank or its officers reflecting upon the character and reputation of the institution and tending to destroy its credit.

These questions are typical of the many that must be decided in this case. The experience of all national banks during the administration of the present comptroller has demonstrated the fact that nothing can be more important than clearly and precisely to define the limits of power and authority within which the comptroller may properly act. With his powers defined, as they must be in this case, and with a simple and readily accessible remedy provided under the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States already rendered, the national banks will know how to protect themselves against oppression and auto-

cratic abuse of power of the character described in the complaint of the First National Bank of Canton, and will have a bulwark of protection and safety which they have never heretofore enjoyed.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to insert a certified copy of the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States as rendered by Mr. Justice McReynolds:

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

(No. 618.—October term, 1919.)

First National Bank of Canton, Pennsylvania, appellant, *v.* John Skelton Williams, Comptroller of the Currency. Appeal from the District Court of the United States for the Middle District of Pennsylvania. April 19, 1920.

Mr. Justice McReynolds delivered the opinion of the court.

Appellant, whose place of business is within the middle district of Pennsylvania, brought this suit in the United States district court for that district, seeking an injunction to prevent John Skelton Williams, Comptroller of the Currency, from doing certain things under color of his office declared to be threatened, unlawful, arbitrary, and oppressive.

The bill alleges that in order to injure complainant's president, toward whom he entertained personal ill will, the comptroller determined to destroy its business, and to that end he had maliciouly persecuted and oppressed it for three years in the following ways, among others: By often demanding special reports and information beyond the powers conferred upon him by law; by disclosing confidential and official information concerning it to banks, Members of Congress, representatives of the press, and the public generally; by inciting litigation against it and its officers; by publishing and disseminating false statements charging it with unlawful acts and improper conduct and reflecting upon its solvency; and by distributing to depositors, stockholders, and others alarming statements intended to affect its credit, etc. And, further, that unless restrained, he would continue these and similar malicious and oppressive practices.

Williams is a citizen of Virginia, officially stationed at Washington. He was not summoned while in the middle district of Pennsylvania, but a subpœna was served upon him in Washington by the United States marshal. Having specially appeared, he successfully challenged the jurisdiction of the court; and the cause is here upon certificate to that effect.

Generally a district court can not acquire jurisdiction over an individual without service of process upon him while in the district for which it is held. But here a national bank seeks to enjoin the comptroller, and the claim is that by statutory direction the proceeding must be had in the district where the association is located and not elsewhere. The court below took the contrary view. (— Fed., —.)

Determination of the matter requires consideration of three sections of the Judicial Code:

"SEC. 24. The district courts shall have original jurisdiction as follows:

* * * * * * *

"Sixteenth. Of all cases commenced by the United States, or by direction of any officer thereof, against any national banking association, and cases for winding up the affairs of any such bank; and of all suits brought by any banking association established in the district for which the court is held, under the provisions of title 'National banks,' Revised Statutes, to enjoin the Comptroller of the Currency, or any receiver acting under his direction, as provided by said title. And all national banking associations established under the laws of the United States shall, for the purposes of all other actions by or against them, real, personal, or mixed, and all suits in equity, be deemed citizens of the States in which they are respectively located.

"SEC. 49. All proceedings by any national banking association to enjoin the Comptroller of the Currency, under the provisions of any law relating to national banking associations, shall be had in the district where such association is located.

"SEC. 51. Except as provided in the five succeeding sections, no person shall be arrested in one district for trial in another in any civil action before a district court; and, except as provided in the six succeeding sections, no civil suit shall be brought in any district court against any person by any original process or proceeding in any other district than that whereof he is an inhabitant; but where the jurisdiction is founded only on the fact that the action is between citizens of different States suit shall be brought only in the district of the residence of either the plaintiff or the defendant."

If sections 24 and 49, properly construed, restrict this proceeding to the district where the bank is located, they displace section 51 pro tanto and authorize service of process upon defendant wherever found. (United States *v.* Congress Construction Co., 222 U. S., 199, 203.)

It is said for appellee that both sections 24 and 49 relate to injunction proceedings brought under the national banking law—such proceedings as are thereby expressly authorized and no others. And, further, that such law only authorizes suit by a bank to enjoin the comptroller when he undertakes to act because of its alleged refusal to redeem circulating notes. (R. S., sec. 5237.)

The act of February 25, 1863, establishing national banks (ch. 58, 12 Stats., 665, 681)—

"SEC. 59. *And be it further enacted*, That suits, actions, and proceedings by and against any association under this act may be had in any circuit, district, or Territorial court of the United States held within the district in which such association may be established."

An act to provide a national currency, secured by a pledge of United States bonds, approved June 3, 1864 (ch. 106, 13 Stats., 99, 116)—

"SEC. 57. *And be it further enacted*, That suits, actions, and proceedings against any association under this act, may be had in any circuit, district, or Territorial court of the United States held within the district in which such association may be established; or in any State, county, or municipal court in the county or city in which said association is located, having jurisdiction in similar cases: *Provided, however*, That all proceedings to enjoin the comptroller under this act shall be had in a circuit, district, or Territorial court of the United States, held in the district in which the association is located."

In Kennedy *v.* Gibson (1869) (8 Wall., 498, 506) this court ruled that section 57 should be construed as if it read, "And be it further enacted, that suits, actions, and proceedings by and against," etc., the words "by and" having been accidentally omitted. "It is not to be supposed that Congress intended to exclude associations from suing in the courts where they can be sued." "Such suits may still be brought by the associations in the courts of the United States." And it further held, "that receivers also may be sued in the courts of the United States by virtue of the act, without reference to the locality of their personal citizenship."

The Revised Statutes—

"SEC. 629. The circuit courts shall have original jurisdiction as follows: * * *

"Tenth. Of all suits by or against any banking association established in the district for which the court is held, under any law providing for national banking associations.

"Eleventh. Of all suits brought by (or against) any banking association established in the district for which the court is held, under the provisions of title 'The national banks,' to enjoin the Comptroller of the Currency, or any receiver acting under his direction, as provided by said title."

"SEC. 736. All proceedings by any national banking association to enjoin the Comptroller of the Currency, under the provisions of any law relating to national banking associations, shall be had in the district where such an association is located."

Parts of the foregoing subsections 10 and 11 were joined in subsection 16, section 24, and section 736 became section 49, Judicial Code.

What constitutes a cause arising "under" the laws of the United States has been often pointed out by this court. One does so arise where an appropriate statement by the plaintiff, unaided by any anticipation or avoidance of defenses, discloses that it really and substantially involves a dispute or controversy respecting the validity, construction, or effect of an act of Congress. If the plaintiff thus asserts a right which will be sustained by one construction of the law, or defeated by another, the case is one arising under that law. (Tennessee *v.* Union and Planters' Bank, 152 U. S., 454; Boston and Montana Mining Co. *v.* Montana Ore Purchasing Co., 188 U. S., 632; Devine *v.* Los Angeles, 202 U. S., 313; Taylor *v.* Anderson, 234 U. S., 74; Hopkins *v.* Walker, 244 U. S., 486, 489.) Clearly the plaintiff's bill discloses a case wherein his right to recover turns on the construction and application of the national banking law; and we think the proceeding is one to enjoin the comptroller under provisions of that law within the true intendment of the Judicial Code.

The decree below must be—

Reversed.

A true copy.

Test:

_____,

Clerk Supreme Court United States.

The Peace Resolution.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN JACOB ROGERS,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 8, 1920.

The House had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 327) terminating the state of war between the Imperial German Government and the United States.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I doubt if there are a dozen men in this Chamber who did not have a feeling of the keenest disappointment when we learned that the treaty had finally failed in the Senate. I doubt if there are a dozen men in the House, on the other hand, who if they had voted in accordance with their own convictions, without the trammel of party or personal dictation, would not have supported many of the reservations which were before the Senate, and perhaps they would have supported all of them.

I doubt if there is any man in this House, I doubt if there is any man in the country, who has considered the question who does not freely recognize that a treaty is the best way to end war, and that consequently a treaty was and is the best way to end this war.

But, gentlemen, the treaty has failed, and the task of patriotic men now is to do the next best thing. We believe that in presenting this resolution we are doing the next best thing.

It seems to me that in any discussion of this question we must consider the responsibility for the failure of the treaty. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUDDLESTON] dealt with some of the reasons why the treaty failed. He quoted certain of the recent utterances of the President of the United States that showed his attitude on the treaty reservations, but the issues by the time those utterances were made were pretty well crystallized, the lines were drawn, and it was probably more difficult at that stage for the President or for the other side to recede from their previous position.

I want to read to the House, although it will not be novel to many, the challenge from the White House that first informed the country how the President stood in the treaty issue. The President came before the Senate and presented the treaty in person on the 10th day of last July. About a week after that time he came to the Capitol, and, according to the press reports, had a conference of an hour and three-quarters with Senator HITCHCOCK, the minority leader, representing the administration on this question. Mr. HITCHCOCK was interviewed by the newspaper men immediately after that conference and announced

that the treaty must be ratified without the dotting of an "i" or the crossing of a "t." That sounded the keynote, gentlemen, of the President's campaign, for he was then speaking through the mouth of his recognized spokesman.

Mr. HITCHCOCK continued:

President Wilson, in my opinion, has not changed his position regarding the reservations a particle. My position, which he thoroughly approves, is to insist on ratification without any change either by amendment or reservation.

That was the policy of the President from the moment that the treaty was first officially before the Senate. The consequence we know; the consequence was natural. The gentlemen of the Senate who put party allegiance first stayed to the end in supporting the program of the President.

I desire to read, if you please, a sentence from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 19, during the course of one of the speeches that immediately preceded the final action, the final rejection of the treaty by the Senate. I do not quote the utterance of a Republican Senator. I do not quote the utterance of an insurgent Democrat. I quote from the speech of one of the strong party adherents on the Democratic side of the United States Senate. I quote from the RECORD, page 4596, from the speech of Senator OWEN, of Oklahoma. He said:

I do not believe there is a single Democratic Senator who would not vote for this resolution of ratification if it were not for the belief of such Senators that the President desires them to defeat the resolution of ratification now pending and would regard their failure to do so as a refusal to follow his view as party leader.

That is what Senator OWEN said. In the view of that eminent Senator the result that followed was inevitable, because gentlemen on the Democratic side of the Senate put their party fealty before their duty to the country. I know of no other interpretation to be put on the words of the Senator from Oklahoma.

There is another interesting and somewhat personal side to the present phase of the controversy. I have every respect for a man who opposes a measure because he honestly deems it to be unconstitutional. Every respect is due such a man. But, gentlemen, I ask in all fairness the question whether the minority of this House in opposing this resolution on the alleged ground that it is unconstitutional are entirely candid with the House and sincerely believe that in fact it is unconstitutional?

I will tell you why I ask the question. Some of the gentlemen interested in this resolution put in a good deal of time in its preparation. I am frank to say that for myself I did not find it an easy thing to put the resolution in what I believed to be the best possible form. But before the resolution was finally drafted, before any man in this House or in this country knew in what form it would be taken up on the floor of the House, there was a singular interview, an interview on one side between Secretary of State Colby—and, gentlemen, in view of the recent occurrences I suppose we are fair in assuming that in this important matter the mind of the Secretary of State goes along with that of the President of the United States. [Laughter and applause.] The other party to that interview was the former chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, now the ranking minority member, the first signer of the minority report, Mr. FLOOD. Mr. FLOOD, after the interview with the Secretary of State came back and said, according to the press report, "Mr. Colby was of the decided opinion that the resolution would be unconstitutional." [Laughter on the Republican side.]

The resolution was not even drawn then. [Laughter.] We did not know what it would be; we did not know even within fairly elastic limits what its exact phraseology would prove to be. Yet the Secretary of State, going along with the President of the United States, airily says that any resolution is going to be unconstitutional! I ask, I say, in all candor, whether under those circumstances we are not fair in assuming that this case was prejudiced, that they were going to oppose whatever we did just because it was we who did it? [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. DAVEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS. I can not yield. There has been a good deal said about the constitutionality of this measure. I have not time to do more in my few moments than to deal with two or three of the high spots as I see them, but I shall discuss them somewhat fully in my extended remarks. I ask you to look at this constitutional question as a matter of common sense. Common sense is not always good constitutional law and good constitutional law is not always good common sense; but, speaking very generally, the two harmonize and go hand in hand. Is it not good sense to assume that the Constitution of the United States intended that Congress should have the right to end that which it admittedly has begun? Just between man and man and without examining the precedents—which, however, are all the same way—is not that good sense? I submit that it is.

There is one case in our constitutional history that I should like to deal with briefly, although it has been commented on in passing by some of the gentlemen who have preceded me. That is a case which arose in the sixties. During the Civil War another war had broken out to the south of us between Peru and Chile on the one hand and Spain on the other. Hostilities ended in that war in May, 1866, and there was no evidence of an intention on the part of the belligerents on either side ever to resume hostilities. On the other hand, there was no attempt made to conclude the hostilities by an affirmative treaty of peace, and, in fact, the treaty of peace did not follow for a good many years. The Republic of Peru, our Civil War having ended, saw an opportunity to purchase some small war vessels from the United States, and she completed arrangements for the purchase of two monitors which were then in harbor at New Orleans. In 1868 delivery to Peru was apparently imminent on the part of the United States. The Spanish minister to this country protested against the delivery upon the ground that a state of war was still in existence. If the war was ended, it was proper for the United States, of course, to make delivery to Peru, but if the war was not ended it was inadmissible for the United States as a neutral to make such delivery.

When the protest of the Spanish minister came to the State Department it was necessary for our department squarely to consider whether or not peace had come, whether or not the war had come to a close. Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, and a very able one, found it unnecessary to decide as a fact that at that moment the war had ended, but on the other hand he pointed out that probably it would be his duty to decide the question in the very near future. His language shows how he would be pretty certain to decide when the necessity arose. Here is his language:

The situation of peace may be restored by the long suspension of hostilities without a treaty of peace being made. History is full of such occurrences.

There are dozens of cases which I shall include in my remarks substantiating that explicit statement of the Secretary. He went on to say:

What period of suspension is necessary to justify the presumption of the restoration of peace has never yet been settled, and it must in every case be determined with reference to collateral facts and circumstances.

It is a question of fact, in other words, whether peace has come or war is still continuing. The chairman of the committee dealt with that question very fully, and I do not need to elaborate, even if I had the time, but on 18 different occasions the President of the United States, the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, has told us in this very Chamber that the war is ended, and, furthermore, that peace has come. He is the Commander in Chief, and we have a right to rely upon him as to information upon the state of the Union. Can we not honestly and fairly and patriotically pass this resolution in accordance with the facts that he has given us? Can you not, my Democratic friends, get over being rubber stamps for once? [Applause on the Republican side.]

Released Alien Revolutionists Again Arrested.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD with regard to the Bosco alien deportation case and similar cases, including some immigration and deportation statistics.

Mr. GARD. What was the gentleman's request?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. About the 1st of April I made a statement here in regard to the alien Bosco, who stood up in court and expressed the hope that the red flag would wave over the flag of the United States. He has now been discharged, as I thought he would be, and I desire to make some brief comment.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Reserving the right to object, may I ask the gentleman from Washington what is the name of the man?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Bosco, the alien, who was transported from New Orleans to New York, and has now been released and not deported, and has been dumped on the city of New York.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. How did he come to be released?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. By order of the Assistant Secretary of Labor.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, in April I placed in the RECORD a statement concerning Paul Bosco, ordered deported, and who was then being moved from New Orleans to New York, his case being reopened for a new hearing at the request of Attorney Weinberger. The record of this case may be found in the hearings of the House Immigration Committee on communist and anarchist deportation cases.

Bosco, who wildly proclaimed in a Federal court that he wanted the red flag to fly over the Stars and Stripes in the United States, has been set free. To complete the record, I add the following papers from the files in the case:

MAY 27, 1920.

COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION,
Washington, D. C.:

There is forwarded herewith record of a further hearing granted Paul Bosco, pursuant to the instructions contained in your letter 54616/242, dated March 29, 1920.

As might have been expected, a reopening of this case served no other purpose than to afford the alien an opportunity to deny, or at any rate attempt to modify, the testimony he gave at his hearing under the warrant of arrest.

It has frequently been held by the courts that an alien's statement during his preliminary hearing, before counsel can have an opportunity to coach him, may be used as the basis for a warrant of deportation, notwithstanding the alien's subsequent denials. The bureau has undoubtedly noted that some decisions go even further and state, in effect, that evidence obtained during such a preliminary hearing is much more likely to be correct than that given after the lawyer appears. Such is the case in this instance.

I have not the least doubt that the sentiments expressed by the alien after his sentence in Parkersburg and reiterated during his hearing before Inspector Thomas V. Kirk at Atlanta last June indicate the true state of the man's mind. I see no reason for modifying the department's previous decision and therefore recommend the alien's deportation. The bureau's file is returned herewith.

BYRON H. UHL,
Acting Commissioner. A. P. J.

JUNE 1, 1920.

From: Assistant Secretary.
To: Commissioner General.
Subject: Paul Bosco.

This alien was arrested (1) as an anarchist, (2) as believing in the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, (3) as believing in (4) and advocating the overthrow by force or violence of all forms of law, and (5) as disbelieving in all organized government.

He was examined by an immigrant inspector while in a penitentiary serving a sentence (reduced from 10 to 2 years) upon conviction under the espionage act for having during the war distributed a Socialist leaflet entitled "The Price We Pay." At that examination he had no counsel. When asked if he wished one he replied in the negative. Considering, however, that he was at the time in a prison far distant from his home, I opened his case for rehearing in order to make the offer of right to counsel a substantial instead of a perfunctory offer. The record of both hearings is now before me.

At the first hearing the alien testified that he was not an anarchist; that he did not know what an anarchist was until accused of being one, whereupon he had read about it and saw no objections to anarchists or their principles; that he was never identified with an anarchistic organization; that he had publicly said, when sentenced under the espionage law, that he hoped when released from the penitentiary he would find the red flag waving over the American flag, and that he still hoped so, but that he would not call that anarchy, because the red flag is an international emblem.

At his second examination the alien testified that he was not an anarchist nor a believer in the principles of anarchy; that he was not acquainted with the subject and knew nothing about it; that he was a Socialist; that for the past eight years he had been and still was a member in good standing in the Socialist Party; that he is a believer in socialism; that he believes government is necessary for the conduct of human affairs; that it is his economic belief that society should be formed on the basis of the principles of socialism; that he is not opposed to the Government of the United States; that he is not in favor of the overthrow of the Government of the United States; that his expression of a wish to see the red flag wave over the United States flag was, in his own language, for these reasons: "I am an internationalist; the red flag is the national emblem" [evidently a slip of the tongue or a stenographer's error for "international emblem"]. "I didn't think it any more wrong to be an internationalist than was the United States in connection with the League of Nations"; that in saying the world should be organized on an international basis he didn't mean that the Government of the United States should be done away with, but that the people of the world should organize a world brotherhood; that as to flags, the American flag should be for the American people and the red flag for the international people; and that the only activities he has ever taken part in have been those of the Socialist Party.

Those statements of the alien are the only evidence in the case. There is nothing in the record by way of direct statement or inference to contradict them. It follows that if alien is to be deported it must be because those statements directly prove or indicate his guilt on one or more of the charges set out in the warrant of arrest. That they neither prove nor indicate that alien is an anarchist, which is one charge in the warrant, is too obvious for discussion. He can not be both an anarchist and a Socialist, since the former term denotes an antigovernmentalist and the latter a governmentalist—two directly opposite states of mind.

The same observation applies to the warrant charge that alien disbelieves in all organized government. Also, to the warrant charge that he advocates the overthrow of all forms of law. Likewise, to the warrant charge that he believes in the overthrow of all forms of law. The only remaining warrant charge is that he believes in the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States. This is not proved by his membership in the Socialist Party, nor by his activities in that party, nor by the war-time offense of which he was convicted and for which he has served the sentence imposed. The only possible basis for a conclusion that alien believes in overthrowing the Government of the United States by force and violence, which is the sole remaining warrant charge, is his declaration about the red flag and the American flag when he was sentenced. If his statement of what he meant by that declaration be true, the declaration implies nothing hostile to the Government of the United States. While the alien's utterance might excite popular denunciation, it is not enough, even without his explanatory statement, to justify a deliberate conclusion by any tribunal that he believes in the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence.

The alien came to the United States in 1911, when he was 19 years old. He applied for naturalization in 1914. He has been a glass cutter since he was 14 years old. Until his arrest under the espionage act he was a dues-paying member of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union and of the American Federation of Labor, as well as of the Socialist Party. Apart from his conviction under the espionage act, he appears to have been always a law-abiding resident.

The evidence does not sustain the charges in the warrant of arrest, and the warrant is therefore hereby canceled.

LOUIS F. POST,
Assistant Secretary.

Bosco was represented by Harry Weinberger. Our head governmental official was sympathetic. No one stood up for the Government in the final state of the Bosco proceedings.

Mr. Weinberger has written me a letter objecting to certain reflections on him in my remarks on this floor and in the report of the committee. The report says:

Weinberger has appeared in numerous cases for I. W. W.'s, anarchists, communists, and other brands of radicals, commonly calling themselves "Class-war prisoners," which means a radical arrested and charged with, or who has been convicted of, the crimes of treason, syndicalism, sedition, etc. Some aliens have been turned over to him in his custody as their attorney by the Department of Labor. At least one of these he has been unable to produce when called upon to do so.

I said something about Weinberger's law practice. I desire to do him no injustice. I do not know that his practice is chiefly in behalf of the Boscos, the Emma Goldmans, and the Berkmans or not. He says in his letter to me:

As far as I am concerned, my duty as an attorney has always been that when I take a man's case I take it whole-heartedly. I urge in his behalf everything that can be properly urged. I talk for him as he would talk for himself if he had my training, or if he had my knowledge of the law. That is my duty, and that is the law, and that is the Constitution.

Mr. Weinberger also says:

At times I also have criticized some of Mr. Post's decisions, and I do not approve of the new deportation policy of the United States, where men and women are deported for merely expressing opinions as to how society should be formed different from most of our beliefs, and in some cases for only holding opinions. As for me, if I were a public official, with the duty imposed upon me of carrying out the deportation policy as laid down in the present immigration laws, it being in violation of my conscience, I would resign immediately.

Bosco himself said:

I have no objections to anarchists or their principles, as the Constitution of the United States does not forbid anarchistic propaganda or anarchistic doctrines.

Weinberger worked strenuously for Bosco, and Bosco is free, along with Sam Crane, Enrique Magon, Dudinsky, Kulman, and about 2,000 others, who preach all shades of revolution.

Why have they gone free? Attorney General Palmer answers. Testifying before the House Rules Committee, he said:

It has become perfectly apparent that Mr. Post's course in all the deportation proceedings has been dictated by his own personal view that the deportation law is wrong rather than by any desire and intention to carry out the law as enacted by the Congress. By his self-willed and autocratic substitution of his mistaken personal viewpoint for the obligation of public law, by his habitually tender solicitude for social revolution and perverted sympathy for the criminal anarchists of the country, he has consistently deprived the people of the enforcement of a law of vital importance to their peace and safety. By his wholesale jail deliveries and his release of even self-confessed anarchists of the worst type, he has utterly nullified the purpose of the Congress in passing the deportation statute and has set at large among the people the very public enemies whom it was the desire and intention of the Congress to be rid of.

The records bear testimony to the truth of the Attorney General's charges, harsh as they are. While the Department of Justice hunts down dangerous aliens, the Department of Labor considers it its duty to protect them instead of the public. Even when it admits the unlawful character of the Communist Party, it finds ways to shelter individual alien communists. Thus the very persons against whom the people of the United States have a right to be protected have been allowed to continue their criminal propaganda.

In many cities dangerous aliens who have been released under the Assistant Secretary's hair-trigger decisions are being rearrested and convicted under State laws. In Seattle and San Francisco this has happened and only a day or two ago, in Waterbury, Conn., an attempt was made to destroy by dynamite the house of a manufacturer whose family and he were asleep in it at the time. There is not a doubt that an alien revolutionist was responsible for that crime. The superintendent of police at Waterbury is quoted in connection with the matter as follows:

Anarchists arrested by Department of Justice agents in the raids of last March have returned here. They are active in agitation and we have been compelled to keep them under surveillance. So far as I

know not a single one of the 200 prisoners taken here in raids ever was deported. Many of them, including those I mentioned as back here, were released, after they got as far as Ellis Island, through rulings by Assistant Secretary Post.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, it is intolerable that a necessary law should be continuously outraged and notorious enemies of the country be encouraged and supported by an official of the Government which they seek to overthrow. The private opinions of a public official should not be allowed to lead him into overruling and breaking the law which it is his duty to enforce.

I append an interesting table:

Aliens deported from the United States since July 1, 1910, by fiscal years, and principal causes, also other causes.

During fiscal year ended June 30—	Principal causes.							Other causes.	Total.
	Mental insanity, etc.	Loathsome or dangerous, contagious diseases.	Public charges.	Immoral cases.	Entered without inspection.	Criminals.	Anarchists.		
1911	670	155	711	422	555	90	.....	185	2,788
1912	620	129	678	317	477	63	4	168	2,456
1913	677	201	1,262	508	464	124	4	221	3,461
1914	871	193	1,356	701	1,055	157	3	274	4,610
1915	399	113	850	363	408	105	1	325	2,564
1916	320	100	1,081	437	360	114	.....	369	2,781
1917	170	63	718	442	180	95	.....	185	1,853
1918	103	43	401	377	380	57	2	206	1,569
1919	154	77	1,150	378	183	175	37	914	3,068
1920[1]	292	75	633	244	55	193	279	433	2,204
Total...	4,276	1,149	8,840	4,189	4,117	1,173	330	3,280	27,354

[1] Nine months ended April 30, 1920, only.

A Review of the Work and Accomplishments of the First and Second Sessions of the Sixty-sixth Congress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK W. MONDELL,

OF WYOMING,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

MR. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, the first regular session of the Sixty-sixth Congress has passed into history with a record of which its Members may well be proud and which the country will heartily approve.

The Congress met in extraordinary session May 19, 1919, so that a little more than a year has elapsed since the Congress first convened. In this period the Congress has considered and passed upon great questions other than the usual and ordinary problems of legislation, such as the treaty of Versailles and the peace resolution. The Congress has also considered and disposed of legislative problems of the highest importance and most far-reaching effect, which have been pending for years, such as the budget, the oil and coal land leasing act, and the water-power act. In addition to these have been the trying problems of construction and restoration, which have been met and solved by legislation, such as the railroad transportation act, the merchant marine shipping act, the Army reorganization act, and acts of like character.

In the field of progressive policy the Congress has considered and enacted such legislation as the act for a woman's bureau in the Department of Labor, the civil-service retirement act, and the act for the vocational rehabilitation of those injured in industry. In the matter of appropriations the Congress has been required to do practically two years' work in one, for it had laid upon it at the beginning of the special session the consideration and enactment of the eight great supply bills which it was the duty of the former Congress to enact, and which that Congress had failed to pass.

THE DUTY OF CONGRESS.

In the consideration of the appropriation bills it was the duty of the Congress to restore as rapidly as possible, in the face of departmental indifference or active opposition, a condition of normal and reasonable expenditure following a period of the most reckless extravagance, and this was done in the presence and in the consideration of departmental estimates of staggering proportions.

The duty of the Congress to curtail the volume of war-time expenditures, to effect a condition of economical administration, to bring expenditures within reasonable bounds and well within the national income, would have been difficult enough had it been undertaken with the aid and assistance of administrative agencies working toward that end, but, unfortunately, with a very few laudable exceptions, the bureaus and departments of the Government seemed united in a determined effort to continue expenditures in all lines in the most profligate manner, to retain thousands of unnecessary employees, to continue, even to enlarge and extend, activities wholly unnecessary, or at the best of questionable and doubtful value to the public.

In the pursuance of this policy I regret to have to say that many of the officials of the administration were neither accurate, informed, nor properly mindful of the truth in their arguments before committees in support of the estimates. The very best that can be said for the attitude of the officials who urged extravagant expenditures is that they may have spoken through ignorance rather than out of a deliberate purpose to mislead. I make this statement with regard to the attitude of departmental officials with regret, but with full knowledge that it can not be denied by anyone sufficiently familiar with the facts to have an opinion on the subject worthy of consideration.

In this condition of affairs it was utterly impossible for the Congress to effect as great a saving in certain lines as might have been effected with even the reasonable cooperation of the officials of the administration generally, and this particularly with regard to departmental employees and in the matter of the appropriations for the Military and Naval Establishments.

It is probably true that the expenditure for the coming fiscal year for departmental employees in excess of those actually essential for the transaction of the Government business does not amount to a very great sum as compared with the sum total of appropriations. So much has been accomplished by the Congress in the face of the opposition of the departments in the reduction of the forces of Federal employees that I should not mention this matter at all were it not for the fact that the retention of unnecessary employees is one of those things that peculiarly illustrate the utter lack of regard for economy or for the businesslike handling of the Government's affairs on the part of the officials of the administration, with a few commendable exceptions.

THE RECORD OF ECONOMIES.

The Republican Sixty-sixth Congress took up its work volunteering a pledge of the closest scrutiny of estimates and of the greatest possible reduction in them consistent with the public welfare. That pledge has been gloriously redeemed, and in the face of the most united, determined, persistent pressure and demand for larger appropriations ever launched on legislative bodies by administrative and executive agencies. The detail of the savings of this Republican Congress below not only the estimates but the persistent demand of the administration, its departments and its bureaus, is highly interesting in its details, but it is even more interesting in the astounding fact that in a little more than one year during two sessions congressional appropriations for all purposes are $2,710,290,495.80 below the estimates and demands of the administration and its departments and bureaus for the same services.

It may, however, be urged that the Republican Congress is not entitled to credit for all of the great saving below the estimates in the first or special session of the Congress, inasmuch as the Democratic Sixty-fifth Congress had made considerable reductions below the estimates in the preparation of the eight supply bills which that Congress had considered and advanced to various stages of legislative procedure but had failed to enact. To be entirely frank we should, I think, base our claim for savings in the first session of the Sixty-sixth Congress on the reduction we actually made in the eight supply bills as we passed them below the amount they carried as prepared and presented by the former Democratic Congress. This was the saving which I claimed on behalf of the Republican Congress in my statement of November 19, 1919, at the close of the special session. The sum which we thus saved by reducing the amounts which these eight supply bills carried below the amounts they had carried when they had been considered and had failed in the former Congress was $939,692,541.97.

SAVINGS OF THE SECOND SESSION.

The total estimates submitted by the administration for and during the second or regular session for all purposes, regular and special, including permanent annual appropriations and

deficiencies, amounted to $6,334,312,929.46, while the sums appropriated and provided amount to $4,859,890,327.30, or a reduction below the estimates of $1,474,422,602.16. Adding to this sum $939,692,541.97, the saving of the first session, we have a grand total of $2,414,115,144.13 as the sum which this Republican Congress has saved by reducing the appropriations of the first session below the amounts the Democratic Sixty-fifth Congress proposed to appropriate for the same services and by reductions in the appropriations of the second session below the estimates of the administration.

We have just approved budget legislation, and I am hopeful of great benefits from such a system, but even a budget system of the best character that human ingenuity can devise would be of little value in saving the country from an administration so reckless in its estimates.

These tremendous economies of the Republican Congress have not been accomplished, let it be remembered, by any crude or bludgeon method of reduction. Every estimate has been carefully studied, every demand fairly weighed, every service fairly considered. Reductions have been made not in ignorance or recklessness, much less in a spirit of disregard for the needs of the public service, but with care, discrimination, and circumspection.

A PORKLESS CONGRESS.

Not only has the Sixty-sixth Congress made a remarkable record in the trimming of expenditures and the reduction of estimates, but its record is even more creditable in the fact that no appropriations have been made along lines and for purposes which the public has, with or without justification or reason, come to designate as "pork-barrel" appropriations. I am not one of those who subscribe to the notion that appropriations for public buildings, even in comparatively small towns, are necessarily improper or unwise, and under ordinary conditions and circumstances I believe a liberal public-building policy is justified.

Appropriations of that character, appropriations for expenditure in the districts of Members of Congress, appeal strongly to their constituents and are helpful to the Member, and therefore a Congress that can and does forego appropriations of this kind is certainly entitled to commendation as a Congress which places the general public interest far beyond local interest or personal advantage. This Congress has authorized no new public-building construction, and has only made appropriations for the continuation of public-building work under way as estimated to be essential by the Treasury Department.

While I represent one of the few States of the Union which never has items on river and harbor bills, I am not among those who minimize the value or necessity of river and harbor appropriations. We can not afford, even in times like these, to let up on the regular and steady development of our great harbors and waterways. Neither do I underestimate the value of the proper and reasonable improvement of the minor waterways of the country. In times like these, however, only that work should be carried on which is beyond question of value and importance to the commerce of the Nation, and this Congress has patriotically taken that view of the matter.

The Members of Congress have been willing to forego for the time their insistence upon local works and enterprises which they and their constituents believe are worthy, even though by so doing they run the risk of being charged with indifference or failure to insist upon local enterprises, and so we have a "porkless" river and harbor appropriation bill in the sense that it carries no new items or provisions of local expenditure. We believe we have, however, provided adequately for the works under way and for the projects of unquestionable value to general commerce. Beyond this the Congress, to its credit, has declined to go at this time when economy must be the watchword, and when the cost of development is excessive.

These two sessions of Congress have much to their credit, but nothing more creditable than the fact that the Congress has refused to authorize new expenditures which are not absolutely essential and has abstained from all legislation or appropriations of a character which, while appealing strongly to local interest and sentiment, has been viewed with a critical eye by the general public as "pork barrel" in character.

DETAIL OF APPROPRIATIONS OF THE FIRST SESSION.

In the speech which I delivered in the House on Wednesday, November 19, 1919, I gave in detail the saving which had been accomplished in the first or special session in the passage of the eight regular annual appropriation bills which the former Democratic Congress had failed to pass. With a view of affording ready reference to these figures in detail, and the statement I then made with regard to them, I insert them in my remarks at this point:

Comparison of the amounts of the eight appropriation bills which failed of final enactment at the third session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, with the amounts of the same bills as they have been finally agreed upon at the first session of the Sixty-sixth Congress.

Title of act.	Last action figures Sixty-fifth Congress, third session.	Amount as agreed upon Sixty-sixth Congress, first session.	Decrease, Sixty-sixth Congress, first session, under Sixty-fifth Congress, third session.	Increase, Sixty-sixth Congress, first session, over Sixty-fifth Congress, third session.
Agriculture	[1] $37,344,852.00	$33,899,761.00	$3,445,091.00	.....
Army	[1] 1,240,500,066.98	772,324,877.50	468,175,189.48	.....
District of Columbia	[2] 14,446,364.00	15,364,421.00	.....	$918,057.00
Indian	[2] 11,457,797.03	11,131,397.03	326,400.00	.....
Navy	[1] 824,708,121.88	616,096,838.88	208,611,283.00	.....
Sundry civil	[3] 851,171,859.25	605,160,207.95	246,011,651.30	.....
Railroad deficiency	[1] 750,000,000.00	750,000,000.00	.....	.....
Third deficiency	[4] 38,346,913.59	[5] 24,305,929.40	14,040,984.19	.....
Total	3,767,975,974.73	2,828,283,432.76	940,610,598.97	918,057.00

[1] Amount as reported to the Senate.
[2] Amount as passed the Senate.
[3] Amount as passed the House.
[4] Amount as reported to the Senate exclusive of $750,000,000 for railroad deficiency, passed as a separate measure but included in third deficiency act for the third session of the Sixty-fifth Congress as reported to the Senate. Also exclusive of $53,750,000 for emergency shipping fund carried in the amount of the sundry civil bill for the Sixty-fifth Congress, third session, as it passed the House.
[5] This amount does not include $45,044,500 carried in the bill making urgent deficiency appropriations for the Bureau of War Risk Insurance and for the payment of pensions. Of this sum $42,615,000 was not estimated or considered at the third session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, and $2,429,500 was included in the third deficiency bill at that session.

Net decrease, Sixty-sixth Congress, first session, under Sixty-fifth Congress, third session..... $939,692,541.97

It will be noted that these savings are in the main in the Army, the Navy, and the sundry civil bill. In other words, in lines and items of expenditure for the establishments and purposes directly or indirectly connected with and affected by war operations. It has been the habit of our Democratic friends to claim that these enormous reductions and savings were due to the ending of the war and to the tremendous reduction of military activities. This claim is utterly without basis or foundation.

The estimates considered by the committees of the Sixty-fifth Congress in December, 1918; January, February, and March, 1919, were estimates made after the close of hostilities and the signing of the armistice, and were substantially the estimates that were considered by the Committee on Appropriations of the House in May. The savings on the bills above referred to, in round figures, were as follows:

Army appropriation bill..... $468,175,189.48
Navy appropriation bill..... 208,611,283.00
Sundry civil appropriation bill..... 246,011,651.30

Not only were there no substantial reductions in the estimates considered by the Republicans in May below those considered by the Democrats in January, February, and March, and no suggestions on the part of the administration that they could get along with lesser sums, but during the consideration of these bills by the House and Senate in May and June, and up to the last moment before final action on them, the officials of the administration were strenuously endeavoring to secure increases in practically the amount of the reductions made by the Republican Congress.

For the benefit of those who desire detailed information as to the saving in the appropriations as actually made, as compared with the estimates of the sums needed as submitted by the administration, I am inserting in the RECORD a detailed statement showing an actual saving in appropriations as compared with the estimates of $1,685,867,893.64, and which is as follows:

Comparison of the amounts of the appropriation bills as agreed upon, with amounts asked for and considered during the Sixty-sixth Congress, first session.

Title of act.	Amounts as agreed upon, Sixty-sixth Congress, first session.	Amounts asked for and considered, Sixty-sixth Congress, first session.	Decrease of amounts agreed upon, Sixty-sixth Congress, first session, under amounts asked for and considered, Sixty-sixth Congress, first session.
Agriculture	$33,899,761.00	$34,993,686.00	$1,093,925.00
Army	772,324,877.50	1,268,322,269.04	495,997,391.54
District of Columbia	15,364,421.00	15,635,701.00	271,280.00
Indian	11,131,397.03	11,939,813.89	808,416.86
Navy	616,096,838.88	975,903,621.28	359,806,782.40
Sundry civil	605,160,207.95	964,591,556.25	359,431,348.30
Railroad deficiency	750,000,000.00	1,200,000,000.00	450,000,000.00
Third deficiency	24,305,929.40	[1] 42,764,678.94	18,458,749.54
War-risk insurance and pension deficiency	45,044,500.00	45,044,500.00	.....
Expenses incident to first session of the Sixty-sixth Congress	385,720.00	385,720.00	.....
Total	2,873,713,652.76	4,559,581,546.40	1,685,867,893.64

[1] This amount does not include $45,044,500, estimated in connection with the bill making urgent deficiency appropriations for the Bureau of War Risk Insurance and for the payment of pensions. Of this sum, $42,615,000 was not estimated at the third session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, and therefore not included in the total of $42,764,678.94, which sum does include $2,429,500 for above-named purposes.

Let me again emphasize the fact that these estimates were not predicated on war conditions; they were submitted after the signing of the armistice; and that, therefore, the saving which was made below these estimates was not, as gentlemen on the Democratic side have claimed, a saving made possible by changed conditions. Neither the conditions nor the estimates had appreciably changed between January, February, and March, when the Democratic Congress considered the bills, and May and June, when the Republican Congress considered them.

Neither were these savings due to a failure to provide for the reasonable needs of the Government in its essential activities. Nearly five months have passed since these appropriations became available, and no necessary activity of the Government has been unduly or injuriously curtailed. No substantial or well-founded claim has been made that the appropriations will not be sufficient for the period for which they were made. All this being true, the fact is that the special session has saved to the American people approximately $940,000,000 below the appropriations actually proposed by its predecessor and more than one and three-quarter billions below the estimates on which the appropriation bills were based.

As I have stated, in the passage of these bills the Republican Congress effected a saving of $939,692,541.97 below the sums carried in the same bills which failed in the closing days of the Sixty-fifth Congress, and a saving of $1,685,867,893.64 below the estimates of the departments for the services provided for in those bills.

APPROPRIATIONS OF THE REGULAR SESSION.

At the beginning of the present regular session of the Congress I called attention to the enormous sum of the estimates presented by the departments in the Book of Estimates and to the menace which these enormous estimates presented in view of their sum total as compared with the estimates of revenue. I then stated that, in my opinion, it was essential that we reduce these estimates, if possible, in the sum of at least a billion and a quarter.

I realized then what an undertaking it was to attempt to reduce estimates in the enormous sum referred to without doing injury to necessary, proper, and legitimate public services, particularly in view of the fact that conditions were such that in the case of some of the services for which these estimates were made, notably the Post Office, pensions, appropriations for insurance and compensation, hospital treatment and vocational training of disabled veterans of the World War, for the families of deceased veterans of that war, and for increased compensation for the personnel of the civil and military establishments, it would be necessary to add to these bills very large sums not contained in the estimates. And yet I believed it could be accomplished.

Had I then realized how large these necessary additions to the appropriations would be, I should not have dared to prophesy such a net reduction. Notwithstanding these great and necessary expenditures not included in the estimates but for purposes for which estimates were made, the Congress has more than accomplished the great reduction in the estimates which I suggested, and has succeeded in trimming the appropriations for the services provided for in the regular estimates carried in the Book of Estimates by $1,384,917,650.39, and in reducing the total of the appropriations, as I have heretofore stated, in the enormous sum of $1,474,422,602.16 below the total estimates for the session.

The following is a detailed statement of the appropriations for the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress prepared by Mr. Good, chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. This statement includes not only the appropriations contained in the regular annual appropriation bills but also permanent annual and miscellaneous appropriations, as well as the appropriations to cover deficiencies for the fiscal year 1920 and prior years.

EXHIBIT C.

Statement of appropriations made during the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress—Comparison of estimates and appropriations for the fiscal year 1921 and deficiency estimates and appropriations for the fiscal year 1920 and prior years.

Title.	(1) Regular estimates, 1921.	(2) Supplemental estimates, 1921.	(3) Total regular and supplemental and deficiency estimates.	(4) Law.	(5) Decrease (−) or increase (+), law compared with estimates.
Agriculture	$37,528,102.00	$2,169,755.00	$39,697,857.00	$31,712,784.00	− $7,985,073.00
Army	982,800,020.00	1,822,200.00	984,622,220.00	392,558,365.00	− 592,063,855.00
Diplomatic and Consular	11,243,250.91	464,112.00	11,707,362.91	9,218,537.91	− 2,488,825.00
District of Columbia	19,179,716.03	1,249,612.84	20,429,328.87	18,373,004.87	− 2,056,324.00
Fortifications	117,793,330.00	134,000.00	117,927,330.00	18,833,442.00	− 99,093,888.00
Indian	12,994,494.27		12,994,494.27	10,040,655.27	− 2,953,839.00
Legislative, executive, and judicial	122,242,849.02	201,990.00	122,444,839.02	104,735,726.11	− 17,709,112.91
Military Academy	6,778,637.20		6,778,637.20	2,142,212.70	− 4,636,424.50
Naval	573,131,254.80	9,500,000.00	582,631,254.80	433,279,574.00	− 149,351,680.80
Pensions	215,030,000.00		215,030,000.00	279,150,000.00	+ 64,120,000.00
Post Office	391,713,673.00		391,713,673.00	462,575,190.00	+ 70,861,517.00
River and harbor	42,841,565.00		42,841,565.00	12,400,000.00	− 30,441,565.00
Sundry civil	906,725,387.10	141,500,000.00	1,048,225,387.10	437,106,806.92	− 611,118,580.18
Total regular appropriation bills	3,440,002,279.33	157,041,669.84	3,597,043,949.17	2,212,126,298.78	−1,384,917,650.39
Permanent annual appropriation[1]	1,363,768,980.29		1,363,768,980.29	1,363,768,980.29	
Total regular and permanent annual appropriations	4,803,771,259.62	157,041,669.84	4,960,812,929.46	3,575,895,279.07	− 1,384,917,650.39
Miscellaneous	[2] 725,000,000.00		725,000,000.00	[3] 797,500,000.00	+ 72,500,000.00
Total regular, permanent annual, and miscellaneous appropriations	5,528,771,259.62	157,041,669.84	5,685,812,929.46	4,373,395,279.07	−1,312,417,650.39
Deficiencies, fiscal year 1920 and prior years	648,500,000.00		648,500,000.00	486,495,048.23	− 162,004,951.77
Grand total	6,177,271,259.62	157,041,669.84	6,334,312,929.46	4,859,890,327.30	−1,474,422,602.16

[1] The estimates of permanent annual appropriations have been reduced from $1,425,407,752.29 to $1,363,768,980.29 or by $31,638,772. This reduction is due to a revision by the Treasury Department of the estimates for interest on the public debt and the amount for the sinking fund.

[2] This amount represents definite and indefinite appropriations in the transportation act, 1920, for which no formal estimates were submitted.

[3] This sum includes estimated amount of $2,500,000 to cover appropriations made in miscellaneous public and private acts; $35,000,000 estimated on account of increased compensation to certain Government employees at the rate of $240 per annum; $35,000,000 estimated on account of increases in salaries to employees of the Postal Service under the postal reclassification act; and $725,000,000 in the transportation act as follows: $300,000,000 for new loans to carriers, $200,000,000 on account of Federal control of railroads, $200,000,000 estimated to pay the six months' guaranty to carriers, and $25,000,000 estimated on account of payments to the "short-line" railroads.

June 6, 1920.

SUM TOTAL OF SAVINGS.

The sum total of the savings of the two sessions of the Sixty-sixth Congress may be graphically presented as follows:

Saving in amount appropriated in eight regular supply bills passed at the first session below sums carried in same bills which failed in Sixty-fifth Congress	$939,692,541.97
Saving in total appropriations for second session below amount of total estimates	1,474,422,602.16
Grand total of savings	2,414,115,144.13

TRYING TO BELITTLE THE REDUCTIONS.

Our Democratic friends, amazed at the very great reductions which have been made in the appropriations as compared with the estimates, have attempted to belittle these reductions, enormous as they are, by calling attention to the sum total of the appropriations and obligations of the Government, notwithstanding the very great reductions effected.

It is true that the expenditures for the fiscal year which closes the last of this month have been heavy. It is equally true they would have been nearly a billion dollars greater except for the saving compelled by reductions made in the estimates for the eight regular appropriation bills which the Republican Congress passed. The total expenditures for the fiscal year, according to the most recent figures available, will amount to approximately $6,500,000,000, exclusive of transactions affecting the principal of the public debt. The Republican Congress had no control whatever over that vast expenditure by the executive departments and participated in appropriating for it only to the extent of the amounts carried in the eight appropriation bills heretofore referred to and

aggregating $2,828,283,432.76. In the passage of those bills, however, nearly a billion dollars was saved, as I have stated.

Of the sum total of expenditures more than three and one-half billions were swallowed up in the cost of the Government operation of the railroads, in settling war contracts, and in the payment of $450,000,000 in loans to the Allies, which it is presumed were contracted for before the signing of the armistice.

REPUBLICAN SAVING REFLECTED IN PRESENT CONDITION OF TREASURY.

In the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury for the year 1919 was an estimate of receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, which indicated a probable excess of expenditures other than those connected with the principal of the public debt over receipts, except those from public debt operations, of approximately a billion dollars. In other words, a deficit of approximately a billion dollars in the ordinary transactions of the Government was the Treasury estimate for the fiscal year. On June 10 Secretary of the Treasury Houston gave out a statement as to the state of the finances, in which, referring to the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, he said "the completed fiscal year's operation should show little, if any, deficit, the Government having about balanced its budget, current receipts against current disbursements, for the first full year after fighting stopped." Here we have reflected in official statement the actual saving of the Republican Congress. A billion dollars of deficit in the year's operations was the official estimate before the Congress had clipped a billion dollars from the eight appropriation bills, and now we have official assurance that the ordinary revenues of the year will meet the ordinary expenditures. The saving effected is thus demonstrated by the condition of the Treasury.

EFFECT OF SAVING IN APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1921.

As I have heretofore stated, the total appropriations made during the session that has just closed, including all permanent annual and miscellaneous appropriations for 1921, as well as the deficiency appropriations for the fiscal year 1920 and prior fiscal years, amount to $4,859,890,327.30, and I shall refer to this figure later in utilizing the statement of classification of appropriations made by Mr. GOOD, of Iowa, chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and published in the RECORD of Monday, June 14, 1920. In order, however, to arrive at the actual sum of the appropriations, regular, permanent annual, and miscellaneous, for and on behalf of the fiscal year 1921 and chargeable to that year, it will be necessary to subtract from the above sum the deficiency appropriations made during the session just closed, amounting to $486,495,048.23. Subtracting this sum of deficiency appropriations for 1920 and prior fiscal years from the above total we have the sum of $4,373,395,279.07 as the total of the appropriations, regular, permanent annual, and miscellaneous, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921—the coming fiscal year.

It is interesting to compare the above total appropriations for the fiscal year 1921 with the total estimated expenditures for like purposes for the fiscal year 1920 just closing. That total, it will be remembered, is estimated at approximately $6,500,000,000, and subtracting the appropriations of $4,373,395,279.07 for 1921 from this estimate of expenditure for 1920, we have a saving of $2,126,604,720.93 in the appropriations for the fiscal year 1921 below the expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30 this year. Of this reduction in the amount made available for the next fiscal year below the amount which will be spent the present fiscal year $1,474,422,602.16 is directly traceable to the reductions which have been made, as I have heretofore stated, in the appropriations for 1921 below the amount of the estimates.

TREASURY STATEMENT AS TO RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES, FISCAL YEAR 1921.

The report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1919, heretofore referred to, contains an estimate of receipts for the fiscal year 1921, exclusive of those arising out of the public debt, of $5,420,000,000. A more recent estimate is $5,490,000,000. I prefer to take the more conservative estimate. Deducting the total of the appropriations for the fiscal year, amounting to $4,373,395,279.07, from this total of estimated revenues we have the goodly sum of $1,146,604,720.93 as a conservative estimate of the total income of the fiscal year 1921 over and above the total expenditures for the same period. It may be urged that in this estimate we are not taking into account possible deficiencies. All possible deficiencies should be more than provided for by the $70,000,000 of difference between the Treasury's estimate of 1921 receipts made last fall, which I have used, and their larger and more recent estimate to which I have referred.

It is interesting to note that the estimate above made of $1,146,604,720.93 as the excess of income over outlay in the fiscal year 1921 is about $328,000,000 less than the actual reduction in the appropriations for 1921 below the estimates, and this fact serves to clearly illustrate not only the vast sum but the direct beneficial effect of these reductions. According to the Treasury's own statements, had it not been for the vast cuts made in the estimates we should be facing not a surplus of over $1,100,000,000 for the coming fiscal year but a deficit in excess of $1,400,000,000. It is interesting and cheering to note the latest utterances of the Secretary of the Treasury in regard to this matter contained in his statement of June 10, to which reference has been made, as follows:

> During the coming fiscal year, beginning July 1, 1920, the Treasury expects, though it is impossible to state positively, that there will be a further reduction of both gross debt and floating debt in the first two quarters, and, unless additional burdens should be imposed by future legislation, that there will be a very important reduction in the last two quarters.

While the Secretary is careful not to use exact figures, he is fully justified in his statement "that there will be a very important reduction in the public debt during the coming fiscal year."

DANGER IN THE SITUATION.

We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that the President vetoed the resolution repealing the war laws and that therefore there still remains in the hands of the President extraordinary power over expenditures not embraced in or contemplated by the ordinary estimates and appropriations. The Secretary of the Treasury, in the paragraph that I have just quoted, speaks of reductions of "both gross debt and floating debt." I trust the Secretary does not have in mind the reduction of the bonded debt through purchases out of current revenues or otherwise. The reductions in the debt should be wholly in the floating debt—the war hangover—on which we are paying interest at the rate of 5½ to 6 per cent and the existence of which is a constant menace.

I assume that there will be no possible excuse for further foreign loans or for other extraordinary and unusual expenditures not contemplated by Congress in the making of the appropriations and yet possible under some of the war powers which the President has refused to surrender. Here lies the danger of the situation, a danger real imminent and only to be avoided by having the constant light of publicity on all governmental operations, a thing which, unfortunately, it is very difficult to accomplish, notwithstanding the President's proclaimed approval of "pitiless publicity," an approval which is a bitter mockery in the face of the impenetrable secrecy which has surrounded so many important transactions under this administration.

PURPOSES FOR WHICH APPROPRIATIONS WERE MADE.

I am under obligations to the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD], for a statement contained in his remarks of Saturday, June 5, printed in the RECORD of June 14, classifying the appropriations of the late session of the Congress so as to show the principal objects for which appropriations were made. In his classification Mr. GOOD uses the sum total of all appropriations of the recent session, including not only regular, permanent, annual, and miscellaneous, but deficiency appropriations for 1920 and prior fiscal years as well. By so doing he gives a grand total, $486,495,048.23, in excess of the appropriations actually chargeable to 1921, and this should be borne in mind. Mr. GOOD's table is as follows:

A. Appropriations incident mainly to past wars:		
1. Soldiers and sailors of the war with Germany for compensation for death and disability, vocational training, hospital treatment, and return of remains from France	$293,168,400.00	
2. Pensions incident to Mexican War, Civil War, Spanish-American War, and on account of regular Military and Naval Establishments	279,150,000.00	
3. Interest on the public debt	980,000,000.00	
4. Sinking fund; indefinite appropriation for the retirement of Liberty bonds and Victory notes, etc	260,800,000.00	
5. Federal operation and control of transportation systems and expenses incident to termination of Federal control	1,025,000,000.00	
		$2,838,118,400.00
B. Appropriations incident to present national defense:		
1. Military Establishment	$418,232,382.57	
2. Naval Establishment	437,724,580.00	
		855,956,962.57

C. Appropriations incident to civil functions of government:		
1. Postal Service	$497,575,190.00	
2. Appropriations for all other services of the Govment not enumerated	481,744,726.50	
		$979,319,916.50
D. Deficiency appropriations: For the fiscal year 1920 (excluding $300,000,000 for Federal control of railroads and including $85,000,000 for war-risk insurance compensation, $23,000,000 for vocational rehabilitation of soldiers and sailors, $13,166,187 for care of war-risk patients, and $14,000,000 for payment of deficit on account of Federal operation of telegraph and telephone lines)		186,495,048.23
Grand total		4,859,890,327.30

APPROPRIATIONS ON ACCOUNT OF WARS.

This classification is exceedingly interesting as illustrating the objects and purposes of the appropriations and the extent to which the great volume of appropriations compared with prewar appropriations is due to past wars, and especially the recent war with Germany. The public generally does not, in my opinion, have a clear idea of the liberality with which provision has been made for the injured and incapacitated soldiers of the war with Germany, not only in the matter of compensation but in vocational training and hospital treatment and for the widows and families of those who gave their lives for civilization in that Great War. The total for the coming year, a total which is likely to be increased rather than decreased, is over $293,000,000.

The public has shown its appreciation of its defenders by again increasing the pensions for soldiers of former wars until for the coming fiscal year the appropriations for veterans of the Mexican, Spanish, Indian, and Civil Wars amount to approximately $280,000,000.

INTEREST AND SINKING FUND, NATIONAL DEBT.

Those who imagine that we can at once, or ultimately, return to anything like prewar appropriations should take counsel of the fact that the interest on the public debt the coming fiscal year will amount to nine hundred and eighty millions and the payment to the sinking fund toward the extinction of that debt $260,000,000, or a total payment on account of the public debt alone of $1,240,000,000. Our obligations on account of the public debt alone amount therefore to more than our total annual national expenditure prior to the war. It is true that nearly five hundred millions of this annual charge is for interest on the sum of the foreign loans, interest that ought to be carried by our creditors rather than by ourselves, but for the present at least and for the next two or three years, under the arrangement made by the Treasury, we must bear this burden, assured of the fact that a new Republican administration will not further burden the American people for the benefit of foreign creditors, and that eventually these foreign creditors will meet at least the interest on their obligations.

COST OF GOVERNMENT OPERATION OF RAILWAYS.

The statement above referred to gives as the sum of the appropriations of the late session incident to Federal operation of transportation systems and the termination of that operation the sum of $1,025,000,000. This staggering sum is an unpleasant reminder of the cost to the taxpayer of the luxury of Federal operation of railroads.

It may be that it was necessary to take over the transportation systems of the country to aid in winning the war, but I doubt it. I believe that had the railways remained in private control and been granted relief from certain restrictions in the matter of agreement and operation a better result would have been secured, better service obtained, and hundreds of millions saved to the taxpayer. But it must be admitted that this is a question of opinion not susceptible of demonstration.

This we do know, however, that under Government operation we had curtailed an unsatisfactory service at great cost; that the taxpayers were compelled to pay vast sums, the greater proportion of which will be a permanent loss; and that the roads were returned to their owners with their motive power and rolling stock depleted and out of repair and their roadbeds and facilities in a condition rendering it well-nigh impossible for them to adequately care for the transportation business of the country.

It should be borne in mind that, in addition to the sum above referred to, we have heretofore appropriated $1,250,000,000 on account of the railroads under Federal control, making the total appropriations for such purposes $2,275,000,000. Just how much of this is a permanent loss to the taxpayer it is impossible at this time to determine with absolute accuracy, as the sum depends largely upon the ultimate value of certain railroad securities held by the Government and the net cost of the six months' guaranty on the return of the roads. I am of the opinion that $1,200,000,000 is a most conservative estimate of the actual ultimate cash loss to the taxpayers and the Government through the Federal operation of the railways.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE.

The original and supplemental estimates for the national defense, including the Army and Navy and fortifications, total $1,748,358,604.80, while the sums finally approved by Congress amount to $844,671,381; Army, $392,558,365; Navy, $433,279,574; fortifications, $18,833,442. In my opinion the sum total for these defense services is greater than it ought to be, but in justice to the action of Congress it may be said that, considering the magnitude of the estimates and the unyielding attitude of the Secretaries of War and Navy in defense of them, Congress could scarcely have made smaller appropriations without wholly discrediting the heads of those services. In view of the constant insistence and pressure on Congress from every official source and from every individual or agency that could be reached or influenced by the departments, and the volumes of alleged facts and figures with which the demands were bolstered up, the Congress would not, perhaps, have been justified in appropriating lesser sums. The demands denied by committees of the House were presented in enlarged and augmented sums and with increased insistency to committees of the Senate, with the result that the Congress did the best it could under the present administration of affairs.

There is a healthy sentiment in the country for a first-class Navy of goodly proportions and for an Army of reasonable size, trained, equipped, and supplied thoroughly, completely, and abundantly, but there is also a demand in the country that these services shall be economically administered, and there is no hope for that without a change of administrative control. An Army and Navy which meets the expectations of the American people in size and character must be maintained, but under proper administration it can be maintained for much less than the appropriations which the present administration has demanded—for less even than the appropriations which have been made, which are below the estimates and demands of the administration in the stupendous sum of $903,687,223.80.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR CIVIL FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

The appropriations for the Postal Service are greatly increased, due to the growth of the service and to the very considerable increases made in the pay of postal employees. There have been three increases in the pay of the employees of the Postal Service since the war began amounting in the aggregate to $115,000,000 above former pay. It is true that there has been some complaint that the postal employees were not given as large an increase as they should have had in connection with the recent reclassification in which an increase of $40,000,000 in pay was granted. The fact is, however, that both in amount and percentage the postal employees have received larger increases in pay since the beginning of the war than any other class of public employees except those in certain mechanical employments.

It is the opinion of those best informed that the pay as now fixed is not only reasonable but, compared with other classes of Government employment, quite liberal. The total cost of the Postal Service has increased from $315,000,000 in 1916 to approximately $500,000,000 in 1921. The appropriations of the recent session for all civil functions of the Government other than the Postal Service amount to approximately $482,000,000—a small sum compared with the vast total—less than one-half billion out of a grand total approaching five billions.

Let him who is disposed to criticize the appropriations point out where they could have been greatly reduced. Certainly no one will begrudge the three hundred millions on behalf of the soldiers and sailors of the war with Germany, their widows and dependents; no one will begrudge the approximately two hundred and eighty millions for pensions to the veterans of the Civil, the Spanish, and the Mexican Wars. The interest on the public debt must be paid and the sinking fund provided for if we are to keep faith with the Nation's creditors and maintain the national credit. No part of the appropriations of nearly a half billion dollars for the post-office establishment could be cut out unless we reduce the pay of employees, which no one will propose to do. As to the half billion for the various civil services of the Government provided for in the Agricultural, the Indian, the District of Columbia, the legislative, executive, and judicial, the river and harbor, and the sundry civil bills, it could not have been reduced further without imperiling important public services.

This Republican Congress is in no wise responsible for the expenses growing out of the taking over of the railways by the Government and those incident and essential to the return of

the roads to their owners. Except for the return of the roads to private management and control, the total outlay on their behalf during the fiscal year would have been very much greater.

WHERE REDUCTIONS CAN BE MADE IN THE FUTURE.

We can not expect immediate reductions in the expenditures on behalf of the soldiers of the Great War, their widows and dependents, or those for pensions for the soldiers of other wars. We can not look forward to a reduction in the interest charge on the national debt until the present arrangement of the Treasury with our foreign creditors shall expire and we shall begin to receive interest on the sums they owe us. The appropriations for the sinking fund must continue. In my opinion there can be a very considerable reduction in the total appropriations for the national defense in the fiscal year 1922, and by that time we shall be entirely relieved, let us hope, of appropriations on account of Federal operation and control of transportation systems. We shall also be able to make considerable saving by the further reduction of the number of Federal employees. The principal reductions in appropriations for the immediate future must come, therefore, from relief from expenditures growing out of Government railway operation, from a reduction of the cost of our defense establishments, and from a reduction in the number of Federal employees and a more efficient public service. Our appropriations for the civil and constructive activities of the Government will somewhat increase rather than decrease, so that balancing the probable increases with the probable decreases we may hope that as we have reduced the appropriations for 1921 below the estimated expenditures for 1920 by approximately $1,150,000,000, we may be able to further reduce the appropriations and expenditures for 1922 below those of 1921 by upward of a billion dollars.

THE REDUCTION OF TAXATION AND THE PRESIDENT'S ATTITUDE.

No President in American history has, everything considered, had so much reason to approve and appreciate the attitude of Congress as President Wilson. During the period of the war practically every suggestion and request made by him was promptly carried out and complied with. Requests for power and authority of the most extraordinary character and far-reaching effect were promptly granted. Estimates of his departments in staggering and, as it has since transpired, largely excessive sums were promptly appropriated. The Republican minority, even more than the Democratic majority, expressed and registered its patriotic purpose in promptly and generously supporting the President and his administration in every line and purpose of legislation and appropriation. And notwithstanding all this the President was ungracious and inconsiderate enough—partisan enough—to issue an appeal to the country for a Democratic Congress. The country's answer to this amazing partisan appeal of the President was prompt and emphatic, and the Sixty-sixth Congress opened with a Republican majority in both branches—a goodly Republican majority in the House, a bare and precarious Republican majority in the Senate.

The majority of the Senate did not approve, as the majority of the country does not, the surrender of American sovereignty with which, in contemptuous disregard of the opinions of the country and the Senate, the President had decorated the treaty of peace. The Senate, true to American traditions, refused to substitute the Constitution of the United States for the constitution of the League of Nations—to subordinate republican nationalism for a mixed and monarchial internationalism. The Senate was within its rights, but the President, declining to recognize the constitutional rights of the Senate, has assumed an attitude toward the Republican Congress even more critical than the domineering and contemptuous attitude he maintained toward the Democratic Congress.

In the main, and almost without exception, the public attitude and utterances of Republicans in the House toward the President have been respectful—respectful to the high office, notwithstanding the attitude and utterances of the incumbent. Certain Democratic Members have from time to time attempted to create the impression that the President had been severely criticized and, as they put it, "abused" by Republicans, but their assertions reflected the utterances of the Democratic cloakroom rather than those of Republican Members of Congress. When the President's acts and attitude are considered, the attitude and utterances of Republican Members of Congress have been remarkably considerate of the President.

In view of these facts the telegram of the President relative to the Congress to certain railroad men on the day that Congress adjourned was a contemptible exhibition of petulant temper and churlish lack of appreciation of the consideration due a coordinate branch of the Government. Perhaps the President is not to be blamed for being irritable and ill tempered over the utter failure of the officials of his administration to apply energetically, intelligently, or effectively the vast powers conferred upon the President by war laws for the punishment of profiteers and the prevention of practices which increase the cost of living. But the President will not get far in attempting to place upon the legislative body, which has conferred upon him and his officers autocratic power, the responsibility for the utter failure of the administration to exercise those powers effectively.

The Congress has granted full authority and made liberal appropriations; further than that the legislative authority can not go. The miserable failure to effectively enforce the laws can not be shifted from the officials of the administration. In the case of sugar, for instance, the extraordinary price and the amazing profits are, in fact, directly due to acts of omission on the part of the President and of commission on the part of the Attorney General.

THE PRESIDENT PROPOSED "REVISION."

I am particularly interested, however, in what the President had to say in that telegram about the revision of the tax laws, which laws he says "in their present form are indirectly responsible in part for the high cost of living." To what extent the present Democratic tax laws are responsible for the high cost of living I do not know, but I do know that warning was given of the injurious effect of certain of those laws when enacted. The President complains because there have not been "revisions." What are the revisions which have been suggested and to which the President refers? They are proposals to reduce the taxes on exorbitant profits and to place them instead on normal incomes and ordinary business operations.

The Republican Congress will, when in complete control of the situation, revise and modify the crude and inequitable tax laws the Democrats have placed upon the statute books. But they will not take taxes from extraordinary and unusual profits and shift them to ordinary and normal operations, incomes, and profits. We shall repeal the obnoxious taxes rather than shift the burden of them to other classes of business and income. The President himself would be the very first to use to partisan advantage the absurd and indefensible "revision" which he indorses.

The Democratic Sixty-fifth Congress left us on June 30, 1919, a legacy of nearly three and one-quarter billions of war overhang, of floating unbonded indebtedness, in addition to the enormous volume of bonded debt. This overhang has been a continual menace to the financial stability of the country, a continuously disturbing factor in the field of finance. The presence of this enormous floating debt and the periodical transactions of the Treasury in its short-time renewals has tended to disturb and unsettle all classes of financial operations, national and private; has tended to reduce the value of all securities and to increase interest rates until the Government is now paying 6 per cent on its one-year notes.

Thanks to the heroic action of the Republican majority in the first session of the Sixty-sixth Congress in cutting down appropriations nearly a billion dollars, we shall pass through the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, without any increase of debt, floating or bonded; in fact, with some decrease. We have placed the Government in the first year of our control of Congress in the way of paying its obligations with its income. Furthermore, we have so greatly reduced the appropriations below the estimates for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, that if all goes well with the receipts—if the President does not take advantage of the war powers, which through veto he has declined to relinquish, in a way to increase expenditures beyond those contemplated by the Congress—the fiscal year will witness the payment of all Government expenditures out of the current revenue and enough to spare to reduce by a billion to a billion and a quarter the menacing 6 per cent floating debt. And thus we come within reaching distance not of "revision" alone but of reduction of the burdens of taxation.

As Democratic suggestions, official and unofficial, of tax "revision" by shifting the burden from excess and enormous profits and incomes to small and normal incomes and profits and ordinary business operations are at best a gruesome joke, so suggestions from the same sources of the reduction of the sum total of Government income while the estimates were staggering, the expenditures excessive, and the war overhang menacing are grimly sardonic, calculated only for partisan purposes and to catch the unwary, thoughtless, and unsophisticated.

REDUCTION OF TAX BURDENS IN SIGHT.

While in their operation the excess profits and other taxes as interpreted and administered have been inequitable and even confiscatory, in some cases the more indefensible effects of the law have been due more to blundering administration than to the law itself, and the shifting of burdens from large incomes

and profits to those that are ordinary and normal is, of course, as impossible as it would be improper. Relief should come where it is possible to afford it by repealing inequitable and obnoxious taxes rather than by shifting burdens by so-called "revision." Even the lifting of those tax burdens that are the most vexatious to business is hardly practical so long as the Nation hawks its short-time notes in the money market and its outlay outruns its income. The first thing the Republican Congress was called upon to do was to demonstrate its ability and determination to reduce expenditures. That has been gloriously accomplished, and the new session which meets in December, if all goes well in the meantime, should find a condition of the Treasury and the finances justifying the early consideration of measures of real and permanent relief from excessive and obnoxious tax burdens. We have accomplished the essential preliminaries; we have cleared the way; we have brought expenditures within income; we have reduced the appropriations for the next year to an extent making possible a well-nigh 50 per cent reduction in the war overhang. We shall enter the new session in December, and the new Congress in March, with the way cleared for a considerable reduction of the tax burdens; and, of course, the first burdens to be lifted should be those which most hamper business and those that have proven most inequitable.

THE IMPORTANT AND OUTSTANDING LEGISLATION OF THE CONGRESS.

The work of a Congress, like that of a housewife, may be well said never to be done. If a legislative body were in session continuously and continuously diligent, the time would never come when there were not problems of more or less importance unsolved. The hour would never arrive when there were not questions of principle or policy pending. Beyond all question, there would never be a time when some one and possibly some considerable number of people were not demanding for selfish, personal, political, or perfectly laudible purposes the consideration of some proposal of legislation.

The proper test of the work of a legislative body is to be found first in the disposition it has made of the regular and routine work which comes before it and which must be disposed of in order to keep the institutions of Government properly and adequately functioning. Judged from this standard, the work of the two sessions of the Sixty-sixth Congress, now passing into history, can not be successfully challenged even by its most carping and prejudiced critics. Everything has been done, and well done, essential to meet the obligations of Government and to maintain public institutions and services, and it has been done with vast saving and without improper curtailment. The legislation essential to meet changed conditions has been provided, so far as it is possible to enact such legislation under present unsettled conditions. With some minor exceptions, for which the Republican majority is in no wise responsible, there are no loose ends anywhere in the provisions for the care, protection, and functioning of the public business.

Another test is to be found in the manner in which the assumed and self-appointed tasks, duties, and obligations of responsible majorities have been met and discharged. Viewed from this standpoint the work of the sessions of this Congress has been carried on and performed in a manner entitling the Congress to the very highest commendation of the American people. Without exception the program of legislation proposed and announced by the Republican majority of the House at the beginning of the special session has been carried forward either to triumphant completion or to such a point in legislative procedure as to insure the complete carrying out of the program before the close of the Congress.

With the exception of a few matters on which the lack of an actual Republican majority in the Senate has prevented final action the program has been carried out to a degree and with a perfection which, at the beginning of the Congress, scarcely seemed possible, while added to this program have been a number of important measures not considered or referred to in the statement that formed that basis of our legislative program at the beginning of the Congress. I feel fully justified in applying to the work of the Sixty-sixth Congress up to this time, in substance, the language I used at the close of the special session: "Whether we view the work of this Congress from the standpoint of economy in appropriations, forward-looking constructive legislation, or diligent continuous attention to the public business, it can be truthfully said that no Congress in American history has more courageously, consistently, continuously, and successfully addressed itself to, or more faithfully performed and discharged, the duties and responsibilities placed upon it than the Sixty-sixth Congress of the United States up to this time."

As I have said, the work of a Congress is never done, and this Congress will no more escape cheap and carping criticism that it has not done and performed and completed every proposed, suggested, or imaginable proposition or purpose than other Congresses have. In that regard, from the viewpoint of an unreasonable and unfair opposition, it will always be a matter of being "damned if you do and damned if you don't." But even the most prejudiced, jaundiced, and unreasonable critics can charge us with no sins of commission or omission of sufficient magnitude to change the favorable judgment of the American people on our work.

THE RESPONSIBILITY IS OURS.

As Republicans we must and do assume the responsibility for this Congress. We shall not plead the baby act or endeavor to lay upon the opposition the responsibility for anything that we have done or failed to do, and yet it is entirely proper to remind the country that we do not have a working majority in the Senate; in fact, a majority of one or even two in numbers by classification is so narrow that under the rules of that body and the conditions certain to exist under those circumstances this can not be claimed to be, and is not, in fact, a majority in the case of a real definite, determined legislative show-down.

During practically all of the special session, and a considerable portion of the regular session as well, the time of the Senate has been occupied with the consideration of the treaty of Versailles, and in view of that fact the amount of legislation of an important character, involving much study and careful consideration and with regard to which there were sharp differences of opinion, that has been disposed of becomes the more remarkable.

THE SENATE SAVED THE COUNTRY.

Under the Constitution the Senate has equal responsibility with the President in the making of treaties, and yet in the negotiation of perhaps the most important treaty in the world's history the advice of the Senate was not sought and apparently was not desired and the concurrence of the Senate in the result, including a complete reversal of national policy and a surrender and curtailment of national sovereignty, was demanded by the Executive.

The Senate of the United States has, as a body and an institution, one time and another, been under the fire of severe criticism, but its attitude of courageous refusal to surrender the views and convictions of its Members, and the independence and sovereignty of the Nation at the behest of the Executive, places the Nation and the world under profound obligations to those Members of the Senate who declined to become the recording instruments of the Executive mandate.

THE PEACE RESOLUTION.

The President having defeated the ratification of the treaty of Versailles by influencing Democratic Senators against joining the majority for its ratification with proper reservations, it became necessary for the Congress to attempt to restore conditions of official peace, to reestablish normal conditions of intercourse with the nations of the world, and to set in motion the repeal of war-time laws and the shortening of the Executive power through a resolution properly drawn to accomplish those purposes.

The adoption of the peace resolution with practically a solid Republican vote, and the attempt by this same vote to override the President's veto, stands among the most important and patriotic acts of the Republican majority. However the minority may endeavor to explain or apologize for their failure to support this resolution, they can never persuade the American people that they are in favor of a return to a status of peace, the restoration of normal conditions, the curtailment of the President's extraordinary powers, in view of their action on this measure. The President himself thought so little of the argument of unconstitutionality which had been raised against the resolution that he entirely ignored it in his message, leaving the Members of his party in the Congress without even a reasonable excuse for their failure to join the Republican majority in the establishment of peace and the fixing of the date for the repeal of the war authority of the President.

THE LEGISLATION OF THE CONGRESS.

In my speech of November 19, 1919, at the close of the special session, to which I have heretofore referred, I gave a brief summary of the general legislation that had been enacted and placed upon the statute books during that session. It may not be amiss to insert that portion of the statement referred to at this point. It is as follows:

PARTIAL LIST OF THE GENERAL LEGISLATION OF THE FIRST (SPECIAL) SESSION OF THE SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.

The return of the telephone, telegraph, and cable lines of the country to their owners.

The adoption of the woman-suffrage amendment.

The placing on the statute books of a complete and comprehensive national prohibition law.

The enactment of liberal provisions for vocational training and rehabilitation of wounded soldiers and sailors, and generous appropriations for the same.

The extension and enlargement of the food-control act with a view of preventing hoarding and profiteering, and with additional penalties for the violation of the statute.

Provision for additional travel pay for enlisted men discharged from the Regular Army.

Authorizing enlisted men who served in the World War to retain their uniforms and personal equipment.

Provision for the retention in the service until June 30 of officers in excess of the number regularly in the permanent establishment, thus enabling efficient volunteer officers to continue in the service.

Provision for reimbursement to the United States of approximately $400,000,000 advanced to provide motive power and rolling stock, through a corporation organized for that purpose on behalf of the railroads. This is the so-called equipment trust act.

Provision for the continuation of the control of the War Trade Board over the importation of dyes until January 15, 1920, with a view of preventing dumping of German dyes on the American market.

The incorporation of the American Legion.

Amendment to the war-risk insurance act increasing the allowance in certain classes of serious injury.

Repeal of the daylight-saving law.

Provision for additional compensation for employees of the Postal Service.

Legislation to facilitate the marketing of agricultural products, including live stock, by increasing amount which banks may loan on paper secured by such commodities.

Amendment to the Federal reserve act to enable national banks to assist in the facilitation of export trade.

Legislation making more stringent the restrictions and prohibitions surrounding the entry of aliens.

Provision for the completion of the railroad in Alaska.

Provision for liberal increased permanent appropriation for the American Printing House for the Blind.

Increase of pay of printers and pressmen in the Government Printing Office.

Provision for punishment for the transportation of stolen motor vehicles.

Provision for the reclamation of arid lands in Nevada.

Extension of law providing for stock-raising homesteads.

Relief to certain land entrymen, through leave of absence from their claims, to enable them to engage in essential industries.

Relief from assessment work on mining claims to avoid the withdrawal of labor from essential industries.

Provision for grants of public lands for school purposes.

Provision for completion and payment of necessary construction work on Army camps and cantonments.

Provision in aid of relief for the stricken peoples of the Near East by providing for an organization for that purpose.

Provision for the further regulation of vessels operated by the Shipping Board.

Extension of the provisions of law for the protection of the civil rights of the members of the Military and Naval Establishments.

Creation of office of General of the Armies of the United States in terms providing for the appointment of John J. Pershing to that office.

Granting citizenship to Indians who fought in the World War.

Authorizing the Protestant Episcopal Church of the diocese of Washington to give the same right to women to vote and hold office as is now enjoyed by men.

Provision for tentage for encampments of the Grand Army of the Republic, United Confederate Veterans, Spanish War Veterans, and Veterans of the World War.

Granting the cancellation-stamp privilege to the Roosevelt Memorial Association.

Extending the franking privilege to Edith Carow Roosevelt, widow of ex-President Roosevelt.

Provision for an ambassador to Belgium.

Provision for the regulation of rents in the District of Columbia.

GENERAL LEGISLATION OF SECOND SESSION, SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.

The volume of general legislation enacted during the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress is so great that I shall not attempt to refer even by title to all of the large number of bills which became laws. I shall refer only to the more important measures, measures a number of which are epoch making, measures far out of the ordinary, and stamping the work of the Congress as of a character which will make it historic. Among these are:

The railway transportation act. (Public, No. 152.)

The legislation for a national budget. (Veto, H. R. 9783.)

Reform of the rules of the House and Senate in the consolidation of committees as a part of the program of budget reform. (H. Res. 324.)

The Army reorganization act. (Public, No. 242.)

The merchant marine shipping act. (Public, No. 261.)

The oil and coal land leasing law. (Public, No. 146.)

The water-power act. (H. R. 3184.)

Act for the vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry. (Public, No. 236.)

The civil service retirement act. (Public, No. 215.)

The act establishing a Woman's Bureau in the Department of Labor. (Public, No. 259.)

The peace resolution. (Veto, H. J. Res. 327.)

The act for the repeal of the war laws. (Pocket veto, H. J. Res. 373.)

The act reclassifying and readjusting the salaries of postal employees. (Public, No. 265.)

The act increasing pensions to veterans of the Civil and Mexican Wars. (Public, No. 190.)

The act increasing pensions to veterans of the Spanish-American War and Philippine insurrection. (Public, No. 256.)

The act to exclude and expel anarchistic aliens. (Public, No. 262.)

The act increasing the efficiency and pay of commissioned and enlisted personnel of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and Public Health Service. (Public, No. 210.)

The act for examination and report on irrigation development of the Imperial Valley, Calif. (Public, No. 208.)

The act authorizing the United States Grain Corporation to provide relief to populations in Europe and the Near East by furnishing flour valued at $50,000,000. (Public, No. 167.)

The act authorizing the Secretary of War to transfer surplus motor-propelled vehicles, motor equipment, and road-making material to departments of the Government and to the States. (Public, No. 159.)

The act providing for furnishing water supply for miscellaneous purposes in connection with reclamation projects. (Public, No. 147.)

Amendment of Federal reserve act providing for corporations authorized to do foreign banking business. (Public, No. 106.)

The Sweet Act amending the war-risk insurance act, increasing the efficiency of the bureau and greatly liberalizing the provisions of the act in the payment of compensation to disabled soldiers, sailors, and marines. (Public, No. 104.)

Resolution authorizing the appointment of a commission to confer with the Governments of the Dominion and certain Provinces of Canada with a view of securing cancellation of restriction on the exportation of pulp wood, with a view of reducing the price of print paper. (Pocket veto.)

The act authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase certain Federal farm loan bonds. (Public resolution, No. 45.)

THE RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION BILL.

At the beginning of its special session the Sixty-sixth Congress was confronted with the great problem of unscrambling the railroads of the country, of restoring them after 26 months of Government control to private management under Government supervision. The questions involved and the problems presented were among the most difficult and important a legislative body has ever been confronted with. These questions and problems were faced courageously, and it is believed were solved wisely and in the interest of the entire people. If the Sixty-sixth Congress had enacted no other piece of constructive legislation the enactment of this one measure would have entitled it to the favorable consideration of the country. The wide difference of opinion existing relative to the questions at issue were so harmonized and adjusted as to commend the legislation to the judgment of fair-minded men among the employees, the owners, the individuals, and institutions interested in the stability of railway enterprises, and the great public these systems were created to serve.

THE SWEET ACT, INCREASING COMPENSATION OF DISABLED VETERANS OF THE WORLD WAR.

Among the more important legislation of the Congress is the so-called Sweet Act, amending the war-risk insurance act for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of the War Risk Bureau and greatly liberalizing the provisions of the war-risk act in payment of compensation to disabled soldiers, sailors, and marines. The

compensation features of the war-risk act were considered quite liberal at the time that act became a law, but with the passage of time it became quite evident that the provisions made for incapacitated soldiers for their compensation, for their hospital treatment, and for their maintenance during vocational training was not sufficient to meet the desire of the country to provide liberally for its disabled defenders.

The act in question, as well as other legislation of the same character, and the large appropriations for this purpose, to which reference has been made, was the result. The United States stands at the forefront of the nations as being the most liberal of any in its provisions for compensation, insurance, hospital treatment, and vocational training of its soldiers, sailors, and marines, and in caring for the dependents of those who lost their lives in the Great War.

THE COAL AND OIL LAND LEASING BILL.

It is more than a decade since forward-looking men began an agitation for the retention in public ownership of title to lands containing oil and coal and other essential minerals with a view of preserving control over them in the interest of the general public. Bills having that object in view were introduced and considered ten or twelve years ago, and for the last eight years Congress has had measures of that character under consideration practically every session, and on several occasions legislation of this character has passed one House or the other. In the last session of the Sixty-fifth Congress a coal and oil land leasing bill reached the stage of conference. During all this period, however, it was impossible to reconcile conflicting opinions. Four Democratic Congresses failed to secure satisfactory legislation, any legislation at all, in fact, and it remained for the Republican Congress to perfect the legislation and secure its passage. The bill as it became a law still contains some of the defects inherent in the faulty original drafting at the beginning of the Wilson administration, but as it was placed upon the statute books it is far and away a better measure than any of its predecessors, and will prove satisfactorily workable under wise administration.

The passage of this bill stamps the work of the Republican Sixty-sixth Congress as being of a wisely practical character, as being progressively and constructively responsive to the best opinion of the times. Republican administrations under Roosevelt and Taft laid the foundations for this legislation and urged its enactment, and after eight years of Democratic failure to secure the legislation a Republican Congress places upon the statute books the legislation which had its genesis in former Republican administrations.

The oil and coal land leasing act not only safeguards the general public interest in these fuel and power resources; it not only promises a large increase, with a consequent reduction of prices, in the supply of gasoline, but is of particular interest to the great West, whose national reclamation fund will be greatly enriched and enlarged by the income from the rents and royalties. More than $5,000,000 of royalties collected in anticipation of this legislation is now on hand and will be available within the next few months for expenditure under the national reclamation act for the irrigation and development of arid and semiarid lands. While it is impossible at this time to accurately estimate the annual income from these sources for irrigation development through and under the national reclamation law, it may be safely and conservatively stated that it will amount to several millions of dollars annually, and eventually to tens of millions. As the Republican Party placed upon the statute books the national reclamation law, it has, through the enactment of the oil and coal land leasing act, provided a fund which will supplement and take the place of the diminishing resources to the fund from the sale of public lands and insure the continuation and permanence of this great work of national development. Western States having these resources will also find their State revenues much increased and their school and road funds greatly benefited by the share they will receive of the receipts. No legislation of recent years is of more far-reaching beneficial character than this.

THE WATER-POWER BILL.

When the water-power bill was signed another one of the great constructive measures which had their genesis in the constructive, progressive republicanism of the days of Roosevelt and Taft became a law. We appreciate the efforts of our Democratic friends during nearly eight years of administration to agree upon and enact this legislation. In its continued consideration during almost the entire period of Mr. Wilson's administration the Democratic Congresses indicated their appreciation of the wisdom of the policies and purposes of former Republican administrations and Congresses, but they failed to secure results, and it became our duty and our privilege to complete in a Republican Congress the work that former Republican administrations had advised and advanced.

One must have a lively imagination to fully grasp the far-reaching effect of the water-power legislation. But this we know, that it realizes the dream and hope and purpose of men who have given great study to the question of the development of hydroelectric energy from water power, and if it shall prove as useful and helpful in the development of the Nation's water resources as even the most moderate of its sponsors expect, it will prove to be one of the real epoch-making enactments of legislation. Its passage is one of the notable achievements of the Sixty-sixth Congress.

THE BUDGET.

So many others have discussed the budget at length and in detail that I shall make only brief reference to it. No one knows and no one can tell just how well the budget system that has been worked out will operate. This we do know, and can say with assurance, that from the beginning of our Government and up to this time we have never had a businesslike system for the forecast of revenues; for the determination and presentation of estimates; for the balance of income with outgo. We have never had a system that even attempted to adjust the proposed appropriation garment to the anticipated or expected cloth of income. Until we do have a system which, at least, attempts something of that sort we can not hope to have economical or businesslike methods in government.

The budget proposes such a system of government efficiency, and proposes it in a form which has the commendation of all of those friends of good government who have given the matter most consideration. The enactment of budget legislation constitutes conclusive evidence of the determination of the Republican Congress to establish the best possible conditions in the public service. It is a triumph of wise, intelligent, constructive legislation. It is the fruition of the hope of the most intelligent and disinterested workers in the field of national efficiency and economy.

But the budget met a presidential veto—met it because the Chief Executive, who also pocket vetoed the resolution taking from him many of his extraordinary and autocratic war powers—allowed this great governmental reform to fail because it contained a provision under which there were two officials whose duty it was to be to audit and examine the expenditures of the departments over whom he would not have the power of removal. Every student of budgetary legislation agrees that an essential to economy and efficiency in governmental expenditure and service is an independent audit and examination of expenditures and operations, and that there can be no such independent audit if the head of the administration, whose expenditures and operations are to be examined, has the power of official life and death over those responsible for such audit and examination. But the President, clinging to every thread and vestige of authority, declined to approve legislation which would insure unhampered and uninfluenced examination of public affairs.

So disinterestedly anxious was the Congress to inaugurate this great reform, to substitute responsibility and efficiency for extravagance and inefficiency, that rather than allow the budget to fail the House agreed to give the President the power to remove the very officers who were to audit and examine the administration's affairs, and thus amended passed the bill, but in the Senate in the closing hours a single Democratic Senator blocked the way and rendered the enactment of the legislation impossible. Thus, for the time being, this great reform is halted by action of the President and his party, but the Republican Party is pledged to it, and if we can not secure it under the present President in the coming session we shall obtain it under a Republican President in the new Congress.

REFORM OF THE RULES OF THE HOUSE.

To make budgetary legislation effective there must be a concentration and coordination of responsibility over appropriations in the legislative body responsible for expenditures. In order to secure such responsibility and coordination it was necessary to amend the rules of the House of Representatives and take from seven important committees now reporting appropriation bills their authority and jurisdiction in that regard and place the authority and responsibility in a single committee. In order to accomplish this it became necessary for many Members of the House to take the self-sacrificing position of voluntarily relinquishing power and influence they now possess. The distinguished minority leader, Mr. CHAMP CLARK, of Missouri, said it could not and would not be done; but he failed to realize the self-denying temper and the determination of this Republican Congress in the fulfillment of its pledges and in the establishment of economy and efficiency. Though the budget failed, the reform of the rules of the House stands; though

the President defeated reform as applied to the jurisdiction of the Executive, the House of Representatives reformed its appropriating legislative procedure.

THE CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREMENT BILL.

For many years public sentiment has been strengthening in the direction of approval of a bill for the retirement of the civil-service employees of the Government. The principle of retirement has been growing in favor among intelligent employers of all classes, and this sentiment on behalf of the principle has been reflected in the Congress. While there was some difference of opinion on the subject, the retirement bill received the support of a great majority of Members, and it is believed by all those who have given the matter most careful study and consideration to be a well-considered and entirely defensible piece of legislation.

The enactment of the civil-service retirement law is another evidence of the constructive, progressive spirit of the Congress. It will bring comfort and relief and peace of mind to many worthy public servants who have reached, and are soon to reach, the age of retirement. It is also believed that it will tend greatly to improve the efficiency of the public service and will in the long run prove to be a measure not only of mercy and of justice but of practical economy as well.

THE ARMY REORGANIZATION ACT.

The Great War found us unprepared, and at its close it became necessary to attempt not only to lay broader and better foundations for the permanent national defense but to recognize and provide for the changes in the instrumentalities and methods of warfare which the war had developed, and to adopt as a permanent policy changes in military organization and practice, the necessity and advisability of which the war had demonstrated. Hence the necessity for an Army reorganization act. Heretofore a Congress would have been notable if it had accomplished nothing more out of the ordinary and routine than the reorganization of the Military Establishment; but this great work has been but one of the constructive legislative programs of the Congress, and its accomplishment in addition to all the other important work of the Congress is an evidence of the fidelity, the industry, and the efficiency with which the Congress has addressed itself to the problems before it.

THE MERCHANT MARINE AND SHIPPING ACT.

We went into the Great War with the smallest high-seas shipping fleet possessed by any first-class nation. We came out of the war having spent and assumed obligations totaling more than $3,500,000,000 and with a merchant fleet second only to that of Great Britain. No more trying problem has ever been presented to a legislative body than that presented to this Congress in the matter of making provisions for this great fleet, for the protection of the public interest in our enormous investment, and in the establishment of a permanent shipping policy.

In view of the wide differences of opinion which have heretofore prevailed among our people touching these matters we might well have been skeptical and pessimistic of the possibility of settling and adjusting differences and securing an agreement on merchant marine and shipping legislation, and yet it was accomplished in a period of less than a year from the time it was undertaken. And thus this great constructive measure—the Greene-Jones merchant marine and shipping bill—the first comprehensive, constructive legislative program for a merchant fleet since the Civil War, became one of the notable accomplishments of the session of Congress just closed.

THE RESOLUTION FOR THE REPEAL OF THE WAR LAWS.

The President having prevented the ratification of the treaty of Versailles by insisting that there should be no reservations insuring American independence and sovereignty, and the right of the American Congress to declare war, and the President having further prevented the establishment of conditions of peace, the restoration of normal relationships with our late enemies, and the fixing of the date of the repeal of the war laws by the veto of the peace resolution, it became necessary for the Congress, by resolution, to attempt to restore normal conditions of legislation, declaring that the date of the approval of the resolution should be considered as equivalent to the date of the establishment of peace or of the declaration of a state of peace in affecting the repeal of the war laws.

The Congress, mindful however of the benefits possible to be obtained through the enforcement of the Lever Act, expressly reserved that act and certain other enumerated acts from the effect of the general repeal. The provisions of this resolution must have been, at least should have been, known to the President for some time, for the body of the resolution was similar to a section of the peace resolution, and the exceptions to the repealing effect of the resolution had, I am confident, the approval of the administration.

The resolution reached the President at 2.32 p. m. June 5. The 10 days, which it is now held the President has in which to sign, has elapsed, and so far no word has come from within the mysterious recesses of the White House relative to the resolution. We must, therefore, assume that it has been ignored—pocket vetoed. And thus by the pocket-vetoing, without a word of explanation or excuse, of a resolution passed by the almost unanimous vote of the House and Senate, repealing the war laws, except those under which the administration ought to, but does not, punish profiteering and the law under which the President regulates trading with Germany and Austria, the President retains for another six months all the vast autocratic powers conferred upon him freely by the Congress for the purpose of winning the war.

History has no parallel for this procedure. Monarchs have lost their thrones—and their heads—for less definite, conspicuous, and effective thwarting of the public will as expressed by the people's representatives. History records no case where an Executive acting under a Constitution has so defiantly, so tenaciously, clung to power conferred to meet an emergency when the emergency had passed and the people's representatives had willed a return to normal conditions. Only the uncompromising autocrats of history furnish a parallel.

I note that in a statement from the White House, dated Friday, June 18, mostly reiterating his attitude on the League of Nations, the President, apropos of nothing in particular, stated "Republican leaders in Congress cried aloud for the repeal of some of the measures which they well knew protected the people from more serious evils than they would have the country know," and following this cryptic utterance the President proceeds to refer to the Lever Food Control Act and to suggest that the "time for repealing it is not yet." Just what this all means no one but the President can know, for no one, so far as I know, has proposed a repeal of the Lever Act. That act is, as I have stated, expressly excepted from the provisions of the repeal resolution, and yet, if this statement from the President was not intended to mislead people into believing that Congress had attempted to repeal the Lever Act, it could have had no intelligent or understandable purpose. No; we did not want to repeal the Lever Act, although it is true that the administration has utterly, deplorably, pitiably failed to enforce it, and give the people the relief from extortion, profiteering, and consequent high prices which that act was intended to give. While the President clings with more than the tenacity of a reactionary ruler of the Old World to every shred and vestige of the extraordinary powers granted him during the war, his administration has failed utterly to give to the American people the benefits which it was hoped and claimed the exercise of this great power would afford.

AID FOR THOSE DISABLED IN INDUSTRY.

No act of the recent session of Congress so clearly and definitely proclaims the Congress as progressive, constructive, and forward looking in its policy and program as the act "to provide for the promotion of the vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry and for their return to civil employment." The act provides for Federal cooperation with the States in this worthy purpose and appropriates the sum of $750,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922, and the sum of $1,000,000 annually thereafter, in addition to appropriations amounting to upward of $100,000 annually for administrative and like purposes. For many years leaders in philanthropy, charity, in welfare work, in labor, and in business have been challenging the attention of the country to the duty of caring for and restoring to lives of usefulness the thousands who are annually incapacitated by accidents in the industries and in agriculture, and reduced to a crippled and more or less helpless condition. A number of the States have responded to appeals of this kind and have made provision for the vocational training and rehabilitation of such unfortunates, with a view of enabling them to become self-supporting and thus live self-respecting lives. The call has come for the Federal Government to aid in this work; to give it encouragement and direction; and the legislation referred to is the result. Its enactment is the best proof that could have been given that the Congress that has just adjourned is alive to and abreast of the progressive, constructive spirit of the times.

THE WOMAN'S BUREAU.

The Great War brought the establishment in the Department of Labor of a small organization devoted to the interests of women in industry. It was one of the few of the new activities of the Department of Labor that were really intelligently, conscientiously, and usefully managed. The appropriation for this purpose was continued in the sundry civil bill for the current fiscal year, and now the Congress has placed upon the statute books an act which confers upon this work the dignity of a bureau and assures its permanency and extension. In the legis-

lation in question Congress recognizes the peculiar problems surrounding women engaged in industrial and gainful pursuits and makes provision which it is believed will be helpful and useful in a marked and notable degree.

BANKING CORPORATIONS TO PROMOTE FOREIGN BUSINESS.

With the return of normal conditions in the world we shall be required to meet the liveliest competition in the maintenance and extension of our foreign trade. The readjustments of trade and commerce following the war are rapidly taking place, and we shall not only be required to be up and doing to extend our trade but we shall find it difficult to retain what we already have unless we avail ourselves of the very best possible facilities and equipment. With a view of meeting these conditions Congress enacted the so-called Edge bill, providing banking corporations authorized to do a foreign banking business. This legislation meets a long-felt need in connection with our foreign commerce and will undoubtedly prove to be one of the important legislative enactments of the Congress.

ACT TO EXCLUDE AND EXPEL ANARCHISTIC ALIENS.

Those who are not of our citizenship are among us on sufferance; they are, in a way, the Nation's guests. It is bad enough to have citizens teaching questionable doctrines, preaching violence, belittling our Government and institutions, stirring up trouble; such action on the part of one who is merely here as a sojourner or by our good will is intolerable. The alien who does not approve of our system of government and who preaches his disapproval and encourages resistance to it should be promptly deported. He is a guest who has violated every rule that should govern the acts of sojourners in a foreign land.

The enactment of this legislation will, it is hoped, put an end to the combination of farce, comedy, and tragedy that has characterized the activities of the administration in handling dangerous, objectionable, and criminal aliens since the war began and down to this time. It has been a most amazing combination of petty, persistent, and pestiferous persecution on the one hand and of aimless, spineless, purposeless pettifogging and inaction on the other. While certain departments of the Government have been in many cases overzealous, inefficient, and unintelligent in the handling and manufacture of cases, certain other departments, especially the Department of Labor, and particularly certain officials of that department, have apparently used their appropriations and their authority largely for the purpose of shielding some of the most notorious of the alien anarchists and in rendering abortive the efforts which are made to enforce the law and to protect the country.

ACT AUTHORIZING PURCHASE BY TREASURY OF FARM LOAN BONDS.

The abnormal conditions of the money market and the prevailing high rates of interest have rendered it temporarily impossible for the Farm Loan Board to dispose of its bonds. With a view of remedying this situation and enabling the farm loan banks to make loans that are pending and have been approved, provision was made for the purchase of such bonds by the Treasury. It is hoped and believed this action will afford greatly needed relief.

GENERAL LEGISLATION.

It is impossible, in the course of a statement like this, to refer at length to many measures of importance which were considered and enacted by the Congress, though many which I have not referred to are worthy of extended and special mention.

With a view of relieving distress among the populations of eastern Europe and adjacent regions the United States Grain Corporation was authorized to dispose of 5,000,000 barrels of flour, of an estimated value of $50,000,000, on such terms and conditions as would accomplish the objects and purposes sought.

With a view of increasing the efficiency of the Army and Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Public Health Service, provision was made for increased compensation for the enlisted personnel of those services and for the commissioned personnel of the lower grades.

With a view of affording a settlement of the great problems of reclamation and development which are presented by the conditions in the Imperial Valley and the surrounding region in southern California, provision was made for an investigation of the situation with a view of entering upon a program which will afford and provide the solution of the problems presented and the complete development of this great region.

With a view of reducing, if possible, the price of print paper a resolution was adopted by the House and Senate authorizing the appointment of a commission to confer with the Governments of the Dominion and certain Provinces of Canada with a view of securing the removal of restrictions on the exportation of pulp wood. We have not heard from this important resolution since it went to the White House in the closing days of the session; it may or may not have met with Executive approval; nobody seems to know. All of which is an illuminating illustration of the ways of the Chief Executive.

TOTAL VOLUME OF WORK.

The total volume of the work of the Congress may perhaps be realized when it is stated that during the two sessions over 15,000 bills were introduced. Of these 280 became laws, as compared with 243 in the corresponding sessions of the Sixty-fifth, or war Congress. Eight hundred and fifty-eight reports were made from committees, as compared with 618 reports in the like sessions of the Sixty-fifth Congress. Not only has the business of the Congress been voluminous, but it has been more important in the legislative matters considered and passed upon than any Congress since the Civil War. The preceding Congress during the Great War made larger appropriations, but they were necessarily made without the usual detail of examination. That Congress passed much legislation, but it was necessarily largely of a temporary emergency character, and therefore did not require the careful consideration which permanent, constructive legislation such as this Congress has handled requires.

I append to and make part of my remarks a statistical recapitulation and comparison of the first and second sessions of the Sixty-sixth with the corresponding sessions of the Sixty-fifth Congress, as follows:

Statistical recapitulation and comparison, first and second sessions, Sixty-sixth Congress and Sixty-fifth Congress, and of both sessions of each Congress combined.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

	First session, Sixty-sixth Congress.	First session, Sixty-fifth Congress.	Second session, Sixty-sixth Congress.	Second session, Sixty-fifth Congress.	First and second sessions, Sixty-sixth Congress.	First and second sessions, Sixty-fifth Congress.
Convened	May 19, 1919	Apr. 2, 1917	Dec. 1, 1919	Dec. 3, 1917	.....	.....
Adjourned	Nov. 19, 1919	Oct. 6, 1917	June 5, 1920	Nov. 21, 1918	.....	.....
Calendar days	184	188	188	354	372	542
Actual days in session	144	114	146	247	290	361
Bills introduced	10,735	6,511	3,725	6,661	14,460	13,172
Joint resolutions introduced	249	163	132	189	381	352
Simple resolutions introduced	397	173	193	279	590	452
Concurrent resolutions introduced	38	26	23	35	61	61
Total bills and resolutions	11,419	6,873	4,073	7,164	15,492	14,037
Public laws:						
Approved	71	91	193	152	264	243
Without approval	20	.....	.....	.....	20	.....
Over veto	2	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
Total public laws	93	91	193	152	286	243
Public resolutions:						
Approved	18	16	34	30	49	46
Without approval	3	.....	.....	.....	3	.....
Total public resolutions	21	16	34	30	52	46
Private laws and resolutions	7	2	68	30	75	32

Statistical recapitulation and comparison, first and second sessions, Sixty-sixth Congress and Sixty-fifth Congress, and of both sessions of each Congress combined—Continued.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—continued.

	First session, Sixty-sixth Congress.	First session, Sixty-fifth Congress.	Second session, Sixty-sixth Congress.	Second session, Sixty-fifth Congress.	First and second sessions, Sixty-sixth Congress.	First and second sessions, Sixty-fifth Congress.
Committee reports:						
Union Calendar	153	70	212	203	365	273
House Calendar	106	71	132	132	238	203
Private Calendar	109	4	146	138	255	142
Total	368	145	490	473	858	618
Reported bills acted upon:						
Union Calendar	107	45	111	148	218	193
House Calendar	85	53	83	93	168	146
Private Calendar	47	3	37	30	84	33
Total	239	101	231	271	470	372
Reported bills pending	129	44	259	202	388	246
Total	368	145	490	473	858	618
Resolutions agreed to:						
Simple	121	52	112	117	233	169
House concurrent	11	29	8	.....	19	.....
Senate concurrent	5	4	7	.....	12	.....
	137	85	127	.....	264	.....

THE INVESTIGATIONS OF THE CONGRESS.

The Congress has during the two sessions carried on certain investigations of war expenditure on which quite voluminous reports had been made. As I stated at the beginning of the Congress, the investigations were undertaken not for the purpose of attempting to reflect on the character of anyone or for the primary purpose of uncovering fraud but rather with a view of making such examinations of the vast expenditures of the war as the American people are entitled to have made. When we take into consideration the enormous expenditure, the almost numberless operations and contracts, the stupendous character of anything like a complete investigation becomes apparent, and the Congress has not been disposed to spend the large sums of money or to give the time or attention that would be necessary to a thorough and complete audit of all or even a considerable portion of the operations and expenditures.

Enough has been done, however, sufficient examinations have been made, with the very modest sums that have been expended, to prove the almost unbelievable extravagance and wastefulness of the expenditures during the war; the total lack of intelligent and coordinated effort, and the pitiable results from the expenditures in many lines. Out of the expenditures of approximately a billion dollars for aeroplanes we did not obtain a single effective fighting plane on the battle front up to the time of the signing of the armistice. Out of hundreds of millions of expenditure for ordnance, we were, to the very last, dependent wholly upon the Allies for our artillery on the fighting front. Out of a hundred million dollars of expenditure in powder plants, we obtained no powder and had nothing to show but great plants built without regard to cost and of exceedingly questionable value. Out of the recklessly extravagant expenditure on shipyards and shipping we shall have a loss of at least a billion dollars.

Turn where you will, search where you may, examine any or all of the undertakings, large or small, and with a comparatively few notable exceptions the record is one of waste and inefficiency.

Nor is the fault difficult to locate, as the primary responsibility was upon the President, so the failure to function efficiently, to coordinate effectively, to make expenditures wisely and with even reasonable economy is traceable to the Chief Executive and through him to the men whom he appointed to conduct the business of the Government. Those who are familiar with the facts know that not only was there inefficiency and incapacity in the heads and among the responsible officials of the departments but that it was utterly impossible to secure through the Chief Executive anything like teamwork or coordination of efforts between the departments.

PEOPLE DID THEIR PART WELL.

The American people did their part marvelously well; the courage and efficiency of the fighting forces was phenomenal; the influence coming from the body of the people and the aid they furnished in every way to the winning of the war was praiseworthy in the highest degree. Volunteers from every walk of life gave their time, their ability, and their money in helping to win the war. Everybody did well but the Government, and the Government simply miserably muddled through.

The Nation is so rich, its people so patriotic, resourceful, and efficient that we won the war not because of administration efficiency but in spite of it, and the investigations that have been thus far made, the information secured through the examination of officials in connection with legislation and appropriation, all prove this so fully and definitely as to make it clear beyond question to anyone who has taken the trouble to keep an open mind and to become informed.

"Didn't we win the war?" say our Democratic friends. "Yes; we won the war—thanks not to the administration but to the valor and patriotism of the American people we won it in spite of official muddling."

This Republican Congress has been engaged in the business of curtailing expenditures, compelling, so far as possible, economy and efficiency in the public service and working out the problems of restoration and constructive progress. It has performed a great and notable work, the effect of which is already apparent in Government service, in spite of official indifference and interference. The beneficial effect of the Congress is reflected in the condition of the Treasury, in the expectations of early relief from excessive tax burdens, and in the assurance of an early return to efficient performance of governmental functions and the intelligent pursuit of wise and progressive policies under Republican control.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE WORK OF THE CONGRESS.

I close, as I began, in declaring the splendid character of the work of the Congress. Having thus reviewed in some detail the more important work of the Congress, I speak with even more confidence than when my opinion expressed at the beginning of this statement was based upon my recollection of the work of the Congress as it had progressed rather than, as now, upon a review of the results. I can say without boasting and without reflecting upon the work of any former Congress that never in the same length of time has a legislative body effected so large and carefully considered economies; never has a legislative body operating for a like period enacted a greater, if as great, a volume of important constructive legislation.

Without rhyme or reason or regard to the truth the publicity organization of the Democratic national committee started and planned at the very beginning of the first session a persistent campaign of misrepresentation and belittling of the work of the Congress. That policy has been continued and persisted in apparently on the theory that a lie adhered to and frequently repeated may be accepted as the truth. As the answer to persistent misrepresentation from that and other quarters stands the record of the Congress. I submit it to the candid consideration of any honest, unprejudiced person with the assurance that the verdict will be abundantly favorable.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER F. TAGUE,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. TAGUE. Mr. Speaker, as a sincere proponent of the cause of Irish independence, I am very much disappointed in not being able to vote for a measure sympathetic to that cause before Congress adjourns. For about one year the people of the United States have been waiting for Congress to act on the so-called Mason bill, H. R. 3404. Hearings were held on December 12 and 13 last and the most eloquent and sincere advocates and opponents of Irish independence addressed the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Every phase of the bill was discussed, its every possibility gone into, and the numerous precedents for such action by this Congress advanced. In my statement before the committee I cited one precedent of importance:

HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION, ON H. R. 3404, DECEMBER 12 AND 13, 1919.

REMARKS BY HON. P. F. TAGUE, A MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

Mr. TAGUE. Mr. Chairman, I take advantage of the opportunity extended to me by the committee to reiterate my position relative to any resolution looking to the betterment of the living conditions of the people of Ireland, and in particular to place myself on record as being in hearty accord with the proposition of the United States recognizing the de facto government of Ireland as provided for in the Mason resolution.

Despite the extensive circulation by the enemies of Irishmen—not enemies of Irish home rule, as they would have you believe—I do not believe that the fear that the passage of this resolution will involve us in any difficulties with England has gained much foothold among the members of this committee. However, there may be some members of the committee who are cautious about taking what they may believe to be an unprecedented step. To their attention I would respectfully call one incident in the history of this Republic when conditions were practically the same as exist to-day in Ireland.

I would refer you back, gentlemen, to the days of the French revolution, when an effort was being made to establish the Republic of France. The question of recognizing the ambassador of that newly born Republic arose, and Daniel Webster is quoted as saying: "From President Washington's time down to the present day it has been a principle always acknowledged by the United States, that every nation possesses the right to govern itself according to its own will, to change institutions at discretion, and to transact its business through whatever agents it may think proper to employ. This cardinal point in our policy has been strongly illustrated by recognizing the many forms of political power which have been successively adopted by France in the series of revolutions with which that country has been visited. Throughout all these changes the Government of the United States has conducted itself in strict conformity to the original principles adopted by Washington, and made known to our diplomatic agents abroad, and to the nations of the world, by Mr. Jefferson's letter to Gouverneur Morris, of the 12th March, 1793; and if the French people have now substantially made another change, we have no choice but to acknowledge that also." (Moore's Digest, vol. 1, p. 126.)

Are we to-day better Americans than was Daniel Webster? Would you accuse Webster of trying to embroil his beloved country in a passage with any other foreign power? No one has yet accused Daniel Webster of treason, and he, one of our greatest patriots, has acceded to the provisions of the Mason resolution in his remarks as I have quoted them. To-day he would say, were he here, "And if the Irish people have now substantially made another change, we have no choice but to acknowledge it."

I need not go into the present conditions in Ireland at great length. That has been ably done by the preceding speakers, Judge Cohalan and Mr. Cockran. They have told you of the courts established in Ireland, of the peaceable acceptance of the authority of these courts by the people, of the Irish Parliament, of the executive departments established, of the plans to collect taxes for the expenses of this Government, and of many other instances of the determination of the Irish people to throw off the same yoke we rejected in 1776. There is in Ireland to-day none of the civil warfare that France saw in the dark days of Louis Napoleon, no clashes between the people and the military forces. It was in the midst of such proceedings in France that our Government recognized the French Republic, and are we now to say that this resolution calls for action without precedent in the pages of American history?

Gentlemen, in conclusion, may I suggest that you give this bill, now before you, your most earnest consideration and while so doing keep before you the picture of the hopeless days of Valley Forge and Bunker Hill. Remember the principes upon which this Government was founded, and deny not to any other nation or peoples the same right. Finally, remember that these Irishmen ask your help in repudiating the same taxation without representation that our forefathers fought and died for in the early days of America, the pioneer of republics. Mr. Chairman, I thank you.

Both sides of this question were heard by the committee, and it can not be said that ample opportunity was not given the opponents of Irish independence to tell their stories. Five months have passed since those hearings were held, and now the closing days of the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress see no action taken on the Mason bill by either the House or Senate. As an example of procrastination that record is without parallel in my legislative experience.

A few days ago the House Committee on Foreign Affairs reported favorably the following concurrent resolution as a substitute for the Mason bill:

Whereas the American people have always sympathized with the aspirations of every people seeking political freedom; and
Whereas the people of Ireland have shown unmistakably their desire to govern themselves; and
Whereas the conditions in Ireland to-day consequent upon the denial of that right endanger world peace; and
Whereas in particular the unrest caused by these conditions is inevitably reflected in these United States of America, tending to weaken the bonds of unity and the ancient ties of kinship which bind so many of our people to the people of Great Britain and Ireland: Therefore, in the interest of world peace and of international good will, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the House of Representatives views with concern and solicitude these conditions and expresses its sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choice.

Every promise was made to those of us interested that this bill would be taken up for consideration in the House before Congress adjourned, but the action of a small group of women in invading the galleries and floor of the House has been seized upon by the opponents of the Mason bill as sufficient reason for further delaying that important matter. The acts of this nonrepresentative body of women should be no reason for condemning a movement and desire of 20,000,000 of American citizens of Irish blood to free the peoples of their native land from the oppression of British autocracy. To my mind that is but an excuse. I am keenly disappointed that the promises made so often and so long ago can not be lived up to now. My heart is and always has been truly in favor of Irish independence, charges of my political opponents to the contrary notwithstanding, and I had hoped to be able to see a resolution sympathetic to the Irish cause passed by this Congress.

Some time ago—on April 14, to be exact—I introduced the following resolution into Congress:

House resolution 520.

Whereas a considerable number of citizens of Ireland have been subject to arrest and confined in prison institutions without being arraigned or placed on trial for any specific offense; and
Whereas the arrests of the aforesaid citizens of Ireland are based on allegations of committing acts of a political nature, directly or indirectly connected with a purpose to establish freedom and independence as a nation by the people of Ireland; and
Whereas it is an accepted principle of the law of nations that persons arrested as political offenders shall not be subject to the methods of confinement and treatment accorded those arrested for felonies; and
Whereas it is disclosed to the world that the lives of the persons arrested as aforesaid are being endangered by reason of the failure of officials representing the Government of Great Britain to arraign the imprisoned persons on any charge, grant them trial, or otherwise definitely accord judicial determination of the causes of arrest and continued imprisonment; and
Whereas the aforesaid persons arrested are as of inalienable right entitled to arraignment and trial, and, pending arraignment and trial, to be accorded that treatment which the principles of the law of nations accord to those arrested for political crimes, as distinguished from felonies: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives does hereby request the Secretary of State, with the approval of the President, to cause representation to be made to the Government of Great Britain that the aforesaid prisoners should immediately be arraigned, placed on trial, and their cases definitely disposed of by judicial process of law, or given liberty; and if to be further held with stated purpose to accord them trial they be not further subjected to methods of confinement other than those recognized by the law of nations to be applicable to acts of a political nature.

Some criticism has been directed at this resolution and at a cablegram subsequently, on May 4, sent to Premier Lloyd-George, signed by 88 Members of the House and reading as follows:

Hon. DAVID LLOYD-GEORGE,
Premier, Parliament of Great Britain:

With the profound conviction that further wars and acts of war should be avoided, and believing that wholesale arrests without arraignment or trial disturb the peace and tranquillity of a people, are destructive of human rights, and are at variance with that principle of liberty which is embodied in the United States Constitution in the provision that no person shall be "deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," the undersigned Members of Congress of the United States of America protest against further imprisonment, without arraignment or trial, of persons resident in Ireland arrested for acts of a political nature; and we ask in the spirit of American freedom and love of justice, out of our friendliness to the peoples of England and Ireland and in the name of international peace, that hereafter, if arrests based upon acts of a political nature are made in Ireland, by color of any form of authority, the right of trial shall without unreasonable delay be accorded to the accused.

It was charged that the resolution and cablegram were "ill-advised," in that "the British Government had no right to arrest Irish citizens, much less bring them to trial." The source of this criticism is known to me, and I have not paid much attention to it; but for fear that others as deeply interested as I am in the Irish cause may not have read further about the so-called Tague resolution, I desire to insert in the RECORD indorsements

I have received and favorable comments on the resolution which have appeared in recognized publications:

FRIENDS OF IRISH FREEDOM (INC.),
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS,
280 Broadway, New York City, May 15, 1920.

Hon. PETER F. TAGUE,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: It affords me great pleasure to transmit to you inclosed copy of resolution adopted by our national council at its meeting held May 14, 1920.

Esteeming your services in the cause of human freedom, I remain,
Sincerely, yours,

DIARMUID LYNCH,
National Secretary.

Copy of resolution adopted by the National Council of the Friends of Irish Freedom (Inc.), at its regular meeting held May 14, 1920, at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria, New York:

"Whereas since the last meeting of the National Council of the Friends of Irish Freedom (Inc.) this organization has continued its work along the lines adopted by the Irish Race Convention in Philadelphia, 1919, which has brought security to American ideals and advancement of the Irish cause during the years just passed; and

"Whereas the past month has witnessed the address of a semiofficial communication by 88 United States Congressmen to the premier and Parliament of Great Britain protesting against England's treatment of Irishmen taken prisoner in Ireland by the exercise of England's might; and

"Whereas the said communication has been accepted by general public opinion as a powerful expression of the feeling behind the resolution recently presented in the House of Representatives by Congressman TAGUE, of Massachusets; and

"Whereas certain publications have unfortunately dealt with the subject editorially failing to differentiate between the acknowledgment of the fact that England's power in Ireland and the acknowledgment of England's right to that power in Ireland; failing also to recall that all of the advance toward the recognition of the Irish republic by the United States of America has been gained step by step through the enlightenment of American public opinion upon conditions in Ireland, and that to condemn such further steps is to condemn aiming at the target until the bull's-eye be actually struck; and

"Whereas any such indications of difference in policy or in practice must of necessity weaken our influence in the days of struggle which lie just ahead for the ideals of liberty; and

"Whereas an official expression of judgment in the circumstances becomes imperative: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That a protest against the exercise of power upon the part of an invader involves in no sense an acknowledgment of right upon the part of such invader to exercise such power; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the public thanks of this, the supreme body of the Friends of Irish Freedom, be tendered to the 88 Congressmen, headed by Hon. CHAMP CLARK, who signed the communication described in the preamble hereto, and to Congressman TAGUE, of Massachusetts, for the introduction of his resolution; and be it finally

"*Resolved*, That the warm appreciation and recognition of the National Council be extended to Capt. Daniel T. O'Connell, of Boston, for the splendid services which he has rendered and continues to render as director of our bureau at Washington."

D. LYNCH,
National Secretary.

[From the Gaelic American, Saturday, May 15, 1920.]

IRISH FACTIONISTS AIDING ENGLAND.

The protest against the ill-treatment of Irish political prisoners signed by 88 Members of Congress and cabled to Lloyd-George, British premier, and the Parliament of Great Britain, was a historic American document of which the signers have every reason to be proud. It pilloried the British Government before the world and showed that its tyrannical methods of ruling Ireland are wholly indefensible and inexcusable. That was a service to Ireland of the most important kind. It strengthened her demand for independence with American public opinion, and it put England to shame.

The effect in England may be gauged by the outburst of anger in the House of Commons and in the English daily newspapers which was reported in the cable dispatches. The more outspoken of the Englishmen wanted reprisals and attacked the United States for meddling in England's "domestic" affairs. The butchery and torture of Irishmen is a "domestic" privilege which England wants to be allowed to continue unmolested, and this dignified and emphatic protest from Washington upset their nerves and ruffled their temper, just as it gave comfort and consolation to the people of Ireland. It was much more effective for the moment, because the treatment of the prisoners was the news of the day, than a resolution recommending a political settlement of the Irish question, and it demonstrated the absolute necessity for a complete change of government in Ireland. In this respect it was similar to the protests against Spanish tyranny and cruelty in Cuba which prepared American public opinion for the intervention, which later set Cuba free. It ought, therefore, to be satisfactory to all thinking Irish citizens, and it undoubtedly is to 99 per cent of them. It is a step in the direction of recognition of the republic of Ireland; it prepares the way for it and gives a reason for recognition which appeals strongly to the American people's sense of justice and humanity, which is one of their most marked characteristics.

That this aspect of the cabled protest was at once clearly perceived by England's kept organs here is shown by the comments of the New York Times and the Evening Post. The editorial writers of these papers were very much perturbed at such a flagrant violation of international comity and the danger it involved of England resenting it, which would apparently be a terrible thing for the United States. Mr. Ochs (born in Germany, but more English than the English themselves) was very wroth, but tried to disguise his anger by dull sarcasm. But he left no doubt that he considered the protest a dreadful thing, that will surely hurt America later on. He doubtless wishes it so. Mr. Lamont, of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., who bought the Evening Post with English money for the British Government, was even more shocked than the bovine editor of the Times. So he got one of his new English scribes to point out the inconsistency of opposing the League of Nations and then sending a protest to England, which the league could attend to (by promptly smothering it) if the United States were a member of it. Neither of the two English organs could well defend the horrible treatment of the Irish prisoners, and they did not attempt to do so. The great crime in their eyes was not torturing men to death in prison, but the breach of international etiquette involved in protesting against it and interfering with a question of "domestic British politics." It was quite clear to them that the congressional protest gave a hard knock to the theory that Ireland is a "domestic British question" and that it practically recognized Ireland as a separate political entity held by force against the will of the people. This is the thing that stands out most clearly in the British and Anglo-American comment on the protest. It aroused rage in England and among England's hirelings in America because it was a hard blow to England. This is an incontrovertible fact and the chief feature from the Irish point of view.

There are two ways of estimating the character of action of this kind—its effect on our own people and its effect on our enemies. From both these points of view the congressional protest must be regarded as a distinct service to the Irish cause. It has encouraged and stimulated our own people by giving evidence of strong sympathy with Ireland in the American Congress, and it has disconcerted our enemies by putting them in the wrong before the civilized world. The attempt made by the Evening Post's Englishman (who is probably not a citizen) to show that it is all because of the forthcoming elections and the desire to get Irish votes only calls attention to the very important fact that those votes count by millions and will probably be the decisive factor in the presidential contest and in all the congressional battles in the Northern, Middle, and Western States next November. Supposing the Congressmen were not sincere (which is a monstrous assumption), their action is a recognition of this very important fact, and England is welcome to all the consolation she can get out of it.

The National Council of the Friends of Irish Freedom has expressed emphatic approval of this congressional action, and it has authority to speak for the Irish people in the United States as no other body has or ever had in the history of the race in America. It was selected to govern the Irish movement in America by the Irish race convention in Philadelphia, the greatest and most representative gathering ever held in the United States, and that power was delegated to it. Yet a small handful of Irishmen and two Irish papers, egged on by a sinister influence which seeks to disrupt the Irish movement in America to serve England's ends, and one Boston branch of the Friends of Irish Freedom, have undertaken to undo the work of the national council and to defy its authority. They have attacked the Tague resolution and the congressional protest on the absurd ground that they do not recognize the Irish Republic and would interfere with the passage of the Mason bill. One of the dearest objects of the man who is undoubtedly directing this revolt against the national council and the attempt to split the national movement is to defeat the Mason bill, as he tried to beat the Gallagher resolution and to stop Irish opposition to the English League of Nations. But he works by devious methods and his best plan to deceive his dupes is to pretend extraordinary zeal for the Irish Republic. He wanted the resolutions in Philadelphia to make a demand for direct recognition of the Irish Republic, which would give President Wilson the chance he wanted of rejecting it. That was the object he wanted to accomplish. And in the same breath he wanted all opposition withdrawn to the League of Nations, which would strangle the Irish Republic at its birth. This showed the utter insincerity of his pretended zeal for the Irish Republic.

Similarly now this British agent wants all congressional protest against the ill-treatment of Irish prisoners stopped, on the ground that a demand that they be given a trial—a demand which puts England in a bad hole, because she admits she has no evidence—is an insult to the Irish Republic and a bar to the passage of the Mason bill. Of course, the pretence is transparently dishonest, but we have some pinheads and ax grinders among us who have seized on the pretext for doing mischief and venting their personal spite, so they have flooded the Congressmen with marked papers containing attacks upon them. The result is what the arch plotter intended—widespread resentment and disgust among the Congressmen at unmerited abuse from some of the people they tried to please, and a visible cooling off in the enthusiasm for the Mason bill.

If the bill fails to pass, or even be reported, the responsibility will rest on the shoulders of the factionists who have attacked the Congressmen who were doing the best they could for Ireland. And the factionists will not be allowed to get away from that responsibilty. They are acting under the direction of an insidious and malevolent influence outside the national movement, and their efforts to wreck it will be decisively defeated. Some of them openly appeal to branches to help them in their factional attacks, and are aiming plainly at disunion. The organization can not tolerate this kind of thing and live. The chief effort of the British agent is to discredit the organization and its leaders in Washington, so that the splendid work for Ireland now going on there may be stopped and England may triumph once more. Washington is now the center of the battle for Ireland, and our defeat there would be disastrous. England realizes this, and therefore is putting forth her best efforts. As so often before, Irish factionists, blinded by passion, are the instruments she uses. We must not be defeated; but to avert defeat this impudent attempt to create disunion in our ranks and paralyze our efforts must be stamped out at all costs. The bull must be taken by the horns at once.

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[From the True Voice, published every Friday by the True Voice Publishing Co., Omaha, Nebr.]

Premier Lloyd-George has declared that the protest signed by 88 Members of Congress against imprisoning Irishmen without charges and without trial will not affect the policy of the British Government. We did not expect that it would. But it is well to have the protest on record. It also bothers Lloyd-George somewhat to explain to the world why such a protest should be made. He may not heed it, but the world knows that a condition exists in Ireland that mocks at all the professions of love for liberty made by England during the war.

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[From the Western World, Des Moines, Iowa.]

ECHOES FROM THE NATIONAL CAPITAL—CONGRESSMEN CABLE PROTEST TO LLOYD-GEORGE—10,000 IN HOLY NAME PARADE—PRAISES AMERICA.

(By Stanton Lawton.)

Another step forward in bringing the British cabinet to a realization that America insists that Ireland be freed from oppression was taken by the 88 Congressmen who on May 4 cabled to Lloyd-George and the British Parliament the following protest:

"With the profound conviction that further wars and acts of war should be avoided, and believing that wholesale arrests without ar-

raignment or trial disturb the peace and tranquillity of a people, are destructive of human rights, and are at variance with that principle of liberty which is embodied in the United States Constitution in the provision that no person shall be 'deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law,' the undersigned Members of Congress of the United States of America protest against further imprisonment without arraignment or trial of persons resident in Ireland arrested for acts of a political nature; and we ask in the spirit of American freedom and love of justice, out of our friendliness to the peoples of England and Ireland and in the name of international peace, that hereafter, if arrests based upon acts of a political nature are made in Ireland, by color of any form of authority, the right of trial shall without unreasonable delay be accorded to the accused."

This cablegram supports the resolution introduced two weeks ago by Representative PETER F. TAGUE, of Massachusetts, who also headed the committee of 20 Congressmen who conferred with Secretary of State Colby, asking that the State Department seek some form of relief for those held in prison without arraignment or trial.

At this writing Secretary Colby has not yet determined what action, if any, he will take.

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[From the Bristol Herald Courier, May 10, 1920.]

AMERICA AND THE IRISH PRISONERS.

(By Charles Fulkerson.)

The protest against the savage treatment of Irish prisoners contained in the Tague resolution, followed by a cablegram to Lloyd-George, premier of Great Britain, and to the British Parliament, signed by nearly a hundred Members of Congress, which has already been sent, is one of the best services rendered to the Irish cause in many years. It is also a service to humanity by the greatest legislative body in the world, of the same character as that rendered to Cuba by various congressional resolutions, and by action of the United States Government in protest against the tyranny of Spain in Cuba.

The resolution and the protest differ essentially in character from all previous action taken in Congress in regard to Ireland, because they have a different purpose. The Gallagher resolution passed by the House of Representatives on the eve of President Wilson's second departure for Europe, asked for self-determination for Ireland; the Borah resolution, passed by a vote of 60 to 1 in the Senate, requested the admission of Ireland's delegates to the peace conference; the Gerry reservation to the peace treaty provided that Ireland be made a member of the League of Nations; and the Mason bill, which has not yet been passed, provides for practical recognition of the republic of Ireland. All of these dealt with the political solution of the Irish question. The present resolution and the cabled protest are an arraignment to the world of England's treatment of Irish political prisoners who are held without trial, treated as convicted men, and subjected to a savage system of persecution and torture from which England's ordinary convicts are free and which is not even sanctioned by British laws regulating the treatment of prisoners. The resolution and the cabled protest are an arraignment to the American people and to the whole world of England's conduct which can not fail to have a tremendous effect. They show that her professions of zeal for liberty and humanity are hollow and insincere, and that she is herself practicing the same tortures on her victims as her statesmen denounced in Czarist Russia and as Gladstone exposed in Naples and Sicily under the Bourbon King. To the American sense of justice the strongest appeal that can be made is that men are treated as convicts without a trial, and the demand of a trial is a challenge that England can not meet. Again and again Bonar Law has admitted in Parliament that the Sinn Feiners can not be tried because the Government has no evidence. His explanation that witnesses are deterred by fear of assassination is filmsy and inconclusive. Whatever the reason may be, they have no evidence against the prisoners, and they admit it, so trial by jury, the so-called palladium of liberty, is abolished, and men whom they can not try are tortured inhumanly by the despotic power of a Government which tramples on all safeguards of liberty that prevail in free countries.

Under these circumstances the demand coming from the American Congress that these prisoners be tried or liberated is the most practical service that can be rendered to the imprisoned men. The fact that the demand comes from the American Congress, or an important influential portion of its membership, puts the Lloyd-George Government in a very difficult position. The Government must either refuse to comply with it, and thereby injure itself still more in the estimation of the American people, or accede to it and put itself in a still worse position. If it heeds the demand, it can only comply with it in either of two ways—bringing the men to trial or liberating them. It admits it has not the evidence to try them. So the only other alternative is to liberate them. No government was ever on the horns of a worse dilemma. That is the main consideration in regard to the resolution.

There is nothing whatever in the resolution or the protest that is *inconsistent* with any previous action of Congress or with the provisions of the Mason bill. The British Government is still there, and it is against its action in regard to prisoners whom it holds that the protest is made. Refusal to heed it will strengthen the case of the Irish republic with the American people, while compliance with it would be an admission that England is in the wrong. Take it either way, therefore, and a great service is rendered to the Irish cause.

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[From America, May 15, 1920.]

IRELAND.

On May 4, 88 Congressmen, 62 of whom are Democrats and 26 Republicans, sent this protest to Premier Lloyd-George and the British Parliament against the imprisonment, without arraignment or trial, of persons arrested in Ireland:

"With the profound conviction that further wars and acts of war should be avoided, and believing that wholesale arrests without arraignment or trial disturb the peace and tranquillity of a people, are destructive of human rights, and are at variance with that principle of liberty which is embodied in the United States Constitution in the provision that no person shall be 'deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law,' the undersigned, Members of the Congress of the United States of America, protest against further imprisonment, without arraignment or trial, of persons resident in Ireland arrested for acts of a political nature; and we ask in the spirit of American freedom and love of justice, out of our friendliness to the peoples of England and Ireland and in the name of international peace, that hereafter, if arrests based upon acts of a political nature are made in Ireland, by color of any form of authority, the right of trial shall without unreasonable delay be accorded to the accused."

On May 6 this message and allied topics were the subjects of interpellation and debate in Commons. Bottomly, the American baiter, asked what the Government knew of the Irish loan, De Valera's triumphant progress through the United States, his reception by governors, State legislatures, and so on. He further inquired if these did not constitute unfriendly acts. Capt. Benn demanded that the Government take steps to halt the American campaign in favor of Irish freedom. Mr. Chadwick was grieved that New Orleans honored "the outlaw," De Valera, with the freedom of the city. In the House of Lords, one Smith, now known as Baron Birkerhead, said that Great Britain was determined to continue its present policy toward Sinn Fein. There would be no relaxation of severity and no parley. He declared:

"Every single motive which led the United States to resist the attempt at secession would operate with even greater force to determine this country, and he would remind the Sinn Feiners that the race which had resisted the might of the German Empire would not yield to a section of desperate people in Ireland."

Birkerhead was supported by a cable sent to Northcliffe by Demarest Lloyd, of Boston, president of that very amusing society known as the Loyal Coalition. Lloyd called the Congressmen's message impertinent and consoled Great Britain by assuring the premier that these congressmen would pay at the polls for this meddlesome interference. The Methodist conference in session at Des Moines was equally sympathetic with Britain and passed a resolution which, in effect, condemned Irish freedom, the second resolution of the kind passed by Methodist conferences. And this in spite of the fact that within 15 months more than 5,000 Irish men and women have been arrested and jailed, in most cases without even a charge.

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OMAHA, NEBR., *May 22, 1920.*

Hon. PETER F. TAGUE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The peace treaty in the covenant of the League of Nations, evolved from the secret session held in Versailles, placed the great, free Republic of America in a false position. Nations were led to believe that America's protest against and the monstrous evil of government by conquest was intended to apply only to the subdued Provinces held by Germany and Austria.

The 88 Congressmen, among whom you have the undying honor of being enrolled, have truly represented the policy of a free people that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

The Irish Self-Determination Club of Nebraska hereby expresses its heartfelt gratitude for the unselfish, humanitarian principles contained in your protest to the British Parliament, and this expression of gratitude is shared not only by the Irish race throughout the world but by all people who honor the Constitution of the United States, the only document in the history of the world which guarantees liberty and justice.

Respectfully, THE IRISH SELF-DETERMINATION CLUB.
P. A. DARCY.

I believe that the foregoing statements will dispel any doubts relative to the sincerity of my purpose in sponsoring H. Res. 520 and the cablegram to Lloyd-George. In my opinion this agitation by ill-advised friends of Ireland was subsequently the cause for the Mason bill failing of consideration in this session of Congress.

After the introduction of the Tague resolution I headed a delegation of Members of the House of Representatives who called upon Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby with reference to H. Res. 520. As spokesman, I presented the matter as follows:

The purpose of this conference, Mr. Secretary, is to direct your attention to the present situation in Ireland as regards the imprisonment of citizens of Ireland by the British Government, no charges being made against them other than that they were under suspicion of being identified with the movement for independence for Ireland. Men prominent in British governmental circles have admitted that there are no specific charges against these prisoners and no apparent reason for holding them in confinement. On Tuesday last a crowd of 20,000 people surrounded the Mountjoy prison at Dublin as a protest against the holding of these men, and the news alarms us men of Irish blood in America. It only needed "the spark in the powder" to cause a tremendous riot accompanied by bloodshed and disorders of a serious nature. You have seen the resolution introduced by me in the House of Representatives asking that the State Department make representations to the British Government requesting that these political prisoners, for such they are and not felons, be arraigned for trial or released immediately.

This action is imperative, because the people of Ireland have borne the British yoke too long and the days of submissive acceptance have passed. The danger of an uprising is imminent, and it is for us Americans to follow the previous actions of our Government on similar occasions. We acted in the Kishineff incident, in the Congo Free State incident, and in Armenia and Cuba. The need was never so urgent as it is in Ireland to-day. I shall present a compilation of precedents for this desired action this afternoon, signed by the delegation here present, and we urge your prompt and earnest consideration.

Mr. Colby said that he was impressed by the personnel and size of the delegation. The importance of the matter, he said, appealed to him and he was very desirous of seeing some relief extended to Ireland if it were possible. He asked that the committee present a list of precedents for such action by the State Department, and said that no time would be lost in apprising the members of the result of his decision. A statement was prepared and submitted, by a select committee of those attending the conference, to the Secretary of State, as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., April 15, 1920.

The Hon. BAINBRIDGE COLBY,
Secretary of State.

SIR: In compliance with your suggestion, offered at the time of our conference this morning, we, acting as a select committee on behalf of some 87 Members of the House of Representatives, submit herewith our views on the necessity of and some precedents for immediate action by the Government of the United States for the amelioration of the condition of Irish political prisoners now lying in English jails.

Not only has the United States, through previous action under somewhat similar circumstances, committed itself to a policy of exercising its good offices to the end that the rights of humanity be upheld when trampled upon in other parts of the world, but great authorities in international law have from the very earliest times conceded that action by one country in exerting its influence upon another in such instances as this now under consideration is entirely justified.

Hodges in The Doctrine of Intervention (pp. 87–91) points out that there have been in the past many cases of justifiable intervention in the cause of humanity, but that the consensus of opinion is that each case must be judged on its own merits. Writing in 1915, when the great moral issues of the last war had not fully disclosed themselves, he pronounced that "as the feeling of general interest in humanity increases, and with it a world-wide desire for something approaching justice and international solidarity, interventions undertaken in the interests of humanity will also doubtless increase."

May we, before proceeding further, call your attention to some of the salient facts regarding the case of the Irish political prisoners? Owing to the rigid censorship and to the secrecy which surrounded the arrest of these prisoners, it is almost impossible at this time to submit any exact figures of the number of Irish men and women now in prison, without having either been charged with any specific crime or given a hearing or trial. The number, however, may be judged by the fact that in Mountjoy jail, Dublin, there were, up to yesterday, as we understand it, not less than 112 political prisoners. These prisoners were confined with the ordinary criminals. Practically all of them had been imprisoned without trial. In protest against this crime against justice they had refused for several days to partake of the prison fare. Yesterday 68 of them, of whom about 20 were on the point of death and may yet pass away, were released on command from the viceroy of Ireland, only when public opinion, not alone in Ireland but throughout the world, had expressed itself in forcible terms.

We believe that conditions in Ireland, particularly with regard to the treatment of political prisoners, are such as to warrant the United States in exerting its good offices to the end that justice shall be done. As was pointed out to you this morning by the several spokesmen for our delegation, the unjust treatment of these prisoners has given rise to a situation which may at any moment cause very grave international complications. In the cause of humanity and of international peace, we believe that representation should be made to the British Government, requesting that these political prisoners be given fair trial or their immediate release.

The bulk of these men and women are members either of the republican national assembly or of the Irish local government boards. They are persons of the highest integrity and of standing in their communities. They were elected by the votes of the Irish people and are their duly accredited representatives. It is charged that the sole reason for their arrest was the effort of the British Government to prevent the lawful handling and apportionment of the public moneys of Ireland and the transaction of public business, and thus to prevent the normal growth of prosperity in that country.

In the past 100 years the United States Government has many times interposed its influence and exercised its good offices in the interest of justice in other lands.

As early as 1840 our good offices were exerted in the interests of the persecuted Jews in Mohammedan countries and, in subsequent years, in Russia and in Roumania. Our active interest in seeing that justice was done to the Jewish people culminated in December, 1911, in the abrogation of our commercial treaty with Russia, as a protest against the outrages at Kishineff and other Russian cities.

At that time Hon. Curtis Guild, ambassador to Russia, replying to the expressions of surprise by the Russian foreign minister, Sazonoff, informed him in very strong terms that, despite of effort to have it appear that the United States was always governed by motives of financial gain, the people of America were, on the contrary, ever ready to make sacrifices in the interests of justice and of humanity.

This indeed has been, it would seem, our consistent policy. Hon. John Bassett Moore, in American Diplomacy, page 142, points out that our intervention in Cuba was due entirely to the "abhorrent conditions" there. "On this ground," he says, "the intervention was justified by the late Alphonse Rivier, one of the most eminent publicists in Europe."

In the case of Cuba the United States several times used its influence in an endeavor to remedy conditions. On June 23, 1873, Secretary of State Fish wrote Ambassador Thomas in Spain, requesting him to present the case of Cuba to the Spanish Government and to remonstrate for Spain's failure to take steps to remedy conditions. "Our commercial and other connections with that island compel us to take a warm interest * * *," the Secretary of State wrote.

In 1905 and 1906, Secretary of State Olney, in communications with M. Dupuy de Lôme, tendered the good offices of the United States with a view to settlement of conditions in Cuba.

President Cleveland, in his annual message of December 7, 1896, announced to Congress that he felt "bound * * * to protest against uncivilized and inhumane conduct" of the Spaniards in Cuba. Protest after protest was made by this Government against Spain's policy of concentration.

We have made no effort to present to you all of the precedents for the United States using its influence in behalf of the Irish political prisoners. We have merely outlined, in a general way, what we believe to be the traditional policy of the United States. You have at your disposal the Consular Reports and the State papers, from which, we believe, you will be able to satisfy yourself as to the policy of the United States in the past. We beg to call to your attention, however, that, in addition to marked precedent, we have to-day a further justification for action in the cause of justice. The United States and its allies fought the Great War with noble pledges upon their lips. The whole world, as the result of that war, has entered upon a new era. Right and justice have supplanted selfish national expediency. A new code of international equity has been written.

"In coming into this war," said President Wilson, January 27, 1919, "the United States never for a moment thought that she was intervening in the politics of Europe, or the politics of Asia, or the politics of any part of the world. Her thought was that all the world had now become conscious that there was a single cause of justice and of liberty for men of every kind and place."

Respectfully submitted.

PETER F. TAGUE, of Massachusetts,
JOHN L. NOLAN, of California,
AUGUSTINE LONERGAN, of Connecticut,
JOHN W. RAINEY, of Illinois,
CHARLES P. COADY, of Maryland,
WILLIAM L. CARSS, of Minnesota,
WILLIAM L. IGOE, of Missouri,
JOHN J. EAGAN, of New Jersey,
DANIEL J. RIORDAN, of New York,
CHARLES A. MOONEY, of Ohio,
PATRICK MCLANE, of Pennsylvania,
AMBROSE KENNEDY, of Rhode Island,
Select committee, representing nearly one hundred Members of the House of Representatives.

The introduction of and the publicity given this resolution had its immediate effect, because within a day or so the more seriously ill of the citizens of Ireland held in prisons by the British Government were released. While I do not claim that this was done because of my resolution, I can not but feel that it was in no small measure responsible for this action by the British Government. Because the Foreign Affairs Committee was occupied with the Mason bill no action was taken on my resolution, but I am satisfied that it was an instrument whereby the persecuted citizens of Ireland were released, and for that I am thankful.

In all my activities for the Irish cause I have given way to those men who have made a thorough study of economic and political situations in Ireland. During the past few months I have had the good fortune to be closely associated with President De Valera, of the Irish republic; Hon. Daniel F. Cohalan; and Capt. Daniel T. O'Connell, the director of the National Bureau of Information, Friends of Irish Freedom. Believing that they had the best interests of Ireland at heart, I have always sought their counsel and have never acted on the Irish question without first securing their sanction. In union and in union alone can we prove to the world that the citizens of Ireland are able and ready to govern themselves.

Washington wrote:

Patriots of Ireland! Champions of liberty in all lands! Be strong in hope! Your cause is identical with mine. You are calumniated in your day; I was misrepresented by the loyalists in my day. Had I failed the scaffold would be my doom. But now my enemies pay me honor. Had I failed I would have deserved the same honor. I stood true to my cause, even when victory had fled. In that I merited success. You must act likewise.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD YATES,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 4, 1920.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, at Grant's Tomb on Decoration Day I had the honor of making some remarks, and I ask unanimous consent to extend them in the RECORD, with the assurance that they do not refer to the bonus or any other problems of political matters.

ADDRESS ON DECORATION DAY, MAY 31, 1920, AT THE TOMB OF GRANT, RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, N. Y., BY RICHARD YATES, OF ILLINOIS, CONGRESSMAN AT LARGE.

Ladies and gentlemen, my fellow countrymen: Tender and touching memories and thoughts crowd about us to-day.

Tender and touching, indeed, is the circumstance that here before you on this platform sits the beloved granddaughter of Gen. Grant.

Her appearance is all the more interesting because, until the Bolsheviki overran Russia and overturned the Russian Government, she and her husband, who is also here, were part of that Government. The old Government of old Russia has claims upon our gratitude. During the Civil War the English Government was not our friend, and neither was the French Government. But the Russian Government was. And in a very anxious hour, when we were being threatened by most unfriendly French and British attitudes, great Russian fleets silently steamed into both New York Harbor and San Francisco Harbor, in effect saying, "You have us to deal with also." Their very arrival caused England and France to hesitate and finally to remain neutral. This was in 1863.

Fellow citizens, tender and touching, indeed, have been the words and phrases with which I have just been introduced into this imposing presence by Capt. Hedley.

Your old friend, Capt. F. Y. Hedley, the accomplished, eloquent, and revered presiding officer, year in and year out, at your annual exercises on this day, the Memorial Day of America—how you have delighted to honor him!

My old friend, Capt. Hedley, noble Union veteran of the Civil War, soldier of blessed and glorious Illinois, friend and supporter of my blessed old father—how delighted I am to be honored by him!

I assure you I am most grateful for all the courtesy, cordiality, and hospitality of which I am to-day the recipient. It shall never be forgotten.

You will surely pardon me for dwelling and lingering upon the satisfaction felt at being your guest to-day on this holy ground.

It would be a thing to be proud of all my days to be summoned here to speak of our country without any other subject or theme—our country, mighty and model Republic; our country, noblest of Commonwealths; our country, child of the centuries, heir of the ages, beacon light of liberty, last hope of humanity.

In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea;
Our hearts, our hopes are all with thee;
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee, are all with thee.

And I would consider it a thing to be proud of all my days to be summoned here to speak of Illinois.

Illinois! Two hundred and fifty-nine thousand young men—an entire one-sixth of the whole State's population—it sent forth 55 years ago to do battle and to dare and if need be die on a thousand fields of glory in the red glare of the cannon's mouth for union and liberty, for you and for me, for our children's children, and for the eternal right.

To the scaffold in Chicago 35 years ago Illinois sent the convicted anarchists who sought by dynamite bomb and by lurid editorial to overthrow our free government—to the scaffold and a grave of infamy 6 feet below the soil of Cook County, from whence the odious red flag of anarchy has not been resurrected in Illinois.

To the State penitentiary, from time to time, Illinois has sent the violators of the sacred laws of suffrage, to the end that political rights might be preserved inviolate, which example of Illinois—namely, a free ballot and a fair count—must yet be followed by all the States before we can have government by consent of the governed and a real republic with enfranchisement.

And for the sanctity of the suffrage, the honesty of municipal government, the elevation of citizenship, the firm establishment of equal rights, mighty Illinois stands to-day, schoolbook in hand, teaching children by the millions what liberty means and what it cost. Oh, beloved Illinois!

Not without thy wondrous story,
Illinois, Illinois!
Could be writ the Nation's glory,
Illinois, Illinois!
On the record of thy years
Abraham Lincoln's name appears,
Grant and Logan and our tears,
Illinois, Illinois!

How proud, then, ought a man to be who is not limited to the theme covering America, not restricted to the limitations of a Fourth of July speech or an Illinois oration, but can talk of the lofty life and dauntless death and daring deeds of all the dead whose dust we have covered with flowers!

On Fame's eternal camping-ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And Glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead.

With what distinguished guests are we associated on such an occasion as this. In addition to Glory and Fame, there are Honor and Freedom.

How sleep the brave, who sink to rest
By all their country's wishes blest!
Here Honor comes, a pilgrim gray
To bless the turf that wraps their clay;
And Freedom shall awhile repair
To dwell, a weeping hermit, there.

GLIMPSES OF THE SPIRIT OF GRANT.

Capt. Hedley has referred to the fact that it was my father who gave the first Civil War commission to the man uppermost in our thoughts to-day.

There is one man, of course, over and above all other men, of whom we are all thinking at this time and place—Ulysses S. Grant.

I had one conversation with Gen. Grant. It was in 1880 at my beautiful native town, the lovely little city, Jacksonville, Ill. He made a speech of 20 words to 20,000 people. Later he drove to my widowed mother's home and called upon her. This 1880 visit was, of course, after he had been twice President. It was as he sat in his carriage about to go from my mother's house to the depot that I had my memorable conversation. I was making my living by working as reporter on the local daily journal, trying to earn and save enough money to go to law school. Urged by my employer (for I was reluctant, because he was for the moment my mother's guest), I asked him if he would say something in response to a request for an interview for my little paper. The interview comprised the one word "no." But he was not unkind. He was grave but gentle. And I did not feel discriminated against, for had he not just spoken before 20,000 people with a speech of 20 words?

I had had, when a boy of 8, another glimpse of him at my father's boarding house in Washington in 1868, when Grant, then general in chief, called upon my father, then a Senator.

I have always been glad that I had these two glimpses of Ulysses S. Grant. But, of course, it was not an acquaintance. It could be called only a negligible acquaintance at the outside.

My father, however, as Capt. Hedley has told you, knew him well, and a certain book mentions this friendship. There is a two-volume book entitled "Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant," printed in 1885, the year of his death. In this book there is a dedicatory page reading as follows:

These volumes are dedicated to the American soldier and sailor.
U. S. GRANT.

Ah, that dedication! When I first read it in 1885, at the age of 24, I was tremendously impressed and affected by it. And now that I am 59 in 1920, I am just as much impressed and affected as ever, just as much so as I was in 1885, 35 years ago. It has the sublimity of simplicity in every syllable. But to me it seems pregnant with deepest feeling and emphasis. Years ago I heard a poet described as a fire surrounded by ice, the meaning being that under a calm exterior there was a tumultuous being, tempestuous, inflammable. So it is with these few words. There is a wealth of meaning. They were not idle words—not mere compliment. He unquestionably meant that in his affliction and weakness and poverty he had nothing to give to the brave men, living and dead, who had followed and served under him—nothing but his benediction. It was, without words of praise, the simple acknowledgment that all his towering and overpowering achievement was saturated with their blood, sacrifice, suffering, agony, and anguish; that his devotion was entwined, enmeshed, enveloped, enwrapped by theirs. When he used the words "dedicated to the American soldier and sailor"—declared his book dedicated to them—it was equal to a statement that he deliberately preferred that dedication to any other; that he had carefully considered other dedications but had deliberately determined that the Yankee soldier and the Yankee sailor, the Yankee fighting boy, should receive that benediction from him. Beautiful farewell!

After this terse dedication there occurs a preface—it is dated July 1, 1885, 22 days before his death—and, oh, that preface! However others may feel, I have always been much impressed with this preface. Its utter modesty is characteristic, while noticeable. There is ample use of the word "I" and the word "me," but in every line there speaks the unassuming man, very modest but very real. You feel, as you read, the bald, bare facts regarding the publication. Note such expressions as "I was living on borrowed money." The page tells you impulsively; you see the point instinctively.

You instinctively say to yourself that it is the naked truth which has been written down here for you to see; and when you reflect that death did, indeed, follow close upon this book you realize that it was in the full knowledge of the nearness of the Judge of all men and of His tribunal and of His eternal justice that the book was written. It follows that we may be very, very sure that the observations and estimates and judgments contained in the book are just; as just as human judgment, very fallible, can make them.

I can almost see the grim old warrior, the silent commander, sitting at Mount McGregor penning these lines. He is sitting propped up on the porch at the summer cottage, slowly forming the letters and words. Dictation is impossible, because of the sore throat slowly killing him. Clerks and stenographers are at hand in plenty, but a cancer is raging and flaming at the tongue and he can not speak. Can there be any doubt as to whether the words used were intentional? For one I am positively sure that not a word was wasted. In other words, it is apparent that he "meant what he said." It follows that, like Washington's Farewell Address, emphasis may be attached to every phrase.

I take the liberty to read the preface entire:

"Man proposes and God disposes." There are but few important events in the affairs of men brought about by their own choice.

Although frequently urged by friends to write my memoirs, I had determined never to do so, nor to write anything for publication. At the age of nearly 62 I received an injury from a fall, which confined me closely to the house, while it did not apparently affect my general health. This made study a pleasant pastime. Shortly after the rascality of a business partner developed itself by the announcement of a failure. This was followed soon after by universal depression of all securities, which seemed to threaten the extinction of a good part of the income still retained and for which I am indebted to the kindly act of friends. At this juncture the editor of the Century Magazine asked me to write a few articles for him. I consented for the money it gave me, for at that moment I was living upon borrowed money. The work I found congenial, and I determined to continue it. The event is an important one for me, for good or evil. I hope for the former.

In preparing these volumes for the public I have entered upon the task with the sincere desire to avoid doing injustice to anyone, whether on the National or Confederate side, other than the unavoidable injustice of not making mention often where special mention is due. There must be many errors of omission in this work, because the subject is too large to be treated of in two volumes in such way as to do justice to all the officers and men engaged. There were thousands of instances during the rebellion of individual, company, regimental, and brigade deeds of heroism which deserve special mention and are not here alluded to. The troops engaged in them will have to look to the detailed reports of their individual commanders for the full history of those deeds.

The first volume, as well as a portion of the second, was written before I had reason to suppose I was in a critical condition of health. Later I was reduced almost to the point of death, and it became impossible for me to attend to anything for weeks. I have, however, somewhat regained my strength, and am able often to devote as many hours a day as a person should devote to such work. I would have more hope of satisfying the expectation of the public if I could have allowed myself more time. I have used my best efforts, with the aid of my eldest son, F. D. Grant, assisted by his brothers, to verify from the records every statement of fact given. The comments are my own, and show how I saw the matters treated of whether others saw them in the same light or not.

With these remarks I present these volumes to the public, asking no favor but hoping they will meet the approval of the reader.

U. S. GRANT.

MOUNT MCGREGOR, N. Y., *July 7, 1885.*

There are two other things from this book which I feel justified in reading to-day. The first is contained in pages 200 and 201 of volume 1. It is a description of the kind of hard fighting done by the soldiers of the Civil War. I quote from the chapter entitled "Battle of the Wilderness":

At 4.15 in the afternoon Lee attacked our left. His line moved up to within a hundred yards of ours and opened a heavy fire. * * * The enemy pushed through our lines, planting their flags on a part of the intrenchments not on fire. * * * Fighting had continued from 5 in the morning sometimes along the whole line, at other times only in places. The ground fought over varied in width, but averaged three-quarters of a mile. The killed, and many of the severely wounded, of both armies lay within this belt, where it was practically impossible to reach them. The woods were set on fire by the bursting shells and the conflagration raged. The wounded who had not strength to move themselves were either suffocated or burned to death. Finally, the fire communicated with our breastworks in places. Being constructed of wood they burned with great fury. But the battle still raged, our men firing through the flames until it became too hot to remain longer. Lee was now in distress. * * * During the night all of Lee's army withdrew within their intrenchments.

It seems that in Grant's day there was fighting, too.

The other thing I feel justified in reading is Grant's little, plain description of his first meeting with Lincoln—momentous meeting. Listen to this modest recital (p. 121, vol. 2):

Although hailing from Illinois myself, the State of the President, I never met Mr. Lincoln until called to the Capital to receive my commission as lieutenant general. I knew him, however, very well and favorably from the accounts given by officers under me at the West who had known him all their lives.

I had also read the remarkable series of debates between Lincoln and Douglas a few years before when they were rival candidates for the United States Senate. I was then a resident of Missouri, and by no means a "Lincoln man" in that contest, but I recognized then his great ability.

* * * * * * * *

All he wanted or had ever wanted was some one who would take the responsibility and act and call on him for all the assistance needed, pledging himself to use all the power of the Government in rendering such assistance.

Assuring him that I would do the best I could with the means at hand, and avoid, as far as possible, annoying him at the War Department, our first interview ended. In our interview the President told me he did not want to know what I proposed to do.

And now may I, since you have heard Grant's description of the soldier in action, his fighting friend, and of Lincoln in action, his foremost friend—may I read you a page in which Grant referred to Yates in action, his first friend? May I do this? I sincerely hope that you do not feel that it is indelicate coming from me.

I read from volume 1, page 232:

In time the Galena company was mustered into the United States service, forming a part of the Eleventh Illinois Volunteer Infantry. My duties, I thought, had ended at Springfield, and I was prepared to start home by the evening train, leaving at 9 o'clock. Up to that time I do not think I had been introduced to Gov. Yates or had ever spoken to him. I knew him by sight, however, because he was living at the same hotel and I often saw him at table.

The evening I was to quit the capital I left the supper room before the governor and was standing at the front door when he came out. He spoke to me, calling me by my old Army title, "Captain," and said he understood that I was about leaving the city. I answered that I was. He said he would be glad if I would remain overnight and call at the executive office the next morning. I complied with his request, and was asked to go into the adjutant general's office and render such assistance as I could, the governor saying that my Army experience would be of great service there. I accepted the proposition.

On page 234 the narrative continues after this manner:

As I have stated, the legislature authorized the governor to accept the services of the additional regiments. I had charge of mustering these regiments into the State service.

The only other passages in the memoirs of interest in this connection are on pages 241 and 242.

Having but little to do after the muster of the last of the regiments authorized by the State legislature, I asked and obtained of the governor leave of absence for a week to visit my parents in Covington, Ky. (p. 241).

The Twenty-first Illinois, mustered in by me at Mattoon, refused to go into the service with the colonel of their selection in any position. While I was still absent Gov. Yates appointed me colonel of this latter regiment (p. 242).

A few days after I was in charge of it and in camp near Springfield.

Did time permit I would call attention at some length to the extreme and excessive particularity with which Grant, in 1885, thus described his first talk with Yates in 1861. It could scarcely have been written down with greater particularity. For example, he says:

The evening train leaving at 9 o'clock.

Why mention 9 o'clock or the evening train or any train? Please note again:

I knew the governor by sight.

Why mention this?

I left the supper room before the governor.

Why mention who left first or mention the room at all? And please note again:

He—the governor—spoke to me, calling me by my old Army title, "Captain," and said—

And so forth. Why mention that the governor called him by the old Army title, "Captain"? And again:

He said * * * remain overnight * * * and call the next morning.

Please note, finally, that even when he tells of his interview with the immortal Lincoln he indulges in no such minuteness of detail in detailing the conversation—does not tell what title the President addressed him by or what room they were in or who entered first. Ah, I think I know why he put this all down there in those painful hours at Mount McGregor waiting for death. That little hour at Springfield was a critical hour—a crisis in his life. His life had been one disappointment after another—one distasteful occupation had followed another, and he frankly admits they were all failures, more or less. A letter he had written to the adjutant general of the Regular Army had been ignored—buried. This invitation by Gov. Yates was the first smile of fortune since graduation at West Point in 1843—nearly 20 years before. Is it any wonder that at Mount McGregor in the evening of life, tortured almost to death by pain, distressed by debt, saddened by the ingratitude of pretended friends—is it any wonder that on some sleepless evening as he sat there beside the sea and looked upon the restless Atlantic he should recall his stormy life?

Is it any wonder that then, there at Mount McGregor, in late May, 1885, he recalled that quiet night in early May, 1861—that night at Springfield, when the night train left without him—that happy and memorable night, when suddenly, after 20 years of disappointment, right athwart his troubled, anxious path came the friendly touch of the friendly hand of another anxious, troubled man?

Is it any wonder that all intervening events were forgotten and he seemed to see his governor and to hear him calling him again, "Captain"—his governor tendering help and at the same time seeking help, and asking nothing in the world but that the two might work and build and strain and strive together for the Nation's salvation? Can we not almost visualize it all? I can almost see them standing there, hand clasped in hand, destined soon to possess tremendous power, destined later to return to private life, and destined finally to return to their Maker, possessing no fortune but a people's gratitude and leaving no inheritance but a good name.

The following from my father's message to the Legislature of Illinois, January 2, 1865, conveys his opinion of Grant and his version of how the latter obtained this first Civil War commission:

In April, 1861, he tendered his personal services to me, saying that he had been the recipient of a military education at West Point, and that now, when the country was involved in a war for its preservation and

safety, he thought it his duty to offer his services in defense of the Union.

The plain, straightforward demeanor of the man and the modesty and earnestness which characterized his offer of assistance at once impressed me with a desire to secure his counsel for the benefit of volunteer organizations then forming for Government service.

At first I assigned him a desk in the executive office, and his familiarity with military organization and regulations made him an invaluable assistant in my own and the office of the adjutant general.

Soon his admirable qualities as a military commander became apparent, and I assigned him to command of the camps of organization at Camp Yates, Springfield; Camp Grant, Mattoon; and Camp Douglas, at Anna, Union County, at which the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twenty-first Regiments of Illinois Volunteers were rendezvoused.

His employment had special reference to the organization and muster of these forces.

The Twenty-first Regiment, organized at the camp at Mattoon, had become demoralized, and doubts arose concerning their acceptance.

I was much perplexed to find an efficient and experienced officer to take command of the regiment and take it into the three months' service. I ordered the regiment to Camp Yates, and after consulting Hon. Jesse K. Dubois, who had many friends in the regiment, and Col. John S. Loomis, assistant adjutant general, who was at the time in charge of the adjutant general's office and on terms of personal intimacy with Grant, I telegraphed Capt. Grant, then on a visit to his father at Covington, Ky., tendering the colonelcy. He immediately reported, accepting the commission, taking rank as colonel of that regiment from the 15th day of June, 1861. In less than 10 days he filled the regiment to the maximum standard and brought it to a state of discipline seldom attained. His was the only regiment that left the camp of organization on foot. He soon distinguished himself as a regimental commander.

I can not refrain before passing on from quoting this passage from that same message of my father:

I know well the secret of Grant's power, for afterwards, when I saw him at headquarters, upon the march, and on the battle field, in his plain, threadbare uniform, modest in his deportment, careful of all the wants of the humblest soldier, personally inspecting all the divisions of the Army, calm amidst the destructive fire of the enemy, it was evident that he had the confidence of every man, from the highest officer down to the humblest drummer boy in his whole command. His generalship rivals that of Alexander and Napoleon, and his armies eclipse those of Greece and Rome in their proudest days of imperial grandeur.

THE HUNDRED AND FORTY YEARS' FIGHT FOR FREEDOM.

The hundred and forty years' fight for freedom by America's millions.

It would be a pleasure to speak and read about Gen. Grant throughout the entire day, but we must not forget that this day we celebrate belongs not only to Gen. Grant but to all who served and sacrificed 55 years ago, or at any time, that American liberty might not die. It is my duty to endeavor to the best of my feeble ability to give suitable expression to the sentiments that have brought you here and to the teachings of this hour gleaned from all the past. We are in the presence of too impressive a spectacle to gather with any feelings less exalted than those of gratitude and reverence and patriotism. For not we only are observing this occasion. All over the land old muster rolls are being called amid the roll of muffled drums, and new flowers are being laid on old graves, and falling tears are bedewing many dainty, fragile flowers on graves that are new, while new bugles blow the notes of "Taps—lights out," far and near over land and sea. Amid a deepening sentiment of brotherhood all classes and conditions combine to decorate the patriot's resting place, to recall the virtues of his life and death, and to throw upon the unresponsive soil evergreens, suggestive of the life to come, the life beyond the grave. There are a hundred millions standing with us to-day as we salute the dead, and I believe that the dead millions know that we are saluting. Believing as I do that death does not end all, but that life is everlasting and the soul immortal, I believe also that those who have gone before are interested in us and come near us when they can, and sometimes very near indeed. Consequently, I believe that the millions of American patriots now in heaven are not far from us at this hour. Could our eyes be opened, I think their shining presence could be seen at our very elbows. It is recorded in Holy Writ that when the young man became confused and confounded and in his blindness went to the prophet, God at Elisha's prayer opened the eyes of the young man, "and, behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire." I thought of this when I saw in New York a year ago the parade up Fifth Avenue of the Seventy-seventh Division of the American Army, commanded by Gen. Alexander.

Far in front of the general and his staff, in front even of the police escort, marched 30 men each bearing a banner. Each banner or standard bore 100 gold stars, 3,000 in all, corresponding to the number of men from that division who lost their lives. After the 3,000 stars of gold there was a gap of three blocks, that is, there was a gap in the line three blocks long, and then came the division. I heard a thoughtless man in the reviewing stand say, "The standard bearers are out of place"; but a thoughtful woman said, "No; this gap is intentional; these are the dead who are passing now," and he uncovered—so did we all. I never saw a more impressive sight. Far as the eye could reach the uncounted multitude stood uncovered and a million eyes were wet.

'Twas but a moment, for that respect
Which clothes all courage their voices checked,
And through the ranks there crept an awe
In whispers, and some men saw—

even as in the days of "John Burns, of Gettysburg."

As we felt that day let us feel to-day in the presence of our dead. And to whom shall we render honor?

THE DAYS OF 1776.

These sacrifices, continuing up to our day and generation, reach back more than a century. A historic darkness follows a historic day. British force has undertaken to coerce the high-minded and valorous tillers of Massachusetts soil. The falling night drops like a pall upon the martyred forms of those destined to constitute the first-formed section of our roll of illustrous American dead, our own Westminster Abbey. The very sound of their names rekindles in the American spirit the sacred flame which glowed in the hearts of our patriotic fathers who fought and fell around about the camp fires which cradled our liberties.

REMEMBER EARLY HEROES.

Drop a lily on the scaffold grave of Nathan Hale, executed as a spy. Over Marion and his troopers rear a mound of white. Deck the spot where the Green Mountain boys sleep. Give forget-me-nots for the rower who pulled the chief over the Delaware the night that Trenton fell. Jessamine for Molly Pitcher, who fired the old brass cannon after her husband was cut down at Monmouth. Bluebells and other blooms for the three militiamen whom Maj. André's gold could not corrupt nor bribe. We can not afford to pass one of these heroes by without, in spirit at least, depositing a blossom upon the sod.

AND NOW COMES THE FLAG—THE FLAG OF THE FREE.

All hail to thee, thou grand old flag, still floating o'er the free,
Though soiled and torn by traitor's hands, thou'rt doubly dear to me.
When in my boyhood's early years I saw thee first unfurled,
I deemed thee then the pride of earth, the glory of the world.
And when in later years I stood in busy haunts of men,
And saw thee float o'er field and flood, old flag, I loved thee then.
But now when in thy glorious light no slave need cringe or bow,
My father's and my country's flag, I love thee better now.
I'll bear thee up, thou dear old flag of origin divine,
Until upon thy azure folds a hundred stars shall shine.
Float on, old flag, until thy stripes shall all the nations heal
And tyranny through all the earth shall thy just vengeance feel.

THE WAR OF 1812.

After 30 years a new division of the national history appears. A new era of carnage and devotion is in sight. Outrages upon the waters are committed upon American seamen. The mother country has brought on the war of 1812. It is a peculiar war. But America is again battling for the right. The battles are few. There is no American scheme of conquest, and the national feeling will be gratified entirely when England abandons her claims on the sea. At first demoralization oppresses the Union and dims the glory of its arms. On the north, Detroit is fallen; on the east, Washington City is captured; and all along the coast a strict and rigid blockade is attempted.

UNEXPECTED GLORY.

But Capts. Hull and Bainbridge, with the old ship *Constitution*, and Decatur, with the stanch *United States*, give unexpected glory to the Union on the sea. To her utter surprise England loses in the contest for the supremacy of the waves, loses all she gains on land, loses in the estimation of the world, loses an army shot to pieces by Andrew Jackson firing from behind the cotton bales at New Orleans, and peace comes again. The heroes of that time have gone. None at all remain in the land they protected. But we are here to-day to demonstrate that we do not forget the efforts they made and the services they rendered in that dark hour and that critical time.

Let us never underestimate those fighters of 1812, for they, too, kept the flag in the sky—our colors—"dearest creation of cloth, most precious combination of colors."

TO THE COLORS.

What is it to "go to the colors"?
What does it mean? Oh, its meaning is almost beyond words.
Hats off, along the street there comes
The blare of bugles, the ruffle of drums,
A flare of color beneath the sky.
Hats off, the flag is passing by.
Crimson and blue and white, it shines,
Over the ordered, steel-tipped lines.
Hats off, the flag is passing by.
But more than the flag is passing by;
Weary marches and sinking ships,
And cheers of victory from dying lips;
Years of plenty and days of peace.
The march of a strong land's swift increase.
Oh, duty and honor and glory all
Are with the colors, to stand or fall.

THE MEXICAN WAR.

After another third of a century the third section of our story is created. The States now number 28. The national strength has grown with the passing of the years. Conquest and the extension of the western boundary have glittered before the politician's eye, and dazzled the vision of all, until at last the country is compelled to array itself in war against Mexico to protect the national honor. Once more the bugle sounds and the loud drumbeat responds. Palo Alto and Resaca are followed by Buena Vista and Monterey. After Vera Cruz comes Chapultepec, and then Mexico succumbs and the grand review of victors delights our land.

FLOWERS FOR THEM, TOO.

And so we have another flower for Winfield Scott, a flower for Zachary Taylor, and one for our own noble John J. Hardin, whose precious blood Illinois reluctantly but uncomplainingly surrenders that no spot may blur the blaze of the escutcheon of the Nation. The Mexican War veterans have not all left us. Some few are still among us, full of years and full of honors. We would have them all to-day distinctly understand that we, all of us, appreciate the value and scope of their services, and those of their dead companions.

This war gave us that exquisite verse:

Rest on, embalmed and sainted dead,
Dear as the blood ye gave;
No impious footstep here shall tread
The herbage of your grave;
Nor shall your glory be forgot
While fame her record keeps,
Or honor points the hallowed spot
Where valor proudly sleeps;
On fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead.

THE SOLDIERS OF 1898.

We must not forget the Spanish-American War and its heroes. We must recall the hour when in the dead of night our beloved battleship, torn almost to atoms, sank in the harbor of Havana. We are to recall the thrill of horror and indignation that swept over a Nation of 76,000,000, cementing 15,000,000 men capable of bearing arms in an unalterable determination to remember and avenge the *Maine*. We must recall the exciting scenes of February, March, and April of 1898, when only the magnificent calmness of McKinley, the calmest of all our Presidents, prevented the American people from rushing unprepared into an unfortunately premature struggle. "Remember the *Maine*."

We can not come here to-day without doing honor alike to the millionaires' batteries of the East and the Rough Riders of the West; to the valiant warriors whose veins throb with Southern blood; and to the black heroes who intermingled with them in the grand equality of battle. All together they carried the flag up the Cuban slopes; all together they planted it where the Spanish standard had stood for 400 years; all together they forgot all differences; all together they dared and braved death for their united country and the Stars and Stripes. From the roll of honor of this hour we can not omit the names of young Grant and young Lee, of Joe Wheeler and Nelson Miles, the names of Roosevelt, Funston, and Hobson, the names of Schley and Sampson and Dewey; and although this war added only about 3,000 graves to the fifteen hundred thousand of our soldier dead, we can not omit from most honorable mention the home suffering and self-sacrifice of American women, just as universal and unconstrained as it has ever been.

WILL NEVER FORGET.

It would be inexcusable and unpardonable upon this occasion to refrain from mention of all this latter-day heroism and devotion. Illinois will never forget it, nor will you.

Troops the Nation called one day,
Men of valor, strong and steady;
Ere the echo died away
Illinois had answered, "ready."
In the camps and on the ocean,
Braving Cuba's tropic heat,
Proving ever their devotion,
Knowing nothing of defeat.
All they had thus bravely tendered
Here and there death claimed a boy—
Freely, but with tears, surrendered
By the State of Illinois.

THE SOLDIER OF 1918.

Comparatively free from the scourge of war as our Nation has been, there have been nevertheless six great trials by battle of American patriotism. This Decoration Day is distinguished above all similar days of the past in that it witnesses the practical completion of the sixth nation-straining war permitted by Providence in our Nation. The veterans of the old wars are not the only veterans. The "tumult and the shouting" of the old times have recently been reproduced. The far-flung battle line of the Republic reaches to-day not, like the thin blue line of 1865, from Fortress Monroe to the Rio Grande, and not, like the line of 1898, from Cuba to Manila, but from China to Coblenz, Germany.

The mightiest military rally the world ever saw has occurred in our land and time. On one day 10,000,000 American boys marched to the altar of sacrifice. In 17 months—April 6, 1917, to November 11, 1918—4,000,000 Americans became soldiers or sailors and 20,000,000 Americans gave their wealth and savings in replies to calls for financial help. All that we had, all that we were, all that we ever expected to be, was at stake. And we knew it.

Of the American victories in the Spanish-American War, the old servant of fighting Bob Evans said "De old Massah above done had something to do with it." I believe God had something to do with this war and America's being drawn into it. After three years of war the nations of Europe were in many respects purified as by fire as never before, and they are to-day, most of them, energized, vitalized, and spiritualized by sacrifice. I believe that God Almighty saw this, and in some celestial council of war on high decided that He would not allow the whole world to be spiritualized and America to be left out. I am unable to explain the German check and retreat at the first battle of the Marne upon any other theory. German generals made mistakes a young American captain would be censured for, and those German generals were the scientific soldiers of the scientific age of this world. They were confounded by the Almighty to prevent the German Kaiser from entering Paris. He was ready, arrayed in tall silver helmet, long velvet cloak of white on his shoulders, high-powered automobile at his right hand, powerful binocular aimed at the Eiffel Tower. Had he won at the Marne and marched that night, September 10, 1917, through the Arch of Napoleon at Paris, the world would have been at his feet—for a time, at least. France would have surely been at his feet, and England substantially so. Then, converting or compelling the navies of the conquered nations to join his own, he would have said, "Westward, ho," for he told our ambassador, James Gerard, that after he had finished with England and France he "would stand no nonsense from the United States." There would have been a hard-fought naval battle, for our Navy would never have surrendered; then one hard-fought land battle, for our 75,000 Regulars and our 225,000 National Guardsmen never would have surrendered. They would all have gone down, drums beating, flags flying, cannon roaring—but wiped out. Then a crowned king would have ridden up Fifth Avenue to this spot, and a crowned king would have occupied Washington, and the tramp of the Prussian regulars would have been heard on Pennsylvania Avenue. From all this we were saved by some one. The "horses and chariots of fire" must have intervened. America was given its chance. It accepted the challenge. In time our boys from shop, and factory, and store, and bank, and mine, and mill faced and fought THE soldiers of the world and whipped them time after time. And so we have a noble list of battle names to add to those which have gone before—Belleau Wood and Argonne Forest, Chateau-Thierry, and Maux, and Grand Pre, and Filmes, Mont Sec, and Montfaucon, and Dead Man's Hill, Verdun, and St. Mihiel, and the Meuse-Argonne—and we have a record by Army and Navy in a thousand different activities worthy of Grant and of the whole sublime and glorious roll of American fighters on land and sea.

And the material and commercial and industrial and financial burdens of this war, gigantic as they are—probably amounting to $50,000,000,000 of our money—all, including $10,000,000,000 loaned to foreign Governments, will be swung as manfully and surely as the military burdens, if we all keep sane. We can not recover by next week or next Christmas. The world has been a very sick world, a very sick world indeed. There must be a convalescence, a convalescent period, a time for recovery, in which signs of recovery appear slowly under wise nursing. If we remain sane, not asking for legislation as a cure-all, and do not rush and push and hurry and worry, we will survive even as the fathers did, survive and get well.

THE "GREAT REBELLION."

THE CIVIL WAR.

But, fellow citizens, the Revolution brought no Decoration Day, the War of 1812 established no permanent memorial custom, and the struggle with Mexico seems to have rendered no such occasion a necessity. Nor are we indebted to the recent World War for our Decoration Day. It was reserved for another controversy—1861–1865—to develop so much havoc of life, to tear such gaps in the ranks of manhood, to harrow so many homes with heartbreak, and to create so much of

courage and of patriotism and of zeal as to contribute the main interest to this day and occasion. For this hour the thoughtful elders of this Nation live again in the tumultuous times of 1861.

RUSHING EVENTS.

Visions of fast-rushing events rise to-day in the mind of the middle-aged man. He remembers the preliminary excitement. The country convulsed from day to day by ominous occurrences. This State trembling beneath the mighty blows struck by renowned champions of public opinion. Every community stirred to its foundations in the mighty crisis.

After the passing of 55 years, probably fifteen hundred thousand of the soldiers of the Union are to-day in their graves. We would remember and honor them all; garlands for the humblest as well as for the proudest; blossoms for the nameless as well as for the famous; the latter will not fail of praise, the former we must not forget.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The new President, leaving his Illinois home for the National Capital, is so surrounded by menacing difficulties that he owns his strong mind, courageous heart, and mighty soul to be unequal to the unprecedented task. To his neighbors assembled to bid him farewell he says:

There has fallen upon me a task such as did not rest even upon the Father of his Country, and so feeling I can not but turn and look for that support without which it will be impossible to perform that great task. I turn, then, and look to the great American people and to that God who has never forsaken them.

Grand and sublime figure, how he towers aloft in his pure nobility; how he guided this struggling and suffering country with patient, merciful hand; how he stood like a shield and a bulwark, strong and firm, between the Union and all the perils that assailed it. Fling open the baskets! Pour forth the flowers! Cause his tomb to blush and to quiver and to glow with all the beauty and the loveliness and grace that nature can bestow, and still the spirit of the grand, majestic Lincoln will break from beneath the fragrance, and rising God-like over us reflect the light of a matchless integrity and prudence, and over all that is or will be fair and good in Americanism.

THE GRANDEST VICTORY.

Ladies and gentlemen, you and I know that Abraham Lincoln received the help that he prayed for—received it from 20,000,000 loyal hearts and from the Infinite Power on high. Abraham Lincoln put one hand into the outstretched palm of the American people. With the other he laid a strong hold on the almighty arm of the Almighty God. And standing there, supported by humanity and supported by Divinity, he fought the grandest fight and won the grandest victory the human race has ever seen since the Savior walked amid the sons of men.

THE MEN OF 1861.

But meanwhile the crash comes. A rebellious congress assembles. Confederate armies and legislatures are formed and hot fire is opened upon and against that devoted place, Fort Sumter. The patience of the Union's friends can stand no more. The forbearance of even the Chief Magistrate is exhausted. Sorrowfully he turns from the despairing presence of the angel of peace and reluctantly beckons to the majestic spirit of war. The peaceful people respond as though called to participate in a summer spectacle. Every city and county tenders its company, every district its regiment, every State its batteries. A hundred thousand freemen stand in serried ranks within a fortnight and all doubts are allayed. The safety of the Nation and the protection of the Government are assured. The President, encouraged, telegraphs to the governor of Illinois, who is urging him to accept still more men, "Hold still, Dick, and see the salvation of the Lord."

Christendom stands astounded at the vigor of the struggle and the spirit of the combatants. Educated to believe that its prosperity depends upon slavery, the gallant South rushes to the front to fight against fancied wrong. Convinced by training, tradition, and theology, the North earnestly arms for the fray.

Noble men of sixty-one! Stephen A. Douglas stands in Chicago saying, "Before God, my conscience is clear. I have struggled long for a peaceful solution; the return we receive is war; there are only two sides to this question; there can be no neutrals in this war—only patriots or traitors."

All honor to Stephen A. Douglas. But for him we would have had civil war in Illinois from Cairo north to the doorsteps of Springfield. He put 500,000 men into the Union Army, and 50,000 from Illinois alone.

Peace to his ashes; green be his memory. And all honor to every Douglas follower in that critical hour. They turned the tide. They held the balance of power. They are entitled to honorable mention—every one.

"With malice toward none and charity for all," call after call comes from the Capital for troops. The call is not in vain. Massachusetts sends her noblest, New York puts forth her proudest, Ohio furnishes her bravest, California dispatches her boldest, Illinois forwards her best—Grierson, Ingersoll, Prentiss, and Rawlins; Morrison, McClernand, Palmer, and Black; Sullivan, Singleton, and Lippincott.

And here come all the heroes: Oglesby goes; Grant goes; Logan goes; Howard and Hancock, Sheridan and Sherman; Slocum, Sickles, and Wadsworth; Hooker and Burnside; Thomas and Franklin; hundreds more whose names we know; thousands more whose names are to us unknown; the whole grand, heroic host. Mighty convulsion! The entire continent rocking to and fro! The battle cry of freedom ringing from ocean to ocean! Outbursts of loyalty shaking every Northern Commonwealth! Puritan and pioneer burning with patriotic zeal! "Government of, for, and by the people shall not perish."

WOMAN'S SACRIFICES IN THE REBELLION.

And, ah, let us not forget that there was a parting in a million homes. How often that parting was a parting forever, between sweetheart and lover, between sister and brother, between husband and wife, and between son and mother. Oh, for scarlet geraniums and sweet verbenas and purple violets to strew the graves of the lover and brother! Oh, for pure white jessamine and yellow buttercup and delicate heliotrope so to cover those of the sister and sweetheart as to fully and fittingly express the agony of that parting, the pitiful but unpitied throes of the battle death, and the untold suffering of those ruined, loving lives at home. Oh, for begonia and petunia and hyacinth and fuchsia and lily and rose for the mother and the wife whose son and husband went then from their embraces away, first to the city, further on to the camp, and at last to the nameless mound near the enemy's prison stockade. Sublime sacrifices, glorious and grand, tender and touching, beautiful and blessed. The fragrance of their memory hovers over us to-day like a benediction from the past.

Rest on, embalmed and sainted dead,
Dear as the blood ye gave;
No impious footstep here shall tread,
The herbage of your grave;
Nor shall your glory be forgot
While fame her record keeps,
Or honor points the hallowed spot
Where valor proudly sleeps.
On fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread;
And glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead.

DISUNION WAS WRONG.

It is right to say and to teach—for we can not fail to perceive—which side was right and which was wrong. It is right and fit that we should never fail to emphasize the fundamental fact that the soldiers of the Union died for the eternal right. We all see and must teach that in the fall of the ramparts of the southern rebellion there melted away the mightiest conspiracy against the rights of man that the world ever saw. It was a conspiracy of intelligence and shrewdness; a conspiracy of refined skill and cultivated ability and signal sagacity; a conspiracy nurtured and fostered with care and with effort. It was an acknowledged attempt to divide the Union, which had been based on the equality of man and the liberty of all and cemented by the shed blood of the forefathers. It was a resort to desperately, by force, erect an abnormal republic with corner stones of slavery; and, worse than all, it lured frank and faithful southern men and gallant and generous southern hearts to lend their aid to the ambitious. The best, truest, and most honest of southerners have fully realized the awful iniquity of the "lost cause," and that any system that gives the lie to the Declaration of Independence and makes the Stars and Stripes an emblem of tyranny should be, and is, doomed to destruction in the infallible providence of Almighty God. I believe that the survivors of the deceived and deluded *men who in rank and file fought the battles and filled the cemeteries* of the Confederacy have no disposition to dishonor the reconstructed Union or to glorify the treason which they now well know darkened their loved and lovely section.

Congressman HATTON W. SUMNERS, of Dallas, Tex., the son of a Confederate soldier—eloquent son of a valiant sire—showed how fast the remnants of bitterness are dying out by an address he delivered to us in the House of Representatives on Grant's birthday, the 27th of April. I quote from this tribute by a noble son of a noble sire:

"I speak because I am a southern man, because I love my people of the South and am grateful to those who served them in the hour of their distress. In the darkest hour which ever hung its shadows over the Southland, Gen. Grant was the friend

of my people and the servant of the highest interest of my Nation. [Applause.] I speak because I love my Nation and its unity, my Nation and its people everywhere. I speak the gratitude of a southern man, and in behalf of my Nation I speak the profound appreciation of one who believes himself to be a patriot, through whose patriotism there runs no line of sectional cleavage. I honor the memory of Grant not only for the magnanimity shown Lee and his army at Appomattox, but when Lincoln had fallen Gen. Grant was the only man in the Nation with the power to defend, who had the purpose and the courage to defend, those who had been the military leaders of the South, those whom the South, bleeding and exhausted, could no longer defend. Lincoln understood, but Lincoln was gone.

"The South was helpless. There were many noble, generous men of position and influence in the North, but there was but one man left in all the broad confines of the Nation who both willed to protect and who had the power to protect my people and preserve for my Nation that thing of inestimable value, the possibility of that to which we have attained to-day—a union not of States held together by words and force merely, but a union of people, of people so united in purpose, in interest, in love for each other, and in loyalty to a common flag that no discord can penetrate their solidarity even to test the strength of the Federal compact. [Applause.] This might have come in some other age, but Grant made that possibility for this generation.

"We southern people recognize Grant as a great general, but it was not in military conflict that he was greatest. Gen. Grant was a great military leader at Appomattox, but he was greater when the battle was over. [Applause.]"

ALL ANIMOSITY ABANDONED.

And the day of animosity upon the part of the North is also, as it should be, forever gone. Let us never again cherish or foster such a feeling. Let us drop the rose of pity upon the grave of the impetuous southern youth. Let us remember that they sprang to the defense of their beloved fatherland only when their loved leaders cried, in the words of their old song, "My Maryland," that "the tyrant's hoof is on the shore." Let us thank God to-day that never again shall there be fraternal war under the dome of the Union sky. When at the age of 6 I saw Jefferson Davis while he was in confinement at Fortress Monroe, I was informed that he would pay for his treason with his life, and all were convinced that he deserved it. Whatever may have been his deserts, I rejoice to-day that the American people displayed the God-like attribute of mercy in his case as well as in all others. That magnanimity astounded the world and must have been heralded with acclaim around the flashing throne where the angels stand. I devoutly believe that God punishes and rewards nations as well as individuals. I believe, as Lincoln did, that God permitted the scourge of war to continue until every cent of the treasure piled up by the bondsman's 250 years of unrequited toil was lost to the South and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash was paid for by another drawn by the sword. And so I also believe that the mercy shown by the Union to the Union's foes at the close of the rebellion has effectually pleaded for this Nation at the mercy seat on high more than once since 1865, for the mighty word of the Maker of the Universe was pledged when he said, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

Ladies and gentlemen, you know the story. After four years of toil and struggle and bloodshed, into the camp of the Army of the Potomac one bright morning walks with quiet manner "the real and genuine spirit of real and genuine war in the person of Ulysses S. Grant," to quote Senator Chauncey M. Depew. Thirty days of tireless attack in Virginia; 30 nights of "By the left flank, march!" Then Richmond is ours and Lee has surrendered, the prisons are thrown open, and the rebel armies are paroled, the Union garrisons are withdrawn, and the bronzed faces are turned homeward, and the parade is on at Washington, and the thousands march down Pennsylvania Avenue before a million wondering lookers-on. At last the endless war has ended, the batteries are silent, the battle fields are deserted, the camp fires are out. With their side arms and their horses the Confederates have gone back to the dust and the ashes of their ruined hearths, and the North begins to resound once more with all the tumult and all the bustle of all the arts of peace.

THE SOLDIERY OF 1861—WHO?

Who were the 300,000 gallant souls who saw their homes no more? They lie to-day upon the distant field. After the passing of 60 years probably fifteen hundred thousand of the soldiers of the Union are in their graves. We should remember and honor them all. We should honor and praise to-day all who went forth to dare and die in that awful time. At their country's call they left partisan zeal, business absorption, and the comforts of home to fight for the American ideal of citizenship. Sovereigns themselves, by divine right, they went forth, every man to defend his own particular kingdom. They were men of reading and thought, almost universally, and every bullet they fired was backed by an intelligent idea. That idea was gained before the war commenced by discussion on the farm and in the workshop, and that discussion was continued everywhere until every man knew exactly why he was fighting and what he was fighting for. Such a soldiery no other nation has ever evolved.

SHALL WE FORGET?

American citizenship came out of the roar and the clash and the smoke and the crash of combat unscathed and unscarred and unblemished. Nay, more—it came out enriched and adorned and embellished and glorified. For this citizenship the war was fought. It was an attribute of our united country. It was an essential organ of our compact body politic. It could not exist in a slave country. The country, as Lincoln believed and predicted, could not exist half slave and half free. Both slavery and this citizenship could not survive. It was because American citizenship was at stake, because American individual liberty hung in the balance, because the Declaration of Independence, with all its achievements and all its principles, was involved in the question, that the determined North faced and fought the fiery South and presented to the world the imposing panorama of 1861 to 1865.

But, fellow citizens, Time heals all wounds, wipes out all old scores, obliterates all scars, mellows all discordant notes. He is passing his erasing fingers over the memories of the recent past. He is effacing the lines drawn by a lately powerful hand. He is applying a soothing balm to feelings fiercely resentful only three decades ago. This is all right. But let him alone and he will complete his work. Oppose him not and the past is an empty dream. Utter no protest and with an enchanting chime of golden bells far up the glittering avenues of a glorious future, luring all to think only of wondrous things to come, he will entice us away from our trophies, from our songs, and even our graves. He will drown out the "music of the boisterous drum and the silver voice of the heroic bugle," and will leave us not a melody, not a note, by which to recall the visions of a past which should be glorious alike to graybeards and to striplings and to Americans yet unborn. We must not permit it.

EDUCATION IN HISTORY.

By educating our youths we can prevent it. All our youths should hear and learn all that patriotism has done for America. The school children can not know too much of the history of freedom. There is room for improvement in this direction. In the city school of to-day, very often, only those children who reach the highest grades or rooms—which can be reached only after six or seven years of study in other books—are taught American history at all. Many children drop out of school and go to work before they reach these grades. In many a country school the close of the annual term finds the children who are studying history only as far along in the study as the events of the Revolutionary War. In many high schools the dead languages and the sciences are taught much more than American history. In many of the 3,000 colleges and academies of the United States a youth receives six and seven years' instruction in the language, literature, biography, and history of Rome and Greece, respectively, and only one year in American history and one year also in American or English literature. Of course, all the great universities furnish complete courses of study in history, but comparatively few go there or get that benefit.

One of the inevitable results is that there are not a few Americans to-day who have not read American history enough, with its glorious facts and names, its dates and figures, to fully realize and appreciate what the veterans of our great wars have done, and to what extent they have preserved our country—our heritage of liberty—and made it what it is.

THE PATRIOTISM OF AMERICAN YOUTH.

I would not for one moment underestimate or disparage the patriotism of our American youth. I have, on many occasions, witnessed its high flaming from thousands of hearts. I believe that an armed attack upon our American free institutions, our civil or religious liberty, or the honor of our beauteous banner of the starlit skies would be answered by a rally of the people fully as grand, fully as resistless, as was that of 50 years ago.

I have no patience with anyone who will suggest, as some do, that if Grant had been killed at Vicksburg the great southern slave conspiracy would have triumphed. In my humble opinion

such a triumph was not within the possibilities of Divine Providence. Such a disaster would simply have awakened this country to greater sacrifice, greater valor, and greater retribution than the year 1865 actually saw. God would have raised up another leader. And perhaps the hero of the march to the sea, Sherman, would have been the man; or perhaps it would have been the man who Grant said in 1863 was fitted to command any army, our own brilliant and blessed and beloved John A. Logan; or perhaps it would have been that other dauntless leader who rode down the Shenandoah Valley to glorious victory, even as in after years he rode to the rescue of flame-stricken Chicago, gallant Phil Sheridan. Heaven would not have deserted us. The God of hosts and battles was on our side. And just as I have faith in the inspired patriotism of that time, so I have a supreme and serene faith and confidence in the patriotism of to-day when it shall be called for.

However, I feel sure it would be better far than present arrangements if every school child in the land were taught all that valor has done to establish and perpetuate this Republic, and to make it a Republic resplendent in beauty and grace and power, embracing a continent, free religiously, free civilly, and free politically. Every boy and girl of 15 should know the names and places which have made American bravery famous throughout the world, and which will cause it to blaze in splendor forever in the highest constellation of human achievement. A course of education in history can never be a loss. It will make the American citizen anxious instead of indifferent as to the management of the Government and the progress of the Nation. It will save America from monopoly and Cæsarism; it will save it from socialism and secession; it will save it from centralization; it will save it from dissolution; it will save it from cowardly diplomacy; it will save it from contemptible stinginess; it will save it from avarice and vice and war. It will make us rich and peaceful and contented; it will promote philanthropy and benevolence and generosity; it will help to abolish misery and want and woe; it will help to establish perpetual happiness. We must educate, educate, educate.

PRESERVATION OF OUR MEMORIES.

There is no spot to which the high hopes and boundless aspirations of the coming manhood of our matchless realm can more properly come than to the quiet glen where sleep our fallen brave, or to the printed page, which, with equal silence but with more eloquence, tells of their historic valor. There may be found inspiration for the sublimest work of the loftiest intellect and the most noble aim. "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friend." The chivalrous knights of the temple bore upon their streaming banners in crusading times, across the sands of Palestine, a cross and this legend, "In hoc signo vinces"—"By this sign shalt thou conquer"; and by these sacrifices and graves of our soldier dead, by the memories they awaken, and by the daring they inspire we shall conquer time's ruthlessness and youth's thoughtlessness. We will roll back oblivion and lead forgetfulness captive; we will convince ambition and promising hope that there are examples worthy of them all; and we will see to it that the flame of patriotism expires not on our Nation's altars.

I know no better way, fellow citizens, in which we can render to Union soldiers an adequate acknowledgment than by emulation of their devotion as shown by their sacrifices and services. Those who died did not die to secure our compliments. They did not shed their lifeblood to obtain our flowers. They died to make us the freest, manliest, mightiest race in all Christendom. If we fail to cherish, to exalt, and to exemplify the ideal they warred for, we will be guilty of the basest ingratitude. The word or the token we bring and leave here to-day, with all its feeling, all its symbolism, all its beauty, does not crown, does not complete, our duty. We must finish the unfinished work these men laid down after nobly carrying it on as far as it lay in their power to do. Their mortal efforts have ceased, but the influence and spirit of their work and example are with and about us still and afford us the most eloquent inducement and the most powerful incentive to consecrate ourselves with renewed devotion to the glorious cause for which they died—the upbuilding of American nationality, the elevation of American character, the firm establishment of equal rights. We are surrounded and confronted with civic duties. It is not with us now as with our dead. There is no present occasion for our military services; but we have domestic responsibilities and social obligations, duties to the law and to the young, to labor and to commerce, to government and religion, and to the oppressed of the world, which are peculiar to no one of us but applicable to all. If we meet these duties and perform them, doing the right as God gives us to see the right, we will not dishonor our dead. But if corruption rules in our municipal councils; if immorality pervades our society; if hypocrisy disgraces our religion; if treason is preferred to patriotism; if the community honors the dastard above the hero, then these dead men—our soldier dead—are insulted, their memory is mocked, and their graves are dishonored.

I am satisfied that America is doing her best to-day to inculcate and encourage a high type of citizenship. I am firm in the faith to-day that the people of this country are highly resolved never to forget and never to belittle or belie the principles for which our warriors battled and gave up their precious lives. I have great hopes that the citizenship they cherished will be more and more, from year to year, honored and ennobled by their fellow countrymen.

I entertain the profound conviction that their services for their State and Nation have given us all a new birth of freedom and that their grand example will in every hour of need be emulated by the sons of America, though the warlike power of the known world be embattled against her, through all the momentous future.

TO-MORROWS TO COME.

To such old soldiers as may be present to-day let me, in conclusion, say a word in behalf of "young America." In a sense we, like you, are at war. The contest is on with us. Hostile batteries are booming on every side. Enemies are now assailing us. The foes are ignorance and avarice and intemperance and vice. After ignorance is vanquished and labor's rights prevail over corporate avarice, we must cultivate temperance, and we must always at every point along our line and along our march press back vice and crime and fight them desperately with every method at every step. The young generation appeals to you for part of their needed counsel and guidance. Be to them their council of administration. Divide with them the store of your wisdom, your prudence, and your calm, clear judgment. You can help. Your outposts and your sons are in every place of prestige and of power. There are to-morrows to come for you as well as for us. There is vast room yet for the use of your splendid activities. You will yet be with us at least 20 years. Would it could be a hundred. Let us all together, as a people, make them 20 years of victory and progress and prosperity and righteousness unequaled, so that our Nation shall be a national union of American States, far in grandeur and in glory beyond any of fondest anticipations in this the day of constant struggle and the hour of anxious combat. I value your service now, because I know your sacrifice then.

MEMORIES OF FATHER.

The most precious recollection that I have of my father is of how he used to get up and walk the floor at night, forward and back, forward and back, hour after hour, hour after hour, all night long, with wringing hands and streaming eyes and breaking heart, agonizing for some one far away. Before he died, and he died when I was 13 years old, I asked him if those midnight marches really occurred; in other words, whether it was a creation of my own brain. His reply was that it was by no means imagination, that those were "the telegram nights," when telegrams would come in, reading "Great battle to-day; 10,000 killed, wounded, and missing; over half the regiments from Illinois engaged"; that he could not sleep because those suffering ones were his boys, appealed to by him to enlist.

WHY HE WORRIED.

He said: "All over Illinois I begged them to go into the Army, appealing to them for the honor and glory of Illinois and the Stars and Stripes, and they went; and I can see their white faces yet as I appealed to them, and they listened, standing about the platforms in the light cast by the glare of flaring torches; their white faces, I can see them yet; and so when the telegram nights came I could not sleep; that is why I walked the floor many and many a night."

He told me of how he went to his first battle field. He gave his note for a hundred thousand dollars, and with the money thus borrowed from patriotic bankers—patriotic then as patriotic now—he took a steamboat, all filled with nurses and surgeons, with cots and with bandages, with surgical supplies and delicacies for the sick, to that battle field. Upon his arrival, my father, desiring to be the first man to land, started down the gangplank the moment it struck the river bank, but two soldiers started up, and they said, "Here, take this boy," and they threw into my father's outstretched arms a wounded soldier boy, chest all lacerated by a fragment of a shell, right arm hanging only by the shreds of the skin, and my father

received the precious burden and turned and staggered up the gangplank with it, and just as he reached the deck of the steamboat proper the boy opened his eyes. And my father said that there was in that boy's look both agony and ecstacy—the agony of the approaching dissolution, the ecstacy of knowing he was giving his young life that liberty might live. And he struggled and said, "Oh, who are you?" "Oh, my boy, I am the governor of Illinois." And that boy said two things; one was "My governor" and the other "Tell mother," and then he died there in those arms in which many others died later.

Oh, sacrifice, sacrifice, the memory of which is like a blessed benediction as long as liberty lives. Who shall say how much that governor's soul was strengthened by that contact? Who shall say how much comfort came to that boy's soul from it?

CONCLUSION.

We are now about to close this wonderful afternoon which we have had together. As we do so, and as we depart from this holy ground to address and devote ourselves to the tasks, the real downright hard work, of life, let us not fail to realize what a privilege it is to our Nation that the Nation has such a place as this and such a man as this (and such men as have been talked about to-day to inspire it) as it turns from this day forward to the great task remaining before it. With this Decoration Day, the first one after the Great War, closes a mighty period and epoch.

In 1837—not 1857 or 1847 but 1837—Abraham Lincoln one day said:

From 1777 to 1837—60 long years—the Nation has thrived and grown great in the visible presence of the surviving heroes and heroines of the Revolution, the very sight of them inspiring us. But now, in 1837, these all are gone, with few exceptions, and the Nation is closing the door upon the heroism of the past, and must now turn and face, without this inspiration, a future which I can not know, and you can not know, and only God himself can foretell.

Even so it is with us now in 1920. For another 60 years—1860 to 1920—we of this day and generation have lived and thrived and grown in the presence of heroism—1861-1865. But the heroes of that time, the jaunty young heroes and the maidens they adored, have been overtaken by the storms and snows of many winters; and they who, eye alight, head erect, soul on high, were the finest, smartest, snappiest soldiers ever seen at any time, in any clime, beneath the shining sun—they are gray to-day and a little bent, a little stooped, a little tired of the long and tedious march, almost ready to say, as the dying Stonewall Jackson said with a last breath:

Let us cross over the river and lie down in the shade of the trees.

Very soon—very, very soon—we who are left will have to close the door and turn to the future without the inspiration we are getting here to-day. Let us highly resolve that we, in our turn, will keep alive the flame of patriotism on the Nation's altar, not forgetting this glorious sight we behold here to-day.

During the Spanish-American War, in the year 1898, a great transport of the United States, bearing 2,000 American soldiers and sailors, left a dock in the Hudson River. It was to be its proud duty to carry those 2,000 boys across the Atlantic, through the Straits of Gibraltar, across the Mediterranean Sea, through the Suez Canal, down into the Red Sea and across the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, and on and on and on, until, in the Pacific, the Philippines should be reached, the first American expedition to go 12,000 miles away from home to overthrow tyranny.

Upon leaving its dock this great ship turned north instead of south and steamed slowly up the Hudson River to this spot. And then, the ship lying still in the middle of the Hudson, a mighty salute was given, peal on peal and roar on roar of heavy artillery saluting the silent commander lying here. And then, while colors dipped and drums rolled and bugles sang, 2,000 American boys froze into the salute, every eye resting upon this temple. It is safe to say that not a single boy ever forgot that hour. How appropriate it was that that salute should be accomplished before those boys went forth—went forth with the Stars and Stripes folded over their hearts and the image of U. S. Grant in their imaginations.

May the memory of this occasion, this white temple, the tall angels of white marble surrounding our heroic dead, the brightness of the sunlight, the singing of the birds, the harmony of the strains of music, the sweetness of the old war songs—may this memory go with us from this place and hour and abide with us like a blessed benediction, so that in all the momentous future no evil may triumph over our beloved land, the beautiful, healthful, resourceful, helpful, "land of the free and home of the brave."

Our country first, our glory and our pride;
Land of our faith, land where our fathers died;
When in the right, we'll see thy honor bright;
When in the wrong, we'll die to set thee right.

Our Undeveloped Resources and the Nation's Food Supply.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. SUMMERS,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the crying need of to-day is greater production. In response the farmers of this country have driven the plow deeper and further than ever before in our history, but still the world cries for food and prices have continued to soar. Such conditions, we are told, are going to continue for years to come, but whether or not the demand maintains its present intensity I believe it is the clear, economical duty of our Government to continue to reclaim and assist in the development of our vast expanses of arid land in the West, thousands of acres of which already bear abundant testimony to the wisdom of the great reclamation movement.

It is true that present high prices will probably not prevail permanently, but before they came to pass, as a result of war conditions, there was great need for increased production, great need for more land on which our increasing population could build homes. Right now our cities are overpopulated and as industrial conditions gradually relax and the 1920 census figures again reveal the necessity of another "back-to-the-farm" movement we may too late discover a lack of foresight in not reclaiming even larger areas of our idle arid lands of the West than is now planned—lands that, where water is once secured, are transformed from deserts to fertile fields with luxuriant crops that wave a beckoning hand to the tiller of the soil.

SKEPTICISM STILL PREVAILS.

Mr. Speaker, there are some Members of the House, in addition to the gentleman from Missouri, who will agree with what I have just stated in regard to the need for greater production and the desirability of getting more land into cultivation, thus increasing our crops and our commerce, but these gentlemen are skeptical as to the results of reclamation work and will want to be shown. Just why this still remains true, after all that has been accomplished and the many convincing examples of success, I do not understand. Perhaps there has not yet been enough testimony given, and while I do not deign to speak for the entire West, though a member of the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, I do desire to call particular attention to the past history and future hopes of reclamation work in the State of Washington, and I might add that the reclamation history of this State is also the reclamation history of the West.

Mr. Speaker, the value of the crops harvested in the Yakima Valley last year is conservatively estimated, according to reliable figures which I shall shortly quote in detail, at $45,602,576, and I am here to say that had it not been for the passage of the reclamation act of June 17, 1902, and the subsequent reclamation work in that valley by our Government, the value of its crops last year would have been reduced about $40,000,000.

Here, then, we have a concrete example of forty millions in one year added to the country's production and wealth as a result of Federal reclamation work on the arid lands of one county in my district. Visit the Yakima Valley and investigate for yourself.

YAKIMA CROPS IN DETAIL.

In presenting a statement of the 1919 production in the Yakima Valley every care has been taken to assure accuracy, and where some doubt exists a low estimate is made.

The total value reaches the vast sum of $45,602,576, but great as the aggregate is it does not correctly nor completely cover the amount of farm products actually raised within the valley.

One instance of this is the alfalfa yield. Careful estimates, based on 100,000 acres, place the total alfalfa crop in the valley at 400,000 tons, valued, roughly, at $8,250,000. Fully one-third of this will be fed to home live stock, will be represented in 1920 values, and is therefore not included in the statement below.

The same conditions apply to corn. While only 55 cars were shipped, the total yield is at least 17,360 tons or 868 cars, valued at $819,000. There were in excess of 10,000 acres planted to corn in the valley.

Several new items enter into the 1919 report not previously included. Nursery stock raised and sold yielded $750,000; clover seed brought fully $500,000; mixed fruit by parcel post aggregated $250,000.

If an attempt were made to show the actual value of things produced, whether shipped or not, the 1919 report would easily exceed $50,000,000. The following table of values, however, represents largely money already brought in and expended through various channels.

A total of 31,850 carloads of produce raised in the Yakima Valley last year have rolled to market. Under group headings the record shows the crops and values in detail, as follows:

Number cars.		
	FRESH FRUIT.	
50	Strawberries, 27,500 crates, at $3.50	$96,250
75	Cherries, 600 tons, at 12½ cents	150,000
140	Plums and prunes, at $1,600	224,000
9,904	Apples, each 756 boxes, at $2	14,974,848
2,000	Pears, each 544 boxes, at $2	2,176,000
2,200	Peaches, each 1,211 boxes, at 62½ cents	1,665,125
250	Mixed fruit, at $1,000	250,000
300	Cantaloupes, 120,000 crates, at $2.25	270,000
100	Watermelons, 1,800 tons, at $25	45,000
250	Mixed fruit, express, at $1,000	250,000
250	Mixed fruit, parcel post, at $1,000	250,000
40	Grapes, 3,500 baskets, at 30 cents	42,000
15,559	Total raw fruit	20,393,223
	VEGETABLES.	
150	Onions, 2,700 tons, at $60	162,000
20	Turnips, 300 tons, at $32	9,600
15	Green corn, at $750	11,250
20	Carrots, 300 tons, at $25	7,500
20	Rutabagas, 300 tons, at $30	9,000
12	Cabbage, 180 tons, at $55	9,900
5	Asparagus, 100,000 pounds, at 10 cents	10,000
75	Tomatoes, 97,500 crates, at 70 cents	66,500
5	Green peppers, 120,000 pounds, at 5 cents	6,000
20	Squash, 300 tons, at $32	9,600
15	Pumpkin, 300 tons, at $30	9,000
25	Beans, 500 tons, at 5 cents per pound	50,000
	Garden truck, miscellaneous	50,000
1,800	Potatoes, 29,000 tons, at $40; 7,000 tons, at $65	1,635,000
2,182	Total raw vegetables	2,045,350
	HAY.	
14,000	Alfalfa, 182,000 tons, at $23	4,186,000
3,480	47,250 tons fed in transit, at $18	850,500
150	Alfalfa meal, at $900	135,000
17,630	Total hay value	5,171,500
	GRAINS.	
525	Wheat, each 1,200 bushels; 630,000 bushels, at $2.10	1,323,000
80	Barley, each 30 tons; 2,400 tons, at $58	139,200
75	Oats, each 30 tons; 2,250 tons, at $58	130,500
55	Corn, each 20 tons; 1,100 tons, at $45	49,500
735	Total grain	1,642,200
	SUGAR BEETS.	
416	Sugar, 125,000 bags, at $10.50	1,312,500
15	Beet pulp, wet; 15,000 tons, at 80 cents	12,000
431	Total sugar beets	1,324,500
	LIVE STOCK.	
1,000	Sheep, at $2,522	2,522,000
270	Hogs, at $3,250	877,500
200	Beef cattle, at $2,500	500,000
40	Breeders' stock, at $5,000	200,000
60	Dairy stock, at $2,500	150,000
20	Horses, at $3,000	60,000
25	Poultry, 37,600, at 25 cents	94,000
1,615	Total live stock	4,403,500
	LIVE-STOCK PRODUCTS.	
72	Wool, 2,225,000 pounds, at 40 cents	980,000
26	Hides and tallow	270,880
18	Eggs, 10,000 cases, at $20	180,000
334	Meat products, at $4,500	1,750,000
	Furs and pelts	50,000
450	Total live-stock products	3,230,880
	DAIRY PRODUCTS.	
80	Cream, 2,400,000 pounds, at 22 cents	528,000
42	Butter, 1,250,000 pounds, at 60 cents	750,000
6	Cheese, 187,500 pounds, at 35 cents	65,625
55	Condensed milk, 1,666,666 pounds, at 6 cents	100,000
183	Total dairy products	1,443,625
	HOPS.	
100	Hops, 18,000 bales, each 200 pounds, at 25 cents	900,000
	HONEY.	
25	Honey, 750,000 pounds, at 18 cents	135,000
3	Beeswax, 100,000 pounds, at 40 cents	40,000
28	Total	175,000
	MISCELLANEOUS.	
32	Clover seed, 625 tons, at $800	$500,000
	Nursery stock	750,000
32	Total miscellaneous	1,250,000
	MANUFACTURED ARTICLES.	
1,000	Lumber	1,500,000
1,360	Ice, 27,200 tons, at $4	108,800
	Spray material:	
60	Lime sulphur, at $500	30,000
9	Arsenate of lead, at $5,000	45,000
2,429	Total	1,783,800
	MISCELLANEOUS.	
	Sizers, ladders, nailing boxes, etc	100,000
	FRUIT AND VEGETABLE PRODUCTS.	
200	Canned fruits and vegetables	1,000,000
175	Cider and vinegar	205,000
16	Boiled cider	72,000
60	Dehydrated fruits	450,000
25	Grape juice	112,500
476	Total fruit and vegetable products	1,839,500
31,850	Grand total	45,602,576

The Yakima storage unit will place under the ditch 270,000 acres of adjacent lands and will nearly double these figures.

OTHER PROJECTS BECKONING.

These are the accomplishments of irrigation in the Yakima Valley, but there are other equally promising areas of arid land in my district which are mutely appealing for water, so that they may join in the great work of feeding our people, for which they were by nature intended but restricted by some freak of volcanic action.

Two great river systems—the Snake and the Columbia—are tributary to these lands and these projects, so that the water supply is unlimited. All that is needed is the will of Congress and the hand of engineering science.

The latter is now being applied by the Reclamation Service in investigations which are proving the feasibility of the work proposed. Soon all that will remain to be done will be the approval of adequate appropriations which will be returned manyfold by the increase of our agricultural wealth and commerce.

Permit me to call your attention to the major projects contemplated, most all of which have already been investigated and indorsed by the Reclamation Service.

THE LOWER SNAKE PROJECT.

The Lower Snake River project contemplates a dam across the Snake River at the Five Mile Rapids and the irrigation of 60,000 acres of land near Burbank and 60,000 acres near Pasco, Wash.

This is wonderfully productive soil when the water is applied, as is already well demonstrated by small tracts in this district, which has a longer growing season than any other in the Northwest. When water is applied crop yields of alfalfa, corn, berries, vegetables, and fruits are unusually abundant.

The Washington State reclamation service has approved of this project and is cooperating with the United States Reclamation Service in final investigations. It is proposed to construct a dam across the Snake River at Five Mile Rapids and thus build a huge reservoir.

Only one important question was raised, and that was whether a feasible dam site could be found. In this investigation the Federal and the State Reclamation Services joined, and the result was the official agreement that the dam was entirely feasible. Soil surveys have also been made and found satisfactory.

The only thing now needed is governmental action and another vast area of arid land will be added to our fertile fields of plenty.

Five railroads would serve this project by lines now actively engaged in regular business. The Snake and Columbia Rivers, which merge near here, will soon both be bridged by fine new structures, one under course of construction by the counties and the other also under way by a construction engineer who has secured rights for a toll bridge.

Here, then, are 120,000 acres of land, now almost barren, that will repeat the lesson of the Yakima Valley, which I have already emphasized.

THE KENNEWICK HIGH-LINE PROJECT.

The Kennewick high-line project, lying in the lower Yakima Valley, will water 35,000 acres of the best dry land in the State. Private irrigation of lands immediately adjoining has also demonstrated beyond question the productiveness of these lands.

The Reclamation Service has already approved this project, and it now only awaits an appropriation, which I have no doubt will be forthcoming soon.

KITTITAS VALLEY PROJECT.

The Kittitas Valley—the far-famed alfalfa lands of the Northwest—have proven their merit during a third of a century under private irrigation. There are still 70,000 acres awaiting water. Under the title of the Kittitas High Line, this project has also been approved for development by the Reclamation Service.

Both it and the Kennewick project will rival the results obtained in the Yakima Valley.

THE HORSE HEAVEN PROJECT.

No résumé, however brief, of the undeveloped lands of southeastern Washington would be complete without due consideration of that vast area known as Horse Heaven, which extends from Prosser to Kennewick and far into Klickitat County. Here are more than 200,000 acres of land, beautifully situated.

This vast area, one time the happy winter pasture land of the Cayuse, will some day be irrigated and will supply food for tens of thousands of American citizens.

But this is not all. There is yet another project which is an empire in itself, and which when completed will eclipse anything yet attempted in reclamation work and stand as a monument to the ingenuity of man working hand in hand with nature.

I refer to the great—

COLUMBIA BASIN PROJECT.

This project covers areas in Adams, Franklin, Grant, Spokane, and Walla Walla Counties, and possibly some territory in Oregon.

The total irrigable area is 1,750,000 acres of first-class land, two-thirds of which is or has been in wheat.

All the lands lie below an elevation of 1,600 feet above sea level, and the soil and climate are the same as in the Yakima Valley.

The drainage features are ideal, an unusual condition in large irrigation projects. This makes unnecessary the construction of extensive drainage works.

The water supply is from the Pend Oreille River, which has an average yearly run-off of 19,000,000 acre-feet.

The intake of the project would be at Albany Falls, about 2 miles east of Newport, and the gross amount of water diverted would be 6,250,000 acre-feet. Water duty required on land varies from 24 to 48 inches.

The amount of storage water required is 2,400,000 acre-feet to be held in Flathead Lake, with 1,000,000 acre-feet in Lake Pend Oreille. The secondary storage on the project would be sufficient to provide equalization and regulation of flow. The main supply would come from Albany Falls on the Pend Oreille River in Idaho, to Hillcrest, Wash., total 130 miles, of which lakes constitute 40 miles.

RIVALS PANAMA CANAL.

Rivaling the Panama Canal in magnitude is this proposal to irrigate the 1,750,000 acres of arid but very fertile land lying between the Bitterroot Mountains and the Columbia River in eastern Washington. A great part of the area proposed to be watered now gives meager sustenance to hordes of jack rabbits and is covered by great stretches of pungent sage brush.

Unlike the Panama Canal, however, the plan to place life-giving water on an arid portion of the State does not present baffling engineering problems. Reclamation engineers years ago investigated a proposal to water the arid plans embraced within the Columbia Basin. The plan was not acted upon because it was considered in those comparatively early days of the Pacific Northwest that the undertaking was too extensive for immediate consideration.

Conditions have changed materially since the first reconnaissance. The rapid settlement of available agricultural lands in the West, the lack of sufficient rainfall in dry-farming regions, and the vast returns in the aggregate from irrigated sections have focused attention upon the desirability of extending irrigation wherever water can be found available. All the engineering data gathered by the engineers for the Columbia Basin survey commission goes to confirm the early findings of Government engineers.

The irrigable area in the Columbia Basin is composed of volcanic ash and decomposed basalt, elements which promote vigorous and rapid growth of crops. This entire basin, we are told by engineers, was covered in a past geological age by what moderns have named Lake John Day, into which streams of mud were poured and volcanoes spewed vast quantities of fine white dust and lapilli. Lake John Day broke through the barrier of the Cascades at Cascade Locks and left the Columbia River to drain the great rich basin.

WOULD MAKE HOMES FOR HALF A MILLION.

It is proposed to place on these broad streaches from 2 to 4 feet of water annually and to convert the sage-brush plains into alfalfa fields, orchards, and small diversified farms where a population of more than half a million producers may establish homes and independence.

A large part of this area has been planted to wheat, but because of insufficient rainfall for a number of years it has yielded only scant crops. Much of the land has been allowed to revert to its natural arid condition.

The land to be placed under irrigation in the Columbia Basin will require annually from 24 to 48 inches of water per acre, or, in round numbers, 5,000,000 acre-feet. Without imparing the minimum flow of the Pend Oreille River, the source of supply, more than sufficient water can be taken from the stream to irrigate the entire area and leave a surplus at the lowest recorded year of 6,000,000 acre-feet. The Pend Oreille River has an average yearly water run-off of 19,000,000 acre-feet.

By constructing a dam at Flathead Lake in Montana, one of the largest inland bodies of water in the United States, a storage reservoir for 2,400,000 acre-feet of water will be created. A second dam at Albany Falls, Idaho, will create storage in Lake Pend Oreille for an additional 1,000,000 acre-feet, so there would be no cause for worrying about the water supply.

From the diversion point at Albany Falls, a maximum flow of 20,000 second-feet will be delivered to the main canal during the irrigation season.

The great plain of the Columbia River from a climatic standpoint is ideal for growing diversified crops. The soil and climatic conditions are similar to those in the Yakima Valley. The long summer period of almost continuous sunshine, the comparatively low altitude, mild winters, the absence of violent storms, unsurpased soil conditions, and length of growing season make for abundant crops, provided sufficient water is placed on the land.

VAST AREA IS INCLUDED.

The arid, treeless basin rises in a gradual slope from 400 feet at the Columbia River to 1,700 feet at Hillcrest. On the great plateau picturesque low mountains rise in the northern portion while the Blue Mountains extend from the Oregon line into the southeast portion and the high Cascades form the western boundary.

Over the central Washington plain, and particualrly in Douglas, Grant, Franklin, and Yakima Counties, there is a great preponderance of dry air and clear sky with scanty precipitation of both rain and snow, the mean annual amounts ranging from 6 to 7 inches in the very arid districts to 11 and 12 inches in the northern, eastern, and western parts of the semiarid area.

In the mountainous portions of the northern and southern counties and on the Cascades to the west there is very heavy snowfall, while on the intervening plateau snow seldom covers the ground throughout the entire winter, and in many of the valleys it lasts for only a week or so at a time. Over the so-called dry-farming wheat belt the total annual precipitation ranges from 12 to 18 inches.

Only in exceptional seasons, however, have farmers in the arid area harvested profitable crops, the lack of moisture making agriculture a hazardous undertaking on these particular lands. On the other hand, the Yakima Valley, with the same character of soil and climate, under irrigation has produced fruit and diversified crops to an average value of $161 per acre. The value of crops from the Yakima Valley in 1919 is estimated above at $45,000,000 produced on a cultivated area of about 300,000 acres, and Yakima has still other areas of land on which water is to be obtained and which will still further add to her agricultural values.

SOME STARTLING FIGURES.

On the same basis, all things being equal, the Columbia Basin, under irrigation and developed to the same point as Yakima, would return an annual yield of more than $150 per acre. The total value of improved land in the three counties of Adams, Franklin, and Grant, as equalized by county commisioners in 1918, is only $17,629,976 as against an assessed valuation of Yakima County in 1919 of $39,440,295.

The average value of unimproved lands in the three dry counties as equailzed by county boards in 1918 was $3.70 per acre. In Yakima County sage brush or unimproved lands were equalized by the county board at $2.43 per acre. Irrigation lands in the Yakima Valley have been readily sold at prices ranging from $180 to $250 per acre for unimproved farm lands and from $350 to $1,000 and even $2,000 per acre for improved orchard lands.

The Yakima Valley is a growing product of irrigation. A sage-brush plain, unyielding to anything except water, has there been converted into one of the most fertile and productive

agricultural districts in the world, and only a part of the area proposed to be irrigated has been placed under water. Its future is more promising as water is extended to the arid plains beyond the cultivated orchards and fields.

TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES.

Within the area proposed to be irrigated in the Columbia Basin, five great railway systems, the Great Northern, Northern Pacific, Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, Oregon-Washington Railroad & Navigation Co., and the Spokane, Portland & Seattle Railway Co., with their several branch lines, give transportation outlets to big Pacific coast terminals.

Well-graveled State and county highways and some hard-surfaced roads cross and recross a great portion of the Columbia Basin, and the various projects enumerated above, affording ready ingress and egress for horse and motor transportation; and in several instances counties have bonded themselves for more hard-surfaced roads.

The Columbia River also offers a direct outlet to Portland and the Pacific Ocean for the products of this great inland arid area. With the rapid growth of population in Pacific coast cities, such as Seattle, Portland, and Tacoma, with an ever-decreasing local fresh-food supply, the construction and development of the Columbia Basin project, with all its allied projects, will mean greatly increased traffic by railroads and by water; greater jobbing possibilities; enlarged manufacturing, and unlimited commercial and agricultural growth for the Pacific Northwest.

WOULD FEED A MILLION PEOPLE.

In this and the other smaller projects, all lying in southeastern Washington, there are altogether 2,500,000 acres of land. It is safe to say that the crop yield from this vast, undeveloped empire, now traversed by many railways and hard-surfaced highways, and dotted with scores of thriving towns and villages, would, when watered, feed a population of a million souls.

The rising tide of food prices and the millions of hungry mouths all over the world should focus attention on these undeveloped resources of the Northwest.

As a business proposition for the Federal Government, these projects should appeal to the lawmakers of America.

Actual demonstration on adjacent lands will prove beyond doubt that this entire area of dry land, now almost valueless, will, with three crops, repay the Government every dollar that may be expended.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I beg of you that you lay aside your prejudices and preconceived notions and see the facts as they are.

Contrast—The Federal Reserve Act and Republican Failure.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL F. PHELAN,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 2, 1920.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the United States for some months past has been, and for many months ahead will be, passing through a critical period of readjustment and reestablishment as a natural consequence of the most stupendous, most destructive, and most disorganizing war in history.

The end of the war saw all the great nations of the world, including our own, facing social, political, economic, and financial problems of such magnitude and complexity as to incite despair of their proper solution were it not for an abiding faith in the conquering power of human endeavor.

This country was better prepared to face such problems than were the European nations, because we had suffered less from the shock and disorganization of war and were in better economic condition and had vastly greater resources at our command. The very fact that we were better prepared imposed upon us a greater obligation than upon those less fortunately fortified to accomplish our task efficiently, and charged us with a greater responsibility, not alone to ourselves but to the whole world, in the readjustment of world conditions than could be charged upon peoples without our great resources and reserves.

While it is true that the American people as a whole had imposed upon them heavy obligations in the great work of rehabilitation, they had a right to look to the Executive and to Congress, their chosen representatives, to lead the way, and with steadfastness in purpose, wisdom in construction, and courage in execution perform the various governmental functions which would clear the way of entanglements and obstructions and prepare the path for the onward march toward reconstruction.

REPUBLICAN OPPORTUNITY.

The Republican Party took control of Congress at the dawn of the reconstruction period. Before it lay a field of extraordinary natural fertility, but a field whose fertility was temporarily checked because of various obstructions and rank growths. With these obstructions and growths removed, this field gave promise of a resumption of former abundant production. To the Republican Party for the time were intrusted the destinies of the United States, a country of almost limitless resources, a country capable of producing boundless wealth. The ravages and disorganization of war had thrown obstacles in the way of development and production of wealth. The first step toward a resumption of former and ever-increasing prosperity must be taken by the National Congress in the removal of those obstructions which hindered progress.

A burdensome war tax specially designed for war times had been necessarily and properly placed upon the American people and had been generally borne by them with complacency while the war lasted. In peace times, however, readjustment of heavy taxes became necessary to avoid hindrance or discouragement in the forward movement toward speedy economic recovery.

High prices for commodities and necessaries were a natural accompaniment of the destructiveness, diminution of production, and general inflation of war, but still higher prices threatened to become onerous beyond endurance unless checked and controlled in peace times. A demand far beyond supply offered a fertile field to the seeker for extortionate profit and profiteering became rampant. The duty of dealing with the reduction of the cost of living and of curbing the profiteer was plainly imposed upon the Congress of the United States.

The dislocation of our great railroad systems and their general disorganization because of the war created the great problem for Congress to solve of laying the foundations for the rejuvenation and development of our transportation organizations, the great arteries of commerce. The initiative in the upbuilding and development of a great merchant marine could be taken only by Congress. It bore a heavy obligation to establish, and establish at once, a sound policy relative to American shipping.

The decrease in coal production had brought about a serious menace to the maintenance of our great industrial production. So serious has this matter become that already from various parts of the country, especially from New England, has come a cry of alarm and foreboding as to the desperate conditions which may exist in industrial centers for want of coal next winter.

One of the most appalling situations which confronted us was the ever growing tendency toward decrease in our agricultural products. To what more important problem could statesmen give their attention than to the maintenance and development of agriculture, the very corner stone of our national prosperity?

The mention of these few problems is enough to suggest without enumeration the many other questions to which the Republican Congress should give heed. There was a great task to be accomplished; there was a great opportunity presented, which would have been embraced eagerly by statesmen if statesmen had been in control. There was a great national service to be rendered, and it was within the power of a properly constituted Congress to render it efficiently and fully.

REPUBLICAN FAILURE.

How has this Republican Congress discharged its responsibilities? Republicans are wont in platform declarations and elsewhere to glorify past accomplishments. How much better it would have been for the Republican Party and for our country itself if the Republican Party in this Congress had so conducted itself and had so discharged its responsibilities that Republicans of future generations could point back with pride to the legislative accomplishments of this Republican Congress. But, alas, they shall be forever denied that gratification, for the Republican Party has failed, and failed lamentably, in the fulfillment of its obligations.

It has done nothing for taxation reform, in spite of the President's insistent demand. It has passed through the House so-called tariff bills, placing a tariff duty upon some half dozen

or more articles. These bills passed the House, but were not even seriously considered by the Republican Senate. They were manifestly a bid for political votes in certain congressional districts. The Republican conception, therefore, of a discharge of its obligation in taxation reform consisted in the passage through the House of a few popgun tariff bills which it was known would not become law. This and nothing more.

As to the problem of high cost of living, investigations galore have been made, speeches and charges without number have been made on the floor of the House, but not even has serious attempt been made in constructive way to deal with the problem by the Republican Congress. The President's recommendations have been ignored. A single instance will suffice to demonstrate Republican methods. Sugar and the price of sugar have been talked about incessantly, but Congress has not initiated a single movement to reduce the price of sugar nor to increase the production nor to enlarge the supply. The record of the Republican Party relative to the problem of high cost of living is a blank page.

Profiteering continues its arrogant course without let or hindrance from the Republican Congress. Again the President's recommendations have been ignored.

As to the railroad problem, does anyone contend that the bill which has been enacted into law gives promise of being anything more than a makeshift? What new constructive idea is contained in a single one of its many provisions? Its failure to take rank as a great or efficacious measure is perhaps best indicated by oft-repeated remarks of Republicans themselves, "Well, it was the best we could get under the circumstances."

The merits of the shipping bill can be sufficiently measured by recalling the fact that the conference committee in its attempt to get a bill through was repeatedly repudiated through the aid, indeed, of Republican votes, and it was only in the last days of Congress that any kind of a bill could be forced through. Again the opportunity for true constructive work was let slip by.

As to the all-important question of coal production, not even an effort has been made to meet the situation. If, next winter, industry is interfered with, factories closed, and men thrown out of employment through lack of fuel the Republican Party will have the consolation of knowing that these things happened after election.

No effort has been made to stimulate agricultural production nor even to maintain it where it is. What a contrast with the record of the Democratic Party in Congress which passed so many effective measures affecting the farmer, notably one of the greatest constructive measures ever enacted into law in this country, the farm-loan act.

The great problems relating to labor, affecting as they do our whole national welfare, have received scanty or no notice from this Republican Congress.

A complete indictment of the failure of this Republican Congress would be too long to be drawn up in the statement I am making. Timidity, however, and evasion, vacillation, lack of vision, subordination of legislative responsibilites to political aspirations; lack of unity, lack of cohesion within the party itself, and absence of strong leadership; but most of all a startling and complete failure to comprehend the fundamental principles to be applied to meet the crisis through which we are passing, to discern the peril to our agricultural and commercial stability which threatens us, to perceive the danger of reaction and ruinous depression standing before us—these characteristics have stamped themselves indelibly upon the Republican Party, which has had control of this Congress.

In the failures of this Congress we are reminded by way of contrast with what can be done by legislators capable of meeting big problems with courage, confidence, wisdom, and vision, and with a steadfast purpose to serve the public.

THE FEDERAL RESERVE ACT.

That great legislative act, known as the Federal reserve act, immediately presents itself to our minds. The Federal reserve act was passed by the Democratic Sixty-third Congress in the incredibly short space of nine months after convening. The committee members who framed it and the Members of the Democratic Congress which passed it must have been possessed of a persistent courage to enact this bill in view of the ceaseless and bitter fight made against its passage by the most powerful financial interests in the country. This fight on the part of the so-called big interests never ceased until after the President had actually affixed his signature to the bill. It required a confidence based upon knowledge to pass the bill through both Houses in the face of the dire predictions of disaster sure to follow its passage made by leading banking interests and others whose word had hitherto been taken as gospel. Happily, the prophets of disaster, the unrelenting foes of the Federal reserve act, have come to acknowledge their error, and in recognition of the virtue of this act have joined in the universal acclaim of praise for this legislative achievement. It required vision not alone to make adequate provision for every demand, ordinary and extraordinary, of peace times, but also for the stupendous demands of the most costly and complexly financed war in history.

One of the essential secrets, perhaps the essential secret, of its success in enactment and secret of its virtue lies in the truth that it was dedicated not to the powerful and big banking and financial interests of the country, nor to any other special interest, but to the whole people of the Nation. In this it differed fundamentally and everlastingly from the so-called Aldrich bill, the Republican measure. In so many essential and underlying principles does the Federal reserve act differ from the Aldrich bill that attempts by Republican orators to connect the two measures with a purpose of bestowing some reflected credit on the Aldrich bill ought perhaps to be treated in a spirit of humor only.

There is, indeed, an element of humor in their futile effort when we recall that Nelson Aldrich himself, the father of the Aldrich bill, severely denounced and unreservedly condemned the Federal reserve act. I have his speech now in my possession. Aldrich himself condemned the Federal reserve act, and now Republican orators on this floor would have us believe that he is entitled to reflected credit for the creation of this act which he denounced.

THE FEDERAL RESERVE ACT AND THE ALDRICH BILL.

The Aldrich bill provided for a single central banking institution, and further provided for the control of the system by the bankers. The Federal reserve act made provision for the institution of a decentralized banking system through the establishment of 12 Federal reserve banks scattered throughout the country, with ample provision, however, for the unification of the various parts of the system so far as was necessary and beneficial; and, furthermore, provided for governmental control through the creation of a Federal Reserve Board, every member of which was to be appointed by the President and accountable not to bankers but to the people of the United States.

For the edification of my Republican colleagues who struggled for reflected glory for their party, I might add that a not unimportant difference is that the Federal reserve act enjoys actual and vigorous existence as an enacted law, useful and beneficent, while the Aldrich bill is a discarded, discredited bill, harmless solely because of its failure of enactment. That the Aldrich bill is dead is due to the fact that in its complete centralization of financial power and in its bankers' control it portended such a menace to national welfare that not even the well-disciplined organization of the Republican Party could compel all party members to support it. What a contrast to the Federal reserve act, whose merit was so great as to compel the support during its passage of a not inconsiderable number of Republican Members.

In its decentralization the Federal reserve act eliminated the danger always attendant upon too great centralization, a danger especially grave in connection with financial centralization; and furthermore gave to the various sections of the country local banking institutions familiar with local needs and fortified to meet such needs. There was thus embodied in the act an old-time Democratic principle in striking contrast with the special-interest policy which was a part of the Aldrich bill.

WHAT THE ACT ACCOMPLISHED.

Its passage came at a fortuitous time, for, after the necessary delay in preparing for its institution, it was organized as a living system at about the same time that the great European war broke out.

What the country would have done to sustain the great shock of that war to our financial, industrial, and agricultural structure and the subsequent upheaval attendant upon our own entrance into the war is simply conjecture as to the limit and extent of the tragic consequences sure to befall our Nation.

Providentially we did have a Federal Reserve System which was not only to meet every demand, to supply every need both private and governmental, to rise to every emergency, and to overcome every crisis, but which was also to operate as a solid rock fundation upon which to build our stupendous war organization. Confidence was a vital factor in our capacity to plan, organize, develop, and achieve, a vital factor in our ability to overpower tremendous obstacle. That we had boundless confidence was due to the conviction that we had, at the basis of our whole structure, a financial foundation, the

Federal reserve act, which was unshakable in its strength and practically unlimited in its reserve power.

The first demand upon its sustaining power occurred just after the European war broke out, and indeed before the system was actually in operation. The sudden shock of the war, the hasty withdrawal by Europeans of funds from our banking institutions, the coincident withdrawal of funds by our own people through apprehension and other connecting causes made a demand upon our banking institutions which seriously threatened their stability. Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo acted with instant promptitude. In cooperation with the Federal Reserve Board and leading bankers of the country, steps were taken for the immediate issuance of ample currency to meet every demand for withdrawal of funds. A section of the Federal reserve act extending the life of a former congressional act made this possible.

The anticipation of the prompt subsequent establishment of the 12 Federal reserve banks gave conclusive assurance that the temporary measures hastily taken to meet the situation could be taken with the utmost safety. A most serious financial crisis, perhaps a panic, was averted, although scarcely a handful of our people ever knew that even a suggestion of trouble threatened.

Almost coincident with this event a desperate situation arose in the cotton States. Approximately 60 per cent of our cotton crop is exported. The outbreak of the European war, with its interference to shipping and industry and the subsequent closing of cotton exchanges in the United States and in England, left the cotton grower and cotton distributor prostrate. Again Secretary McAdoo acted with decision and with wisdom. Again working in conjunction with the Federal Reserve Board, New York bankers, clearing houses in other parts of the country, and bankers in cotton States, a cotton settlement fund of $135,000,000 was established and administered under the direction of the Federal Reserve Board. This fund was established in reliance upon the support of the Federal Reserve System. It afforded sufficient credit, and vitally necessary credit, to the cotton interests, but particularly the cotton growers. It saved the situation. Distress almost to the point of ruin which threatened the South was speedily avoided. If the threatened catastrophe to the cotton States had not been averted, the effects would have been grave all over the country, for so large a section of our country could not suffer overwhelming depression without most serious consequences to every other section. The Federal reserve act, therefore, thus early was giving evidence of its efficacy.

As the European war continued, new problems, new difficulties, and new demands kept arising in relation to our financial operations. Shortly after the outbreak of the war there was a cessation of exports, to be followed later on by a steady increase in exports, until finally our export trade assumed huge proportions. This unanticipated increase in the volume of export trade had to be financed. The demand for American products, manufactured products in particular and war material most of all, stimulated a tremendous increase in our industrial production. Funds and credit were necessary for plant extensions, for material, for labor, and for everything else entering into production. Again there must be adequate provision for financing. Enough has been said to suggest the new and sudden and voluminous demands that were made and were being constantly made upon our banking institutions as a result of the European war. With an inadequate banking and currency system such demands could not possibly have been met, and financial disorder, perhaps financial panic, would have enveloped the Nation. Our old national banking system could hardly have withstood the strain. The lack of cohesiveness and unity among our national banks, a feature which was inherent in the national banking system, would of itself have been sufficient to invite disaster. The Federal Reserve System, however, was in full operation. It was a system of exceeding strength and of ample reserve power. Apart from any help or accommodation it actually afforded member banks, it enabled, by its very existence, individual banks of the country to meet every legitimate demand made upon them in full confidence that they could pay out cash or extend credit in far greater volume than ever before with full safety, because the Federal Reserve System stood behind ready and prepared to give support when necessary with its extraordinary sustaining power.

During the period extending from the outbreak of the European war to our own entrance into the war, trade, commerce, and agriculture were carried on in a constantly increasing volume, but always with amply sufficient funds and credit available. During this trying period, thanks to the Federal reserve act, the business of the country was unhampered by the slightest financial upset, and not even the suggestion of financial disturbance for a single instance disquieted the minds of our people.

THE FEDERAL RESERVE ACT AND THE WAR.

The period of our own participation in the Great War was the period during which was to be demonstrated in its fullness the marvelous strength, capacity for service, and sustaining power of the Federal Reserve System. Never before in the history of mankind was any country called upon to assume financial obligations so huge in volume as was the United States during the war and subsequent thereto. In addition to the vast sums raised by taxation the Treasury issued Liberty bonds to the amount of $16,937,490,850 and Victory notes to the amount of $4,495,014,226. Thus over $21,000,000,000 of United States bonds and notes were issued by the Government and absorbed by the country in a period covering approximately only two years. Within the same period over $9,000,000,000 was loaned European and other countries by this Government. In addition to this, United States certificates of indebtedness issued in anticipation of Government loans or collection of taxes were put out and absorbed. The amounts of these certificates outstanding at any one time varied, but on May 5, 1919, in attaining their highest point, these certificates were outstanding to the amount of $6,467,525,000.

The whole people of the Nation responded promptly and patriotically in the flotation of Government bonds, notes, and certificates. Without their enthusiastic and self-sacrificing support, our bond flotations would not have been a success, and serious difficulties would have arisen in the financing of the war. In spite, however, of the noble response of our American people, it is beyond conception how the war could have been successfully financed if it had not been for the Federal Reserve System.

In the first place, through a provident provision in the act, the Federal reserve banks could be used as the fiscal agents of the Government. There already existed, therefore, a ready-made Liberty-loan flotation organization consisting of the 12 Federal reserve banks and their branches. This organization avoided the necessity of delay and vexatious effort which would necessarily attend the creation of an organization to do the work. It was through the Federal reserve banks and their branches therefore that the entire work was done. In passing, due credit should be given the various banking institutions and individuals and organizations for their cooperation in this work.

Important as it is, however, the service of the Federal reserve banks as an organization for the flotation of bonds and certificates was only an incident compared to the far greater financial assistance rendered the Government through the system. Individual banks were called upon in every loan to make vast credit commitments in order that the people might take up these bonds and make the sales successful. These banks never could have so extended their credit, and it would have been entirely unsafe for them to attempt to do it if the Federal reserve banks had not stood behind ready at all times to give support. In fact, the Federal reserve banks were continuously giving support by taking over volumes of bonds and certificates and furnishing funds and credit to the various individual banks whereby they in turn could furnish funds and credit to their patrons. Some conception of the load which the Federal reserve banks were obliged to carry to sustain our Government in its war financing and in its after-the-war financing may be estimated from a glance at a few figures. On February 7, 1920, the combined statements of the Federal reserve banks showed that they had total earning assets of $3,279,232,000. This huge total practically represents the total sum of funds and credits furnished directly or indirectly by the Federal reserve banks to the Government and to individuals, partnerships, and corporations for their financing. On May 16, 1919, the Federal reserve banks in the aggregate had discounted bills secured by war obligations of the Government to the amount of $1,863,476,000. These amounts just mentioned show the cash and credit afforded through the Federal Reserve System to the Government and to the people of the country, but this is only a small part of what the Federal Reserve System did for the Government and for private enterprise. The funds and credit it furnished the member banks gave these banks loaning power far beyond the figures presented here, and, moreover, the individual banks could extend their own credit with safety far beyond what would have been possible if we had had no Federal Reserve System to sustain our financial structure. The people of this country could not have purchased the output of Liberty bonds and Victory notes but for the loans given them by the National and State banks. The National and State banks could not have made the immense volume of loans necessary but for the exten-

sion of credit and support accorded them by the Federal reserve banks. The establishment and maintenance, therefore, of the Federal Reserve System was what made possible the remarkable success of the Liberty bond and Victory note flotation.

Perhaps no one feature of the Federal Reserve System can be pointed out as contributing more to uphold our financial stability than that which enabled the Federal reserve banks to accumulate a vast hoard of gold and keep it as a reservoir. Our whole credit system, except for the relatively unimportant provision as to lawful money, is based upon gold. The less gold the Federal reserve banks have the less funds and credit can they supply. The more gold they have the greater their power to furnish cash and credit. Under the old national banking system the same principle prevailed, but then the individual banks had to have the gold. The Federal reserve act enabled the Federal reserve banks to accumulate a store of gold to a volume not remotely possible to the National and State banks under the old system. It was this reservoir of gold which was at the basis of the extensive loaning power of our banking system. It was this reservoir of gold which enabled us to meet the tremendous demands for financing the war and to the Federal reserve act can be attributed the means whereby this gold reservoir was built up.

Without the Federal reserve act no one can conjecture how the war could have been financed. It is definitely certain that the old national banking system would have completely broken down under the burden. If temporary measures had been taken to support the national banking system, they would at best have been makeshifts, and the country would have paid an enormous price for its lack of a sound and efficient banking organization. At all events, the Federal reserve act was the financial rock upon which we built, and the people of this day and of the future will ever be under an obligation of gratitude to the greatest and best financial institution that has ever been created for the service that institution rendered in the winning of the war.

A BRIEF RÉSUMÉ OF THE SERVICE RENDERED BY THE ACT.

In my brief review I have made only a suggestion of the achievements of the Federal Reserve System. It has rendered extraordinary service before the war, during the war, and after the war.

1. It took the ultimate control of our banking and currency organization, of our loan and credit system, out of the hands of private bankers and placed such control in the hands of the United States Government.

2. It broke up the centralization of the banking power and substituted therefor decentralization without any diminution of strength.

3. Before the war its tendency was to stabilize and lower interest rates. In normal times it will continue to have this tendency.

4. It was the first banking and currency bill ever passed by the Congress of the United States which made special provision to meet the peculiar needs of the farmer.

5. It entirely eliminated seasonal scarcity and tightness of money and attendant high rates, afflictions from which the country had suffered annually at crop-moving time.

6. It gave assurance for the first time to the banker that financial crises could be averted and financial panics avoided.

7. For the first time since the Civil War it guaranteed to the business man at all times ample funds and credit for the maintenance of legitimate business.

8. It insured the wage earner against lack of employment, due to unnecessary financial disturbance and panic.

9. It made certain at all times an ample supply of currency, or what is commonly called money.

10. For the first time in American history it made provision for the establishment of American banks in foreign countries and furnished adequate banking means to finance and develop our foreign trade.

11. For the first time in financial legislation it made commercial paper rather than stock-exchange collateral the basis of our credit system.

12. It unified our entire banking system and transformed a system wherein thousands of individual banks were forced at times to pull apart into a system where all these banks would pull together for their common strength.

13. It concentrated our reserves and gave our whole financial system the benefit of the strength which such concentration created.

14. Subject to certain modifications, such as the power to loan on Government obligations, it inaugurated the new but sound principle that our reserves could be used as a basis for credit only by those who should use such credit for the purposes of production or distribution.

15. It gave the country what had been lacking since the Civil War, an essentially sound financial organization not alone of great strength and power, but also of proper elasticity and flexibility.

16. It enabled the Government and the people of the Nation to finance the war, and it contributed more than any other one governmental agency in the winning of the war.

THE FEDERAL RESERVE ACT UNIVERSALLY COMMENDED.

In view of its great, almost miraculous, achievement and capacity for service, it is natural that the Federal reserve act should have received the unstinted commendation which has been bestowed upon it. It has received boundless praise from all sections of the country, from all political parties, and from all classes of our citizens. Those who doubted its merit, those who criticized it, yes, those who fought it unrelentingly, have turned right about face and have joined in the enthusiastic approval of this legislative triumph. All over the world it is looked to as a model of banking and currency legislation, and the Federal Reserve System is unhesitatingly accorded first place among the banking institutions of the world.

In two sessions of this Congress the Republican Party, although clothed with the power to do so, has not made a change or alteration in a single principle contained in the Federal reserve act. The Republican Party itself has been compelled to accept this great Democratic act as the embodiment of the highest and best principles of banking and currency which have yet found expression in legislative enactment. Indeed the banking and currency acts which have passed this Republican Congress have had for their purpose the development of provisions already present in the Federal reserve act. Not a single new idea has been presented. Every act of this Congress relates to an idea or principle to be found in the Federal reserve act. The attitude of this Republican Congress is a flattering compliment to Democratic achievement in the enactment of the Federal reserve act.

THE FEDERAL RESERVE ACT AND REPUBLICAN FAILURE.

What a misfortune not alone to the Republican Party but also to the Nation that in their term of power they have accomplished nothing remotely comparable to this act. Who, for instance, would dream of making favorable comparison between the railroad act or the merchant-marine act, passed in this Republican Congress, and the Federal reserve act, the accomplishment of a Democratic Congress. The Democratic Party was afforded an opportunity and used it to enact one of the greatest constructive acts of our legislative history. The Republican Party was afforded an opportunity in the critical days of readjustment, but was unequal to the task of utilizing that opportunity.

Which party, on its record of accomplishment, has proved itself capable of constructive legislation? Not one great constructive work stands to the credit of this Republican Congress. The Democratic Congresses of recent years have reason to be proud of the many great works which they have accomplished, but the Federal reserve act alone fully demonstrates the capacity of the Democratic Party for constructive achievement.

WHO SHALL CONTROL THE NEXT CONGRESS?

Constructive legislation is essential for the Nation's progress in these days of reconstruction and reestablishment. To whom shall the great work be entrusted? The Republican Party, in view of its unfortunate failure to demonstrate constructive capacity, can not lay any valid claim to a continuance in power.

Is it not necessary for the performance of the arduous and perplexing work ahead of us to have in control men who can construct acts like the Federal reserve act? Would it not have been of the greatest value to the country to have had such men construct a railroad bill or a merchant-marine bill? Will it not be of vital consequence to the Nation to have such men in the next Congress to frame and enact the various measures required to promote the Nation's welfare?

The men who gave the country the Federal reserve act were Democrats. What they did do they can do. To these men, to Democrats alone, can the control of the next Congress be given if the next Congress is to measure up to the demands of the times.

The Democratic Party should be, and I am confident will be, returned to congressional power in the next election. They will not pass another Federal reserve act, for that is unnecessary, but they will come armed with the same powers and virtues which enabled them to create that masterpiece and come prepared to apply those powers and virtues to whatever legislative work is required to meet the needs of the Nation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY D. FLOOD,
OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to print granted to me by the House I include herewith statements by the Departments of State, Treasury, and Interior, setting out legislation and appropriations recommended and requested by those departments, and the action of Congress in relation thereto:

Summary of appropriations for the Department of State, Sixty-sixth Congress, first and second sessions.

	Amount estimated.	Amount appropriated.
Third deficiency appropriation act (July 11, 1919)	$585,000.00	$230,000.00
Sundry civil appropriation act (July 19, 1919)	910,500.00	490,000.00
First deficiency appropriation act (Nov. 4, 1919)	1,258,140.28	594,140.28
Second deficiency appropriation act (Mar. 6, 1920)	19,723.33	17,723.33
To regulate the entry of aliens into the United States (Nov. 10, 1919)	750,000.00	600,000.00
Diplomatic and Consular appropriation act	11,755,862.91	9,233,537.91
Department of State (legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act)	1,572,430.00	1,100,160.00
Third deficiency appropriation act	240,679.91	208,423.91
Total	17,092,336.43	12,473,985.43

Third deficiency appropriation act for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1919.

(July 11, 1919.)

Total amount estimated for Department of State	$585,000
Total amount appropriated for Department of State	230,000
Total decrease	355,000

Explanation of decreases.

Items.	Amount estimated.	Amount appropriated.	Decrease.
Additional employees	$25,000	$20,000	$5,000
Contingent expenses, American consulates	300,000	50,000	250,000
Contingent expenses, foreign missions	200,000	100,000	100,000
Relief and protection of American seamen	60,000	60,000	.....
Total	.....	.....	355,000

Sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920.

(July 19, 1919.)

Total amount estimated for Department of State	$910,500
Total amount appropriated for Department of State	490,000
Total decrease	420,500

Explanation of decreases.

Items.	Amount estimated.	Amount appropriated.	Decrease.
Temporary employees	$300,000	$250,000	$50,000
War Trade Board ($200,000 of the unexpended balance of the appropriation of $3,500,000)	275,000	200,000	75,000
Officers to aid in important drafting work	242,500	.....	242,500
Representation on international scientific bodies	25,000	.....	25,000
Scientific attachés	28,000	.....	28,000
Printing and binding	40,000	40,000	.....
Total	.....	.....	420,500

First deficiency appropriation act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920.

(Nov. 4, 1919.)

Total amount estimated for Department of State	$1,258,140.28
Total amount appropriated for Department of State	594,140.28
Total decrease	664,000.00

Explanation of decreases.

Items.	Amount estimated.	Amount appropriated.	Decrease.
Additional officers and employees	$427,000.00	$200,000.00	$227,000
Additional appropriation for the salary of ambassador to Belgium	4,140.28	4,140.28	.....
To reimburse the emergency fund on account of allotments for expenses of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace	825,000.00	388,000.00	437,000
For the Interparliamentary Union	2,000.00	2,000.00	.....
Total	.....	.....	664,000

Second deficiency appropriation act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920.

(Mar. 6, 1920.)

Total amount estimated for Department of State	$19,723.33
Total amount appropriated for Department of State	17,723.33
Total decrease	2,000.00

Explanation of decreases.

Items.	Amount estimated.	Amount appropriated.	Decrease.
Miscellaneous expenses, including maintenance of and repair of motor-propelled vehicle, etc	$12,000.00	$10,000.00	$2,000.00
For the salary of an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Finland	3,333.33	3,333.33	.....
For the payment of the annual quota of the United States for the years 1918 and 1919, and for the regulation of the unpaid balances for the years 1916 and 1917, of the International Railway Congress	1,440.00	1,440.00	.....
For the payment of the quota of the United States for the year ending Apr. 15, 1920, of the International Railway Congress	400.00	400.00	.....
For the subscription of the United States to the International Prison Commission	2,550.00	2,550.00	.....
Total	.....	.....	2,000.00

Act of Nov. 10, 1919 (passport control).

Total amount estimated, Department of State	$750,000
Total amount appropriated, Department of State	600,000
Total decrease	150,000

Explanation.

Items.	Amount estimated.	Amount appropriated.	Decrease.
To regulate further the entry of aliens into the United States	$750,000	$600,000	$150,000

By the act of December 24, 1919, $450,000 of the above sum was made available for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920.

To supplement the remaining $150,000 for the period, July 1, 1920, to March 4, 1921, $250,000 is carried in the Diplomatic and Consular appropriation bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921.

Statement showing total difference in amount estimated and amount appropriated in the Diplomatic and Consular bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921.

FOREIGN INTERCOURSE.

Total amount estimated	$11,755,862.91
Total amount appropriated	9,233,537.91
Total difference	2,522,325.00

Explanation of decreases and increases.

Items, decreases.	Amount estimated.	Amount appropriated.	Difference.
			Decrease.
Salaries, ambassadors and ministers	$775,000	$549,000	$226,000
Clerks at embassies and legations	688,000	480,000	208,000
Contingent expenses, foreign missions	1,310,000	900,000	410,000
Emergencies arising in Diplomatic and Consular Service	700,000	400,000	300,000
International Boundary Commission United States and Mexico	45,000	5,000	40,000
United States section International High Commission	30,000	25,000	5,000
Waterways treaty, United States and Great Britain	81,000	46,000	35,000
Fifth International Conference American States	75,000	.....	75,000
Nineteenth International Conference Interparliamentary Union	40,000	.....	40,000
Post allowances	800,000	600,000	200,000
Contingent expenses American consulates	1,168,000	1,000,000	168,000
Building at Habana	825,000	.....	825,000
Alien employees	50,000	.....	50,000
Total decrease	.....	.....	2,582,000
			Increase.
Salaries of secretaries, Diplomatic Service	390,500	435,175	44,675
Salaries and expenses interpreters and guards	88,700	103,700	15,000
Total increase	.....	.....	59,675
Difference	.....	.....	2,522,325

Statement showing total decrease in amount estimated and amount appropriated in the legislative, executive, and judicial bill for the Department of State for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Total amount estimated	$1,572,430
Total amount appropriated	1,100,160
Total decrease	472,270

Explanation of decreases.

Items.	Amount estimated.	Amount appropriated.	Decrease.
Drafting officers	$386,500	$196,000	$190,500
Assistant solicitors	75,500	20,000	55,500
Law clerks	38,000	13,000	25,000
Clerks	331,600	277,200	54,400
Messengers	10,080	6,720	3,360
Assistant messengers	21,600	19,440	2,160
Messenger boys	2,520	1,680	840
Laborers	6,600	4,620	1,980
Telephone switchboard operators	4,320	2,880	1,440
Chief operator	900		900
Charwomen	3,600	2,400	1,200
Temporary employees	500,000	402,500	97,500
Passport Bureau S. F	9,990	7,500	1,490
Contingent expenses (stationery, furniture, etc.)	50,000	30,000	20,000
Books, maps, etc	10,000	4,000	6,000
Miscellaneous expenses (including maintenance and repair motor vehicle, automobile mail wagon, street car fare, etc.)	25,000	15,000	10,000
Total			472,270

Third deficiency appropriation act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920 (pending).

Total amount estimated, Department of State	$240,679.91
Total amount appropriated, Department of State	208,423.91
Total decrease	32,256.00

Explanation of decreases.

Items.	Amount estimated.	Amount appropriated.	Decrease.
Salaries, chargés d'affaires	$10,000.00	$8,000.00	$2,000.00
Student interpreters in China, tuition of	1,500.00		1,500.00
Student interpreters in Japan, quarters of	600.00		600.00
Contingent expenses, foreign missions:			
For 1914	2,200.00	2,200.00	
For 1917	15,000.00	15,000.00	
Transportation of Diplomatic and Consular officers:			
For 1915	70.30	70.30	
For 1920	150,000.00	125,000.00	25,000.00
Transportation remains of Diplomatic and Consular officers, etc	4,000.00	1,344.00	2,656.00
International Geodetic Association	500.00	500.00	
Salaries, Consular Service:			
For 1916	1,025.26	1,025.26	
For 1917	2,163.25	2,163.25	
Post allowances to Diplomatic and Consular officers, 1917	634.26	634.26	
Allowances for clerk hire, United States consulates:			
For 1916	174.99	174.99	
For 1917	550.00	550.00	
Expenses, interpreters and guards in Turkish dominions:			
For 1916	622.00	622.00	
For 1917	2,729.81	2,729.81	
Contingent expenses, United States consulates:			
For 1916	908.44	908.44	
For 1917	5,893.11	5,893.11	
Foreign Governments representation of interests of:			
For 1916	231.67	231.67	
For 1917	4,376.82	4,376.82	
Sixth International Sanitary Conference	2,500.00	2,000.00	500.00
For the relief of American seamen	35,000.00	35,000.00	
Total			32,256.00

PENDING LEGISLATION.

S. 3245. To regulate marriages in the military and naval forces of the United States in foreign countries (resulting from an exchange of notes with the French Government). Passed the Senate January 19, 1920. Pending before Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 7596. To authorize the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to give to or exchange with foreign Governments ordnance and equipment of American soldiers and sailors for museum purposes (resulting from requests of the Governments of Australia and Uruguay). Pending before the Committee on Military Affairs.

July 21, 1919. The President recommended to Congress the claim of Madame Crignier for damage caused by excavation work incident to the search for the body of Admiral John Paul Jones (H. Doc. No. 156), $13,511.13.

H. R. 9094. To provide penalty for the willful making of or the presentation to the Department of State by persons purporting to be entitled to diplomatic protection of false sworn statements for the purpose of influencing the action of the department with respect to their interests as regards foreign Governments. Introduced in the Sixty-Fifth Congress, second session, and urged during the Sixty-sixth Congress.

H. R. 10290. For the purchase of buildings and grounds for the embassy of the United States at Brussels, Belgium. (H. Doc. No. 290, 66th Cong., 1st sess., requesting $250,000.)

May 29, 1920. Letters were addressed by the Secretary of State to the chairmen of the Appropriations Committees requesting remedial legislation of a temporary character in order to enable the accounts of diplomatic and consular officers to be settled without incurring loss through the depreciation of foreign currency. No action taken.

For the alteration of the electric lighting system of the State, War, and Navy Building (S. Doc. 293):

Installation of cables	$4,000
Purchasing of current	15,000
Total	19,000

For the salary of delegate to International Institute of Agriculture at Rome—increase from $3,600 to $7,500; salary of a secretary, $2,500, and miscellaneous expenses, $2,500 (H. Doc. 780), $8,900.

For the expenses of the American delegates to the general assembly of the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome, to be held November 3, 1920 (submitted June 1, 1920), $20,000.

To defray the expenses, incidental and traveling, of the American delegates to the First Odontologic Latin-American Congress at Montevideo, from the 18th to the 23d of September, 1920 (S. Doc. 274), $2,500.

TREATIES AND CONVENTIONS.

December 3, 1918. Convention between the United States and Guatemala signed December 3, 1918, for the development of commerce between them and to increase the exchange of commodities by facilitating the work of traveling salesmen; transmitted to the Senate by the Prsident for its consent to its ratification. Ratified and published December 19, 1918. (Executive No. 11, 65th Cong.)

March 1, 1919. Convention between the United States and Panama, signed February 8, 1919, for the development of commerce between the two countries and to increase the exchange of commodities by facilitating the work of traveling salesmen; transmitted to the Senate by the President for its consent to its ratification. Ratified and published June 4, 1919. (Executive No. 13, 65th Cong.)

July 9, 1919. Convention in re arbitration between the United States and Italy, signed at Washington March 20, 1919; transmitted to the Senate by the President for its consent to its ratification. Ratified and published July 17, 1919. (Executive B, 66th Cong., extra session.)

July 9, 1919. Convention in re arbitration between the United States and the Netherlands, signed March 8, 1919; transmitted to the Senate by the President for its consent to its ratification. Ratified and published July 17, 1919. (Executive C, 66th Cong., extra session.)

July 9, 1919. Convention in re arbitration between the United States and Spain, signed at Washington March 8, 1919; transmitted to the Senate by the President for its consent to its ratification. Ratified and published July 17, 1919. (Executive D, 66th Cong., extra session.)

July 24, 1919. Agreement between the United States and the French Republic, signed July 17, 1919, modifying the provisions of article 7 of the convention of navigation and commerce of June 24, 1822; transmitted to the Senate by the President for its consent to its ratification. Ratified August 8, 1919. (Executive G, 66th Cong., extra session.)

July 29, 1919. Agreement between the United States and France, signed at Versailles, June 28, 1919, to secure the Republic of France the immediate aid of the United States in case of unprovoked movements of aggression against her on the part of Germany, transmitted to the Senate by the President with a request for its early ratification. (S. Doc. No. 63, 66th Cong., 1st sess.)

August 29, 1919. Agreement between the United States, Belgium, the British Empire, and France, on the one part, and Germany on the other part, signed June 28, 1919, at Versailles, with regard to the military occupation of the territories of the Rhine; transmitted to the Senate by the President for its consent to its ratification. (S. Doc. No. 81, 66th Cong., 1st sess.)

September 3, 1919. Convention between the United States and Great Britain, signed September 2, 1919, for the protection, preservation, and propagation of the salmon fisheries in the waters contiguous to the United States and the Dominion of Canada and in the Fraser River system; transmitted to the Senate by the President for its consent to its ratification. Withdrawn January 15, 1920. (Executive H, 66th Cong., 1st sess.)

January 9, 1920. Convention between the United States and Nicaragua, signed January 5, 1920, to foster the development of commerce between the two countries and to increase the exchange of commodities by facilitating the work of traveling salesmen; transmitted to the Senate by the President for consent to its ratification. (Executive I, 66th Cong., 2d sess.)

January 9, 1920. Convention between the United States and Ecuador, signed December 31, 1919, to foster the development of commerce between the two countries and to increase the exchange of commodities by facilitating the work of traveling salesmen; transmitted to the Senate by the President for consent to its ratification. (Executive J, 66th Cong., 2d sess.)

January —, 1920. Convention between the United States and Venezuela, signed July 3, 1919, to foster the development of commerce between them and to increase the exchange of commodities by facilitating the work of traveling salesmen; transmitted to the Senate by the President for consent to its ratification. Ratified and published January 21, 1920. (Executive K, 66th Cong., 2d sess.)

January 21, 1920. Convention between the United States and Haiti for the establishment of an international gold clearance fund, signed January 14, 1920; transmitted to the Senate by the President for its consent to its ratification. (Executive O, 66th Cong., 2d sess.)

January 22, 1920. Convention between the United States and Paraguay, signed November 7, 1919, for the establishment of an international gold clearance fund; transmitted to the Senate by the President for its consent to its ratification. (Executive L, 66th Cong., 2d sess.)

January 22, 1920. Convention between the United States and Guatemala, signed December 4, 1919, for the establishment of an international gold clearance fund; transmitted to the Senate by the President for its consent to its ratification. (Executive M, 66th Cong., 2d sess.)

January 22, 1920. Convention between the United States and Panama, signed January 10, 1920, for the establishment of an international gold clearance fund; transmitted to the Senate by the President for its consent to its ratification. (Executive N, 66th Cong., 2d sess.)

January 24, 1920. Convention between the United States and Paraguay, signed October 20, 1919, for the development of commerce between them and to increase the exchange of commodities by facilitating the work of traveling salesmen; transmitted to the Senate by the President for its consent to its ratification. (Executive P, 66th Cong., 2d sess.)

March 12, 1920. Request by the President for authority from the Senate to extend the provisions of the convention of March 2, 1899, between the United States and Great Britain, to the Territory of Hawaii. (Executive Q, 66th Cong., 2d sess.)

May 29, 1920. Convention between the United States and Ecuador, signed May 25, 1920, for the establishment of an international gold clearance fund; transmitted to the Senate by the President for its consent to its ratification. (Executive R, 66th Cong., 2d sess.)

May 29, 1920. Convention between the United States and Great Britain, signed May 25, 1920, for the protection, preservation, and propagation of the salmon fishes in the waters contiguous to the United States and Canada and in the Fraser River system; transmitted to the Senate by the President for its consent to its ratification. (Executive S, 66th Congress, 2d sess.)

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

In his annual report (pp. 126–129) Secretary Glass called attention to the evils incident to revolving funds and reimbursement of appropriations. The present Congress, while it has laid claim to a record of economy based upon cutting down some of the estimates submitted by the executive departments and has passed a budget bill, so far as putting an end to the evils to which Secretary Glass called attention it has added to them. In the transportation act of 1920 it required the Government to pay its indebtedness to the railroads and deferred for a period of years indebtedness of the railroads to the Government without regard to the necessities of individual roads. In this manner it avoided making large appropriations, but at a tremendous cost to the Government, for some of the roads would have been able to pay their indebtedness immediately or at an early date. If it had not been for the desire of Congress to avoid the appearance of an appropriation, it seems reasonable to suppose that a smaller sum of money would have met the urgent necessities of the situation. The amount of the indebtedness of the railroads to the Government thus deferred for a period of years is in the neighborhood of $1,000,000,000.

The shipping bill is in Congress, and it is impossible to say just what its provisions will prove to be. Judging, however, from a report of the conferees, the legislation will take the form of subsidizing the private shipping business (1) by building ships out of the proceeds of the operation and sale of Government-owned ships and selling the ships so built to private interests at less than cost; (2) by granting important exemptions from income and profits taxes; (3) by loans to shipbuilders at less than the market rate. All of these methods are open to the grave objection to which Secretary Glass called attention. If it is necessary and desirable as a matter of policy to subsidize a privately owned American merchant marine, the subsidy should be provided for directly by appropriation instead of by the highly objectionable methods which apparently are to be adopted.

No budget law can be of service and there can be no hope for economy in public expenditure so long as the use of public funds for private purposes is surreptitiously authorized by Congress without an appropriation.

The practice is not only vicious in principle but is a gross evasion, if not a direct violation, of the express prohibition of section 9, Article I, of the Constitution of the United States:

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law.

On December 2, 1919, the President recommended the simplification of the revenue act of 1918. The Secretary of the Treasury in his annual report submitted to the Congress at the opening session in December, 1919, urgently invited attention to the necessity of revising the revenue act on lines which would produce the necessary revenue with the minimum of inconvenience and injustice. Again, on March 17, 1920, the Secretary of the Treasury recommended in a letter to the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee certain amendments to the revenue act designed to simplify the measure and to make certain that the stock-dividend decision of the United States Supreme Court would not exempt from all income and profits taxes a group of approximately 2,500 personal service corporations and their stockholders.

The House of Representatives incorporated all the recommendations made by the Secretary of the Treasury on March 17, 1920 (except the ones suggesting a tax on the undistributed profits of corporations in lieu of the present excess-profits and war-profits taxes and another relative to the reduction of surtaxes on incomes saved and reinvested) into two bills, H. R. 14197 and H. R. 14198. These two bills passed the House but were not acted upon by the Senate. The fact is, that although both the President and the Secretaries of the Treasury recommended remedial revenue legislation at this session for the purpose of relieving the people of the country from injustices and inequities inherent in the present tax law, no legislation was enacted by the Congress. It is particularly important to note that the Congress has not eliminated or reduced the excess-profits tax, as urgently recommended by the administration.

In June, 1919, the Treasury called to the attention of Congress the necessity for certain additional legislation to amend the war-risk insurance act in the interest of the soldiers and sailors who participated in the war. The so-called Sweet bill, putting these recommendations into effect, passed the House on September 13 and was received by the Senate September 16, 1919. No action was taken by the Senate until toward the end of December, when the bill was passed; it was approved December 24. At the time the Sweet bill was passed by the House it was recognized that certain additions and amendments should be made to the measure, and it was expected that these amendments and additions would be included in the Senate. An attempt was made to do this, but at the last moment it was the decision of both the Senate and the House that such further amendments and additions as might be necessary should be included in the then pending Wason bill, which had been introduced in the House on November 5, 1919. The Wason bill was passed by the House early in May, 1920, and on May 21 it was referred to the Senate Committee on Finance. There are certain very important items in the bill which are essential in the administration of the war-risk insurance act and certain other provisions which are essential to the best interests of ex-service men and women as well as of those who by reason of their service have been disabled either by injury or disease.

The Treasury has repeatedly asked for an appropriation of $1,500,000 for the construction of vaults in the Treasury building, a matter of vital importance to the Government. It has also asked for an appropriation of $175,000 for a strong room for securities of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, $131,000 for fire protection of appraiser's stores at New York, and $1,986,000 for an archive building in Washington in which to preserve the valuable records of the Government, including the vast store of important records accumulated during the war. None of these important items has been granted.

For the special study of the cause, methods of transmission, and prevention of influenza, pneumonia, and allied diseases a request was made for $200,000, and nothing was allowed, in spite of the fact that influenza caused a mortality of 500,000 lives in four months in 1918.

For rural sanitation $500,000 was asked and $50,000 was granted, although not more than 3 per cent of the rural population of the United States has any health organization whatsoever, and there are some seven or eight million cases of malaria in the United States, causing an economic loss which has been conservatively placed in the neighborhood of $1,000,000,000.

The Public Health Service recommended the appropriation of $10,000,000 for the fiscal year 1921 for the construction of hospitals for patients of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance. This appropriation is now on the calendars of the Senate and the House, but with very little likelihood of passage at this session of Congress.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

This department urged the enactment of laws for the Americanization of all elements of our population; development of water power; leasing the oil, gas, coal, and other mineral resources of the United States; providing agricultural homes for soldiers of the World War; the allotment and opening of the Crow Indian Reservation; and the creation of the Roosevelt National Park, besides many other matters of a more or less routine, personal, or local character.

The departmental recommendations have been acted on as follows:

S. 3315. To promote Americanization by providing for cooperation with the several States in the education of non-English-speaking persons and the assimilation of foreign-born residents, and for other purposes, passed the Senate on January 26, 1920, and is pending in the House.

H. R. 3184. To create a Federal power commission and to define its powers and duties, to provide for the improvement of navigation, for the development of water power, for the use of lands of the United States in relation thereto, and for other purposes, has passed both Houses and has been submitted to the President.

S. 2775. To promote the mining of coal, phosphate, oil, oil shale, gas, and sodium on the public domain, passed both houses and was approved February 25, 1920.

S. 2890. To provide for the allotment of lands of the Crow Tribe, for the disposition of tribal funds, and for other purposes, has passed both Houses and has been submitted to the President.

H. R. 5006 and S. 1391. To add certain lands to the Sequoia National Park, Calif., and to change the name of said park to Roosevelt National Park, are pending in the House of Representatives and Senate, respectively.

Tax Legislation in the Sixty-sixth Congress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETTE B. HOWARD,
OF OKLAHOMA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the Congress, the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress is to end its labors at 4 o'clock to-day. Congress has been in session almost continuously since May 19, 1919. When it adjourns this afternoon it will have been guilty of many acts of omission. None of these acts of omission, however, will bring greater inconvenience or suffering to the people of the United States than will the fact that the majority party in control of Congress during all this time has neglected to bring to the people relief in the matter of taxation. There has not been during the last two years any public question which has required and to which the people have been entitled to legislation above that of a just and equitable remedying of our tax laws. There is no one thing to-day that is more responsible for the high cost of living than our present inequitable war tax laws. So great has been the need for tax legislation in this Congress that the President of the United States, realizing that the business man, the farmer, the wage earner, and, in fact, the entire population was suffering by reason of the existing tax legislation, in his first message to the extra session of May 19 urged tax readjustment, and again in his message to the present session at its opening on December 2, 1919, he devoted about two pages of that message to an earnest plea to Congress for remedial tax legislation, saying relative to same among other things:

I trust that the Congress will give its immediate consideration to the problem of future taxation. Simplification of the income and profits taxes has become an immediate necessity. These taxes performed indispensable service during the war. They must, however, be simplified not only to save the taxpayer inconvenience and expense but in order that the liability may be made certain and definite. With reference to the details of the revenue law the Secretary of the Treasury and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue will lay before you for your consideration certain amendments necessary or desirable in connection with the administration of the law—recommendations which have my approval and support. It is of the utmost importance that in dealing with this matter the present law should not be disturbed so far as regards taxes for the calendar year 1920, payable in the calendar year 1921. The Congress might well consider whether the higher rates of income and profits taxes can in peace times be effectively productive of revenue, and whether they may not, on the contrary, be destructive of business activity and productive of waste and inefficiency. There is a point at which in peace times high rates of income and profits taxes discourage energy, remove the incentive to new enterprise, encourage extravagant expenditures, and produce industrial stagnation, with consequent unemployment and other attendant evils.

Supplementing the plea of the President for legislation on the question of taxation, the Democratic Secretary of the Treasury in his annual report in December, 1919, made recommendations and urged Congress to enact remedial tax legislation. In the course of his remarks on this subject the Secretary of the Treasury said to Congress:

I believe it to be the duty of the Congress to give its closest attention to the study of the incidence of taxation with a view to the revision of the revenue act on lines which will produce the necessary revenue with the minimum of inconvenience and injustice.

As late as March 17, 1920, the Secretary of the Treasury addressed a strong letter to the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, outlining a plan to simplify the income and profits taxes, specifying a number of other hard features of the present tax system and its administration, together with suggested remedies. The Secretary said on this occasion, in part:

Public opinion has not yet awakened to the gravity of the consequences which are likely to follow a failure to simplify the tax laws at this legislative session.

In this same letter, and going further in urging tax relief, the Democratic Secretary of the Treasury said:

I can not contemplate such delay without the gravest apprehension.

And concluded his very earnest recommendation to the Congress for relief in tax legislation as follows:

I shall be glad upon request to submit draft of amendments embodying the suggestions here presented, and to place at your disposal for the work of tax revision all of the personnel and facilities of the Treasury Department.

Not only this but during this entire Congress Democratic Members and Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee of this House have introduced many remedial tax measures, and have during the entire past 12 months constantly urged on the Republican majority of the Congress prompt and effective tax legislation. As late as May 25 of this year Hon. CORDELL HULL, Democratic Member of Congress from Tennessee, a member of the Ways and Means Committee, and one of the best posted men of the Congress on taxation matters, urged upon the floor of this House remedial tax legislation and plead with the Republican leaders for immediate action without result. In that plea Mr. HULL, among other things, said:

We, nevertheless, hear many complaints against the existing war-tax system and a demand for a readjustment of the tax burdens. It is undoubtedly true, as was inevitable, that numerous hardships and injustices have resulted to certain taxpayers from a number of inequitable features in the present system in its application to existing postwar conditions. The taxpayer in his present situation, however, should realize two important facts: One is that much louder complaints against much more inequitable war-tax systems are being made by the taxpayers of the other nations participating in the war, and the other is that many, or most, of the injustices complained of could and should have been eliminated by Congress in extra session during the year 1919.

The trouble is not so much in high taxation as in its present equitable effects. Let me say, in the first place, that Congress exerted its fullest possible efforts to enact equitable war taxation. Senator PENROSE filed a report expressing the views of most of the minority on the revenue act of 1918, when it was reported to the Senate, and in that report he said:

"With respect to those provisions of the bill as amended by the committee, which it is estimated will produce $6,000,000 revenue for a full 12 months' period, we are generally in accord. These provisions are the result of months of painstaking deliberation and are based upon as accurate and reliable expert information as it was possible to obtain through every agency, official and otherwise. They reflect actual business, industrial, and economic conditions now believed to exist, taking into consideration the rapid transition during the year from the maximum war-needs production to the sudden cessation of hostilities and the arrest of war industry."

Both political parties in Congress were equally responsible for these war-tax statutes, because both shared alike in framing them; no substitute plans or methods were offered by the minority; both parties approved each measure as being the best that could be drafted amid war conditions; the House was equally divided politically; each bill was reported out of the House and Senate committees with practical unanimity, and the entire membership of each party, with scattering exceptions, voted for their final passage. Mr. Chairman, had the Democratic Party retained control of Congress it would have proceeded during the year 1919 to simplify and in many ways readjust the existing tax system; to substitute more equitable items for harsher ones repealed, so as to afford relief in many cases and classes of cases where serious discrimination or hardship existed; to raise some rates and lower others, and at the same time safeguarding the present volume of revenue. Other nations have already taken just such action. Any important war makes imperatively necessary three stages of revenue legislation: War taxes framed amidst abnormal conditions and calculated to raise the largest possible amount of revenue within the shortest possible time; a readjustment of the war taxes following the termination of the war, with a view to simplification and to removing inequities discovered and better to adjust the tax burdens in the light of reconstruction of postwar conditions; and, finally, the working out and perfecting of a permanent revenue system applicable to normal conditions. Our Republican friends in control of Congress have purposely denied the American taxpayers the much-needed relief which this second stage most strongly calls for, although the fullest cooperation has been constantly tendered by the President and the Democratic membership of both Houses of Congress.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, there has never been a day since this Congress met that the Republican majority could not have, had they so desired, brought forth remedial tax legislation and extended to the people of this country this remedial legislation which is so much needed and under which all classes are bearing an unjust burden and great inconvenience.

During all this time the Republicans have had a majority of five on the Ways and Means Committee and a majority of about 40 on the floor of the House, and could have at any time brought out a measure from the Ways and Means Committee and passed it on the floor of this House had there not been a Democrat present at the meeting of the Ways and Means Committee or on the floor of the House when the matter was under consideration. Not only this, but during all this time all the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee and the Democratic Members of the House have been only too willing and anxious to cooperate in some kind of just and remedial tax legislation, but the Congress is to adjourn to-day without action of this kind, and for at least a year and a half the people of this country must suffer by reason of this negligence and the action of leaders in this Republican Congress in deliberately postponing this character of remedial tax legislation for one and a half years for purely political reasons, resulting, as it must, in untold injury to a vast number of taxpayers and to practically the entire population, is worse than criminal. When later the public, including the business man, the farmer, the wage earner, and all classes, realizes the injuries and wrong inflicted upon the country by this and similar omissions of this Republican Congress in its political policy to deny the suffering people this and other needed legislation, thereby encouraging and aggravating discontent in order to capitalize it at the November elections, they will realize that the great promises of the Republican leaders in 1918 to extend to the people beneficial reconstruction legislation have not been carried out, and they

will also realize that any promises made to the people of remedial and reconstruction legislation by the Republican leaders in the coming campaign will be made only for campaign purposes, and suffering by means of the wrongs of omission and commission inflicted upon them by the present Republican majority in this Congress, they must realize that if they desire remedial tax legislation and reconstruction legislation such as is necessary, they must turn a deaf ear to the pleadings of the Republican leaders who have so neglected them during this session, and turn for relief to a Democratic Congress which will extend to the people of this country more of the kind of constructive legislation that was given to them during the time when the majority of Congress was Democratic, and during which time such constructive legislation as the Federal reserve act, the child-labor law, the Federal land-bank act, and many other pieces of real and constructive legislation were placed upon our statutes.

The Proposed Soldiers' Bonus Legislation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES V. McCLINTIC,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 29, 1920.

Mr. McCLINTIC. Mr. Speaker, the entire world is aware of the fact that the American soldiers struck the deciding blow in the World War with Germany. Everyone realizes that our soldiers were responsible for bringing the war to a close one year ahead of all predictions. Page 131 of the Government publication The War with Germany states for a period of 25 months—from April, 1917, through April, 1919—the war cost the United States considerably more than $1,000,000 an hour. If the war had continued for another year at this rate it would have cost the taxpayers of the country an additional $8,760,000,000. Approximately 300,000 of our brave soldiers were either killed or wounded. Another year of war would have increased the casualties to a much higher figure. When all of these facts are taken into consideration, no one can justly oppose legislation which will give to our heroes proper consideration by the Government.

The Democratic Members of Congress are in favor of rewarding our soldiers in the proper way. I am going to vote for the bonus bill. I know if the Democrats had charge of both branches of Congress that this legislation would have already been enacted into a law. The Democratic Party has already proven to be the constructive party of the Nation, and as proof of this fact I call attention to the following bills which were enacted into laws when the Democrats had charge of both branches of Congress:

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

FIRST SESSION.

(May 8, 1913, p. 1386, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Underwood tariff: Reduced tariff duties on necessities and increased duties on luxuries. Yeas, Democrats 274, Republicans 2; nays, Democrats 5, Republicans 127. Approved by the President October 3, 1913.

(May 8, 1913, p. 1386, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Income tax: Requiring wealth to bear its proportion of taxation. (Part of Underwood Tariff Act.) Approved by the President October 3, 1913.

(July 15, 1913, p. 2442, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Mediation, conciliation, and arbitration: Provided machinery to prevent strikes and settle labor disputes. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President July 15, 1913.

(Sept. 18, 1913, p. 5129, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Federal reserve act: Expanded volume of currency. Insured country against panics. Placed control of the country's finances under the Government. Yeas, Democrats 248, Republicans 31; nays, Democrats 3, Republicans 81. Approved by the President December 23, 1913.

SECOND SESSION.

(Jan. 13, 1914, p. 1616, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Vocational Education Commission: Created commission to study plans for promoting vocational education of youths of the country. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President January 20, 1914.

(Jan. 19, 1914, p. 1947, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Lever Agriculture Extension Act: To extend educational facilities to farm boys and girls. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President May 8, 1914.

(Feb. 12, 1914, p. 3418, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Hours of labor for female employees in District of Columbia: Limited hours of service of female employees in the District of Columbia. Improved working conditions of such employees. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President February 24, 1914.

(Feb. 18, 1914, p. 3647, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Alaskan Railway: Provided for construction of railways in Alaska to open up and develop the rich natural resources of Alaska. Yeas, Democrats 147, Republicans 75; nays, Democrats 66, Republicans 20. Approved by the President March 12, 1914.

(Mar. 31, 1914, p. 6088, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Panama Canal tolls: Repealed provision exempting American coastwise shipping from paying tolls, thereby carrying out our treaty obligations. Yeas, Democrats 221, Republicans 25; nays, Democrats 52, Republicans 98. Approved by the President June 15, 1914.

(June 5, 1914, p. 9911, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Clayton Antitrust Act: Prohibiting interlocking directorates; defined and expanded provisions of Sherman law; opened door of opportunity to small business. Yeas, Democrats 219, Republicans 47; nays, Republicans 53. Approved by the President October 15, 1914.

(June 5, 1914, p. 9910, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Federal Trade Commission: Created commission to investigate and regulate unfair methods of competition, thereby affording protection to small business. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President September 26, 1914.

(June 29, 1914, p. 11322, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Cotton-futures act: Curbed gambling in cotton and to regulate the transactions on the cotton exchange. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President August 18, 1914.

(Aug. 3, 1914, p. 13190, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

American registry for foreign-built ships: To permit operation under the American flag of foreign-built ships. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President August 18, 1914.

(Aug. 7, 1914, p. 14362, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Seaman's law: Improved working conditions of American seamen; provided for adequate life-saving equipment and maintenance of crews in sufficient number to meet all emergencies. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President March 4, 1915.

(Aug. 29, 1914, p. 14449, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Marine insurance: Created in Treasury Department a Bureau of Marine Insurance to provide insurance at reasonable rates to encourage resumption of shipping and to provide market for American products. Yeas, Democrats 196, Republicans 28; nays, Democrats 3, Republicans 53. Approved by the President September 2, 1914.

THIRD SESSION.

(Jan. 13, 1915, pp. 1530–1531, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Standard fruit barrel: Providing for uniform size containers for shipping fruit, thereby protecting both the shipper and consumer. Yeas, Democrats 114, Republicans 83; nays, Democrats 97, Republicans 6. Approved by the President March 4, 1915.

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

FIRST SESSION.

(Jan. 18, 1916, p. 1234, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Stock-raising homesteads: To provide for stock-raising homesteads, to increase beef and leather supply. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President December 29, 1916.

(Jan. 25, 1916, pp. 1536–1537, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Good roads: Providing Federal assistance in improvement of highways. Yeas, Democrats 168, Republicans 111; nays, Democrats 19, Republicans 62. Approved by the President July 11, 1916.

(Feb. 2, 1916, p. 2035, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Child labor: Affording protection to youth of the land. Yeas, Democrats 156, Republicans 176; nays, Democrats 44, Republicans 2. Approved by the President September 1, 1916.

(Mar. 30, 1916, p. 5194, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Immigration restriction law: To regulate entry of aliens into the United States, and provided certain restrictions relative to their entry. Yeas, Democrats 157, Republicans 147; nays, Democrats 47, Republicans 38. Approved by the President February 5, 1917.

(Apr. 28, 1916, p. 6973, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Safety of railway employees: Required installation of improved safety appliances—afforded better protection for railway employees. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President May 4, 1916.

(May 2, 1916, p. 7271, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Warehouse bill: Amendment to Agriculture appropriation bill providing improved market conditions, and enables farmers to hold crops properly insured. Yeas, Democrats 171, Republicans 117; nays, Democrats 12, Republicans 30. Approved by the President August 11, 1916.

(May 2, 1916, p. 7271, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Grain grades bill: Amendment to Agriculture appropriation bill establishing uniform grades and classification for grain. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President August 11, 1916.

(May 15, 1916, p. 8017, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Rural credits: Established system of farm-loan banks affording farmers financial assistance at low rate of interest and long tenure. Yeas, Democrats 187, Republicans 105; nays, Republicans 10. Approved by the President July 17, 1916.

(May 20, 1916, p. 8374, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Shipping Board: To establish and provide machinery for purpose of encouraging and developing a merchant marine. To restore the American flag on the high seas. Yeas, Democrats 196, Republicans 8; nays, Democrats 2, Republicans 159. Approved by the President September 7, 1916.

(June 19, 1916, p. 9572, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Widows' increased pension act: Increased pension of the widows of soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and War with Mexico. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President September 8, 1916.

(July 10, 1916, p. 10768, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Revenue act: To provide revenue for needs of the Government. Yeas, Democrats 197, Republicans 37; nays, Democrats 0, Republicans 141. Approved by the President September 8, 1916.

(July 12, 1916, p. 10916, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Employees' compensation: Provided compensation for Government employees who were injured while in performance of their duties. Yeas, Democrats 145, Republicans 138; nays, Democrats 2, Republicans 1. Approved by the President September 7, 1916.

SECOND SESSION.

(Jan. 9, 1917, p. 1083, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Vocational education act: Provided for creation of board to study and investigate the promotion of vocational education. To cooperate with States in promotion of vocational education and to provide for training of teachers in vocational subjects. (Passed without roll call.) Approved by the President February 23, 1917.

(Feb. 1, 1917, p. 2442, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Revenue for preparedness: To provide additional revenue for military and naval expansion. Yeas, Democrats 209; nays, Republicans 189, Democrats 4. Approved by the President March 3, 1917.

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.

FIRST SESSION.

(Apr. 5, 1917, pp. 412–413, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

War with Germany: Declared war on Germany to protect American rights. Yeas, Democrats 193, Republicans 177; nays, Democrats 16, Republicans 32, Socialist 1. Approved by the President February 5, 1917.

(Apr. 14, 1917, p. 690, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Liberty bond bill: (1) To authorize the sale of bonds to defray war expenses. Yeas, Democrats 191, Republicans 195; nays 0. Approved by the President April 24, 1917.

(Apr. 28, 1917, p. 1557, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Draft act: Providing for speedy mobilization of an army. Yeas, Democrats 193, Republicans 201; nays, Democrats 14, Republicans 8, Socialist 1. Approved by the President May 18, 1917.

(May 4, 1917, p. 291, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Espionage: To punish acts of interference with the conduct of the war and to prevent the dissemination of insidious propaganda. Yeas, Democrats 171, Republicans 87; nays, Democrats 9, Republicans 94, Socialist 1. Approved by the President June 15, 1917.

(May 23, 1917, pp. 2818–2819, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

War revenue act: To provide revenue to defray part of expense of conducting the war by direct taxation. Yeas, Democrats 206, Republicans 119; nays, Republicans 76. Approved by the President October 3, 1917.

(May 31, 1917, p. 3124, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Explosives: To regulate sale, use, and possession of. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President October 6, 1917.

(June 13, 1917, pp. 3584–3585, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Export trade: To encourage and promote our export trade. Yeas, Democrats 138, Republicans 102; nays, Democrats 4, Republicans 23. Approved by the President April 10, 1918.

(June 23, 1917, p. 4190, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Food control: To prohibit hoarding of foodstuffs—insure ample supply and to prevent profiteering in foodstuffs. Yeas, Democrats 173, Republicans 187, Socialist 1; nays, Democrats 3, Republicans 2. Approved by the President August 10, 1917.

(July 11, 1917, p. 4989, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Trading with enemy: To define and regulate trade with countries with which the United States is at war and providing punishment for violations. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President October 6, 1917.

(Sept. 6, 1917, p. 6708, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Liberty bond bill: (2) Authorized sale of additional bonds to defray war expenses. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President September 24, 1917.

(Sept. 13, 1917, p. 7104, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Soldiers' insurance—Allotments and allowances: Provided insurance for soldiers, sailors, and marines at low rates—made provision for compensating those wounded and disabled in service—extended financial assistance to dependents of soldiers, sailors, and marines. Yeas, Democrats 169, Republicans 147, Socialist 1; nays, 0. Approved by the President October 6, 1917.

(Sept. 25, 1917, p. 7439, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Aircraft Board: Placed under separate board control and responsibility for development and production of aircraft. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President October 1, 1917.

SECOND SESSION.

(Dec. 7, 1917, pp. 99–100, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

War with Austria-Hungary: Declared war on Austria-Hungary for preservation of American rights. Yeas, Democrats 187, Republicans 174; nays, Socialist 1. Approved by the President December 7, 1917.

(Dec. 17, 1917, p. 471, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Increase of midshipmen at Naval Academy: Provided for further increase in number of midshipmen at Naval Academy to properly care for our growing Navy. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President December 20, 1917.

(Jan. 4, 1918, p. 615, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Farm-loan bonds: Authorized Secretary of Treasury to purchase farm-loan bonds—to establish farm-loan bond market—to encourage and assist farm-loan banks. Yeas, Democrats 150, Republicans 64, Socialist 1; nays, Democrats 3, Republicans 66. Approved by the President January 18, 1918.

(Feb. 28, 1918, pp. 2835, 2836, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Railroad control: Provided for Federal control and operation of the railroads of the country, thereby relieving freight congestion and guaranteed continuation of transportation facilities for movement of troops and war supplies. Yeas, Democrats 180, Republicans 153, Socialist 1; nays, Democrats 2, Republicans 4. Approved by the President March 21, 1918.

(Mar. 6, 1918, pp. 3126, 3127, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Destruction of war materials: Provided for imposing penalty for destruction of war materials. Yeas, Democrats 167, Republicans 148, Socialist 1; nays, Democrats 0, Republicans 0. Approved by the President April 20, 1918.

(Mar. 21, 1918, pp. 3842, 3843, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

War Finance Corporation: Providing machinery for extending financial assistance—providing credit-encouraged industries engaged in manufacture of war material. Yeas, Democrats 192, Republicans 173; nays, Republicans 2. Approved by the President April 5, 1918.

(Apr. 2, 1918, p. 4451, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Liberty bond bill: (3) Authorized issuance of additional bonds to help defray war expenses. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President April 4, 1918.

(Apr. 2, 1918, p. 4473, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Housing Commission: Created commission authorized to provide housing facilities for persons engaged in war work. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President May 16, 1918.

(Apr. 4, 1918, pp. 4615, 4616, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Nitrate plants: Authorized condemnation proceedings on lands for erection of nitrate plants for the manufacture of high explosives for war purposes and fertilizers for the farmers. Yeas, Democrats 165, Republicans 149; nays 0. Approved by the President April 11, 1918.

(May 14, 1918, pp. 6524, 6525, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Coordination of executive bureaus: Authorized the President to consolidate and coordinate functions of executive bureaus to more efficiently conduct public business, to avoid waste and duplication of work. Yeas, Democrats 155, Republicans 134, Socialist 1; nays, Republicans 2. Approved by the President May 20, 1918.

(June 21, 1918, p. 2767, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Alien slackers: To deport aliens who were unwilling to assume obligations of military service. Yeas, Democrats 168, Republicans 171; nays, Democrats 13, Republicans 7, Socialist 1. Approved by the President October 16, 1918.

(June 28, 1918, p. 8438, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Liberty bond bill: (4) Authorized further issue of Liberty bonds. (Passed without record vote.) Approved by the President October 16, 1918.

(July 5, 1918, p. 8735, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Telephone and telegraph control: Provided for Federal control and operation of wire communication facilities to further safeguard military secrets. Yeas, Democrats 121, Republicans 99, Socialist 1; nays, Republicans 4. Approved by the President July 16, 1918.

(July 9, 1918, p. 8925, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Pension for Spanish War widows: Provided for placing on the pension rolls certain widows of soldiers of the War with Spain. Yeas, Democrats 131, Republicans 93, Socialist 1; nays, Republicans 7. Approved by the President July 16, 1918.

(Aug. 24, 1918, 9506–9507, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Second draft act: Extending age limits from 18 to 45; provided for further increase of Military Establishments; increased man power of Nation subject to military service. Yeas, Democrats 165, Republicans 170; nays, Democrats 1, Socialist 1. Approved by the President August 31, 1918.

(Sept. 20, 1918, p. 10548, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Revenue act 1918: To provide further revenues for defraying expense of war; imposing additional income taxes, excess-profits tax, etc. Yeas, Democrats 177, Republicans 167, Socialist 1; nays, 0. Approved by the President February 24, 1919.

THIRD SESSION.

(Feb. 18, 1919, pp. 3718–3719, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Voluntary enlistments: Authorized resumption of volunteer enlistments in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. Yeas, Democrats 158, Republicans 12; nays, Democrats 5, Republicans 154. Approved by the President February 28, 1919.

(Feb. 22, 1919, pp. 4051–4052, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Wheat guaranty: Provided for fulfillment of Government promise of guaranteed price for wheat. Yeas, Democrats 136, Republicans 137, Socialist 1; nays, Democrats 1, Republicans 5. Approved by the President March 4, 1919.

(Feb. 26, 1919, pp. 4343–4344, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Victory Liberty loan: Authorized issuance and sale of Victory bonds. Yeas, Democrats 170, Republicans 173; nays, Republicans 2, Socialist 1. Approved by the President March 3, 1919.

The good roads bill alone has made it possible to be expended in Oklahoma the sum of $12,676,000 for improving our highways. I voted for this bill. The rural credits act has proven a godsend to the farmers of the Nation. Prior to the passage of this law interest rates were high. Money is now being furnished by the Government land banks at a rate of 5½ per cent. Approximately $1,000,000 has been loaned to the farmers of the congressional district I have the honor to represent. I cast my vote for this law and have supported such other progressive measures as have been enacted into law during the time I have served in Congress.

The present Senate and the House of Representatives are under the control of the Republicans. Every committee chairman is a Republican. All legislation is under the control of the Republican steering committee, and no Democrat can get a bill considered without the permission of the Republicans. If the soldiers are not rewarded by this Congress, if the war profiteers who are responsible for the high cost of living are not properly dealt with, the people of the Nation will know who is responsible for this condition, and in my opinion will welcome the opportunity to support the Democratic Representatives who have worked and voted for legislation in the interest of the people.

The Achievement of the Republican Party.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AARON S. KREIDER,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. KREIDER. Mr. Speaker, about 13 months ago the Republican Party, in accordance with the will of the majority, took control of the legislative branches of the Government.

At the time we assumed control the ship of state was plowing through the rough waters of extravagance and mismanagement, and it is only through the most patient and painstaking effort that we are gradually guiding her back into the channel of safe and sane administration.

Our Democratic friends, however, chafing under their removal from control, charge us with failure to meet the problems of the day.

To this charge we reply that the problems confronting us are, indeed, complex, but we would remind them that they are largely the result of the flagrant failure of the Democratic Party during its majority.

The Great War just passed is still a vivid and living recollection. The valor of our soldiers and sailors, their splendid exhibition of courage, their renowned success—these still quicken our pulse in reminiscence and must always remain the proud heritage of our Republic.

On the other side of the aisle, however, there seems to be a disposition to hail these achievements as triumphs of the party. They seem to forget that it was not a partisan war. No party ever received more earnest cooperation, no President ever received more genuine support, than that rendered by those of us on this side to the Democratic Party in the conduct of the war.

We willingly and gladly voted without dissent for appropriations carrying billions of dollars that not one line of our defense might break down for want of funds.

We supported legislation giving the President of these United States more power than was ever possessed by any monarch, no matter how autocratic, because it was said it would expedite the winning of the war; and now, when we raise our voices in protest at the abuse of this power, at the reckless expenditure of money, we are called partisan.

We admit that in the crisis of war there must necessarily be some waste of expenditure, but in the main we contend that the Democratic Party failed in accomplishment; they made wanton and wasteful use of the people's money—money that came from a loyal, patriotic people rallying to the defense of their beloved country, and, regardless of sacrifice, poured forth their all in a golden stream.

The war, thank God, is past, but it has left behind a trail of broken lives, of mutilated bodies, of saddened hearts, and in addition the country is saddled with debt, much of which could have been avoided had the Democratic Party been a little more judicious in its financing of the war.

When we consider that we expended $1,051,511,988 for aviation and airplanes, and up to the time of signing of the armistice not a single fighting plane was at the American front.

As a result of our entire aviation program we obtained 213 De Haviland 4 observation planes, all of which were illy designed and constructed and extremely dangerous, and 527 second-hand foreign planes, which we either bought or borrowed from our associates in the war.

We expended $50,000,000 on a spruce-production program, building elaborate railroads, camps, and facilities, and then were forced to buy 92.6 per cent of our spruce lumber from private independent spruce lumbermen.

We spent approximately $10,000,000 on spruce railroads that never hauled a log of lumber.

We spent $20,000,000 for 4,608 Curtiss motors, 1,616 Curtiss-type aeroplanes, and 1,100 Standard JN–1 aeroplanes, which we purchased from the Curtiss Aeroplane & Motor Corporation, and then sold them back to this company for $2,720,000. The War Department refused to sell these machines to aviators for less than $3,500 each, and provided in the contract by which they were sold to the Curtiss Co. that the Curtiss Co. should have the first opportunity to buy any other aeroplanes which the War Department might thereafter declare surplus.

We spent $6,000,000 on Bristol planes and $17,500,000 on Standard-J planes, and got not a single machine that could be used for any purpose.

We spent $206,632,920 for 16 National Army cantonments, built by the cost-plus system. These could have been built for $128,101,399, or $78,531,521 less.

We expended $1,200,000,000 for the construction of camps and cantonments, largely by the cost-plus system, a system adopted by the War Department. By this system costs were increased, labor demoralized, the completion of the camps was delayed, soldiers called to the colors were subjected to conditions that induced disease and death, and from 40 to 60 per cent of the money was wasted.

Twenty-two million dollars was spent for fees to favored contractors on camps and cantonments, most of which would have been saved had this work been let by bids.

We spent $60,100,000 to build a powder plant at Nitro, W. Va. It never produced a pound of powder for the war. After the armistice there was stored at Nitro personal property worth at a fair cash value $10,000,000. Both plant and property were sold after the armistice for $8,551,000, most of which is in deferred payments.

We paid the Hercules Powder Co. for operating the Nitro plant $11,293,737.11. They produced no powder that we could use in the war.

We spent $116,194,974.37 on nitrate plants at Sheffield, Ala.; Muscle Shoals, Ala.; Toledo, Ohio; and Cincinnati, Ohio. These plants did not produce a pound of nitrates that could be used in the war.

We spent for poison gas $116,000,000. Not a pound of American gas was ever fired in an American shell, and only about 100 tons of American gas loaded in shells ever reached the field dumps.

The Government built three picric-acid plants and seven plants to make phenol and acid required by them. This was to furnish picric acid for the French, who desired it for explosives. None of these plants produced a pound of anything that was used in the war. The plants cost us $35,000,000. The French were to pay the whole bill, but the War Department settled with France for $14,000,000.

We spent $17,116,000 in constructing a port terminal at Charleston, S. C. It was built in an isolated swamp 10 miles up the Cooper River, where it was necessary to dredge to reach it. There never was a pound of produce, a man, or an animal shipped either out of or into this terminal during the war.

We spent $127,661,000 for port terminals at Boston, Brooklyn, Newark, Philadelphia, Norfolk, Charleston, and New Orleans. Some of them were not finished, and none of them were used for anything except storage during the war.

The Ordnance Department spent $3,991,489,570.48 from the beginning of the war until June 1, 1919, as much as it cost to finance the Civil War. A large part of it was spent in a program of manufacturing artillery and ammunition. This is what we got for it:

a. We had 53 contracts for 37-millimeter shells, on which we expended $9,134,582. Not one of these shells ever reached our firing line.

b. We had 689 contracts for 75-millimeter shells, on which we expended $301,941,459. Of these shells we fired 6,000.

c. We had 142 contracts for 3-inch shells, on which we expended $44,841,844. None of these shells reached the firing line.

d. We had 439 contracts for 4.7 shells, on which we expended $41,716,051. Of these shells 14,000 were fired by our forces.

e. We had 305 contracts for 6-inch shells, on which we expended $24,189,075. None of these ever reached the firing line.

f. We had 617 contracts for 155-millimeter shells, on which we expended $264,955,387. None of these ever reached the firing line.

g. We had 301 contracts for 8-inch shells, on which we expended $51,371,207. None of these ever reached the firing line.

h. We had 152 contracts for 240-millimeter shells, on which we expended $24,136,867. None of these ever reached the firing line.

i. We had 239 contracts for 9.2 shells, on which we expended $54,389,377. None of these ever reached the firing line.

j. We had 71 contracts for 12-inch shells, on which we expended $9,507,878. None of these ever reached the firing line.

k. We had six contracts for 14-inch shells, on which we spent $1,266,477. None of these reached the firing line.

l. We let 111 contracts, to the amount of $478,828,345, for the construction of artillery of all calibers, guns, howitzers, gun carriages, limbers, and recuperators. Of this immense program of expenditures there reached our troops and were actually used in combat thirty-nine 75 millimeter antiaircraft mount trucks, forty-eight 4.7-inch guns of the 1906 model, forty-eight 4.7-inch gun carriages of the same model, twenty-four 8-inch howitzers, and twenty-four 8-inch gun carriages.

To sum up, we furnished our troops for use six thousand 75-millimeter shells, fourteen thousand 4.7 shells, forty-eight 4.7-inch guns, and twenty-four 8-inch howitzers.

These are the principal things soldiers need to fight with—guns and shells, gas, aeroplanes, and tanks. And while there was such a failure to produce these essential things, it is amazing to know what excessive orders and expenditures there were on other less essential things. A few instances will indicate this:

We ordered 41,100,152 pairs of shoes and received deliveries of 32,227,450 pairs, for 3,513,837 men.

We bought and received 500,326 double sets of harness and 110,828 single sets. We had, in all, during the period of the war 580,182 horses, of which only 67,948 were shipped overseas and 96,000 died.

We bought 945,000 saddles and had, in all, 86,418 Cavalry horses.

We bought 2,850,853 halters.

We bought 585,615 saddlebags.

We bought 1,637,199 horse brushes.

We bought 2,033,204 nose bags.

We bought 1,148,364 horse covers.

We bought for our Ordnance officers 712,510 complete sets of spur straps, about 36 sets for each officer. We proposed to have our Ordnance officers properly spurred.

We bought 8,781,516 horseshoes.

We bought 195,000 branding irons.

We ordered 149,456,611 hard bread cans and used 31,500,000 during the war.

And these are facts that were brought out in the hearings held by the select committee appointed to investigate war expenditures. So we feel that we are amply justified in our contention that the Democratic Party failed in their obligations to the people of this country in the most critical moments in the history of the Republic.

So much for war expenditures. We might, perhaps, in the glory of victory have overlooked these extravagances had it not been for the fact that even after the signing of the armistice the administration has continued in this extravagance, and only by persistent effort on this side have we succeeded in reducing the expenditures that would have been involved had we accepted the estimates of the various departmental heads.

It has repeatedly been asserted on that side of the House that we have done nothing, absolutely nothing, in the year that we have been in power. When it is considered that we have at all times been confronted with the opposition of the Executive, that we have been in the midst of confused, distorted industrial and economic conditions resulting from the war, we feel that our record is remarkable.

We have reduced the estimates of governmental expenses over a billion dollars. The oil-leasing and water-power bills, two measures of large effect and high importance, which for many years have been halting and stumbling in the hands of our Democratic friends, have become laws.

We have passed the vocational rehabilitation act for the benefit of our wounded soldiers and have largely increased the provisions heretofore made for them by the Democratic majority.

We have also passed several acts for the disposition of war material, very necessary to our finances.

We have amended and improved the Federal reserve and the farmers' loan acts.

We have cared for the soldiers of the Civil War, straitened in their old age through the rise in prices, by an increase in their pensions. The civil-service retirement law, a long-deferred act of justice to faithful servants of the Government, will soon be in operation.

The Army and Navy pay bill and the Army reorganization bill, very essential in restoring the Army and Navy to a peace basis, have become laws.

An act for the upbuilding of the merchant marine and the settlement of the affairs of the Shipping Board, a very important measure, has also been passed by this Congress.

The budget bill, a measure of economy and sound financial administration, was also passed by this Congress, but the President, on the plea that it encroached on the power of the Executive, vetoed the same, and unhappily we were unable to secure the necessary two-thirds vote to pass it over his veto.

The law restoring the railroads to private ownership was one of the many problems that confronted us.

All of these achievements stand out conspicuously in our record of accomplishment, and in themselves deny that we have failed to accomplish anything during our first year of control.

The determination of the President to have the Versailles treaty with the League of Nations ratified by the Senate, without the dotting of an "i" or the crossing of a "t," has resulted

in the country still being involved in a state of war. Much of this session has been occupied by another unsuccessful effort to agree on a peace settlement; following this we endeavored to pass a joint resolution formally declaring a state of peace, but we were again opposed by the Executive, who vetoed the same.

As a Member on this side of the House, I feel that we have rendered to those who placed us in power a good account of our stewardship.

However, there is still much to be done, and I believe that the next Congress should further reduce the Government appropriations at least $2,000,000,000, and thereby bring our expenses below our governmental income.

We should drop from the governmental pay rolls thousands upon thousands of useless but expensive clerks.

We should eliminate the tremenduous waste and useless expenditures at the various cantonments, Army posts, and so forth.

We should, as nearly as possible, reduce all expenditures to a prewar basis.

We should get out of Europe bag and baggage and stop the tremendous outlay in that quarter.

We should work for a business and economical administration, with a view to a reduction of taxes at the earliest possible moment.

I believe in a tax on luxuries but not on the necessities of life, a tax on stocks and bonds rather than on food and clothing.

We must reduce the cost of living by increased production, and we must recognize agriculture, that it is and must always remain one of the most important factors in national life.

Labor must have a square deal; steady employment at good wages. This is extremely important if the country and the people are to remain prosperous.

We must ratify the treaty of peace between America and Germany as well as Austria-Hungary.

I believe in international friendship, but not in entangling alliances with foreign nations, and should we join the League of Nations we should by careful reservation guarantee to America all the rights and privileges, both domestic and foreign, which she now enjoys.

Let us build a merchant marine which will carry products "made in America" to all parts of the world in our own bottoms.

We should deport from our shores all aliens who place the red or any other flag above that of our own.

We must stand for a stalwart, uncompromising Americanism, which supports the Constitution of the United States and places this country's interests first.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, permit me to say to my Democratic friends that for all they have done well we give them unstinted praise, and in commenting on that in which they have failed it is not our purpose to criticize but rather to let the light shine on their error that they may not fail again.

This is but our duty to the people of this Nation, who in a large measure have placed the responsibility of this Government in our hands, and we are confident they will this fall indorse our course and, in addition to the legislative branches, place in our keeping the executive control—

Ours be the pledge of loyalty and faith
To guard in safety o'er Time's unknown sea,
Thou noble ship of state, stanch, tried, and true;
Our hopes, our prayers, our lives are all for thee.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY D. FLOOD,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 21, 1920.

The House had under consideration H. J. Res. 327, terminating the state of war declared to exist April 6, 1917, as amended in the Senate.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, this resolution differs very materially from the resolution that passed the House some weeks ago. This resolution omits the preamble which the House resolution carried. The Republicans of the Senate had too much respect for their intellectual integrity to keep in the resolution the preamble as it passed the House, and so it was omitted. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

There were other suggestions made by the Democratic side which were not heeded by the Republicans but which the Republicans of the Senate heeded when they passed this resolution. They omitted the provision in the resolution which under certain conditions, if Germany had not consented to the resolution, would have put an embargo on American produce going to Germany. I pointed out in the minority report, and called attention to the fact, that the resolution would put us at a great disadvantage, especially the producers who find Germany the only great market for low-grade cotton, which under the provisions of the resolution must have been sold to England at sacrifice prices and let her sell to Germany at a profit.

And there would have been no opportunity for American manufactured products to find a market in Germany if that resolution had become a law. The tobacco growers and other producers would have suffered as badly. The Republicans of the Senate made changes in this respect that improved the resolution.

We pointed out that the House resolution in declaring a state of peace in Germany omitted Austria. The Republicans in the Senate took the suggestion and embraced Austria in the resolution.

There are but three propositions in the Senate resolution. One is that Congress has the right to declare peace. We take issue on that as a fundamental constitutional proposition. There is not a lawyer on the Republican side of this House who will seriously contend that Congress has a right to declare a state of peace.

Another proposition is that Congress under this resolution undertakes to enter upon diplomatic negotiations with Germany. Every intelligent man, whether he be a lawyer or not, knows that Congress has not that power.

The other proposition is to repeal the legislation enacted during the war. There is nothing that illustrates the hypocrisy of the Republican Party in Congress so much as the contention that they want to repeal war-time legislation. [Applause on the Democratic side.] When this measure was pending before Congress in the shape of the Porter resolution six weeks ago I offered a motion to recommit, carrying an amendment that would have met the approval of the Senate and the executive department of the Government, and would have wiped off the statute books every piece of war-time legislation. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. Congress has been in session one year and one day, and there has not been a single hour when there could not have been brought in bills repealing the entire mass of war-time legislation or any one piece of that legislation.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, as the gentleman from Virginia has said, you have been in session one year day before yesterday and you have not repealed a single piece of this war legislation. It is idle for the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS] to proclaim that they want war-time legislation repealed when he, as a leader of the Republican Party, nor any other member of that party, has undertaken to get an act passed repealing a single piece of that legislation. [Applause on the Democratic side.] We are willing to go before the American people upon that issue, and we will whip you so badly that you will hardly have a respectable minority. [Applause on the Democratic side and laughter on the Republican side.]

I am glad, Mr. Speaker, that there is patriotism enough on the Republican side to cheer the suggestion that the Republicans will not control this House next year. [Laughter on the Republican side and applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Speaker, the suggestion of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUDDLESTON] in reference to the President's position on the peace treaty is absolutely without foundation in fact. The President stands with the Democratic leadership of this Nation. The Democratic leadership of the Senate and the country has always stood upon solid ground on that question. It is for the treaty with such reservations as will preserve its essential integrity. It has opposed reservations that nullify the treaty and take the heart out of the League of Nations. When the President went abroad in December, 1918, every political party in this country had at one time or another indorsed a proposition similar to the League of Nations. He had a right to believe that the heart and mind of this Nation were with him, but unfortunately the Republicans carried the election in 1918. [Applause on the Republican side.] Yes; they carried it by corrupting the electorate in the State of Michigan in a way that no electorate in this country was ever corrupted before, and they hold the Senate now by the vote of that corruptly elected and convicted Senator. [Applause on the Democratic side.] The Republicans carried it, and the Republican Party threw to the winds the interests of the American people, the interests of humanity, and acted only for what they conceived to be the

interest of the Republican Party. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

When the President went to France he met at the peace table the most difficult problems that have ever confronted the statesmanship of any country. He met there the ablest and some of the most unscrupulous diplomats and statesmen of the Old World, but he triumphed over all of them and brought home a treaty signed by 32 of the civilized nations of the earth. [Applause on the Democratic side.] The war had imposed upon the statesmanship of the world a great duty. The heart of humanity demanded the negotiation of a treaty [laughter on the Republican side]—oh, that may not be very pleasing to you gentlemen, and I appreciate your applause, but I would rather that you would hear what I have to say, because you are ignorant enough on this subject to have it do you some good. [Applause on the Democratic side.] The world demanded the negotiation of a treaty that would prevent a recurrence of such wars as we had just had. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Every impulse of the heart was in accord with his purpose. In all the turbulent annals of humanity this project was for the first time feasible, but in this great hour Republican leadership absolutely failed, and Republicans saw fit to remember only that they were Republicans. The Democratic Party is satisfied with its position on the treaty and the reservations, and upon these issues we will meet the Republican hosts in November [applause], and we will meet Mr. HUDDLESTON, of Alabama, and we will give the combination a thrashing equal to that that the American doughboys gave to the Huns at Chateau-Thierry. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Upon these issues we are willing to go to the country. We have the moral and spiritual forces of the Nation behind us; we have the churches behind us, we will have business behind us, we will have the great agricultural interests behind us, we will have labor behind us, and we will have the women of the land behind us. [Applause on the Democratic side.] And we will elect a Democratic President, a Democratic Senate, and a Democratic House of Representatives. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

The Public Should be Paid Something Sometime for the Water-Power Privilege, the Last Natural Resource it Holds in Fee.

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD C. LITTLE,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, July 1, 1919.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 3184) to create a Federal power commission and to define its powers and duties, to provide for the improvement of navigation, for the development of water power, for the use of lands of the United States in relation thereto, and for other purposes.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, this bill provides in subsection E that the licensee shall pay to the United States a reasonable annual charge to be fixed by the commission. This amendment intends to carry out that pledge. As the committee has reported it, the bill provides that when the licenses are issued, provided they are on a Government dam property, the commission shall have the right to revise and increase them every 10 years after the purchase. My amendment would reach the same result in regard to all licenses issued, whether they were Government or private propositions, and that would actually carry out the purported provisions of the bill. As it stands now, there would be no real pay for a license on Government property, except on licenses to use the Government projects for private business, for the reason that when you invite a man to build a dam and utilize the water rights, he has for several years to face adverse conditions, and it will be some time before he will make any money. It is agreed in order to encourage him the charge would have to be purely nominal and there would be no return for the license. It would be unjust to the man to say in the course of five years that he should pay any considerable amount. But after 10 years, when he is well under way, he will be able to pay something, and this commission should have the right to fix such charge from time to time as shall be necessary and reasonable. Unless that change is made he will pay the same sum the fiftieth year that he would pay the first year.

In other words, you are issuing licenses for 50 years on which the man would pay every year what he paid the first year. Now, if the business failed he would stop, and if the business succeeded, in 20 or 40 years he might be making enormous amounts of money. In 50 years there will be 10,000 of these licenses that should bring in hundreds of millions of dollars, and under this system you get nothing. Besides that there should be provisions protecting parks and special reservations, or authorizing the commission so to do. The commission will be composed of wise and prudent men. It will do nobody any injustice. It will not injure anybody. If my amendment is adopted after 10, 15, or 20 years they will call him up, look the proposition over, and if it appears that he is making money and can afford to pay for what he is getting from the public, they will assess him. They would be fair and just. There is nothing remarkable about this. It is peculiar and astonishing that it is not in here already. The result will be that if you do not put this in, the first thing you know you will have thousands upon thousands of people enjoying a government power and resource and making no return at all.

Out in my country long ago you gave the Government the land on which to build the Union Pacific. The Government could have built the railroad and sold those lands and paid for the railroads and made a lot of money for the Government and helped the settlers. As it was the promoters got the better of everybody that had anything to do with it and caused the biggest scandal the country ever had. The building of that railroad tainted the name of many Members of Congress. Congress should have made proper limitations and safeguards on railroad land grants. So we should say to these men, "You shall not have something for nothing." If they get a valuable thing, make them pay for it. If you tie the hands of the commission and say that the licensee shall pay no more in 30 years than in the beginning, you will never have anything paid, and there will be the greatest cry in 50 years about it that ever went up about any Congress. I am sure my colleagues have no plan to give away this public value intentionally. I know you do this from an oversight. But historians will not see it that way.

You are either doing something of importance or nothing at all. If nothing of importance, what is the difference? Why not protect the national forests and parks? Why not exact a revenue from these beneficiaries of the public? If this is an important matter history will judge you by how you decide as to what these people shall pay.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kansas has expired.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I suggest to the gentleman that the principal objection to this amendment is this: That for dams already built they know practically what they are and their possibilities, and as to those that are not yet built they issue bonds, usually running for 30 years. The water-power people represented to the committee that if they were compelled to have readjustment at periods of every 10 years or such a matter, they would have more difficulty in placing the bonds and in raising the money and determining upon large expenditures.

Mr. LITTLE. Oh, yes. If there is no charge at all they could issue them and sell them more readily. We represent the public, not the speculators or investors. That is no reason why these people should not make a readjustment in a certain length of time. Twenty years is long enough for anyone to determine whether he has succeeded. A project that has not succeeded in 20 years will not succeed. There is nothing in that. Anybody who wants to sell bonds always wants to take the bridle off. When this bill was under consideration before, when it looked as though it might be ready to pass, I wrote to the President of the United States concerning the proposed legislation.

This proposed legislation is not only intrinsically important, but it is exceedingly important, because when you launch it it will be on the books for 50 years, in effect, since the licenses given under it will extend to that time, and you can not amend them in the future. As chairman of the Committee on Revision of the Laws, my associates and I are preparing for your consideration a bill to establish a new Code of the Laws of the United States. I should hate to think that such a mistake as this is to be perpetuated for half a century in that great code

if it is passed. The task of preparing the Code of the Laws of the United States is of a very exacting character and will require work every day till the 1st of next December, as this bill will be the largest ever introduced in any Congress or Parliament.

This summer, when the rest of you are at home campaigning, explaining to your constituents what you have done, what you have accomplished that entitles you to renomination and reelection, I shall be compelled to be here in Washington doing some plain, ordinary hard work with the law books, codifying and revising the laws, to complete the bill we are getting ready for the December session, which will assemble all the general and permanent laws in one great volume, the second time it has been accomplished in the history of the Republic, and that was 46 years ago. Probably I shall have no opportunity to campaign this summer and no chance to see my constituents or to render them an account of my stewardship. Even if a dozen opponents should arise to oppose me, I will be compelled to stick to my post in the committee room most of the time, till December in all probability, in order to get the new proposed code ready for passage, and I hope, gentlemen of the House, that such a mistake will not be recorded on its pages, if this bill should become a law, as fixing now a merely nominal charge to continue as such for 50 years, while the grantees of this great gift shall amass immense fortunes because they are given this property of the public. The public should be paid something sometime for the water-power privilege, the last natural resource it holds in fee.

Accordingly, I wrote the President when this bill was before the Sixty-fifth Congress. My objections to it were so pronounced and my views upon it so well settled, that I then wrote the President of the United States with a view to inducing him to veto the bill, which I had supposed would also pass the Senate but did not. That bill passed the House in the Sixty-fifth Congress but not the Senate, and no occasion arose during the Sixty-fifth Congress for a veto. I ask unanimous consent to extend and revise my remarks and insert my letter and the President's reply.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kansas asks unanimous consent to extend and revise his remarks in the RECORD in the manner indicated. Is there objection?

Mr. SIMS. If the gentleman has both letters, I would be very glad if he would read them now.

Mr. HAMILTON. Did I understand the gentleman to say that the President replied to his letter?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LITTLE. My letter was as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., September 7, 1918.

Hon. WOODROW WILSON,
President, White House.

SIR: The amendment of Mr. Ferris has called attention to the fatal defect of the water-power bill. There is another almost as serious. In order to encourage capital to invest in water-power development it will naturally happen that the charges for the licenses will be small, in order that the people putting in their money may be able to get their enterprises well under way. As the bill stands the practically nominal charge fixed in the beginning will continue for 50 years the fixed charge paid by these favored capitalists for the gift of the American waterways.

In a few years each industry will be successful, make great money, and could easily pay a reasonable return for the gift of the waterways, but for half a century no charge can be made and many of them will become immensely wealthy from this gift, and could well afford to pay, as they should, for what they get. An amendment should be made making it possible that the Government every 10 or 15 years readjust the charge for the use of the waterways according to the conditions. The people would then get something for what they are now to give away.

Years ago a dam was built across a navigable stream in my home district, and without making any payment for the privilege a sound business man there, and a very fine citizen, has legitimately accumulated a large fortune and is making a very large income. For this he is not at all to be criticized, but if our Government with its eyes open permits others to take charge of our waterways and accumulate fortunes without any return to the Government, it would simply be squandering the interests of the people in the waterways. Oliver Cromwell once said: "He that makes many poor to make a few rich suits not a commonwealth."

This bill provides that every 10 years there shall be a readjustment of the amount paid the Government where licenses are granted men to utilize the waterway projects of the Government as now established, and the same rule should apply to all licenses. The commission that issued them is well capable of properly readjusting the amount to be paid. Indeed, the right to readjust every 10 years would make the Nation entirely safe at the end of 50 years, if there were no other suggestion, and the Ferris amendment makes the Nation absolutely safe, if this amendment I mention is made.

Why should the Government practically make a gift of the last thing left to give away and then guarantee a return of every cent invested? There never was so objectionable a bit of legislation offered in the Congress of the United States in some respects. If the money were put anywhere else without any privilege whatever, the investment would be subject to wear and tear and time, and would have to pay interest upon the capital they borrowed, and they ought to pay the Nation interest upon the loan of this privilege according to its value. These people should pay for what they get as soon as they can, and the interests of the Government should be protected in that way.

With great respect, I have the honor to remain,
Very sincerely, yours,

E. C. LITTLE.

My idea was to present to His Excellency some of the objectionable features, as I was fearful they might escape his attention if a bill which had in it so much possibility of good were presented to him when he had not time to give it careful inspection. The President answered, and his reply is as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, September 9, 1918.

Hon. EDWARD C. LITTLE,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. LITTLE: Thank you sincerely for your thoughtful letter of September 7 about the water-power bill. There is a great deal of force in what you urge, and the points you dwell upon have been giving me a great deal of grave concern. I thank you for assisting me to think out a very perplexing and serious matter.

Cordially and sincerely, yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

There was attention attracted to some of the evils in this bill as proposed in the Sixty-fifth Congress, and there has been some improvement in it, it is true. The method of terminating the contract in 50 years is not subject to as much criticism as it was before, but the objection to which I have animadverted to-day still exists. Of course, in order to encourage the investment of capital in the building of dams and factories along the navigable rivers licenses to build and establish must be at the beginning almost nominal, but in the course of a few years—10 years, perhaps—each adventure will be either a success or a failure. If a failure or a very mediocre success, the commission will not find any occasion to change the nominal rate, but if the capitalist succeeds and commands great trade and accumulates a great and growing fortune from the Government's gift to him of the right to dam the navigable rivers he could well afford to pay a reasonable rate for the continuance of that privilege.

As a matter of fact, the only reason this proposition is projected into Congress now is that wise and far-seeing men realize the possibility of great wealth if these licenses are granted. If there were not prudent men to look ahead, nobody would suggest such a law. I am not one of those who criticize such proposition or such men. As a matter of fact, they are the men that make the wheels go round in the world, the men who help lift up and carry forward the race, and it is entirely just that they should be suitably rewarded in a financial way for their services; but when a man has collected a reasonable competence there is no particular reason why he should advantage himself by the accidents of fortune, by the favor of the Republic, to pile Ossa on Pelion in the banks that business maintains and hand down his unearned increment to some descendant who had no part in creating his fortune.

Of course, the men who expect to do this are constantly insisting that they should be left free to run riot with the rivers of the Republic, and one can not blame them much for attempting to capitalize their intelligence to the last penny, but, gentlemen, if you allow them to take advantage of these grants to build up greater fortunes than they deserve, and to do this without any return to the Nation for what they receive, the future will blame you and condemn you in the harshest terms, and should do so. Rousseau said:

The greatest menace to a nation is the influence of private interest in public affairs.

The men who will receive these privileges, of course, are earnestly desirous that the law be enacted. The profits they will make if this law goes into effect are their "interests" in this "public affair" of placing this legislation on the law books of America. You can not afford to allow them to dominate the making of the rules under which they are to work if you are going to give them a monopoly of the rivers of the country; and do not flatter yourselves that this will not be a monopoly. Whenever a man dams a river he makes another dam near it impossible and is the owner of a monopoly of that water power which you are giving away for a song. You will establish thousands of monopolies in the corners of this country where men will amass fabulous fortunes by reason of the monopoly Congress gives them.

All I ask here, gentlemen, is that they be compelled to make a reasonable payment for the privilege. This is the last thing the American people have to give away. Let us be sure that it is free from the scandal of criticism that will spring up hereafter if men stand in amazement 40 years from now when some future Goulds and Vanderbilts and Astors hold in their hands the water power of America and all the vast interests that will

be based upon it 50 years from now. These dams, scattered in every State, might irrigate 10,000 valleys some day and enrich 10,000 great communities. The privileges we are granting can not be estimated in present-day terms, for future years may develop other possibilities of which we do not yet dream. Who would have thought a few years ago that as we debate a dozen flying machines would be pounding in our ears in a fashion that right now is as ordinary as was the old cow 50 years ago? Who would have imagined at the close of the Spanish War that the automobile would be almost ready to supplant the railroad and the railroad track? We probably have no comprehension of what great wealth we are squandering now. If every 10 years or every 20 years the commission readjusts the charges to be paid the Government for maintaining these dams and controlling this water power, the Nation can receive a just and equitable return for the privilege. Shall we record ourselves in history as one "like the base Judean who threw away a pearl more precious than all his tribe"?

This money will be due the Government, and in 30 years might materially reduce the burden of taxation that will be falling upon our descendants. What right have we to squander the resources of the Republic? My amendment should pass and the commission should be empowered to adjust the amounts for the continuance of the licenses every 10 or 20 years. With these changes this bill could become a helpful law. The principle back of the amendment is sound. The return would be a just recompense, and the benefits that would accrue to the exchequer of the Republic might in 40 years mount to sums almost beyond the dreams of present avarice, sufficient to materially assist in maintaining the Nation and in enabling the citizens of the future to meet and terminate the immense indebtedness left to us and to them by the Sixty-fifth Congress and the great wars through which we have just passed. This bill should not become a law until the beneficent purposes for which it was conceived are based upon the broad foundation of a just reward for the privileges it would grant. With this very brief amendment and a provision for our forests the bill would commend itself to the present and the future as wise, useful, and well-guarded legislation, beneficial to the investors and procuring a just remuneration to the public, who have been forgotten so many times in great grants such as this. I earnestly hope that the House will recognize the necessity of this effort to protect the public rights in the public properties, so that there may be a thorough development of the water resources of navigable rivers without further delay. With such amendments the bill should become a law and they can very easily be made.

Army Reorganization.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES A. REED,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Friday, April 16 (legislative day of Thursday, April 15), 1920.

The Senate had under consideration the bill (S. 3792) to reorganize and increase the efficiency of the United States Army, and for other purposes.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I now move to reconsider the vote just taken. On that motion I want to offer some observations.

Ordinarily I would not ask the time of the Senate to consider a motion of reconsideration where the vote was as decisive as it apparently was on the roll call just concluded; but I know from observation that the Senate has not considered the proposition on which it has just voted. I know that, because the Senate has been absent. Four or five Senators have been in the Chamber most of the time, sometimes as many as 8 or 10, and then, upon a roll call, the Members have come in and answered to their names and gone out. Nevertheless, the aggregate of all who came in and answered and then vacated has made a quorum; but it has been a quorum absent, not a quorum present.

The question we have just voted upon involved a gradual reduction of the Army, as fixed in the bill at practically 300,000, to a point at the end of five years of 210,000. I think I am correct in my figures. If I am incorrect, I hope the chairman of the committee will correct me.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, the Army under this bill as it was drawn would start at 280,000 enlisted men and 18,000 officers.

It has now been amended so that there are 16,990 officers and 280,000 enlisted men. The officers were to be decreased 2 per cent a year and the enlisted men 5 per cent a year, so that at the end of seven years we would have had 16,200 officers and 210,000 enlisted men.

Mr. REED. Very well. The figures are a little worse than I thought they were—that is all. In other words, if the bill is allowed to remain as it is, with the proposition for a decrease in it, at the end of seven years we will still have 210,000 enlisted men and 16,000 officers.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REED. Yes.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The next Congress can reduce it if it wants to.

Mr. REED. Oh, certainly; that is true; and so I might say to the Senator's request for the adoption of this motion striking out, he might leave that to the next Congress. That argument cuts both ways and gets us nowhere.

Those who voted "yea" on the last roll call voted to keep the Army at the strength of approximately 300,000 men. Those who voted "nay" voted to reduce the Army to practically 222,000 officers and men. The full decrease would not become effective until the end of the period of seven years. In addition to that, there has been retained in the bill for some purpose—presumptively because it is supposed that it will produce some results—a general proposition of military training. If militarism is as popular as some gentlemen think it is in the United States, and as some of them would like to have it, there will be a very large number of men, indefinite as to amount, constantly under training, who are to be compensated, whose dependents are to be looked after, and so forth. In addition to that we have a National Guard, if it has not been entirely assassinated by this bill—and the claim, at least, is made that it has not been. If it has been, then this bill ought to be defeated in toto, for the National Guard is worth more than the Regular Army, five times over, if the National Guard is properly taken care of.

So that it is proposed now, in a time of profound peace, with Europe prostrate and exhausted, that we shall fasten upon this country an immense Military Establishment. I inquired for what purpose, and received no answer on Wednesday; but we had a partial answer to-day from a member of the Military Affairs Committee, the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN], and, as nearly as he did answer, it amounted to this, that he believes there are going to be some internal troubles in this country, making it necessary to have a large Military Establishment.

Mr. President, I want to use as mild language as I can in discussing the proposition of internal trouble in the United States. Whenever the United States gets so that it requires an Army of three or four hundred thousand men to hold the people in check and subordination the country will have arrived at a very bad condition, indeed. There are some labor disturbances occasionally. Once in a while some men want better wages. Once in a while these men quit work.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. REED. Yes.

Mr. MYERS. The Senator has proclaimed insistently against this country entering into a league of nations. Would he now take away from us the defense of an adequate standing Army?

Mr. REED. Oh, Mr. President, that is a question entirely aside from the one I am discussing, but I shall come to it in a minute. Let me say in passing, we never yet have been blessed with a league of nations, and we never had a peace Army of above 80,000. Nevertheless we were not attacked. Besides, we now have 3,000,000 highly trained veterans who, properly armed, can defend America against any force that can be landed on our shores.

Let me stick to the theme I am talking about—internal disturbance. There never yet has been a strike in this country, save two or three, that was not handled by the National Guard of the respective States where the strikes took place. In the two or three other instances a very small contingent of Regulars reduced the territory to order, and did it within a few hours' time. All of this has been done substantially without bloodshed. The strikers, when they saw that the Government really meant business, have dissolved. Generally they have obeyed the civil processes of the courts.

I am not in favor of strikes; I never have been. I think them a very poor way to settle disputes. But as long as we have a free country we will either have the right of men to organize and strike or we must set up some tribunal to adjust differences

between employer and employee. But I utterly repudiate the doctrine that men who strike for higher wages are such a menace and danger to this country that we are obliged to maintain an enormous standing army in order to put them down. There is nothing in the history of the past to justify such an opinion. There is not a doubt in my mind that while the ordinary union-labor man may strike to better his condition, he could no more be induced to enter into a revolt against the United States Government than the Members of the Senate. They are men who sometimes make mistakes, sometimes are misled, and sometimes their leaders are extremists and bad men. In a few instances that has been true. But the men have never had any idea of rebelling against the Government. They rebelled against what they thought were bad economic conditions. If what I say is not true, then this country is, indeed, in a very bad condition. If the union labor were composed of disloyal men, we would need an army of many times 300,000 men.

There is nothing more to be deplored than the constant attempt to convince the public that the country is honeycombed with disloyalty; that it is filled with men who seek to overthrow the Government. Sometimes this propaganda is put forward by cheap, sensational newspapers; sometimes by the cheap, sensational politician; sometimes by men who at heart desire a Government back of which stands the sinister figure of militarism. It is not true that the country is disloyal; there is not one man out of a thousand—I do not believe there is one out of ten thousand—who is not absolutely loyal.

Constantly we are witnessing this sickening and disgusting spectacle: Some one man, some agitator, some crank, maybe some anarchist, nearly always somebody from a foreign country, is arrested, and immediately scare headlines appear in every paper of the United States indicating that the country is infested with anarchy, with sedition, with lawlessness, that every community has within it a large and powerful body of men ready to rise and destroy the rest of the population, and yet one can live in the very community where these things are charged to be and be absolutely unconscious of their existence.

Some man goes out and organizes the tramps into a kind of an association. How many of them are there? You could get enough men in any one well-populated township in the United States to whip the whole bunch. Yet it is paraded before the whole country as some terrible danger.

There is everywhere in the world, in every country, in every age of the world there has been, and there is now, a class of men who are criminals or semicriminals. Some of them burglarize your house. Some of them hold you up on the highway. Some of them steal your property. But the world does not go into hysterics on that account. We trust to the sheriff of the county, the police force of the cities.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator another question?

Mr. REED. Certainly.

Mr. MYERS. Is the Senator aware, from the report of what is known as the Lusk investigating committee of the Legislature of New York, a committee appointed by the New York Legislature to investigate treason and disloyalty in New York, that there are reputed to be many more than 100,000 persons in New York City who belong to societies organized for the overthrow of this Government and the substitution of a soviet, or some other kind of anarchistic government; that meetings are held every day of the week in New York City, openly and publicly, at which speakers advocate the overthrow of this Government; that the Senate passed a bill months ago to punish such things in proceedings at law and that the House has not enacted the bill into a law?

Mr. REED. I am aware, Mr. President, of these scarehead committees and of their performances. I do not take the slightest stock in any such extreme proposition. I have seen these legislative committees function. It sounds great when you talk about the "legislative committee of New York." I do not know the personnel of that committee, but I have seen other legislative committees. They are generally composed of men who seek notoriety more than they seek facts.

Mr. President, we have recently had a test of American loyalty. It occurred when we entered this war, and with the exception of a very small percentage of ignorant people, mostly foreign and mostly mentally deficient, the people rose as one man. I do not believe in the history of the entire world there has ever been presented by any nation, great or small, an example of more complete and unified patriotism.

In a time of excitement and hysteria men have been called disloyal for reasons that were ridiculous and absurd. I know an old farmer who was called disloyal because he wanted to keep his wheat and did not sell it at the time when a committee of patrioteers demanded that he should. Such examples as that are numerous. I know of a man who was pilloried down in Oklahoma because he would not buy $800 of Liberty bonds, that being the amount assigned to him by a self-constituted committee. The poor fellow did not have $800 worth of property in the world. Yet they were about to mob him. Things of that kind happen in time of war. We expect people to lose their judgment. The very existence of a sentiment, however, which went to such extremes only proves the intense loyalty of the people. The war is over, and we ought to get over it ourselves.

The papers are filled with stuff which, if read by the people of other lands, will convince them that America is a volcano of disloyalty and crime, ready at any moment to erupt. There is not a community in the United States which would not turn out and hang any scoundrel whom they had good reason to believe was disloyal to the flag.

The Senator from Montana [Mr. MYERS], in asking me a question, spoke about some societies in New York the members of which openly advocated a soviet government. Let me say to the Senator from Montana that in a country where there is free speech a man has a right to advocate a soviet government, a bolshevist government, a kingly government, a democratic government, a socialist government, or even a republican government. As long as he does not propose to employ force, but only to appeal to the reason of the people, he has a right to advocate any kind of a change in the Government. That is free speech; and, if you deny that, you deny all free speech. It is not a question, when I advocate a form of government, whether you agree with me or not; or when you advocate a form of government, whether you agree with a majority or not. It is a question of whether the processes which you advocate are lawful processes, whether you are doing more than appeal to the reason and the opinion of the people. We might just as well get to understand that.

I remember in my early life when I thought the Republican Party was engaged in a servitude to capital which was inimical to, if not destructive of, the very liberties of the American people. The Republican Party was in the majority, and I enjoyed the blessed privilege of going out and saying what I thought about it. If I was wrong, I had a right to submit my opinion, and the people had a right to vote the other way. We might as well get to understand the doctrine of free speech, and if these societies are meeting, and if their advocacy is only an advocacy of a lawful change in the Government, in accordance with the Constitution and laws of this country, they have a right to exist. We can trust the common sense of the American people to repudiate any monstrous thing they may advocate.

A lot of people get out every two or three years and say the world is coming to an end. We do not suppress them. We let them say it is coming to an end. We trust to the common sense of the people to know that they are just a lot of lunatics; that is all.

A lot of people were in favor of woman suffrage and some of them honestly believed that if we did not have woman suffrage the whole world, or, at least, this country, would be ruined. Some of those suffragists went to the extent of violating the law in this city and defying the authorities. We did not go crazy about it; it seems to have been very persuasive to some of you. It never appealed to me; it was not a convincing argument to me.

Some Irish girls possibly have broken the law in trying to bring the cause of Ireland before the people, but we need not be alarmed.

The United States is here. There are some 110,000,000 loyal men and women in the country. They are still ready to fight for their homes and their country. Nearly all of them are sending their children to school; nearly all of them are pursuing the old means of thought and of development; nearly all of them are doing the best they can. The argument that we need a great standing Army to hold the people of the United States in subjection is absurd and monstrous. If you say we need an Army strong enough to properly police our possessions, if you say we need an Army here strong to meet some sudden emergency, that is a different argument. Upon that there can be no difference on principle between myself and the advocates of the bill. We may differ as to the number of men, but I am not and have not been addressing myself to that particular question. I shall do so in a few moments when I call attention to the enormous expense of this Army, but I want to reiterate now a few things that I said on Wednesday.

Do we need this great Army on account of world conditions? Is there any danger of the United States being invaded or her rights taken away from her? What nation menaces us? There are only five great powers in the world outside of Germany and Russia, to wit, France, England, Italy, Japan, and the United States.

Germany lies prostrate, practically disarmed, absolutely impotent and helpless so far as her ability to attack the United States is concerned. She has no war navy to cross the sea. She performed that delightful office which the Secretary of the Navy said would be the greatest thing witnessed since the crucifixion. She sunk her own vessels, and he had said they ought to be taken out in the ocean and sunk.

Of course, some other men might have thought it would have been a good idea to bring them over here and add them to our Navy instead of building new ships just like them. But Germany sunk many of her vessels and Great Britain took the rest, as Great Britain usually does take things.

We are in no danger from Russia. Russia is practically without a fleet. She is practically without a government. Neither Germany nor Russia can ever come to this country and do us any harm until the time has arrived when they shall have been completely rehabilitated, and that must lie a long distance in the future.

Are we in danger of attack from our allies in the late war? If so, then they would be guilty of perfidy unparalleled in the history of the world. If they would do that sort of thing, then all this talk about assembling them around a table and going into partnership with them for life is the most monstrous of mistakes.

I do not close my eyes to the fact, however, that one of them may disturb us to some extent. I do not believe the others will, but I believe that if any European power were to attack the United States to-morrow, that power would find herself attacked from the rear the next day. Suppose that Great Britain were to attack us, how long would it be after she came to a death grapple with the United States until Germany would rise to strike her from the rear?

Suppose France were to do so inconceivable a thing as to attack the United States; she would be even worse situated than Great Britain. Instantly her colonies would be in revolt and the German would prepare to take his revenge. The cry that the enemy is at our gates does not alarm me.

Mr. President, there are several elements of strength upon which a country must depend in the time of great stress and need. Chiefest among these is the loyalty of the people. As to that I have no question of doubt. Another is the economic strength of the country, and to that I think it is time the Senate should begin to give some careful consideration. If we spend all the money we can raise from year to year and do not reduce the public debt, we will be seriously handicapped in any great war.

We owe to-day twenty-five thousand millions of dollars, a sum that is inconceivable, that no human brain can compass. The annual interest charge constitutes a grievous burden. It is now proposed to increase that burden by the establishment of an immense standing army. We can not wipe out the debts and at the same time carry these enormous burdens.

In illustration of the increase of the military burden I call attention to the fact that in 1875 we appropriated for the Army only $27,788,500. In 1916 the appropriation had increased to $101,974,195.87. For 1918, which I think includes the year of the war, we appropriated $5,249,086,335.89. Of course that is abnormal. But now for the year 1921, at a time when we are in a state of peace, we propose to appropriate for the Army alone $609,806,217, and that does not cover the expenditures of anything but the Army proper. We must still deal with a Navy budget of astonishing magnitude.

Mr. President, while we are this year expending over $600,000,000 on the Army—indeed, I think the total will mount to $770,000,000—we expended in the year 1916 on agriculture only $22,971,782. We expended on rivers and harbors in the same year aproximately $33,982,000. We expend about thirty times as much upon the Army as we do upon agriculture.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. REED. Yes.

Mr. HARRISON. Of course the Senator from Missouri is aware of the fact that in the river and harbor bill as it passed the other House there is a lump-sum appropriation of only $12,000,000 to provide for river and harbor improvements, and in the bill as reported to the Senate that amount has only been increased to $20,000,000?

Mr. REED. Yes. I thank the Senator for his suggestion.

We are to expend for the Army alone close to $8 per capita, counting every man, woman, child, and baby in the land. If a man has a family of five, he has to pay for the support of the Army alone approximately $40. The estimates for the Navy, as I remember, aggregate $917,000,000. So, all told, the head of a family of five will be taxed for the Army and the Navy alone, as I figure it roughly in my head, over $75. While we are expending these vast sums for an Army in times of profound peace and for a Navy when the millennium is just dawning, we are cheeseparing on the appropriations for rivers and harbors and are cutting down those appropriations. The sum of $12,000,000 is all that the House of Representatives allowed for the improvement of all the rivers and harbors of this country; and after a great battle we succeeded in raising the amount in the Senate Committee on Commerce to $20,000,000. Whether that will stay in the bill or not is dependent upon the temper of the House of Representatives.

Every dollar that is expended wisely for rivers and harbors is an investment; it is not a debt; it brings back a rich return. When you make rivers navigable or remove obstructions to commerce in our lakes and in our harbors, every man, woman, and child receives a benefit—indirectly, of course, but nevertheless a benefit of cheapened transportation. When you build a good road and make it easier to move goods from one part of the country to another, you decrease the labor necessary to the production and marketing of an article. When you have appropriated money in Congress to open the arid lands of the West and to turn the desert into fruitful farms, you have generally multiplied your investment by 8 or 10 to 1. The old story of making two blades of grass grow where but one grew before is illustrated every day in the application of the moneys of the Government to the furtherance of transportation and to the development of commerce and industry, but you can not get from the Congress of the United States any money for these beneficent purposes without haggling and fighting over it day in and day out.

One reason so large an Army is provided for in the bill is that there is a lobby here looking after the Army. They are roosting in the gallery now in noticeable numbers; but you do not find any committee of farmers there when the agricultural bill is up, and you do not find any committees to represent the arid West or the swamp lands of the South, or the great territories drained by the great inland rivers. Such committees have to pay their own expenses. What is everybody's business is nobody's business. But the Army is on the job all the time. The more you increase the Army the more you increase the lobby; they grow in direct proportion.

So far as I am concerned I do not want to say anything against the Army; it is a good Army, composed of good men; but they have been perniciously active during this entire session.

If we were to take the amount of money that we will pay out for a standing Army of 300,000, we could in a very short time reclaim enough land in the arid West and enough swamp land in the Middle and Southern States to feed 20,000,000 people.

An Army of 300,000 men is unnecessary. We are told that the National Guard is to be built up and strengthened. In that event the Regular Army can be greatly reduced.

A good National Guard and a small Regular Army are sufficient for all present demands and for all probable emergencies that may arise for many years to come; for with a National Guard, properly supported and encouraged, you have an Army there that will take care of this country in any emergency, if you have at the same time a standing Army of 200,000 men in this country.

Mr. President, that is all I care to say upon this subject.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 31, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 13931) to authorize associations of producers of agricultural products.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, I favor the passage of laws that will give the farmer the best possible advantage and opportunity. You can not penalize agriculture without penalizing the best interests of the country. The war taught us that. Protection has been the underlying basis for our prosperity. Organization is the order of the day. No farmer can compete single handed with conditions as they exist. It is imperative that he follow the commercial current of the present and cooperate for buying and selling. Cooperation on the part of the farmer will not result in abuses when backed by honesty of purpose and unity of ideal.

Neither the cause nor the remedy for the high cost of living has been run to earth. What boots it to uncover graft in high places, indifference to duty, waste by great generals, speculation by profiteers, and the financing of this last by the very banks designed to hold the boat steady, when the political appointees of the party in power fail to act, refuse to do their manifest duty? Manipulating speculators aided by loaning have contrived to kill the law of supply and demand. By the timely loans and reloans of the friendly banks they are enabled to hoard vast quantities of condensed milk here and sugar there and wheat yonder and absolutely control the price level. The Koran had a law that whoever stored wheat over 60 days should be cast out from the number of the faithful. The canny bankers when they gather round their full and sumptuous banquet boards are busy making speeches, which next day are spread far and wide in the press, how the high cost of living is due to strikes or to wildcat speculation on the part of wage earners or to buying of luxuries by people who have not up to now been able to afford it or to too little production. Always something for which the workers are to blame. It reminds me of the pickpocket, Fagin, who ran along with the crowd crying, "Thief, thief," and all the time the stolen goods were in his pocket.

The farmer is no profiteer. How could he be? He has no more to say about the price of his product than the consumer who buys it. The farmer goes to labor. Labor is organized, and says, "I will work so long for so much." The farmer takes his eggs or his hogs or his wheat to town. He goes to the provision house. He says, "What's the price of eggs to-day?" They tell him. It is a low price, but rather than haul his eggs or his hogs or his wheat back, to wait for a better price, he sells. Then he wants to get a pair of shoes or a new tire for his Ford. They do not ask him what the price of their goods is. He goes to a tire shop and asks the price of tires. It is a stiff price. So he tries another shop. Same price. He goes all over town. Same price everywhere. There is no such thing any more as price competition; there is an organized agreement as to price everywhere. So the farmer gets it going and coming.

The middlemen fix the prices. Successful Farming says:

The price of grain is named by four great elevator men of the Chicago Board of Trade. The price of butter is fixed by the Elgin butter board. Live stock by the packers. Wool prices by the commission men. Cotton prices by the future quotations on the New Orleans and New York exchanges.

The farmer is not asking special privileges. He only asks a chance for an equal footing with capital and labor. There is no thought of dictation, of denying the privilege to any other farmer, or of forcing an unwilling cooperation on anyone. The farmer must protect himself and secure stable prices through cooperation. The single twig is weak, but the bundle of twigs hold together and can not so easily be broken.

The Sugar Situation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WHIT. P. MARTIN,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, the price and supply of sugar has been so much cussed and discussed, both in and out of Congress, for the past six or eight months, that it may not be out of place to soberly and candidly discuss the situation for the purpose of determining "where we are at."

There is undoubtedly a world shortage of sugar, but not such a shortage as to cause a runaway market or to lead the people of this country to believe that a sugar famine is inevitable.

In 1916 the sugar production of the world amounted to 16,987,975 tons, and in 1919 it amounted to 15,217,170 tons.

This shows a decrease in production of approximately 9 per cent, which, though considerable, gives no cause for alarm in this country, especially in view of the fact that we are assured much more of our share of the world's production.

We produce in the United States and its insular possessions approximately one-half of the sugar we need, and our close proximity to and trade relations with Cuba make this country the logical and most attractive market for the Cuban output.

The estimated Cuban crop of the present year, owing to unfavorable weather and labor conditions, has fallen off considerably. On January 1 of the present year the Cuban crop was placed at 4,500,000 tons, but the latest news from that island places the crop at a little less than 4,000,000 tons.

But even this would in normal times not only supply our needs but would leave some 2,000,000 tons to be exported to other countries.

What, then, have been the causes which have led to both the high price and apparent scarcity of sugar?

The causes are many, but the outstanding cause which has created an unusual and unprecedented demand for sugar and the consequential high price has been the constant agitation and publicity given the abortive attempts to control the price and supply of sugar by means of investigations and legislation.

When, on December 16, 1919, the House had under consideration S. 3284, known as the McNary bill, which had for its purpose the continued control and distribution of sugar by the United States Sugar Equalization Board, I made this statement during the course of the debate:

This bill is not only unnecessary but its consideration and agitation before Congress for the past three months will be responsible for the high price of sugar next year.

The hearings on the McNary bill began before the Subcommittee on Agriculture of the Senate on October 3, 1919, and the bill finally passed both branches of Congress just before the Christmas holidays, and was signed by the President on December 31, 1919. It was then too late to even attempt to carry the provisions of the bill into effect, but the publicity given its consideration had a very far-reaching effect upon the sugar market.

Mr. Zabriskie and other experts who appeared before the Senate committee testified that there would be a shortage of sugar in 1920, and that they had for this reason brought to the attention of the President the advisability of purchasing the Cuban crop. The same authorities stated that they believed that at that time—October, 1919—the Cuban crop of raw sugar could be purchased at from 6½ to 7 cents per pound, and yet, when the McNary bill was signed by the President on December 31, 1919, Cuban raws had advanced to 11.75 per pound.

This tremendous jump in the price of sugar was but the natural and inevitable result of the prediction of the sugar experts that there would be a sugar famine in 1920. The press of this country and of Cuba carried in glaring headlines the announcement that sugar would be scarce and at a premium in 1920.

The manufacturers of sugar products, both essential and nonessential, immediately began to lay in a supply of sugar, to the end that their industries might not be affected by the predicted sugar shortage. Housewives who had previously purchased sugar from day to day as their needs demanded deemed it wise to prepare for an emergency and to store a few pounds of sugar in their pantries; and let it be remembered that there are 110,000,000 people in this country, and if every person should store but 10 pounds it would mean that 1,110,000,000 pounds of sugar would be withdrawn from consumption.

The unscrupulous speculator, who is always ready to take advantage of public suffering and want, immediately began to hoard sugar and manipulate the market.

In the meanwhile the Cuban producers had begun to sit up and take notice.

Mr. Hoover, in testifying before the Judiciary Committee of the House, stated that at the time the Cubans were willing to accept 6½ to 7 cents for their 1920 crop the Sugar Equalization Board had information two months in advance of the Cubans as to the prospective shortage. But when the Cubans saw the much-advertised prediction of a sugar shortage and when they witnessed the wild scramble for sugar, which very quickly absorbed the domestic supply, they were not slow to take advantage of the fact that this country was entirely at their mercy and to put up the price accordingly.

THE TINKHAM INVESTIGATION.

However, this crisis in the sugar situation was intensified and made much worse by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TINKHAM], who added fuel to the flames by introducing on December 18, 1919, a resolution in the House calling upon the Attorney General to report upon what authority of law he had fixed or agreed upon a price for which Louisiana sugars might be sold.

The answer returned by the Attorney General to this resolution was immediately followed by House resolution No. 469, directing the Committee on the Judiciary to investigate and report upon the action of the Attorney General in concurring in a maximum price for Louisiana clarified and plantation refined sugars.

This resolution was passed in the House by a strict party vote, it being apparent that the purpose of the resolution was not to relieve the sugar situation, but that it was an attempt to dis-

credit a public official who, by reason of his splendid record, was looked upon as a presidential possibility.

Accordingly, on April 6, 1920, the hearings began on this resolution before the Subcommittee on the Judiciary, with the Hon. JAMES W. HUSTED as chairman and with the Hon. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM, the author of the resolution, as the first and star witness.

The hearings had not proceeded very far before the situation became somewhat mixed and it became a hard matter for the disinterested onlooker to determine whether the action of the Attorney General was being investigated or whether the action of the gentleman from Massachusetts in introducing such a nonsensical resolution was the subject of the investigation.

While the investigation was given rather a wide range, taking in the price of jam in Porto Rico, the price and cold storage of meat, and the pursuit and prosecution of a haberdasher for selling shirts and collars at unreasonable prices, yet the gentleman from Massachusetts did succeed in establishing one fact, which was forthwith heralded from the housetops—that the shortage of sugar would not be confined to 1920, but would last for two or three years longer.

In response to this announcement, so clearly and forcibly brought out in the examination of Mr. Hoover, the price of Cuban raw sugar has increased by leaps and bounds until, on the 23d day of May, it was quoted at 23.57 per pound.

In view of this fact, so well established by the highest authority in the land, it is not surprising that the minority members of the subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary should state in their report:

It is believed that the acts of Mr. TINKHAM and the publicity given the sugar situation by him had a great effect upon the desire of the consuming public to obtain an ample supply of sugar and to protect themselves against the shortage, and has been a potent factor in the rise of prices of sugar.

THE ACTION OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

In his zeal to show that the Attorney General exceeded his authority or acted in violation of the law, the gentleman from Massachusetts undertook to tell the committee how he would have handled the Louisiana situation had he been in the place of the Attorney General. He suggested two or three different plans of action, and when one plan was shown to be impossible and impracticable he would suggest another, until he finally submitted a plan that was identical with that followed by the Attorney General.

The gentleman from Massachusetts sets forth his first suggested plan of action in the following language:

I think that the only authority that the Attorney General had under the law was to prosecute individual profiteering cases. Now, what result it might lead to makes no difference. He had to act within the authority given him by law. As I stated before, it would be a very difficult thing to indict and convict where there were so many varying conditions and varying factors which would enter into the problem of whether the profit or price was extortionate or not. I will admit that.

I rather think, however, that what practically would have worked out would have been this: That if the Attorney General had made an examination through his United States attorney and found out what seemed to be a fair price, and then had prosecuted and established as he had a full right to do under the law what the jury in that particular case thought was a fair price, the trade would have more or less settled to whatever figure that might be. Now, I could not say that would result from one case. In other words, he could take the same course that, as I understand it, was taken under the antitrust law—the Sherman law—where the rule of reason was established by several decisions. Men do not want to contest with the Government; men do not want to pay attorneys' fees unnecessarily, and if they can find out what they should do, the honest one and the fair one usually wants to pursue that course. I know that the average man is honest and fair and wants to keep out of court and out of trouble and avoid trouble and expense.

Now, that seems to me a fair statement of what my opinion is and what should have been done.

At this stage of the hearing the gentleman insisted that the only authority the Attorney General had under the law was to prosecute individual cases of profiteering, and by arresting one or more of the sugar producers of Louisiana let a jury determine what would be a fair price.

But when the gentleman's attention was directed to the fact that Louisiana only produced about 40 per cent of a crop, which was by no means uniform, some sections of the State only producing 10 per cent of a crop, while others produced as high as 60 per cent, so that one producer would make no profit if he sold his sugar at 50 cents per pound, while another would make considerable profit by selling at the same figure, he then began to qualify and modify his suggested method of procedure.

Realizing that a fair price would not be arrived at by the arrest and trial of one or two cases, and that his plan meant the arrest and trial of every producer in Louisiana, whether guilty or innocent, the gentleman thereupon abandoned the plan and suggested that the Louisiana situation might be handled by fixing a margin of profit.

In his cross-examination of Mr. Mooney, the United States district attorney from Louisiana, the gentleman asked this question:

Mr. TINKHAM. May I suggest this: Would it not have been better, as the Lever Act did not apply to agricultural products as such, for you not to have attempted to enforce the Lever Act, because it was unenforceable against the producers of agricultural products, and then have set a margin of profit for the manufacturer?

Before showing the utter impossibility of fixing the price of sugar in Louisiana by setting a margin of profit, it might be well to pause for a moment and show the inconsistencies of the first two plans proposed by the gentleman from Massachusetts and which he would have followed had he been the Attorney General.

First, he tells us that the only authority that the Attorney General had under the law was to prosecute individuals for profiteering, and that he was without authority in law to fix or to concur in a maximum price; and then he suggests that a margin of profit should have been set for the manufacturer.

In one breath he denounces the Attorney General for failing to prosecute and in the next he suggests a plan by which no prosecutions would have been necessary.

He first severely criticizes the Attorney General for having fixed or concurred in a maximum price for Louisiana sugars and then finds fault because the Attorney General did not do this very thing. To fix a margin of profit means to determine the cost of production and then add thereto a fair margin of profit, and this would be nothing more nor less than fixing the price of sugar.

This is the very thing for which the Attorney General was denounced in unmeasured terms both on the floor of the House and before the Committee on the Judiciary by the gentleman from Massachusetts, and yet the selfsame gentleman suggested that rather than to have attempted to enforce the provisions of the Lever Act against profiteering it would have been better to have fixed a price by determining what would be a fair margin of profit.

The margin-of-profit suggestion was impracticable and incapable of execution for two reasons.

First, because it would not have established a uniform price. The cost of production varied very materially in sections of Louisiana. In some sections sugar could be manufactured at a cost of 15 cents per pound, while in others, where the cane crop was almost a failure, it would cost from 30 cents a pound up, so that to establish a margin of profit would mean that sugar would have sold in Louisiana at from 15 to 30 cents a pound.

Second, because the manufacturers of sugar had much earlier in the season entered into written contracts with the cane growers, by which they bound and obligated themselves to pay the cane grower the sum of $1 per ton of 2,000 pounds of cane for each cent or fraction thereof that yellow clarified sugar sold for on the New Orleans sugar market, as shown by the weekly average to be established by the secretary of the New Orleans Sugar Exchange.

The certificate of the president and secretary of the New Orleans Sugar Exchange, found on page 199 of the hearings, shows that the only Louisiana yellow clarified sugars that sold on the New Orleans market from October 23, 1919, up to the time quotations were withdrawn because of the action of the Attorney General brought 20 and 20½ cents per pound. The cane growers, therefore, were entitled to receive from the manufacturers from $20 to $20.50 for every ton of cane delivered, and with a written contract were in a position to exact this amount from the manufacturer in a court of justice.

The manufacturers, therefore, would have been compelled to sell their sugars at a price exceeding 20 cents a pound; otherwise they would have gone bankrupt, as they could not afford to buy cane at $20 per ton and only receive for the product therefrom a price based on cane at $17 per ton.

The only possible way to meet this situation and reduce the price of sugar was by the action of the Attorney General in having the cane growers and manufacturers meet with his representative and agree to abrogate and set aside their written contract, which resulted in the cane grower accepting $17 for his cane and the manufacturer 17 cents for his sugar.

Had the Tinkham margin of profit suggestion been adopted, no yellow clarified sugar could or would have been sold on the New Orleans market for a price under 20 cents per pound.

Both the cane grower and manufacturer in Louisiana wanted an open market, and felt that the price of their agricultural product should, like others, be governed by the law of supply and demand; but certain it is that if the margin of profit idea had been adopted Louisiana sugars would have sold not under 20 cents and possibly as high as 30 cents per pound.

This brings us to the last suggestion of the gentleman from Massachusetts—as to how the Louisiana sugar situation should have been handled.

After stating that the Attorney General, in arriving at a decision as to what would be a fair price of Louisiana sugars, should have consulted the consumers, the reports of crop conditions made by the Department of Agriculture, and ascertain as far as possible the estimated cost in the production of sugar, the gentleman then states, in answer to a question propounded by Mr. WHALEY:

Mr. TINKHAM. There would have been no harm in the Attorney General saying that he thought a certain price was fair, but what I object to and where I say the illegal action was in this case was in making the agreement and in fixing the prima facie case.

* * * * * * *

I think that, if he had stated that he thought—just as he did in the coal case—that a certain addition to prices was sufficient and that he would take notice, or his office would take notice, of any other additions to prices, it would have been a perfectly correct policy to follow. It would have been unusual, but these are unsual times. But I think he would have been acting within his power and within his discretion if he wanted to do that. But when he makes a contract and sets up a prima facie case, as he did in this Louisiana sugar matter, then he is doing something which is illegal and something which as a matter of public policy is absolutely unsound, in my opinion.

The evidence of Mr. Mooney, the United States district attorney at New Orleans, who handled the matter for the Attorney General, shows that he consulted the largest consumers of sugar and consulted with everyone who could give him information; that he examined the crop reports and estimates from the Department of Agriculture; that he read the report of the Tariff Commission on the cost of sugar production; that he had prominent cane growers and sugar producers to appear before him and submit to him their cost sheets showing the estimated cost of production; and that at the suggestion of the Attorney General, he called in and consulted with ex-Senators Murphy J. Foster and Walter Guion, both of whom resided in the sugar district and neither of whom were interested in the production of sugar; and that having followed every suggestion made by the gentleman from Massachusetts, he arrived at the conclusion that there could be no profiteering in sugar in Louisiana if clarifieds were sold at 17 cents and plantation refined at 18 cents.

All of this having been done, and the gentleman from Massachusetts having previously stated that there was no harm in the Attorney General saying that he thought a certain price was fair, and that it was a perfectly correct policy for him to state that he would take notice of any additions to price, it follows that to this extent the action of the Attorney General was entirely in accord and met with the hearty approval and indorsement of the gentleman from Massachusetts.

But the gentleman states that what he objected to was the action of the Attorney General in making an agreement or contract with the producers and in setting up a prima facie case.

True it is that in his telegram to the United States district attorney, in which he approved and concurred in the action taken by that official, the Attorney General did suggest that an agreement in writing be secured from the producers and refiners, to be used as prima facie evidence when prices were charged in excess of agreement.

But it developed in the hearings that this suggestion, and it was only a suggestion, made by the Attorney General, was never carried out. No written contract or agreement was ever entered into by the producers and refiners to be used as prima facie evidence, but the producers and refiners merely held a meeting at which they agreed that they would not sell their sugars at figures in excess of the fair price suggested by the Attorney General.

The Attorney General, therefore, having followed to the letter the splendid suggestions made by the gentleman from Massachusetts in arriving at a fair price for Louisiana sugars, and both of these gentlemen being in agreement that it was a "perfectly correct policy to designate a fair price," it follows that, with the elimination of the written contract to be used as prima facie evidence, the gentleman from Massachusetts and the Attorney General are in entire accord as to what was actually done in Louisiana, all of which goes to prove that "great minds run in the same channel."

FINDINGS OF COMMITTEE.

While the action of the Attorney General in Louisiana was finally indorsed and approved by the gentleman from Massachusetts, yet the majority members of the Subcommittee on the Judiciary do not entirely agree with him.

I can not take the time to discuss at length the reports of the majority and minority members of this committee, but certain portions of the majority report are so unjust and unfair, both to the Attorney General and the Louisiana producers, and are so much at variance with the evidence adduced before the committee, that I feel constrained to differ from some of the findings of the majority, who, I feel sure, did not mean to be unfair, but who have overlooked some most important and salient facts.

Among other things, the report contains this statement:

The Attorney General fixed said prices at a time when he considered them "rather high"; had just been advised by his representative in Louisiana, United States Attorney Henry Mooney, that such prices were in excess of the fair average price for the crop, and when he had reason to believe that the entire crop could be purchased at 14 or 15 cents per pound.

It is true that on November 5 District Attorney Mooney did wire the Attorney General that he thought at 17 cents some producers would make a large profit, but he stated in this same message that he was endeavoring to obtain all information possible and would report later.

After conferring with the consumers and producers and consulting and advising with ex-Senators Foster and Guion, he again wired the Attorney General on November 7 as follows:

My session with the planters was a protracted one and was held after I had talked with many of the leading consumers and obtained their views. The committee itself was composed largely of the most conservative element of planters, yet there was only one member of the committee originally consenting to 17 cents suggestion, all other members holding for a high price because of admitted short crop and low sugar yield, stating in this connection that such cane as had passed through the mill showed an unusually poor yield of sugar, making estimates of production a week ago high and indicating losses of money even at price agreed. I have sought the very best sources of advice in this matter and have reached the conclusion that the 17 cents agreed upon is reasonable and recommend that the department accept it—

And so forth.

It was not until the receipt of this information that the Attorney General wired the district attorney concurring in a maximum price of 17 cents. That the district attorney was correct in his analysis of the situation, and that the Attorney General was but fair and just when he accepted the recommendation of the district attorney, is fully substantiated by ample proof going to show that no excessive profits were made by the Louisiana producers.

This portion of the report makes the further statement that at the time the Attorney General agreed to a price of 17 cents he had reason to believe that the entire Louisiana crop could be purchased at 14 to 15 cents per pound. There is no evidence in the record to bear out any portion of this statement.

The Attorney General did state that he had heard that a representative of the producers had offered to sell the entire Louisiana output at 15 cents per pound, but he also stated that his information was that after the representative had returned to Louisiana and made some further investigation he discovered that he was wrong and withdrew this proposition. (See p. 171 of the hearings.)

As a matter of fact, no such offer was ever made.

The only witness who gave any such testimony before the committee was Mr. Zabriskie, who immediately admitted that he might be wrong, as appears from the following extract from the hearing.

Mr. ZABRISKIE. I felt at that time that the right attitude of the Attorney General was to notify Louisiana producers that profiteering would not be countenanced; that any man that profiteered in selling sugar would be prosecuted; and the reason we took this attitude was that the crop of Louisiana sugar had been practically offered to us at 15 cents——

Mr. GLASGOW. Well, I do not quite agree with you on that.

Mr. ZABRISKIE. Well, I may be wrong on that. I am subject to some correction. (Hearings, p. 106.)

Mr. Zabriskie was referring to an informal conference held by him and Judge Glasgow, also a member of the Sugar Equalization Board, in the office of Senator RANSDELL, of Louisiana, for the purpose of discussing some basis upon which the Louisiana crop might be acquired by the Equalization Board.

This conference was based on the assumption that the Equalization Board was to be given some additional authority looking to the purchase of the Louisiana crop, and was with the clear and distinct understanding that the Louisiana producers, who were in Washington for the sole purpose of testifying before the McNary committee, were without authority to negotiate for the sale of the Louisiana crop.

Various prices were discussed as a basis for future negotiations, but at no time did the Louisiana representatives offer to sell the Louisiana crop at any figure; but, on the contrary, they stated that they were without any such authority and would have to take up the matter at a general meeting of the cane growers and sugar producers.

Immediately following this conference a general meeting of all producers and cane growers was called in the city of New Orleans, and it was the sense of that meeting, which was very generally attended, that governmental control should stop and

the sugar producers should be permitted to sell their crop on the open market, permitting the price to be governed by the law of supply and demand.

If there be one fact that was clearly established before the Subcommittee on the Judiciary, it was that no offer was ever made to sell the Louisiana crop at 15 cents per pound, and the only witness who even suggested such an offer was Mr. Zabriskie, who admitted that he was possibly mistaken.

On the other hand, Judge Glasgow, a member of the Equalization Board; Judge R. E. Milling, E. A. Pharr, and E. F. Dickinson, all of whom were present at this informal conference, strenuously deny that any such offer was ever made. (See testimony of these gentlemen, pp. 231, 239, and 245 of the hearings.)

Again the majority report contains this statement:

Crop conditions in Louisiana during the year 1919 varied greatly in different parts of the State and on different plantations. In some cases the loss of crop was very heavy, in others it was comparatively light, so that a fixed price for sugar, which would yield only a fair and reasonable profit to the producer, whose cost of production did not exceed the general average for the State, would permit a certain class of producers to make excessive profits.

A statistical bulletin issued by the department on November 8 and printed in the hearings, on page 73, estimates the crop at from 38 to 80 per cent, and places the general average at 51 per cent of a normal crop. But since then the crop has been harvested and converted into sugar, and the actual figures of the Department of Agriculture show that only 40 per cent of a crop was made in Louisiana.

The report states that a certain class of producers made excessive profits.

While some producers did make a fair profit at the price agreed upon, yet many others lost considerable money, as was shown by witnesses who appeared before the committee and who gave facts and figures from various sections of the State showing that no excessive profits were made.

Mr. Mooney, the United States district attorney, who was in touch with the Louisiana situation, testified as follows in answer to a question asked by Mr. TINKHAM:

Mr. TINKHAM. According to your own statement, there would be some who would make under this very large profits.

Mr. MOONEY. Yes, sir. But subsequent facts developed that they did not. I thought that some of the cane growers would have a very good, fruitful year at this price. (Hearings, p. 279.)

The Louisiana producers not only did not profiteer in sugar or make exorbitant profits, but they actually accepted for their product much less than the market price.

In referring to a visit which some of the Louisiana producers paid the Attorney General for the purpose of discussion of the sugar situation the Attorney General says:

They had shown to me during their visit that at that time (October, 1919) they were receiving offers of 19, 20, 21, and 22 cents for their sugar. They showed to me contracts which had actually been executed by some of the sugar producers or refiners in Louisiana by which their sugar was sold at this price. They told me of inquiries from manufacturers and other consumers of sugar asking for sugar from New Orleans without regard to price, and they reported to me also what was the then prevailing price in New Orleans.

It is clear, therefore, that without the action on the part of the Attorney General, the Louisiana producers, owing to the shortage, were in a position to demand and obtain any price they pleased for their sugars, and they felt and believed that they were entitled to an open market, but rather than permit any of their number of be subjected to the charge of profiteering they acceded to a price several cents below that which prevailed at the time.

Let it be remembered that these are the same sugar producers, who, in 1918, when our country was at war, voluntarily and patriotically entered into an agreement with the United States Sugar Equalization Board by which they sold their sugar at 8.82 cents per pound, when Mr. Hoover stated that without this agreement they would have received from 25 to 30 cents a pound for their product.

Certainly the Attorney General can not be criticized for concurring in a price which at best only permitted a fair margin of profit to an industry that cheerfully and patriotically sacrificed millions when this country was at war.

If criticism there be, it should come from those who were deprived of a free and open market, and not from the consumers of sugar, who were saved many millions of dollars by the action of the Attorney General.

Again, the majority report states:

The legalistic method adopted by the Attorney General was wholly ineffective as a means of price control; it gave apparent governmental sanction to extremely high sugar prices, which excited the cupidity of Cuban producers and caused the advance in the Cuban market.

It can not be denied that the Cubans were guilty of "cupidity," but they would also have been guilty of stupidity if, after all these investigations, which not only increased the demand for sugar but gave the Cubans due and timely notice of the prospective shortage, they had not taken advantage of the situation and advanced their prices.

But it is ridiculously illogical to hold that the Cuban prices were advanced because of any action taken by the Attorney General in Louisiana. At the time that this official action in Louisiana was taken it was shown by the certificate of the secretary of the sugar exchange that all Louisiana sugars that had been marketed sold at from 20 to 22 cents per pound, and it is shown further that many producers had actually contracted for a part or the whole of their output at prices as high as 23 cents per pound.

If, therefore, the Cubans raised their prices because Louisiana was permitted to only receive 17 and 18 cents for their sugars, does it not necessarily follow that they would have raised their prices so much the higher if Louisiana had, by selling on an open market, received prices from 20 cents up?

Judge Glasgow, a member of the Sugar Equalization Board, in testifying before the Subcommittee on the Judiciary, stated very clearly and succinctly the reason for the advance in the Cuban market. He says:

The situation, Mr. Chairman, was such that the real thing that fixed the price of Cuban sugar, or had its effect on the price of the Cuban sugar, was the fact that there was a shortage and the fact that the Louisianian could get from 15 to 20 cents for his sugar if he wanted it. It was not the fact, as far as I can see, that any agreement was made with them or any telegram sent to Louisiana "That we won't prosecute you if you don't charge more than 17 cents." Because if that had not been sent and the Louisiana crop had all gone wild at from 15 to 20 and 21 cents that would have had an effect on the Cuban crop much more than the 17 cents which was finally arranged with them. That was the situation.

The Cubans were influenced by general market conditions, but these conditions were brought about by the demand for sugar created by the prediction, made by the experts who appeared before committees in the House and Senate, that there would be a sugar famine in 1920 and resulted in a wild scramble on the part of the manufacturers and consumers of this country to lay in a supply of sugar, thereby depleting and bulling the market.

POSITION OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

But little, if any, reference is made in the majority report to the splendid, forceful, and convincing statement made by the Attorney General with reference to his action in Louisiana.

This official gave the committee a full history of all of the facts and circumstances which prompted him to act and laid before the committee the telegrams and correspondence between himself and the district attorney at New Orleans, which set forth the facts and circumstances which made him feel that it was incumbent upon him to act.

He called the committee's attention to the fact that when he appeared before the Committee on Agriculture of the House asking for an amendment to the Lever Act he frankly told this committee that if this proposed amendment became the law he expected to adopt the very policy that was followed in Louisiana, thereby making it possible for honest men to continue to do their business without danger of being subjected to prosecution for crime.

He explained that he had formed fair-price committees all over the country for the purpose of announcing to the communities what, in view of all the facts and circumstances, seemed to be a just and reasonable price on various commodities, and that this policy had been followed in New York, Chicago, and all the large cities in establishing and holding down the price of food and clothing; that because of the resignation of Mr. Parker as food administrator in Louisiana he had no fair-price committee in that State, and the United States attorney was therefore instructed to advise and consult with representatives of the consumers, the producers, and the general public in order to arrive at a fair and equitable solution of the sugar problem.

No one who reads the following portion of the Attorney General's statement can doubt that his action in Louisiana was prompted by the highest motives, by a sense of what he considered was his official duty under the law, and by a bona fide effort to render a service to the American consumers:

Now, when we took that position; when we announced, after consultation with consumers and producers and the public, that 17 cents would be considered by us a fair price; when I took the responsibility which the law laid upon me of saying that I would prosecute persons who sold above that price and try to convict them—even if I said, which I did not say in words, that we would not prosecute men who charged less than that price—when we took that position we released the Louisiana sugar to the market at a less price, by many millions of dollars in the total, than otherwise it would have been charged for to the American public.

We allowed no guilty man to escape on any charge of profiteering, and we did not subject the innocent man to any of the annoyances of a

trial in court under a criminal statute. We did our duty, it seems to me, to the public interested as consumers and to the defendants, or possible or potential defendants, in these criminal cases.

And let me remind you, sir, that it is the duty of a prosecuting officer not alone to consider the interests of the Government and of the prosecution side of the controversy in every criminal case, but it is his duty, under every decision that I have ever seen, to consider also the rights of the individuals who may be brought into court as defendants.

I would have hated myself, Mr. Chairman, and I would have despised the methods pursued by this great, free Government of ours, if, having determined in my heart that 17 cents was a fair price, I had held it locked in my own bosom and refused to tell the public in Louisiana that that was what the Department of Justice would hold.

I can not believe that the United States proposes to move on any such principle as that. Certainly it never will while I am Attorney General of the United States.

FAILURE TO PURCHASE THE CUBAN CROP.

The failure to purchase the 1920 Cuban crop by this Government is the generally accepted reason why the price of sugar has advanced to such an unusual figure, and for this both the President and the Congress have been blamed.

A brief review of the facts will show that Congress must assume some of the responsibility, not because of its failure to pass the necessary legislation, because none was needed, but because by the constant agitation of this question our refiners were kept out of the Cuban market.

The United States Sugar Equalization Board originated with the Food Administration and it was incorporated, with the President as the sole and only stockholder, for the purpose of buying the Cuban crop and controlling the sugar market during the war.

All of the powers of the board are derived from the Lever Act, and this act is still in full force and effect to-day. In July of last year the Cuban sugar producers wrote the Equalization Board that they were prepared to sell this Government their entire Cuban crop if this Government desired to purchase it.

The board held a meeting, and on August 14 addressed a letter to the President inclosing the Cuban offer, and recommending that the Cuban crop be purchased. Mr. Taussig, a member of the Equalization Board, dissented from the views of the majority of the board in a separate memorandum, recommending that governmental control should be relinquished and stating that if the price of sugar was to be specifically controlled so should that of bread, meat, and clothing.

The Secretary to the President acknowledged receipt of these communications, stating that they would be brought to the attention of the President.

On September 20 the Equalization Board again wrote the President, directing his attention to their first communication and stating that unless action was taken at once they would be unable to purchase the Cuban crop.

Receipt of this letter was also acknowledged by the Secretary to the President, but no action was taken by the President himself. On September 22, the Cuban producers withdrew their offer to sell, and on the following day the board wrote the President, stating that the situation was out of hand and that they had therefore advised the American sugar refiners as to conditions, so that they might purchase raw sugars as in prewar times.

If, when the Equalization Board notified the President that the situation was out of hand, and at the same time authorized the American refiners to enter the Cuban market and purchase raw sugars, the matter had ended there, the American refiners would have at once entered the Cuban market and forthwith entered into contracts for the purchase of the 1920 Cuban crop.

Several days later, on October 3, Mr. Zabriskie testified before the Senate Committee on Agriculture that the Cuban crop could still be purchased at from 6½ to 7 cents per pound.

If it could be purchased by the Government for that price, it certainly could have been purchased by the refiners for the same price or even less, because the Government always pays higher for anything it purchases than does an individual.

But unfortunately for the American consumers the matter did not end with Mr. Zabriskie's notification to the President and the refiners.

On September 27 a resolution was introduced in the Senate and referred to the Committee on Agriculture, calling for an investigation of the sugar shortage, prices, and whether any legislation was necessary.

A subcommittee from the Committee on Agriculture began hearings on this resolution on October 3, which resulted in the introduction of what is known as the McNary bill, which had for its purpose the granting of authority to the Equalization Board to purchase the Cuban crop.

The immediate effect of this bill was to cause the American refiners to stop all negotiations looking to the purchase of the Cuban crop, as they were waiting to see what the policy of the Government would be.

The McNary bill was pending in Congress for about three months and was not signed by the President until December 31; and in the meantime, while the American refiners kept out of the market pending a determination of whether or not this Government would purchase the Cuban crop, foreign Governments and individuals did not, and as a result the price of Cuban sugars rapidly advanced.

I concede that the McNary bill was introduced and passed with the best of intentions, but it still remains that had no legislation been introduced and the matter agitated for several months before Congress, the Cuban crop could have been purchased by the refiners at 6½ cents to 7 cents per pound, and sold to the consumers of this country at a fair margin of profit.

I do not for one moment contend that the purchase of the Cuban crop by the Equalization Board would not have accomplished the same result and have offered the same relief. The Board, however, contended that they needed some additional legislative authority, a contention with which I do not agree, because all of their powers are derived from the Lever Act, which was the law then and is the law to-day, and there was no legal reason why the Cuban crop could not have been purchased at the time it was offered to this Government in the summer of 1919.

I do contend, however, that the offer to sell the Cuban crop to this country having been withdrawn and the refiners having been authorized to negotiate for the crop, it would have been in the interest of the consumers to have permitted the refiners to acquire the Cuban crop at 6½ or 7 cents a pound rather than to keep the whole matter in abeyance by its agitation before Congress for three months.

However, I agree with Dr. Taussig that while there may have been some excuse for this Government, under stress of war, to engage in a huge commercial venture of this kind, yet governmental control and price fixing should cease when we are at peace.

Moreover—

Says Dr. Taussig—

the regulation of the price of sugar can not, in my judgment, stand alone. The whole relation of Government to industry in time of peace is involved. If the price of sugar is to be specifically controlled, so should that of bread, of meat, of clothing. In the main, we must look for a remedy to the natural development of production and to the return of the entire world to normal financial and economic conditions.

CONSUMPTION AND SUPPLY.

As a matter of fact, there is no cause for alarm over our sugar supply if the consumers of this country will only confine their purchases to actual needs.

No one will contend that more sugar was actually consumed in this country for the first four months of this year than was ever consumed in a like period in its history.

In the face of the fact that at times sugar could not be purchased for any price in many sections of the United States or could only be purchased in very limited quantities, statistics show that during the first four months of this year sugar which has passed into the channels of consumption amounted to 1,552,000 long tons, or approximately 33 pounds per capita. If this rate of consumption continues throughout the year, it would mean an average per capita consumption of 100 pounds of sugar, which is 14 per cent more than was consumed in 1919, 27 per cent more than in 1918, and 16 per cent more than was ever consumed in this country before the war.

As a matter of fact, this sugar has not been actually consumed, but has been stored up by manufacturers and housewives who were stampeded as a result of the numerous investigations and predictions of a sugar famine.

Attracted by the prices in the American market, sugar is being shipped here from most unusual sources. Argentina, Peru, Java, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and Holland are shipping a sufficient amount of sugar into this country to in a great measure offset the Cuban shortage.

A survey of our sugar supply for the balance of this year discloses that we will have available sugar from the following sources:

	Short tons.
Unsold and unmanufactured Cuban crop	1,450,000
Unused portion Hawaiian crop	296,000
Unsold portion Porto Rican crop	232,000
Undistributed beet crop, 1919–20	85,000
Philippine, Argentina, Peru, and other sugars	300,000
New beet crop, which will be distributed before January 1, 1921	400,000
New Louisiana crop, which will be distributed before January 1, 1921	250,000
Total	3,013,000

This amount of sugar will give the American people 60 pounds per person for the remaining eight months of the year, or a little more than 7½ pounds per month.

This is an ample supply to meet all reasonable demands, especially in view of the fact that the Department of Justice has taken steps to curtail the use of sugar in nonessential industries and rationing of the use of sugar at hotels and restaurants.

PROPOSED REMEDIES.

The legislative hopper has been filled with bills supposedly introduced for the purpose of meeting and adjusting the sugar situation, though most of the bills were designed for home consumption rather than with the view of proposing some really remedial and constructive legislation.

There is, however, pending in the United States Senate, with a favorable report from the Committee on Agriculture, a bill, S. 4420, which proposes to place an embargo on the shipment of sugar from this country. I know that the author of that bill is sincere in his belief that it will at least have a tendency to relieve the sugar situation, but an analysis of the provisions of the bill, and its undoubted effect, if unfortunately it should become a law, shows that it will prove a boomerang, and will increase rather than diminish the price of sugar.

The bill provides that no sugar should be exported from or sent or taken out of this country, except raw sugar owned by foreign nations or their nationals, imported for refining on toll, and refined sugar made therefrom.

I desire to warn the membership of this House that should this bill become a law, it will not only fail to accomplish its purpose, but will both diminish our supply and materially increase the price of sugar.

The immediate effect of this bill will be that the European Governments, who are suffering much more for the want of sugar than we are, will begin to bid for next year's Cuban crop.

Cuba being the chief source of supply, foreign Governments will be compelled to act at once as a matter of protection, and there will be a wild scramble on the part of foreign Governments to purchase Cuban sugar long before it is manufactured.

The result will be that the Cubans will begin at once to sell their product for future delivery and at any price that they may demand, because foreign Governments will not stand idly by and see this supply entirely taken from them.

Not only is this true, but the seaboard sugar refineries, in whose interest the bill will operate, will cater to the foreign rather than to the domestic trade, because they are only allowed 2 cents margin for sugar refined for domestic consumption, while there is no limit to what they may charge for refining sugar on toll for foreign Governments or their citizens.

Let us not forget that the refiners who import raw sugar from Cuba for domestic consumption must pay a duty, but they get a refund of 99 per cent of the duty when such sugar is exported.

Refiners would, therefore, much rather refine sugar for account of some foreign Government or one of its citizens, first, because there is no limit to the toll they may charge, and, second, because at the same margin, they would prefer the foreign trade because they get a drawback of 99 per cent of the duty.

This bill will open the door to fraud, collusion, and speculation.

It means that nearly all of the sugar imported into the country will be in the name of some foreigner, and then after the sugar has been refined it will either be held for a higher price or exported to some foreign country at an exorbitant price.

It will encourage hoarding, because the man who holds sugar in the name of some foreigner can not be reached under the law.

It will be an invitation to foreign citizens to purchase the Cuban crop, refine it in this country, and then hold it for higher prices.

It has never been the policy of this Government to place an embargo on any of its products except in the time of war.

It is a precedent, which, if adopted, means trouble in the future. If perchance there should be a failure in the cotton crop, would our friends from the South favor an embargo on cotton, or would our friends from the North and West favor an embargo on wheat, corn, or meat?

THE ONLY REMEDY.

The remedy for the sugar shortage does not lie in an embargo or in any other legislation. Not a pound of sugar can be produced by legislation, nor can the production of sugar be increased by attempting to put the sugar producers in jail.

The remedy lies in encouraging production and repealing all war legislation and giving free rein to the great law of supply and demand.

Did We Win the War?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY D. FLOOD,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 4, 1920.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, about a year ago this House passed a resolution, No. 78, authorizing the Speaker to appoint a committee of 15 Members to investigate all contracts and expenditures made by the War Department or under its direction during the war. A committee, of which the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAHAM] was chairman, was accordingly appointed and for the proper division of its work organized itself into five subcommittees. To subcommittee No. 3, of which the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON] was chairman, and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BLAND] and myself were members, was assigned the investigation of expenditures made abroad, whether for supplies or construction of camps or other purposes. From the very beginning the purpose of the majority of this subcommittee was apparent. It ignored its instructions, which limited it to the investigation of expenditures in Europe. But it assumed the power to investigate the conduct of the war both at home and abroad, and it was determined to find something on which to base a criticism of the administration and our armies. It sought out those persons who had grievances and refused to call those persons who could give intelligent and reliable testimony. My requests, made month after month, that certain important witnesses be called, were met with favorable promises by the chairman, none of which were ever fulfilled. Before and since April 15, the day of the last meeting of the subcommittee to take testimony, I have been waiting to present Gen. Pershing, Gen. Dawes, the chiefs of supply services, and others, until three days ago, when I was astounded to receive a copy of a report by the majority, with a notice that I would have three days to prepare a minority report.

The full committee of 15 at a meeting to-day refused to accept the majority report. And the gentlemen from South Dakota and Indiana found their year's efforts unacceptable to their colleagues irrespective of party. Knowing that neither the full committee nor this House will ever sanction his report, the gentleman from South Dakota has just given it to the press, and I feel that in justice to the great Army which we sent to the World War and the splendid men who commanded it in its various branches some answer should be made to that publication. I shall not in these remarks attempt to answer many of the allegations of the majority of the subcommittee, founded as they largely are on the testimony of unreliable witnesses or on no evidence whatsoever, but shall address myself to the method of investigation in order that the future student of our part in that war may attach to the subcommittee report the negative value which it has.

Having determined to attack the War Department, the subcommittee hired for its counsel an Army officer, Lieut. Col. S. T. Ansell, who had gained much notoriety by his violent defamation of the Secretary of War, and rewarded him with a salary exceeding by four times his compensation as an Army officer. The subcommittee even went so far as to delegate its powers to this counsel, permitting him to examine witnesses when no member of the committee was present, and to conduct the investigation in defiance of myself when I was the only member present. Instead of confining his investigation to the field of jurisdiction of the subcommittee, war expenditures abroad, as it was his duty as counsel to do, this ex-officer applied himself exclusively to the purpose of discrediting the War Department and the persons with whom he had quarreled. His investigation related neither to the matter of expenditures nor the activities of our forces abroad. The only purpose his employment served was his own—to air his grievances and malign the Secretary of War and high officers of the Army. No greater mistake has ever been made by a committee of Congress than the employment of this former Government servant who as counsel for Bergdoll has recently brought about that notorious draft dodger's escape by his representations and promises to the War Department.

The subcommittee alleges as an excuse for its failure to investigate expenditures that the War Department maintained an unfriendly attitude toward the investigation and that the records of expenditures were not available. I do not know of any facts upon which this excuse can be based. Possibly the ma-

jority of the subcommittee had in mind the occasion, after the subcommittee had been in France some weeks, when the majority demanded of Gen. Pershing on the very day the general was leaving Paris that he appear before the subcommittee to testify, which he, of course, firmly but courteously refused to do. Had the majority of the subcommittee desired to interrogate Gen. Pershing they could have done so at any time in the past nine months. The only other occasion when this subcommittee's effort to obtain information has in any way been thwarted by the action of the military authorities was in January, when two gentlemen appeared at the War Department with a letter from the subcommittee's counsel, Mr. Ansell, requesting that they have access to certain files. The designs of these persons were known to the Secret Service, which had a copy of a letter written by one of them to the other, from which it was evident that they were conspiring to obtain the information for the purpose of selling it to a newspaper at large profit unless other interested parties would pay them more for withholding the information. The fact is that all the military authorities have been ready and anxious at all times to appear before the committee, to produce records, and to testify as to any facts that it may desire to know.

This subcommittee sat for nearly a year. It took more than 4,000 pages of printed testimony, only a small part of which could by any stretch of the imagination be connected with any inquiry into overseas expenditures, the one and only subject the subcommittee was appointed to investigate. It should be a matter of much humiliation to this House that on November 4, 1919, a subcommittee of the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate—holding hearings on matters of Army organization—learned more in one hour concerning the expenditures of our Army in Europe than this committee has found out in a year. At that hearing Gen. Charles G. Dawes, general purchasing agent of the American Expeditionary Forces, explained the methods adopted in France to coordinate purchases and obtain the necessary supplies at a minimum of expense.

It appeared from his testimony that of the 17,000,000 ship tons of war material required by our Army in Europe, over 10,000,000 ship tons were purchased abroad; that almost immediately after the arrival of the first detachments of our troops a general purchasing board was organized, of which Gen. Dawes was the head and upon which there was a representative of each of the services of supply; that no purchase exceeding 5,000 francs was made without the approval of the general purchasing board as to material and price; that the prices were subject to the approval of the French Government, which in its own interests, if for no other reason, endeavored to maintain the price of war material as low as possible; and when exorbitant prices were asked the French Government requisitioned the material at a fair price and turned it over to the United States at cost. It was not possible for an American officer to make either a fraudulent or extravagant purchase for more than a nominal amount, even if he were disposed so to do. Neither the investigation of this subcommittee nor the investigations on the part of the War Department have disclosed fraudulent transactions, except possibly in a case of small importance in Switzerland. This is the first great war in which the United States has engaged that has not been the occasion of large fraudulent transactions between greedy contractors and dishonest officers of the Government. The adoption of this economic and efficient system of purchase did not take place, as the subcommittee report says, after the "system of supply had broken down or was about to." It was adopted in August, 1917, when the activities of our Army abroad were in the beginning.

The majority members and their counsel sought throughout the proceedings, but with no success, to develop differences between our high command abroad and the Secretary of War. They would have been spared this unfortunate failure had they read these simple sentences which I quote from page 95 of Gen. Pershing's final report as commander in chief of the American Expeditionary Forces:

> In closing this report, Mr. Secretary, I desire to record my deep appreciation of the unqualified support accorded me throughout the war by the President and yourself. My task was simplified by your confidence and wise counsel.

The majority report attempted to condemn the accounting system of the American Expeditionary Forces. It may be that this system is defective; but it is the one fixed by acts of Congress and the decisions of the Treasury Department thereon; and the subcommittee could make no constructive suggestions for its improvement. It was designed primarily to prevent fraud, and the investigation by this subcommittee proves that it accomplished that purpose if it proves anything.

The majority in their discredited report allege gross waste of funds and property. In the full knowledge that the American people would countenance no attempt to discount the battle efforts of our Army in measuring them by the standard of dollars and cents the majority report limited its accusations of waste and extravagance to the period after the armistice. Thus it alleged that much of the property sold in France after the armistice might have been brought home with a commercial profit; but the majority ignores the fact, though it is established in the record, that such a reshipment would have delayed by months the return of our soldiers. Certainly no soldier nor mother of a soldier can be expected to have patience with men who are so inconsiderate of the home ties as to imply that we should have held our boys in service in a foreign land for the sake of paltry dollars and cents.

The majority of the subcommittee openly accuse the Secretary of War, and by insinuation Gen. Pershing, of deliberately encouraging wasteful and extravagant methods following the armistice. So far from this being true, the facts are that the policies both of Secretary Baker and Gen. Pershing constitute the finest chapters that public servants have ever written into the history of Government economy. The facts could have been incorporated in full in the record had the majority allowed me to produce the witnesses who had knowledge of the facts. I desire to incorporate here official papers which constitute a statement of the beginning of policies from which neither the Secretary of War nor Gen. Pershing ever departed.

On November 11, 1918—the day of the armistice—Gen. Pershing sent the following telegram to the commanding general, Services of Supply:

> No. M-844. In view of the armistice which has been concluded today, the American Expeditionary Forces are confronted with the immediate necessity of adjusting its policy to conform to the new conditions created. The American people have been generous and self-sacrificing beyond expression in the devotion of their means and resoures to the support of our Armies. The Army owes it as a sacred duty to them to curtail in every possible way the expenditures necessary in preparation for war, but which in view of the new conditions may be materially reduced. As long as our troops are in Europe, certain classes of work and supply procurement must continue exactly as in the past, but there are certain other classes of expenditure which should immediately cease. Each chief of service is hereby instructed to make immediate reommendations to the commanding general, Services of Supply, as to what projects and constructive activity in his special department are now made nonessential. In the meantime, where in the judgment of the chief of service there is no doubt whatever that continuance of certain construction or purchasing activities are unnecessary under the changed conditions they will be discontinued, and the facts reported to the commanding general, Services of Supply, who will then confirm or revise their action. Inform each chief of service.

A cablegram received by Mr. Stettinius, on November 12, from Secretary Baker was as follows:

> In view of the signature of the armistice, it is, of course, important to cut down expenditures as rapidly as possible. Please get into immediate communication with Gen. Harbord and with Gen. Pershing's headquarters and represent me in working out with them a program for the cessation of all construction and procurement which can be stopped without prejudice to the situation as it now is. Contracts in process of making, both in England and France, should be suspended, and generally every effort to narrow our obligations as far as possible.

Under general orders of the Services of Supply, issued on November 14, 1918, and based on the telegram and cable which I have just read, all the various activities of the Services of Supply were curtailed in every possible way, both by directing the abandonment or modification of construction projects and of proposed purchases, and by the cancellation or modification of outstanding contracts and purchase orders for supplies. In his final report as commanding general, Services of Supply, Gen. Harbord estimated that the amount saved by this order was above $1,222,000,000, and I have no doubt but that even this stupendous sum is below the mark.

At the close of hostilities there was considerable property, of course, that had become unserviceable for military purposes and was useless for any other purpose. Some of it might have had a small value had it been in the United States, but not enough to justify its shipment. In accordance with the economic principles adopted by the American Expeditionary Forces, as I have indicated, this property was destroyed. The majority of the subcommittee seized upon each case of such destruction as its opportunity to show a reckless disregard on the part of the military authorities for the financial interest of the Government. As an illustration, it condemned on most uncertain evidence the burning of aeroplanes at Colombey-les-Belles and alluded to the same as "the million-dollar fire." It refused to receive the affidavit of Gen. Patrick, chief of the Air Service in France, on this matter, though on other occasions it accepted and used as a basis for its conclusions every kind of statement and rumor that fit its purpose. Gen. Patrick has been in Washington for many months, but I have not been permitted to bring him before the subcommittee. It is regretted that the subcommittee did not exercise a little more caution and endeavor to coordinate its work with other subcommittees. Subcommittee No. 1—on aviation—did examine Gen. Patrick on this very subject and presumably on his testimony and that of others in

position to know found that the destruction of such aeroplanes was wise and prudent.

The subcommittee sought as witnesses on chemical warfare only those members of the Gas Service staff whose unbalanced enthusiasm for their own arm might be expected to outweigh any sense of proportion. Thus the committee has sought to deceive itself with totally false ideas of the relative importance of gas and other troops, as well as of gas and other means of destruction. It ignores the fact that we furnished an enormous quantity of gas to our allies, and that from beginning to end this Government secured and furnished our troops all means of gas warfare and all gas supplies in the maximum quantities used by any of the allied armies.

In making much ado over shortage in motor transportation, the majority ignored the fact that it is in evidence in the record that such shortages were primarily due to the lack of adequate sea transportation. No army has ever before been supplied as generously in all the essentials as was the American Expeditionary Forces. No doubt the shortages in motor transport caused much anxiety at our higher headquarters, but the fact remains that the American soldier received rations, munitions, and care for the sick and wounded to a degree of perfection never before attained in all the history of war.

Without deigning to ask a single question of anyone competent to give the reasons therefor, the majority also assumed to criticize the shipment of motor transportation to Europe after the armistice. Such shipments were made on very proper requests from the Commander in Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces. Conditions immediately following the armistice were exceedingly uncertain. There was no foretelling the time which would be required to make peace, and it may not be amiss to point out that the United States have not to this day made peace. The railroad situation was extremely serious, due to the necessity for diverting a large proportion of the existing railroad stock to the devastated and evacuated regions. The attitude of the Germans was uncertain, and remains so, and the American Expeditionary Forces had, under agreement with Marshal Foch, approved by the War Department, to prepare to employ 30 combat divisions in operations of a character to make greater demands than ever before on motor transportation. Under such circumstances the sending of additional transportation to France was a wise and necessary precaution.

In the matter of machine guns the majority endeavored first to condemn the experiments necessary to the development of the Browning gun and then to show the undoubted superiority of that gun. Their pseudo report not only calmly ignores the fact that our troops were always adequately provided both with machine guns and automatic rifles, but displays inexcusable ignorance of the difference between these two important weapons.

The underlying idea of the majority's attempted report on the matter of medals is found in the resentment of the majority's attorney of the failure of those in authority to approve all awards recommended by him, and the airing in this connection of his personal differences with, not to say disloyalty to, his former chief. Characterizing as sophists all those who do not agree with the radical ideas of the majority's attorney, the attempt is made to insinuate that the law governing medals was deliberately misconstrued in order that such recompense might be forbidden to junior officers and soldiers. As a matter of fact, the evidence taken by the committee shows that the greatest thought was given to the construction of the law, both with reference to the distinguished service medal and the distinguished service cross. In order to cover the cases not coming within the provisions of the law with reference to the duty of great responsibility, the general headquarters of the American Expeditionary Forces issued citation certificates to some 1,000 junior officers and 1,600 enlisted men for exceptionally meritorious services.

A careful examination of the wording of the law with reference to the distinguished service cross makes it clear that this decoration was only intended to be awarded for heroic deeds in action. About 1,550 junior officers and 3,800 enlisted men were awarded the distinguished service cross, and about 1,200 junior officers and 3,500 enlisted men were cited for gallantry in general headquarters orders alone, and in addition many thousands were cited in Army corps and division orders, which, under the law, authorizes a silver star on the victory medal ribbon.

Certainly the above figures and the fact that the general headquarters of the American Expeditionary Forces are still considering and recommending awards of distinguished service medals, the distinguished service cross, and citation certificates do not indicate a desire on the part of any authority to deny appropriate recognition to any officer or soldier. On the contrary, there is abundant evidence to show that it has always been, and is to-day, the desire of the authorities in every case to make appropriate awards under the provisions of the law.

It is in evidence that the boards of officers gave the most careful and painstaking consideration to the many recommendations received and called before them officers having knowledge of the circumstances, sent officers out to investigate the facts, and did everything humanly possible to obtain full and complete information on which to base their awards.

The mere fact that the majority report attempts to question the right of Gens. Pershing, March, Bliss, Liggett, and Bullard to the distinguished service medal is in itself sufficient to discredit everything the majority have to say on the subject of medals.

The methods of this subcommittee are well illustrated in its treatment of Gen. W. W. Harts, commanding officer of the district of Paris. Considerable testimony was taken by the subcommittee before it went to Europe in the summer of 1919 concerning Gen. Harts's administration, with special reference to the arrest of United States soldiers in Paris, and the committee devoted much of its time while in Europe to the investigation of this subject. Gen. Harts requested permission to appear as a witness before the subcommittee while it was in Europe, but his request was ignored and the subcommittee returned to the United States without taking his testimony. It seemed to me that the subcommittee intended to hold Gen. Harts responsible for alleged mistreatment of United States soldiers under his command without giving him any opportunity to be heard in his own behalf, such responsibility being based largely upon statements of men who had been convicted of serious offenses. Indeed, it did this very thing in respect to Col. Hegeman, the commanding officer of the big motor reconstruction park at Verneuil. In order that such injustice might not be done to Gen. Harts, the Secretary of War, on his own initiative, ordered him to return to this country in March of this year, and he appeared before the subcommittee at the request of the Secretary of War. He completely vindicated himself, and the evidence taken proved that his record as commanding general of the district of Paris was one of which every true American should be proud.

It is, of course, true that some of our soldiers guilty of minor or no offenses were arrested and detained until their cases could be investigated. It is also true that a few, a very few, and those few not the most innocent, prisoners were abused, but every effort was made to prevent such treatment and to punish those responsible for such abuse.

In the immense armies which we sent to Europe there were some criminals and skulkers. Most of those found their way to Paris, and it became absolutely necessary to arrest every man in that city who could not show clear and unmistakable authority for being there. Even those unjustly detained recognized the necessity for this, and the men who stuck unflinchingly to their fox holes amid the storm and crash of shell and shrapnel, who froze by night and swarmed to the attack by day, that Germany might be debarred from her purpose of enslaving the world, can be expected to waste but scant sympathy on those who now bewail the fact that the criminals and thugs who skulked in Paris were not provided with feather beds.

The majority Members charge our leaders with "a reckless disregard of the lives of our soldiers" on armistice day, basing their accusations on the fact that the Commander in Chief of the American Armies and the commanding generals of the First and Second Armies transmitted the armistice instructions precisely as they were received from Marshal Foch. Not only were these instructions the only ones that these commanders could with any propriety or safety issue, but they were identical with those given by the commander in chief of the British Armies—Marshal Haig—and the commander in chief of the French Armies in France—Marshal Petain.

No advances were inaugurated after receipt of the notice of the armistice and all hostilities were stopped as early as practicable considering the circumstances and the fact that many organizations were in action on receipt of the notice. Of all the witnesses who testified concerning hostilities on November 11, only two have voiced any criticism. One of these was in a division serving under French command, and the other had been characterized by his division commander as "personally undisciplined, disobedient, and unfit to command a brigade." The truth is that no American soldier lost his life unnecessarily, and regrettable as the death of any soldier is, those who may possibly have been killed after the receipt of the armistice notice gave their lives in the same great cause as did those who went before. In their efforts to sustain this unjust criticism the majority inserts in its report the official list of casualties for November 11, 1918, amounting to 268 killed and about 3,600 wounded, as if such were the number occurring after the receipt of the armistice notice. These numbers cover all casualties reported after midnight of November 10-11, and in no

way indicate what number occurred in the closing hours of hostilities.

Without a word of testimony in the record to support it, the statement is made that a general order in the American Expeditionary Forces forbade privates to associate with Army or Red Cross nurses. The truth is that instructions to this effect having been issued by an officer of the Medical Department and being in effect in certain hospitals, Gen. Pershing caused them to be revoked as soon as he learned of their existence.

When we entered the war our allies, while expressing the hope that we might have 500,000 men in Europe during 1918, doubted our ability to maintain a great army overseas. In January of 1918 the British commander in chief—Sir Douglas Haig—discounted any real assistance from American troops during 1918, stating that the British experience had demonstrated that it required at least 15 months to produce an effective division, 9 months training at home and 6 months training in France. The Germans expressed a threefold belief: First, that America could not organize a great army; second, that such an army could not be transported to France; third, that even if large numbers of American troops reached France they could not be effective. But America did raise huge armies, and on the 11th of November, 1918, she had sent 2,000,000 men across 3,000 miles of submarine-infested seas. In all history there is no such record of accomplishment. No other nation has ever sent one-quarter of such forces such a distance. Far surpassing the most optimistic expectations of our allies or ourselves, America's fighting men were greater in numbers and were holding a greater front on November 11, 1918, than the British armies in France and Belgium, and millions of Americans were following those who had gone before. Friend and foe alike testify to the efficiency of the American Army and the American soldier. It is sufficient here to point out that in the defense no American division lost ground intrusted to it except locally, and then only for a few hours, and no American division failed in attack.

If half of what the majority of the subcommittee says in its report were true, the United States could have played no effective part in the prosecution of the war. But we know it is not true. We know that the American effort and the American soldier brought the war to a successful close a full year earlier than the most hopeful dared expect, and that by this effort hundreds of thousands of lives and billions of dollars were saved.

In view of the magnitude of the task undertaken by America and her accomplishments, it is probable that mistakes more or less serious were made. But this subcommittee has not discovered them. An investigation for the purpose of finding out mistakes and correcting them might have been helpful. But such an investigation as this, if taken seriously, can have no other effect than to discourage and embarrass any effort our armies may have to make in the future.

No report of subcommittee No. 3 could have altered the historical facts which record the accomplishments of our armies, but this Congress has been saved from ridicule by the unprecedented, but more than warranted, action of the Republican colleagues of the gentlemen from South Dakota and Indiana on the full committee in voting not to accept the report submitted by these gentlemen.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID H. KINCHELOE,

OF KENTUCKY.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Mr. Speaker, within a few hours the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress, which is in the control of the Republicans, will go into history. In view of the dismal failure the Republicans of this Congress have made in failing to enact any constructive legislation or to place this country on a peace basis prompts me to draw a contrast between the achievements of the Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth, and Sixty-fifth Congresses under the control of the Democrats and this, the Sixty-sixth Congress, under the control of the Republicans.

During the six years from March 4, 1913, to March 4, 1919, Democratic Congresses, with a Democratic President, enacted more constructive legislation for the good of the people of this country than the Republican Party did in 50 years before.

One of the greatest acts passed by a Democratic Congress and signed by a Democratic President was the Federal reserve banking act. The archaic banking system we had under the Republican administration permitted all the surplus money of the country to be concentrated in the banks of New York and under the control of about 18 millionaires and bankers who could bring about a panic in this country in 24 hours at their will. When the Democrats came into control of Congress they passed the Federal reserve banking act, under the provision of which this country was laid off into 12 regional banking districts, in each of which was located a Federal reserve bank, which receives and controls the surplus money in their respective districts and thereby prevents the hoarding of the surplus in the banks of Wall Street and taking this "blessed power" to order panics from the hands of these millionaires. It has proven a blessing to the business interests of the country, and if this law had not been on the statute books when we declared war against the Imperial Government of Germany, in my judgment, we would have had the worst panic in history.

The Democratic Congress when in power enacted the rural-credits bill, which established 12 farm-loan banks in each of the 12 farm-loan districts throughout the United States. Under the provisions of this act a farmer has the right to borrow money from these banks for a term of 40 years if he desires and at the rate of 5½ per cent interest. In the short time that this law has been upon the statute books of the United States the farmers of this country have borrowed from these banks $335,018,076. Notwithstanding the Republican Party being in power for practically 50 years before the Democratic Party got control of Congress, yet they passed no law which would permit the farmer to borrow money from his Government.

The Democratic Congress passed the good roads bill. I am proud to say the first day I was sworn in as a Member of the Sixty-fourth Congress I introduced a good roads bill very similar to the law which we now have, and I do not think I am immodest in saying that I worked as hard and did as much to assist in enacting this law as any other Member of Congress. The original bill appropriated $75,000,000, to be expended by the States within five years, contingent upon the fact that each State appropriate a like sum for good road purposes.

During the third session of the Sixty-fifth Democratic Congress we amended the original good roads act by appropriating $200,000,000 more for the building of good roads on the same conditions as the original act. As a direct result of the passage of this law, miles of hard road have been constructed in almost every State of the Union. Did anyone ever hear of a good roads law under a Republican administration?

During a Democratic administration this country declared, fought, and won the greatest war in behalf of civilization and free government since the tide of time began. I am happy to say that during that war boys of Republican parents rendered that same patriotic service to their country as the boys of Democratic parents. They stood loyal to their great President, who is the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy, and upheld his administration in every way. But, I am sorry to say, Republican Members of the House and Senate did not do so. They exerted every concentrated effort possible to embarrass the President and his administration while this great war was on.

In the congressional campaign of 1918 Republican candidates for Congress and Senate went to the people of the country and pledged themselves, if elected, to stand loyal to and uphold the hands of our great President. At that election a majority of the membership of the House and Senate elected were Republicans, and it was a sad day for this country when they got control. When the Sixty-fifth Congress expired by law on the 4th of March, 1919, these Republican Members of the House and Senate set up a cry that the President should come home and cease his duties around the peace table in Paris and call the Sixty-sixth Congress into extra session in order that this Republican Congress might enact great constructive legislation, repeal the war-time acts, and amend the revenue laws, which were enacted for war purposes.

The President did come home and called the Sixty-sixth Republican Congress into extra session on the 19th day of May, 1919. Congress has been in session under the control of the Republicans practically ever since that time, and I challenge any Republican Member of this House to-day to point to me one law of constructive legislation which has been enacted by this Congress. The President in two messages to this Congress appealed to the Republican Members of the House and Senate to revise the revenue laws by eliminating the obnoxious taxing features of same, to repeal war-time legislation, and to enact legislation which would deal forcibly to reduce the high cost of living. Yet this Republican Congress turned a deaf ear to these

requests and nothing has been done and the prices of the necessities of life have gone higher.

Shortly after this Republican Congress convened on the 19th of May the Republican membership began to play politics. They continued to criticize and heckle the President. They created about 67 investigating committees to investigate the expenditures of the war and other activities of the Democratic administration, and these committees have expended nearly $2,000,000 conducting these investigations and yet are unable to find any fraud practiced by anybody under the Democratic administration during the progress of this war. They sent an investigating committee on a junketing trip to Europe at the expense of many thousands of dollars. They sent another junketing committee in a private car to the Pacific coast at the expense of over $4,000. One of these committees, notwithstanding practically all of them were good lawyers, employed an attorney at the rate of $20,000 per year to assist them in their investigation. They employed experts of various kinds and paid them fabulous salaries, all of which came out of the pockets of the taxpayers of this country; and yet nothing came out of this investigation except the playing of peanut politics.

This Republican Congress has been dominated absolutely by a steering committee of seven members, five of whom are millionaires and constitute a majority of this committee. The Cannon régime was repudiated by the people many years ago because it domineered the American Congress, but the Cannon régime was a Sunday-school convention compared with the domineering of this steering committee. Who are the members of this Republican steering committee? The chairman is the gentleman from Wyoming, Mr. MONDELL; Messrs. LONGWORTH, of Ohio; MADDEN, of Illinois; DUNN, of New York; WINSLOW, of Massachusetts; and DARROW, of Pennsylvania, the last five of whom are millionaires; and Speaker GILLETT, of Massachusetts. As I have said, a majority of this Republican steering committee are millionaires; therefore four or five millionaire Members of the House decide what legislation shall come before the House and what shall not. Not a one of these men on this committee represents an agricultural district. Not a one of them is in sympathy with the laboring class of the American people; therefore the great toiling masses of this country which produce its wealth in the sweat of their faces have no representative on this committee, and therefore have no representative who is consulted as to what legislation shall come before this Congress.

Ever since President Wilson brought the League of Nations and the treaty of peace—the greatest document, in my judgment, except the Constitution of the United States, that has ever been written—from the peace table at Paris to the Senate of the United States, Republican Members of the Senate have been doing everything they could to embarrass the President, to discredit his great administration, and to prevent the United States from joining the League of Nations, which is the only thing offered to prevent future wars. As a result of this, the world has been in a turmoil, all business unsettled and disturbed. The United States and China are the only leading nations of the earth that have not joined the League of Nations. Exchange of foreign countries has been declining in value by leaps and bounds. My opinion is that one of the greatest causes of the decline of the exchange of foreign countries is the failure of the United States Senate to ratify the League of Nations and treaty of peace. The evil result it has had upon the agricultural interests of this country can not be told.

I represent on the floor of this House a congressional district where a great amount of dark tobacco is raised, 80 per cent of which is export tobacco. Therefore the tobacco farmers of my district have to depend upon foreign markets for the price they get for this tobacco. The principal countries to which this tobacco goes are Italy, France, Germany, Austria, Spain, Norway, and Sweden. When the tobacco market opened in western Kentucky last December dark tobacco brought the highest price ever paid; but as soon as the exchange of Italy and France began to decline the Regie tobacco buyers withdrew from the market and the price of tobacco went down. Therefore the tobacco farmers in my district had no competitive market in which to sell their tobacco and have suffered a loss of millions of dollars by reason of the decline of the exchange of these countries, the decline of which, I believe, is due more to the failure of the Republican Senate to ratify the League of Nations and treaty of peace than anything else. An appeal from the tobacco farmers of my district came to me asking if something could not be done by Congress. I immediately went to the War Finance Corporation in an effort to get a loan for the Regie buyers with which to buy this tobacco. I was informed by the members of this board, and it is true, that under the law they had no power to loan money directly to a foreign Government for export purposes. I then introduced a bill to amend the War Finance Corporation act which would have permitted the members of the War Finance Corporation to loan money to foreign Governments which had and maintained a monopoly on its tobacco. This bill was referred to the Ways and Means Committee. I, with several of my colleagues, went before a subcommittee of the Ways and Means Committee and made a statement and appeal to them for the passage of this bill. After the hearing was conducted, this Republican Ways and Means Committee turned a deaf ear to our appeals and to my bill, and nothing was done. There was not a Republican on the Ways and Means Committee that represented a tobacco-growing district.

I believe that when the attention of the people of this great country is called to the contrast in the records made by the Democratic Congresses and this Republican Congress they will rise with their ballots at the November election and place a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress back in power. If this is done, all war-time legislation and the obnoxious features of the revenue law will be repealed, constructive legislation will be enacted, and we will again get down to a peace-time basis, which will bring prosperity to every citizen of this great Republic.

Mr. Speaker, I have never lost an opportunity since I have been a Member of Congress to render every service possible to the great people of my district who have so generously honored me. I have rendered every service possible in the making of laws that would promote the agricultural interests of my district and bring prosperity to those who till the soil. I believe that every laborer is worthy of his hire, whether he labors on the farm, in the mines, factory, or mill, and I have enthusiastically supported every measure that would bring about this result. I have tried to represent all the people and protect and help business in every way. It shall be my constant endeavor, so long as I am a Member of Congress, to render every service possible for the good of the great people whom I have the honor to represent.

Anarchy and Revolution by Direct Action—Sedition and Incitement to Sedition.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 10, 1920.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 13870) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I opposed the increase beyond the sum authorized for the Department of Justice. I must now oppose this request to specify the amount to be spent for the Mexican border out of this lump sum appropriation. It would be to reduce the lump sum now available, $2,600,000, for the entire Immigration Service. That much is all you have for the enforcement of the immigration act. That pays the inspectors, all the employees, and if one wanted deportations of anarchists properly taken care of the place to add the money would be right here instead of additional sums as proposed a minute ago to the Department of Justice. The Department of Justice does not make its arrests in a way that is acceptable, apparently, to the Department of Labor, although the Department of Justice gets its warrants of arrest from the Department of Labor. The two departments are at outs, and quite naturally so. The reason is clear. This administration is radical at one end and conservative at the other. The result is confusion. Aliens held for deportation lie in jail while the heads of departments write letters to each other, pass memoranda back and forth, accuse each other, and split hairs over the meaning of the word "anarchist" as found in the law. Even the Solicitor for the Department of Labor, Mr. Abercrombie, a former Member of Congress, himself says that they have split hairs in that department on deportation cases until they have destroyed the effectiveness of the law.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman spent about a month of the hardest work that any man could do in trying to clean up this department down here. After all, is it going to amount to something?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Oh, yes.

Mr. BLANTON. Is it not just going to die off?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. No; we will be at it——

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Ralston, the anarchist attorney, has not stopped it before the Committee on Rules?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Not at all. Let me explain. I think you will find the public interested in just what is happening. They are finding out that under rulings of the Secretary of Labor membership by an alien in one revolutionary organization makes that alien deportable, while membership in another organization with identical purposes does not make him deportable. What is the result? Why, the revolutionary alien moves out of the proscribed organization into the protected organization and goes right on with his propaganda for the overthrow of government, the destruction of property, and revolution. They change their printed matter so that it runs exactly to the border line—the border line fixed by the decisions of the Secretary, Mr. Wilson, and the execution thereof by the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Post. They have ruined the office of the commissioner general. They have thrown out the rules, regulations, and recommendations of Mr. Caminetti. They denounce his system, and yet they use it when it suits their plans. Commissioner General Caminetti's position has been made almost unbearable. His earnest efforts to enforce the immigration laws have been blocked. His force of inspectors throughout the United States has been demoralized and their good work destroyed by a system of "rules of guidance" which will make future arrests practically futile until we can secure new laws and a change in the official heads.

Revolutionists and terrorists in the United States are taking notice. Even the Socialist Party joins in. It is in convention this week. It does not talk direct action, but it finds a way to get at it in this manner:

International socialism is to be gained by peaceful means, through the reinforcement of political action, and by industrial action.

Do you get it? Political action reinforced by industrial action. That is the way the polite and parlor element of the Socialist Party fixes it, so that they can let the members who want industrial action have that, while others may carry it up further and make it direct action, and still others carry it on further, and make it force and violence against the Government of the United States.

Oh, they deny and deny, but the fact remains that the simplest socialist and the wildest anarchist carry the same red flag and stand on the platform and principles of the Third Internationale.

While Morris Hillquit, leader of the socialists in New York—born in Riga, Russia—wants a soviet government here, he pleads for the freedom that comes under the soviet governemnt—as in Russia.

And while Hillquit pleads there comes the following message from Kiev, Russia:

Khrustaleff Nossar, chief organizer of the first Russian revolution and at one time closely identified with Lenin and Trotski, has been executed at Moscow by order of the soviet authorities. Nossar's offense was his authorship of a pamphlet entitled "How Trotski Sold Russia."

Do the radicals in America realize what kind of freedom of speech Lenin and Trotski are giving to the Russians?

According to decisions of Secretary of Labor Wilson, alien members of the I. W. W. and alien members of the Communist Labor Party are not deportable unless caught in overt acts of force and violence against this Government.

Secretary Wilson in his decision remarks that the Communist Labor Party wants its revolution by ballot. But the alien members do not vote. When they say ballot they mean bullets, and so do the rest of the revolutionists, no matter what party they belong to.

Mrs. Amy Collyer, a resident of Wellesley, Mass., but a citizen of England, held for deportation, made that clear in habeas corpus proceedings before Judge Anderson in the United States district court at Boston. She, a citizen of England, is here in the United States working night and day for a revolution. She says that whether it is to be a bloody revolution or not is a question of judgment. She says to the court:

We are living in a time when there is a frightful amount of force and violence in the world, and revolution has no terrors for me from that point of view.

But deportation from the United States strikes terror to the hearts of herself and her British husband. They resist deportation, and the pacifists fly to her aid. Mrs. Collyer says in her sworn testimony:

I certainly look to a revolution in the United States some day.

She says the Communist Party is committed to it. She says:

I think a bloody revolution is very often better than no revolution.

She testified further:

Q. From whom do you expect violence and bloodshed; do you expect that from the majority or from the minority?—A. From the minority.

Why, I ask you, should she not be returned to her home in England?

I urge the Senate to pass the alien-deportation bill which the House passed without a dissenting vote on December 20 last. That bill makes clear and plain the causes for which aliens who preach the overthrow of this Government may be deported. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, under permission to extend my remarks, I desire to call attention to statements made by me before the House Judiciary Committee with regard to the sedition laws. I add extracts from that hearing as follows:

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 6, 1920.

The committee assembled at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. ANDREW J. VOLSTEAD (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. JOHNSON, will you proceed with your statement?

STATEMENT OF HON. ALBERT JOHNSON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF WASHINGTON.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I am much interested in the efforts being made in both House and Senate to find a true definition of sedition, to make way for the enactment of law for the punishment of sedition.

I am in hopes that this committee will bring forth a bill defining sedition clearly and sharply, and willful incitement to sedition, and then let the bill stop. I do not think it is necessary to add paragraphs mentioning the circulation of newspapers and the discussion of free speech, or the like of that, for the reason that the people of the United States generally know what is sedition. I think they realize the necessity for a more accurate definition than we have in the present law.

I think the people will accept a broad definition of incitement to sedition; so that if I, as a newspaper publisher, write and print articles inciting to armed revolution, or to force and violence, I will be easily reached under a bill that you will bring forth.

The CHAIRMAN. How about these organizations that advocate that sort of thing?

Mr. JOHNSON. I am afraid, Mr. Chairman, that the organizations which, to date, have rather openly preached violence will continue to do so secretly, if they can not do it openly, and always preaching up to the breaking point. That has been the trouble. But as it shall become more and more certain that aliens can not do that thing in the United States, we shall have less trouble with our native born and naturalized "force and violence" fellows, and with true sedition legislation on our statutes, they will soon find it desirable to keep within bounds.

Your question, Mr. Chairman, leads me to say that I have been interested for years in trying to find the dividing line in the whole socialistic array. In my mind I can see a socialistic ladder. The feet of the ladder rest on the Marxian doctrines and the sides are spliced with Bakuninism. In the mind of the socialist himself the ladder reaches to dizzy heights—to Utopia, where neither brain nor brawn count.

To start climbing this ladder you must first of all be an internationalist. And what classes do we find on the rungs of the ladder, attempting to climb to the heights of Elysium? On the first rung we find the plain, common socialist, a simple working man, actually believing that he will find in socialism some relief for himself and his brother workingman—and in his hand is the red flag.

On the next rung you will find probably a man just out of college, a recent graduate, with lots of ideas not well defined; he plays at socialism.

On the rung of the ladder above that you will find your parlor socialists, many of them seeking notoriety, and many others belonging to classes whose needs in this life have been filled through the activities of their parents, and they talk socialism without knowing how it will work below, on the ground, or higher.

On the next highest rung you may find the commercial socialist—ah, yes, there are such, who find that it pays to write socialist books and make socialist lectures. At last count one of those had written 101 books, and he is still in the prime of life.

And then on the next rung of the ladder you will find your I. W. W's actually preaching the destruction of property, sabotage, and things like that, and that is where your trouble begins.

And above those on the socialist ladder you will find the communist; and on the top rung of all you will find the anarchist, who is not a socialist at all, but who has in his hand the same red flag that the man on the first rung of the ladder has; and the poor fellow on the first rung never seems to realize that the dime or the dollar that he contributes goes to the support of some enemy of the Government on the top rung of the ladder.

Where is the line between the preaching of sedition and the discussion of political rights? It is almost invisible. Every man on that ladder wants a general strike; every man looks for, works for, the overthrow of the present social condition. But there is a line of demarcation. That line is where they begin to preach the overthrow of the Government by force, when they call for assassination, for arms, for physical effort, for the destruction of life and property, for the violation of criminal statutes. That is where sedition begins.

And I think, Mr. Chairman, that you will need a bill which, while it will not attempt to deny the right of publications to the use of the mails or abridge free speech or ban free assembly, will have in it a clause which will cover the willful incitement to sedition. Otherwise the law that you have might cover every purpose. * * *

Mr. Chairman, let me call attention to the fact that deportations are not made in the same way as convictions under this or any other criminal law. The public is inclined to confuse the two processes. Deportation does not imply punishment; it is not the result of a trial, except a mere hearing. Deportations are for the good of this Government, and are made according to hard and fast rules concerning the admission of an alien which he violates when he does certain things. For instance, an alien admits that he is an anarchist. The law says that anarchists shall be deported. Therefore it does not make any

difference what kind of an anarchist he is—philosophical, Bakunin, or otherwise—he must be deported. But if he is a citizen he must commit the overt act.

In my opinion, when we make sure that we can deport from the United States every alien who comes here and tries to preach revolution and teach it, write it, advocate it, and at the same time make sure that no native-born or naturalized person in the United States shall preach actual sedition, without a pretty sure chance of his arrest and trial, the disturbances in the United States will quickly right themselves, because we will admit, of course, that up to a certain rung of the ladder which I have described all of these socialists are entitled to their views as political views. No matter how foolish those views may seem to many of us, they are entitled to them.

A man in Boston recently called upon those in his hearing for direct action and every kind of violence for the overthrow of the Government and the destruction of property. "Wipe out every evidence of the ownership of property," he said. "We get nowhere by moving politically; we must act. It may seem to you that we do not act with sufficient rapidity, and why do we not move faster? Because we are met by policemen and each policeman is armed. Each policeman with his revolver is equal to 15 or 20 of us, but the time will soon change when every one of us will be equal in force to that policeman." Thereupon this communist official proceeded to collect an assessment from his followers for the purchase of revolvers.

What happens to such a man if he is an alien? He is subject to deportation on his failure to prove that he did not make such a statement. But if he is a naturalized citizen (which he was) what can you charge him with? Can you prove sedition? Have you any law under which you can charge him with incitement to sedition? Even if those dupes only go so far with their revolvers as to await some strike in Boston, when they may loot and riot, shall we permit that same preachment? Can such a man stand on the right of free speech in the United States of America?

Now, if that man had advocated the burning of factories or the destruction of machinery he could have been prosecuted under the State antisabotage or criminal syndicalism law. But what law has the Nation to reach him and his crime?

Mr. IGOE. One of the contentions is that the passage of a law like this would do more harm than good, and I am trying to get at the effect of the Washington State law passed on the subject.

Mr. JOHNSON. It will be good provided you do not go too far. Make the law firm, but not repressive of any right. That is the appeal that I am trying to make. I think our law has been effective. I am very sure that the Oregon law has been effective. And I feel perfectly sure that the passage of a Federal law, just making a certain definition of sedition, and also the incitement to sedition, will be effective and that no one can deny that the United States should have such a law. Let the radicals turn into liberals and they will be glad we have such a law. Then they can print and talk and say anything they want to; advocate anything they wish, except sedition or actual incitement to sedition.

A Plain Talk to Congress By a Montana Farmer.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL W. RIDDICK,

OF MONTANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 31, 1920.

Mr. RIDDICK. Mr. Speaker, letters I have received from every part of the country register the discontent that is becoming more and more prevalent among the people of all walks of life.

The complaints that reach me come alike from the business and professional men of our cities and towns, from the men and women who work for wages, and from the farmers, who, under present conditions, are finding it more and more impossible to produce the food and clothes that the Nation and the world must have. The complaint comes from the housewives who find prices soaring higher and higher and the purchasing price of the dollar becoming smaller and smaller. It comes from our patriotic people who saved and sacrificed to buy Liberty bonds to help win the war and who now find those bonds shrinking in value. If comes from the soldiers who neither hesitated nor complained at sacrifices which they were asked to make and who upon their return, after winning the war, find that the resources of the Nation have been wasted in an orgy of riotous spending never before dreamed of, in which profiteering was not only permitted but was aided and encouraged by the unbusinesslike policies of the Wilson administration, which created more millionaires during the short war period than were made during the whole preceding life of the Nation.

DISCONTENT NATION WIDE AND TOUCHES ALL CLASSES OF PEOPLE.

This nation-wide discontent, the increase of radicalism and even socialism, the strikes and threats of violence, the uniting of hundreds of thousands of farmers of great Western States into organizations for self-protection and redress, are unmistakable evidences of dissatisfaction that exists the Nation over, dissatisfaction with governmental affairs as conducted under the autocratic policies of Woodrow Wilson and his Democratic administration.

WILSON AUTOCRACY HAS AROUSED REBELLIOUS SPIRIT.

Things do not just happen in this world. There is a cause for the high cost of living. There is a cause for the decreased production and general shortage of things we need. There is a reason for the general demoralized condition of affairs in the Nation. There is a reason for the radical expressions from producers in city and country and the organized expressions of unrest. I charge that President Wilson and his Democratic administration are directly responsible for these evils, and my observation is that the people of the Nation well recognize that fact, and will repudiate him and his autocracy and willfulness and false promises and unsound theories when they vote at the coming election.

Nearly eight years ago President Wilson and his party came into complete control of the executive and legislative branches of Government on the claim that the country was in the hands of plutocrats and profiteers. They said that by laws curbing monopoly and introducing the "new freedom" and by bringing the Government to that "simplicity and economy befitting a democratic government" they would lift the burden of high living costs and high governmental cost from the backs of the American people.

That was the beginning of an administration of false promises.

During the first year of complete control of the country conditions went from good to bad. After a year and a half hundreds of thousands of men were out of work, prices for farm products had dropped, and the Nation was rapidly facing a panic. Then came the World War that temporarily saved the situation in this country.

Then followed an era of more camouflage and false promises that cost this Nation, in the blood and lives of our sons and in money treasure, more than can ever be estimated. The unpreparedness with which we entered the war was the sole fault of the President.

During the early period of the war the President declared to the world that the American people were too proud to fight, and that the causes of the war were no concern to us, that he was unable to discern any difference between the purposes of the two sets of belligerents, that it was our duty to be neutral even in our thoughts, and that we might hope to have peace without victory, and that America must lead her own life and keep clear of European entanglements.

When Members of Congress suggested the need of making some preparation for a war that was known to be inevitable by those upon the inside of governmental affairs he denounced such suggestions as needless excitability and hysteria.

He sought reelection on this record that he kept us out of war, and after election he went before Congress and recommended that we should enter the war.

ALL OUR PEOPLE UNITEDLY PLACED FULL CONFIDENCE IN WILSON.

Congress and the people gave to the President as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy all the resources of the Nation and the authority of a dictator, that the war might be prosecuted to the best advantage. Men, money, and credit were furnished without stint. The picture of the President was engraved on a poster with that of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, and these were scattered broadcast over the land. No criticism was permitted to be whispered, while a patriotic and united people volunteered every aid and sacrifice that could be suggested.

HOW THE PEOPLE'S CONFIDENCE WAS REWARDED.

From the beginning of the war the President's attitude toward Republicans showed his desire to make it a Democratic Party war. He refused to use the services of men of ability unless they belonged to his political family. He used the great war agencies created for the good of the Nation for the perpetuation of Democrats in office.

During the entire period of the war inefficiency, incompetency, extravagance, waste, and fraud of the grossest kind were perpetrated upon the American people by those in places of authority.

When the tide of battle was turned in our favor, and it was in our power to completely rout the enemy and march on to Berlin and make our victory complete, the President interfered and the army of the enemy was permitted to march home with colors flying and in an arrogant and haughty spirit.

HE KEEPS US OUT OF PEACE.

When the armistice was signed and peace was about to be entered into he boastfully announced that he had so intertwined the peace treaty with his fanciful and un-American League of Nations scheme that we could not have the one unless we also took the other. For a year and a half he has insisted that we enter a world league that will obligate us to mix into every

European quarrel, that will compel us to keep a standing Army of American boys in Europe for years, and cost the already overburdened taxpayers of America millions of dollars a year. Furthermore it would give a group of foreign nations, which are jealous of our prosperity and unsympathetic with our ideals, an active hand in controlling our own affairs and our future destiny.

Fortunately the people refused the President's impudent and partisan demand for a Democratic Congress and elected a Republican House and Senate that have steadfastly refused to yield one iota of our independence or sovereignity to European nations. This Republican Congress has also refused to accept a mandate over Armenia, which would mean the maintaining of an American army there for years at great cost, and the certainty that we would sooner or later be involved in European rows.

When this Republican Congress voted for peace with Germany, and to end the war powers of the President, and to reduce the immense force of war workers still maintained at the National Capital, and to make it possible to resume trade relations with Germany, as has already been done by our allies, the President vetoed the measure, to keep us technically in war, and thus managed to perpetuate his autocratic war-time authority in time of actual peace.

ABOMINABLE COST-PLUS CONTRACTS ENCOURAGED PROFITEERING.

The President and his War Department are directly responsible for the great waste and frauds and excessive expenditures and subsequent high prices that were the natural result of the abominable cost-plus system. Contrary to existing law, no bids were received. Favored contractors were advanced large sums of money, collected from the people's savings, and given 10 per cent or more profit on the cost of the work. A job that would ordinarily cost $1,000,000 was made to cost $3,000,000 or $4,000,000, so that the contractor's profit would be $300,000 or $400,000 instead of $100,000. Material was purposely purchased at the highest price possible and was purposely wasted. Work hours were reduced and holidays increased. Laborers were ordered to reduce their efforts so as to make room for more men so as to increase the cost of the job so the contractor's 10 per cent profit would mount to a higher figure. Pay rolls were even padded. Teams were employed and then held in idleness day after day to increase costs and add to the profits of the profiteering contractors, while little children were asked to go without candy and gum to save their pennies for war stamps and baby bonds.

RADICAL LABOR AGITATORS CODDLED AND ENCOURAGED.

While farmers were voluntarily increasing their hours of labor as a patriotic duty and workmen were speeding up production radical labor disturbers were coddled and agitators were encouraged by President Wilson to promote their brand of unionism, not for justice and fair-dealing among workmen, but that the overgreedy might share in the orgy of idleness and waste that became a regular part of the administration's policy. When every man should have been doing his utmost, we had the spectacle of the police force of a great city going on strike and permitting robbery and loot without hindrance. We saw highly paid men, receiving $8 to $14 a day, go on strike over little grievances and deliberately quit work in order to enforce their arrogant and unreasonable demands, regardless of the fact that by their idleness and refusal to produce they were aiding the Kaiser and his army and jeopardizing the safety and lives of our own soldier boys.

Millions of dollars' worth of materials were purchased and paid for after the armistice for which there was no earthly need.

ADMINISTRATION OPPOSED BONUS FOR SOLDIERS.

After the armistice thousands of business men rushed to Washington and collected immense claims for materials and services never furnished, and for cancellation of contracts in many cases where no expense or loss had been entailed. These same business men, who had made immense profits without sacrifice of comfort or limbs and without facing the steel and bullets of the enemy, were the first to protest when it was proposed to give a compensating bonus to ex-service men who had rendered hazardous service in the Army at about a dollar a day. The total amount paid these business men to satisfy cancellation of contracts alone exceeds in amount the sum proposed to be raised for soldier bonus purposes. With the same facility with which they secured the fat war contracts and juicy settlements this same crowd secured the ear of the administration, which, through a Cabinet member, the Secretary of the Treasury, officially announced that a bonus is impossible of consideration at this time and would ruin the country.

GAVE FAT BONUSES TO ITS FAVORED FRIENDS.

But while jealous of its dollars for ex-service men let us see how this administration expended millions among its favored friends.

The War Department contracted with a Hammond, Ind., steel car company to construct 964 howitzer carriages. It agreed to pay for the cost of buildings, material, and machinery, and the company was to be paid a commission upon the total cost of the carriages. The Government paid for the buildings which were erected upon the company's grounds $2,987,200, and after the armistice was signed the War Department sold these buildings back to the company for $600,000. At the time the armistice was signed this company had on hand material for which the Government had paid $5,558,000, and the administration sold this material back to the company as junk for the sum of $300,000, and that, too, in the face of the fact arsenals of the United States were clamoring for material of this same character. Not a single howitzer carriage had been delivered to the Government prior to the signing of the armistice, but after the armistice was signed the Ordnance Department had the company finish 200 of these carriages, and these 200 carriages cost the Government the sum of $18,582,428.88, which sum representatives of this administration paid out of the Treasury of the United States.

At the date of the armistice we had 3,700,000 men under arms, while we had more than 100,000,000 people engaged in civil life. To have filled the orders made by the War Department for leather goods for use in the Army would have required 300,000 more than all the hides produced in the United States.

The War Department had in the Army 391,000 horses and mules, and yet there were purchased for use upon these horses and mules 945,000 saddles and over 1,000,000 sets of double harness, which was enough to cover more than 2,000,000 horses at one time.

PURCHASED FOUR BRUSHES AND SEVEN HALTERS FOR EVERY HORSE.

The War Department purchased 1,637,197 horse brushes, 2,029,418 nose feedbags, 1,148,346 horse covers, 2,850,853 halters, and all of this equipment to be used on 391,000 horses. It is difficult to comprehend, in the face of these facts, how officials of the administration in power expected 100,000,000 people in civil life to procure the necessary leather for shoes.

The War Department decided its 391,000 horses and mules must be branded. A representative of the War Department entered into a contract for 195,000 branding irons. This was one branding iron for every two horses in the Army. The contract required that these irons should be made of copper, which was both scarce and expensive. The contractor purchased 79,952 pounds of copper, which was 20,000 pounds more than needed to make irons, and officials of the company stated that they paid 39½ cents per pound therefor. The War Department paid 39½ cents per pound for all this copper and then immediately sold it back to the company for 11 cents per pound. We won the war without branding the horses and mules, because no branding irons had been delivered at the time the armistice was signed. But the records of the War Department show that officials of this administration compromised the claim of this company by paying them $40,000.

SOLD SUGAR AT 2 CENTS A POUND TO PROTECT PROFITS OF FRIENDS.

During the summer and fall of the last year the supply of sugar in this country was so short that sugar was selling for 20 cents per pound, and during the same period the War Department sold 22,000,000 pounds of sugar in France at 2 cents per pound so the Sugar Trust could easier squeeze the American public.

When the armistice was signed our Government had in France foodstuffs, clothing, textiles, automobiles, and other supplies of an approximate value of $2,000,000,000. This administration sold that enormous quantity of supplies for $400,000,000, or 20 per cent of its real value, on long-term payments, in order to keep prices high and protect the profit of favored friends in this country.

All these and other facts I give here are well substantiated by testimony before congressional committees and are not denied.

MILLIONS SPENT IN SOUTH TO NO PURPOSE.

This administration spent $150,000,000 building port terminals at Charleston, Norfolk, and other places from which not a single ship sailed during the war.

This administration spent $20,000,000 building a terminal up the river from Charleston, which ships could not reach because the river was too shallow to float them.

This administration spent $120,000,000 building nitrate plants, but did not produce a pound of the powder used in the war.

This administration spent $100,000,000 on tanks, but the first American tank reached France after the armistice.

This administration spent $1,000,000,000 on shells, but only 17,000 American-made shells reached our forces in France—about 10 minutes' supply.

This administration spent $117,000,000 on gas, but not a single American-made gas shell was fired by the American forces in France.

This administration spent $478,000,000 on guns, but only 72 American-made guns reached our forces at the front.

This administration spent $70,000,000 on a powder plant at Nitro, W. Va., and sold it for eight million.

This administration spent $7,000,000 on a naval training camp in Virginia after the armistice was signed.

In the 19 months after fighting stopped the Democratic administration spent more money than was spent during the 19 months of actual warfare.

SWIVEL CHAIR PATRIOTISM ENCOURAGED.

When the war was in full blast the United States Government had in the Army and Navy establishments alone over 750,000 persons drawing salaries in bullet-proof jobs. This was more than the entire fighting force on the French line at any one time. It was a larger force than the total number of American soldiers which actually got in the fight in France. Never was there such an orgy of extravagance, such reckless spending of the people's money. Tons of nails hauled to dumps. Teams kept on pay rolls, but hidden away in gravel pits to make it appear they were being used. Gangs of workmen almost constantly gambling, shooting craps, idling their time away, and protected in all this by "radical union organizers" who boasted their pull then, and now are defending the administration and condemning the Republican Congress that separated them from their Government jobs. More than $12,500,000 feet of finished lumber and untied flooring burned and wasted. Total cost, $1,200,000,000; lost through waste and extravagance, $600,000,000. These are newly found facts, just come to light. Attorney General Palmer is asked to stop prosecuting farmers long enough to file suits against some of these guilty parties.

Before the war Secretary Baker truthfully said that the American Army engineer was the best in the world. During the war he used them as clerks. Civilian contractors, and in many instances subcontractors, were paid $50,000 a month for merely supervising the construction of camps and cantonments, for which these badly paid distinguished experts on the public pay roll were available by the score.

USING PUBLIC FUNDS FOR PARTISAN PUBLICITY.

Two hundred and sixty-six bureaus have been found that have been doing press-agent work for the present Democratic administration at a cost to the people of $2,500,000 a year, and thus have the people been taxed to poison their minds with partisan propaganda. The typical administration press agents worked on the theory that they should exploit everything favorable and suppress everything unfavorable to the administration. They are always ready with the mimeograph and reams of paper as their weapon to defend the administration against any and all criticisms and unfavorable comments. They exploit the accomplishments of administration officials and carefully suppress details that are not to their credit, and use tons of paper daily, adding to Government expenses, increasing the paper shortage, adding to the congestion of the mails, and deceiving the people as to the actual conditions.

DELIBERATELY KEEPING PRICES HIGH.

On the theory that the war would last three years longer than it did, the War Department accumulated a vast supply of material, but, despite the fact that a division of sales was created shortly after the signing of the armistice, Secretary Baker, for some reason, has sold part of the material at a big loss and held more than $1,000,000,000 worth that could be sold at a profit. The supplies held under his "reservation orders" are not of use to the Government and become less serviceable with time and weather. Holding them is a drain on the Treasury. The more important include from $200,000,000 to $500,000,000 worth of machine tools of standard makes, a large part of which are lying useless in open storage. With the demand for increased production, these tools would go a long way toward meeting the needs of the industries of the country. Eight hundred thousand kegs of nails bought by the Government at a price averaging $3 a keg; the market price to-day is $6.50 a keg, and the demand can not be met. Sixty million feet of lumber, enough to build three cantonments the size of the present National Army camps; all this lumber was bought at a price far lower than that prevailing to-day. Approximately 100,000 desks equipped with typewriters, adding machines, or other mechanical devices used up to the signing of the armistice.

FAVORED DRAFT EVADERS.

In addition to the waste of money is the scandal of the present administration in dealing with draft evaders, culminating with the opportunity to escape made for Bergdoll, the wealthy draft evader of Pennsylvania.

Now that the war is over the favoritism shown the South is becoming better understood. In my State of Montana the population for purposes of the draft was estimated unreasonably high, so as to compel Montana to furnish more than her fair share of boys for the draft. As our State was discriminated against, Southern States were favored.

WESTERN FARMERS DELIBERATELY DISCRIMINATED AGAINST.

When the price of wheat was fixed the Southern States that harvested early were permitted to first sell their crop at around $3 per bushel, and the same year Montana's crop, harvested later, was sacrificed at less than $2 per bushel through the autocratic war power of the administration.

Despite these and similar discriminations, we Montana farmers increased our hours and increased our acreages. The State of Montana went over the top in all the war drives, while many Southern States were slackers.

War Department records place Montana troops at the top of all the States for valor, they having lost a larger proportion of men in action than the boys from any sister State.

And how have we been rewarded for that loyalty and sacrifice and valor?

The price of our staple crop was fixed at a price far below its actual value, while prices were permitted to soar without limit on everything that entered into wheat production and everything the farmer had to buy. The staple crops of the South and other sections were permitted to range as high as they would go. Montana farmers were compelled to contribute millions of dollars in the way of cheap wheat to European nations and to highly paid war workers in the cities.

After the war, when European nations endeavored to buy our wheat at a premium over the Government-fixed price, this administration, consistent with its unfriendly attitude toward the farmers of the Northwest, actually put an embargo upon the export of our wheat and denied us this foreign market for the avowed purpose of holding down the price of our wheat.

At the same time it was using its arbitrary war powers to penalize the western wheat farmer, it was using the same autocratic war authority and the people's money to extend foreign markets for the cotton grower of the South, and meat packers, and the canning trusts, and the automobile and the shoe manufacturers of the cities, so as to increase the profit of these favored friends.

RADICALISM IS NATURAL RESULT OF AUTOCRATIC MISUSE OF WAR POWERS.

I charge that the cost-plus system, the waste, the fraud, the extravagance, the favoritism, the hoarding, the cornering of markets, all deliberately made a part of the policy of the present Democratic administration, are alone responsible for the excessive high prices and for the shortage of things we need, for the low value of the dollar, for the depreciation of Liberty bonds, for the demoralized condition of the country, and for the unnecessarily large debt which will burden taxpayers for years before it can finally be wiped out, and for the socialism and radicalism which is a national expression of the anger of the people over the repeated gross injustices that have been perpetrated upon them by the Wilson policies of the past seven years.

I am not surprised that 40,000 farmers of my State have organized in protest over these injustices. I am only surprised that they have been so patient and so temperate as they have. I am surprised that they are not more bitter than they are in their thought and in their utterances, as many of them have lost their life-time savings, while earnestly attempting to serve their country's need, while the administration has been pouring millions in unearned profits into the laps of favored friends, as disclosed by records that no one denies.

DEMOCRATIC "PAY-TRIOTEERS" DENOUNCE FARMERS.

We have a spectacle in the State of Montana so strange as to be worth mentioning. Two Democratic editors, by name Jeffy Johns and Bill Campbell, have young men of fighting age in their families who never found their way into the service. These gentlemen, throughout the war and since, have published column after column in their papers to the effect that the 40,000 or more organized farmers in Montana are lacking in patriotism and loyalty, and they have held the greater part of the farm population of that State as being Bolshevists and lacking in intelligence and integrity.

It was the sons of these farmers and many of these young farmers themselves who made up the major part of the Montana

troops whose record exceeds all others for valor in battle. While these brave boys were fighting for America, these and other Democratic editors of my State have confined their fighting to a defense of President Wilson and his administration in all its unfairness and extravagance and inefficiency and favoritism and to gas attacks upon the name and honor and loyalty and intelligence of almost the entire farm population of the third largest State in the Union. One of these editors, Bill Campbell, organized a Loyalty League and raised thousands of dollars from business men, which was all used in antagonizing and taunting these farmers except the several thousand dollars which Mr. Campbell kept for his patriotic services, and which he has consistently invested in Canadian bonds because they pay a better profit than the Liberty bonds in which Montana farmers invested to help win the war.

FARMERS WILL SETTLE THEIR OWN TROUBLES.

Recent school statistics of the Nation show that Montana has the best educational system of any State in the Nation. The loyalty and fervid patriotism, the liberality and high character, of Montana people have always assayed 100 per cent pure at every test. Foolhardy, indeed, is the one who will impeach the intelligence and patriotism and Americanism of practically the whole farm population of a State like Montana. If the people are out of fix, and they are, they have sufficient reason, for they are a patient people. That they know where the blame rests, I am very sure. And when the Montana votes are counted in November it will be seen that these farmers will cast a solid vote of protest against the administration which has been largely responsible for their temporary undoing.

There is not the slightest danger that the farmers are turning to socialism. They believe too strongly in Americanism. They are now, as they ever have been, the bulwark of the Nation. They are grounded in the principles for which they and their sons and their fathers have fought at every crisis in the Nation's history, while the Bill Campbells and Jeffy Johns have remained at home and joined the chorus of the profiteers in bellowing about their own patriotism.

There is no danger that the farmers of America will turn to dark and bloody and ignorant Russia for plans for relief from the straits in which the present Democratic administration has plunged them.

CONSTRUCTIVE LEADERSHIP NEEDED.

But there are most serious farm problems that must have the thoughtful attention of our best statesmen, and I am glad that Republican leadership in the House and in the Senate is giving careful thought to these far-reaching problems, for a Republican President and a Republican Congress are the hope of the farmers of the Nation in the sound and sensible and permanent solution of far-reaching farm problems.

The Nation to-day needs more food and more clothes. Every morning 110,000,000 people in the United States wake up hungry. But one-third of the people are producers of food. These must not only produce the food they themselves consume, but must produce food for the other two-thirds of the population. To supply this need is not alone the farmers' problem. It is a problem for everyone to consider. The present tendency is rapidly toward a food shortage that will startle the world.

SOME SERIOUS FARM PROBLEMS.

The farm population is not keeping pace with the increase in the city population. Farm tenantry is increasing at an alarming rate. Consumption is rapidly overtaking production. The shortening of hours and the increasing of wages in the cities have drawn labor from the farm until the shortage is most alarming. At a time when the surplus of food and clothes is low, farmers are decreasing their acreage, not as a protest against existing conditions but through actual necessity.

Where labor can be had it is at a price so costly that the product oftentimes will not pay the wages.

The farmers of the country will continue to produce all they can. In time of peace no one is under obligation to produce at a loss. The farmer who produces at a loss will sooner or later go broke. Prudent farmers, of necessity, are reducing their acreage to a basis where they can plant and harvest their crops, chiefly by their own labor, and without running the risk of loss through inability to get help or the need of meeting the city schedule of high prices and short hours.

NO SIX-HOUR DAYS DEMANDED FOR FARMERS.

Farmers are not reducing the hours of their labor. They have never gone on strike. The eight-hour day and half holiday on Saturdays are the accepted rule in many labor centers. While radical labor-union leaders are demanding increased pay and in many cases a six-hour day and are often advocating the lessening of the output per hour and a general slackening in production, on the wrong theory that this will increase the demand for laborers and help the workers, our farmers are increasing their hours of labor and are even working Sundays and holidays in their earnest struggle to make their farming operations sufficiently profitable so they will not be compelled to suspend and go to the city for a living wage.

My Democratic colleague and good friend from New York says he objects to the big profits we farmers are making. My friend is undoubtedly honest and sincere in his belief that farmers are receiving too high prices for their products and are making too much money. It is just this misconception regarding farm operations and farm profits, in which my colleague from New York City is not alone, but which obtains among town dwellers too generally, that is, in part, responsible for the present condition, and which if persisted in will lead to an actual famine and increasing higher prices for food and clothing.

Statistics extending over a long period of years in this and in other countries emphasize the small income of the average farmer. There is scarcely any other interest in the world which has not brought forth large fortunes for some of the most energetic in its ranks. But no farmers grow rich from farming.

NATION FACING FOOD FAMINE.

A few years ago one would have regarded it as a far stretch of the imagination to suggest a situation where a housewife with ample funds could not purchase sufficient sugar for the home needs because there was no sugar to be had. I predict the time will come and is not far distant in this country, unless we forthwith correct existing conditions, when there will be the same condition as regards potatoes, meat, flour, and other staple foodstuffs. Production will continue to decrease until there is not enough to go around, and some of us will of necessity have to go without. Those who do not go hungry will pay dearly for their purchases.

How to correct this situation is a big and a complex question. It can not be met by resorting to socialism nor by denouncing big business nor through idle and undependable promises of theorists.

The average man of intelligence would hesitate about giving advice as to how to crown a tooth. He would feel that that was a technical subject to be approached only by experts who had both knowledge and experience. But, strange spectacle, let any half-baked theorist advocate a quack remedy to correct farm conditions and immediately he has a great audience and a following of intelligent men.

NEED CONSTRUCTIVE IDEALS, NOT RADICAL IDEALISTS.

What is really needed are the services of the best statesmen, the biggest business men, the best organizers—men who are recognized for their experience and qualities of justice and integrity in all their dealings—to solve the production problem.

The farm home must be made as comfortable as the town home. Opportunity for comforts and pleasures and education and travel must be made as available for those who live in the country as for those who live in towns. This will not be accomplished by theoretical or artificial means nor by resorting to socialism, but only by paying for farm production on a basis that will enable the farmer to compete with the city man in a financial way.

Markets must be stabilized.

The middleman and distributor are as necessary as the producer, but speculation that destroys competition and creates a false condition of supply and demand, and which seeks to create an unduly low market for the producer and an unreasonably high market for the consumer, must be stopped. Useless middlemen must be eliminated.

It must be made more profitable to produce than to juggle prices for individual profits.

Highways must be improved and transportation and marketing facilities bettered in many ways. These and other changes will have to be made before our farm population can properly meet the responsibility of production sufficient for the world's needs at reasonable prices.

FARMERS HAVE NOT BEEN PROFITEERS.

The charge that farmers have been profiteering during the war period is without foundation. In some States, especially in the South, the farmers have received better prices for their products than in former years. But this increase has largely been absorbed in increased costs and in paying off of debts and in loss of soil fertility, due to unusual efforts to produce. Any additional profits were used to build modern homes and in improving schools and churches and in doing other things which were new for the farmers, but which their city neighbors have been enjoying for many years.

OUR HOPE IS IN REPUBLICAN VICTORY.

I am glad that in view of the unfriendly attitude of the Democratic Party toward the farmer and the Northwest

there is a place that we can go for relief. The Republican Party has shown itself our real and our consistent friend. While it is easy for me to understand the rebellious attitude of my fellow farmers in view of the injustices deliberately heaped upon us by the vicious misuse of governmental authority, and I can understand why new organizations of protest have sprung up during this era of Democratic mismanagement, it seems to me that our path in the future and our public duty lie very plainly before us. Our voice of protest has been sounded and the country has heard. The injustices that provoke us are recognized by Republican leaders as evils that must be corrected. The Republican Party promises to correct them. The time has now arrived not for further protest but for united and constructive effort with our friends to apply the remedy. The Nation is in revolt over Democratic inefficiency and favoritism. In the interest of the producers and in the interest of all of the people of the Nation a Republican President and a Republican Senate and a Republican House of Representatives will be elected in November. Republican leaders have solemnly pledged themselves to cooperate with the producers of the Nation to correct outstanding injustices and wrongs. The farmers and the workmen in the towns owe it to themselves in November to accept these pledges at their face value and to make the success of the Republican presidential and congressional ticket so tremendous and their part in the repudiation of the Wilson Democratic régime and victory for their Republican friends so evident that the very character of the result shall emphasize the Nation's desire for prompt action along lines of sound policy and public economy and at the hands of a political party that has met other great national problems in the past and set the Nation's feet on firm ground and its face turned in the direction of square dealing.

Sound political principles and laws are like natural laws and truth—always the same. The Republican Party, which is made up in its leadership, as in the past, of just and farsighted and dependable men who have recognized and adhered to sound policies, should be placed in charge of public affairs and given opportunity to correct the wrongs which have overtaken us. Such men will not grapple in vain with this situation, but will propose and help put into effect sound policies which will correct or reduce the evils which are about to overtake us.

These problems are commonly regarded as belonging to the farmer, but they are of even more importance to the manufacturer and the business man. The farmers could raise enough for themselves and their families and live for a few years without buying much from other people. But the rest of the world can not live unless our farmers produce the necessary food and clothing.

ABRAHAM ADAMS'S LETTERS ON LIVE TOPICS.

The following letters, received by me, signed Abraham Adams, are so filled with quaint expressions touching simple truths and fundamental principles of government affecting food supply, waste, production, distribution, and other matters of vital interest to the farmers and others that I commend them to the thoughtful consideration of every man who would have a better understanding of the issues and problems before us for solution:

A HINT AS TO GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP.

FELLOW CITIZEN: During the World War the United States purchased an aggregate of about 400,000 horses, but probably never had more than 300,000 at any one time. A part of these horses were for Cavalry, a part for Artillery, and a part for ambulance and supply work. Nevertheless the Government purchased for these horses over 2,500,000 harness (more than eight for each horse), 945,000 saddles (more than three for each horse), 2,550,000 leather halters (more than seven for each horse), 30 shoes for each horse, saddlebags, brushes, etc., in like abandon. In addition to all this, when the armistice was signed the War Department had on hand over 900 tons of black harness leather that cost the Government $1,600,000.

After the armistice the Government purchased and paid for 70,000 additional automobiles and trucks, and on the same ships that brought our boys home, sent 39,000 of them to Europe and sold them over there at one-fifth of what they had cost and took its pay in 10-year bonds worth somewhat over fifty cents on the dollar. This does not include the large number of trucks and automobiles purchased before the armistice, many thousands of which were never uncrated, but left to rot and rust, a part on this side and a part on the other side of the Atlantic.

It is not my purpose, in this or other letters, to criticize your Government and mine, or to find fault with the Democratic Party. The administration answers its critics with arguments of justification or with statements to the effect that any other party would have done as badly. Do you think any party could have done worse?

Query: What lessons do you think the American people should learn from our war experiences? Many think even its enormous cost not too high a price to pay for the great lesson that a Republic like ours can not conduct any business, whether it be railway transportation, shipbuilding, aeroplane construction, nitrate plants, armor-plate factories, or anything else, either economically or efficiently.

If you think the party in power largely to blame for the admitted extravagances, reckless waste, and blind contracts, how do you expect to insure the future against similar incompetency? Are you ready to get back as soon as possible to the principles and policies which this Government successfully pursued for more than 100 years, when it granted liberty and afforded protection to the citizen, while the citizen efficiently developed the resources of the country and made us the envy of the world? Are you prepared to take the Government out of business? Or do you intend to plunge her deeper and deeper into business? Have you learned the one great lesson of the war?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

—

DO YOU APPROVE OF THIS SAVING?

FELLOW CITIZEN: Thirty-five years ago John Sherman said, "The way to resume is to resume." The present Congress has demonstrated that the way to economize is to economize. That you may the better understand what the present Congress has done, I ask you to note the saving in but 2 of the 13 regular appropriation bills:

Over $1,000,000,000 were asked for the sundry civil bill, which includes appropriations for very many governmental functions, and less than $500,000,000 were allowed. Somewhat over $119,000,000 were asked, all told, by the administration in the fortification bill, and less than $18,000,000 were appropriated. The saving in these two bills aggregates in round numbers $700,000,000.

These savings were not at the expense of our soldiers and sailors of the World War or of previous wars. The sundry civil bill, as passed, carried a little over $300,000,000 for pensions, vocational training, compensation, insurance, and for returning the bodies of deceased soldiers and sailors.

You probably already know that no department, bureau, division, or commission thinks it has done its duty until it has expended every dollar that Congress has placed at its disposal. The committee on fortification not only saved $100,000,000 from what the administration had asked but it also covered back into the Treasury over $800,000,000 of unexpended appropriations, thereby preventing further waste. Then to the surprise of everyone and to the disgust of some, the Director of War Finance, the Chief of Coast Artillery, and a representative of the Ordnance Department went to the Capitol, and, in the name of the War Department, thanked the Republican chairman of the fortification committee for passing such a good and satisfactory bill. Yes; they did. The sum asked had been cut over $100,000,000, and the same bill had covered $800,000,000 back into the Treasury. All they seemed to need was some one to show them what they needed, and this committee proved able to supply "the long-felt want." This committee did for the War Department the work which the law presumes the various bureaus, divisions, and commissions shall do for themselves.

Query: Are you a taxpayer? If you are, I will not insult by asking whether you favor retrenchments. If you are a tax consumer, as distinguished from a taxpayer, I will venture the question whether, from purely a selfish viewpoint, you think it either a wise thing or a prudent thing for the Government to expend money for no better purpose than taking it away from the great mass of taxpayers and distributing it to a much smaller number of tax consumers?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

—

DO YOU BELIEVE IN MAJORITY RULE?

FELLOW CITIZEN: For the first time in our history the American people are confronted with the clean-cut issue whether an organized minority shall dictate to an unorganized majority. The American Federation of Labor has formulated its political demands, and boastfully decrees death to every Congressman, Senator, and candidate who refuses to swear allegiance exclusively to organized labor, thereby renouncing all allegiance to every other laborer and every other interest.

Stripped of platitudes these demands of organized labor include exemption from all antitrust laws, the right to choose their own representatives from within or without the plant, the expressly legalized right to strike either for a grievance or without one, exemption from injunctions compelling obedience to signed contracts, the payment of wages sufficient to render old age and retirement pensions unnecessary—absolutely impossible—and the prohibition of welfare and uplift work by employers of labor.

In effect 4,000,000 organized laborers, an insignificant fraction of the aggregate number of laborers, demand the legalized rights to close every coal mine, shut every factory, and stop every railroad train whenever a half dozen or more labor leaders and agitators—some of them openly revolutionary—can secure a following among the relatively defenseless membership. If this be not equivalent to asking the legalized right for 4,000,000 organized men to starve and freeze into subjection 100,000,000 hitherto supposedly liberty-loving Americans, it is time for them to explain what it does mean.

Their excuse, stripped of all verbiage, is that they dare not trust the intelligence, the justice, and the good sense of the rest of the American people. They refuse to trust commissions on which they have representatives. They refuse to trust the courts, because occasionally courts apply to organized laborers laws applicable to everybody else and require that signed contracts shall be fulfilled. An editorial in the Washington Times quotes the president of the American Federation of Labor, who professes to be conservative, with saying, "They do not intend any longer to have the governing power exercised by judges on the bench." If this be not an averment that labor unions, unlike unions of capital—sometimes called corporations—or unions of other citizens for other purposes shall have an existence above and superior to the law and be in and of themselves supreme, it is impossible to make such a claim.

Query: If you were compelled to have one or the other, which would you prefer, "invisible government" by men who want conditions of universal prosperity or visible government, such as the American Federation of Labor, now for the first time in the open, demands?

The American people shook themselves loose from the grip of "invisible government." Are they now able to escape the "strangle hold" of visible government?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

—

A TARIFF SUGGESTION.

FELLOW CITIZEN: The two great political parties radically and conscientiously differ on the question of tariffs. Both parties believe in levying duties upon imports. They differ only as to the nature of imports on which tariff duties shall be levied, and the purpose for which they shall be imposed. No party, and no country, admits all products from other countries free of tariff duties.

The Democratic Party levies tariff duties for revenue only. The Republican Party levies duties primarily for the purpose of giving

Americans an advantage in American markets, and then imposes revenue duties on luxuries consumed by the wealthy and well to do.

The present tariff law, the Underwood bill, was not designed to afford any protection whatever. Senator SIMMONS, of North Carolina, who had charge of the bill in the Senate, in answer to inquiries made by Senator MCLEAN, of Connecticut, said: "We have not been trying to balance the difference of labor costs here and abroad because we were not trying to make a protective bill." A further inquiry evoked this answer:

"I have stated to the Senator that we were not trying to give protection in the duties on imports."

The Democratic intent that the bill should not protect was fully realized. It did not protect. It invited imports of every kind and character. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, the first year of the Underwood tariff law, $375,000,000 more in agricultural products alone—all free of duty except a few that competed with southern planters—were imported than the average of the preceding four years of Republican administration. Before war orders revived industrial conditions, increased importations had thrown more than 4,000,000 men out of employment, thereby reducing the consumptive capacity of that many families.

The issue between the two great parties on the question of tariff is not one of good or evil intent. Both parties are sincere. Good men, educated men, rich men, and poor men can be found on each side of the issue. Where do you stand? President Wilson said at Baltimore, on September 25, 1916, "I want to see America pitted against the world, not in selfishness but in brains." That is internationalism with a vengeance. Republicans believe in giving Americans in the markets of America a selfish advantage over everyone else on earth. That is nationalism with a vengeance. Are you an internationalist or a nationalist?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

HERE IS A QUESTION THAT STRIKES HOME.

FELLOW CITIZEN: A popular belief exists that the tariff can and should be taken out of politics. Those who so believe fail to understand the fundamental and irreconcilable differences between the two great parties on the question of the tariff.

The Democratic Party advocates, and when in power levies, "tariffs for revenue only." If that term means anything it means what it says. It means that tariffs should be levied for no other purpose than to invite the products of foreign labor, so that revenues may be collected as they are imported.

The Republican Party advocates, and when in power imposes, tariff duties both for protection and for revenue. The Republican Party compels the foreign producers of such articles as we produce to pay a considerable portion of what they get when they sell in our markets into our Treasury, thereby giving American producers an advantage in the American market on all competitive articles. When this is done it places revenue tariffs upon luxuries and expensive articles consumed by the wealthy and well to do.

Admittedly no tariff revenue can be collected on anything produced within the United States. Hence only to the extent that foreign products are imported can a "tariff for revenue only" yield revenue. The importation of merchandise previously made in America necessarily reduces our production and restricts the demand for American labor. Children at a very early age are able to comprehend that if we bring from foreign countries next year the things their fathers made this year their fathers will look in vain for work and they will look in vain for bread.

The present Underwood tariff law was enacted for the avowed purpose of increasing imports. On the 14th day of September, 1914, President Wilson explained to Congress that the World War was preventing these increased importations. In other words, according to the President's positive statement to Congress, the World War compelled the American people to consume the products of American labor in spite of the Underwood tariff law, designed to increase imports.

Suppose this law remains unrepealed until normal conditions are restored throughout Europe. Do you recognize the possibility, yes, the probability, that great quantities of goods produced in countries where wages are much lower than they are here, and where the people are much poorer than we, and therefore much less able to consume even their own products, will flood our markets and force our workmen into the streets? If during reconstruction, and for some years thereafter, there must be enforced idleness, and therefore want, either in America or beyond the seas, where do you prefer the suffering to be? Which would you choose, to remain so prosperous that we can relieve a starving world or also to starve ourselves and depend on a starving world to help us?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

WOULD THIS THREATENED INVASION HURT YOU?

FELLOW CITIZEN: The tariff plank of the Democratic Party in 1912 contains this language: "We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic Party that the Federal Government, under the Constitution, has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties except for purposes of revenue only."

This was reaffirmed in their platform of 1916, and the Underwood tariff law was "unreservedly indorsed as truly exemplifying that doctrine." The Democratic national convention this year will neither change nor modify its time-honored position.

The Democratic Party has always been consistent with its avowed belief on this subject. It considers a protective tariff a vicious thing, and that the Constitution gives no warrant for the enactment of such a tariff law. No one should complain of the belief of a great body of patriotic citizens, however erroneous that belief may be, or criticize them for legislating consistently with that belief. Nothing, however, must stand in the way of pointing out the error of their teachings and of showing the disastrous effect of their false notions whenever they have been put into practice.

The Republican Party is equally specific in stating its belief, and it as consistently legislates in harmony with its convictions. The Republican Party believes the Constitution, though silent on the subject, is as comprehensive with respect to industrial preparedness as it is to military preparedness.

Query: Do you believe the Constitution, which all parties admit authorizes protection against military invasions, naval invasions, invasions of coolie labor, invasions of contract labor, invasions of smallpox, yellow fever, and other epidemic perils, denies the American people the right to protect themselves against invasions of the products of cheap labor? Do you think we have the power and that it is wise to protect against invasions of Japanese and Chinese laborers, and have not the power, or that it is unwise, to protect against invasions of the products of the labor of these same people? Is it prudent to protect our health and our lives and imprudent to protect our industries and our markets?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

WHAT WILL WORKINGMEN SAY TO THIS?

FELLOW CITIZEN: In his message to Congress of September 14, 1914, urging what he called a "war emergency tax," President Wilson distinctly stated that the war was preventing the very large increase in imports which the Underwood tariff bill was designed to invite, and he asked that a new revenue measure be provided that would supply the deficiency resulting from loss of importations. This loss in revenue he estimated at $100,000,000.

At the date of that message the average duty collected on all imports was nearly 15 per cent. To have raised this $100,000,000 from customs duties would have required, therefore, the importation of $700,000,000 additional merchandise. The $100,000,000 in customs duties collected at the customhouses would have been added to the cost of the goods when placed upon our markets. Thus the President placed his party on record as deliberately intending to have the American people consume $800,000,000 worth of imported merchandise in place of an equal amount heretofore produced by our own people.

Query: What would have become of our industries had imported merchandise taken the place of our products to the extent of $800,000,000 per annum? What would have become of American workmen had they been deprived of the labor incident to the production of $800,000,000 worth of products? And what would have become of the American farmers had they been deprived of the opportunity to feed these workmen? Remember, coal and other supplies, repairs and maintenance of plants, and especially transportation are largely labor. The direct and indirect loss to labor would have been at least $600,000,000 per annum.

Now that the war is over do you think it will be wise to repeal this Underwood tariff law, which the President proudly declared had been deliberately drafted with intent to supplant American products with foreign products?

There is only one political party pledged to repeal the Underwood bill and to enact in its place a tariff law designed to give American products an advantage over foreign products within American markets. Of course the party that enacted the present law, and in its subsequent platforms has commended it, might amend a few items, but since it contends that Congress has no right to levy tariff duties except for the single purpose of inviting imports so as to collect revenue therefrom, it never will promise and never will give Americans any advantage over foreigners in the American market. Assuming you believe in protection, I will not insult you by asking if you understand that a change of party control must be made now or else wait four years—possibly four long, long years.

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

A TARIFF IDEA EASY TO UNDERSTAND.

FELLOW CITIZEN: Not all men who vote the Democratic ticket believe in the doctrine of free trade. Many of them profess such a belief, or in a "tariff for revenue only," which is one and the same thing, for both signify equality of trade opportunity between foreign and home producers in the home market. But some of them want protection in spots. They want protection on all their products and free trade in all the articles they consume.

The people of Florida, for instance, insist that foreign growers of oranges, lemons, and other citrus fruits shall pay into our Treasury so large a per cent of what they get for their products as will prevent their importation. The Louisiana sugar growers have a corresponding desire with respect to their product.

This disposition to violate a professed economic belief to further a selfish end led Gen. Hancock to say: "The tariff is a local issue." The tariff is not a local issue, though the application of tariff laws frequently raises local issues. No country can thrive with protection in spots and free trade generally. Either we should protect Americans in whatever they produce, whether it be labor or some resultant of labor, and thus give them an advantage in American markets, or we should levy our tariffs "for revenue only" and establish an equality of trade opportunity for everybody, independent of race, nationality, or domicile. We must be nationalists or internationalists.

We sometimes hear it said that "the Democratic Party is becoming a protection party." But until the party as a party believes in protection as a sound economic principle and publicly confesses its previous error, it should not be asked to enact a protective tariff law. If you have confidence only in the old allopathic school of medicine, do you think it would be prudent to employ a homeopath to treat you allopathically?

Query: Do you think it would be any more difficult for a physician to make a wise prescription according to a school of medicine in which he does not believe—though he might attempt it rather than lose his practice—than for a political party, on record as believing a protective tariff both vicious and unconstitutional, to formulate consistent and workable protective tariff schedules? Do you think a political party any more than an individual should be asked to violate its convictions?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

THIS POINT IS WELL WORTH CONSIDERING.

FELLOW CITIZEN: All political parties, and so far as I know all Americans, believe in excluding Chinese and Japanese laborers. The reason is purely selfish. These orientals are willing to work at wages which Americans will not accept and to live as Americans do not live.

The Republican Party not only excludes these laborers but it levies protective tariff duties upon the products of their labor. To be a little more specific, it requires the importers from China and Japan of cheap-made goods to pay into our Treasury so large a share of what they receive for them as to prevent their importation. This is done for the sole purpose of giving the American laborer an advantage over these oriental laborers within the American market.

The Democratic Party excludes these oriental laborers and then places tariff duties upon the products of their labor so low as to invite their importation, so as to collect tariff revenues thereon. Democratic tariffs being "for revenue only" are so designed as to insure the importation of the various articles mentioned in their tariff schedules.

Do you see any advantage in compelling Chinese and Japanese laborers to remain and work in their own countries, consume the food from

their own farms, and then permitting them to send the products of their labor into our markets over letting the laborers themselves come and feed from our farms while they produce the same things in direct competition with our high-priced labor? Would you not just as soon have these oriental laborers compete with you on your own soil as to have the product of their labor compete with the product of your labor in your own market? One political party excludes both cheap laborer and the products of cheap labor. The other party excludes the cheap laborer and invites the products of cheap labor. Every intelligent American citizen owes it to himself to determine which policy is preferable and to vote his convictions. It is my purpose in these letters simply to assist those who desire to know just what the two great parties profess to believe, what they promise to do, and what they actually do do when in power.

Cordially, yours, ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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DOES EXPERIENCE TEACH US ANYTHING?

FELLOW CITIZEN: At the close of the Civil War we occupied a unique position. We had resources unexcelled and resourcefulness unequaled. For 50 years, except the four years covered by President Cleveland's last administration, the economic policy of the Nation was dominated by protectionists. It is well to remember that during Mr. Cleveland's first term the Senate remained Republican and rejected the Mills tariff bill, which passed the Democratic House. The United States Senate in 1885 alone prevented our markets being thrown open to equality of trade opportunity for all the world.

With the exception, therefore, of the four years from March 4, 1893, to March 4, 1897, the policy of the Government for a half century was cooperation and encouragement. It fostered every industry and fathered none. It did not build and operate railroads, but did encourage its citizens to establish the greatest transportation systems in the world. It did not erect factories, but it did make profitable the erection of factories. It opened no mines and operated no farms. Recognizing that man gets his chiefest happiness out of his achievements, for 50 years the Government encouraged each citizen to "achieve and be happy."

At the end of this half century of protective tariffs and similar fostering policies, with but one break of four years, which brings us to but not into the World War, our farms were producing more than the farms of any other country on the map; our mines were yielding gold by trainload annually; we were bringing from the great Northwest, by railway and coastwise ships, iron ore in such quantities that the portion left on the soil of Ohio alone exceeded the production of any other nation; and we were pumping twice as much petroleum as all other nations. During these 50 years our people built as many miles of railroad as all Europe, and these roads before the first rate was fixed by law carried our freight at one-third the European rate. Because of the prompt exchange of our unparalleled wage scale for the comforts of life and the immediate return thereof to labor, our domestic trade had reached a figure five times as large as the aggregate international trade of creation; our shops and factories were turning out more finished products that all the shops and all the factories of Great Britain and France and Germany combined, plus five thousand millions dollars' worth every 12 months, and we were paying to ourselves and receiving from each other as much in wages as all the rest of the human family.

Query: Does it occur to you that the pay roll of the United States, equal to that of all the rest of the world, is our most valuable asset? Do you also realize that the best way to preserve this pay roll is by pursuing the policy that created it?

Cordially, yours, ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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DO WE HAVE AS MUCH WISDOM AS WE HAVE KNOWLEDGE?

FELLOW CITIZEN: In a former letter I referred to our enormous industrial pay roll, equal to that of all the rest of the world. Permit me to enlarge that thought and to ask you to consider its manifold relationships and effect upon each and every class and condition of our people.

The wealthy no less than the poor spend or expend their entire income, and no one can spend or expend without helping others. The more permanent the expenditure the more it assists labor. Incomes, like wages, are spent for necessaries, or comforts, or luxuries, or foolishness, or they are expended for a house, or a bond, or a share of stock, or they are deposited in a bank and some one else uses them. Let us assume that the wage earner spends most of his for food and clothes. The merchant who receives it as promptly pays it to the producer of these things, and the producer either keeps it as his compensation or he pays it again to labor. In either event it goes again for food and clothes and again to labor.

William McKinley expressed the belief that wages went from labor to merchant, from merchant to producer, and from producer back again to labor at least ten times in a year. Conceding this to be conservative, then 1,000,000 men, each earning $1,000 a year, will receive an aggregate of $1,000,000,000 in wages, which by completing the circuit as above illustrated, ten times a year, swells our domestic commerce $10,000,000,000. The opposite is also true. One million men thrown out of employment cuts down our domestic commerce $10,000,000,000 per annum.

Manifestly, we are all dependent directly or indirectly upon the American pay roll, and in a very true sense the American people are kinfolk.

Query: How can we best insure the perpetuation of this enormous and incomprehensible aggregate of American wages? Shall the Government guarantee it? What would the guaranty of the Government be worth? Can the Government control the laws of nature? Can it reverse the movements of the tide or suspend the laws of economics? Can Congress repeal the law of supply and demand? This much the Government can do. It can give the American producer, whether his product be labor or some resultant of labor, an advantage in the American market over every person who chooses to live elsewhere than under our flag. It can also exclude from our soil everyone who refuses to respect our flag, and it can deport all who seek the overthrow of our institutions. If we do not know, we ought to learn by what policies we have grown to be the admiration or the envy of the world. Knowing this, do we also know how to preserve our greatness and how to improve our conditions? Do we have as much wisdom as we have knowledge?

Cordially, yours, ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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SHOULD AMERICA LEGISLATE FOR AMERICANS?

FELLOW CITIZEN: Speaking before the National Grain Dealers' Association of Baltimore, September 25, 1916, the President of the United States used this language: "I want to see America pitted against the world, not in selfishness but in brains."

Thus aptly did he express the free-trade theory, for admittedly a protective tariff has its root in selfishness. Its single purpose is to afford the citizen a selfish advantage in his own market.

Japan has a population of 393 to the square mile, and 70 per cent of her 60,000,000 people live by farming 16 per cent of her territory. Her remaining territory is untillable. We have a population of only 30, and Germany did have only 60, to the square mile.

Japan entered the field of competitive manufacture about 25 years ago, and to-day the single town of Osaka has nearly or quite 1,500 factories in operation. The latest official reports give the Japanese wage scale for men from 34 to 42 cents per day of 12 hours, women 20 per cent less than men, and children still less. There are no child-labor laws or limitations of woman's work in Japan. Our average wage scale is more than ten times as high for a day only two-thirds as long.

For a number of years the people of Japan have been buying American-made automatic looms, and some of their purchases have been in trainload lots. They also buy American cotton in million-pound consignments.

How does all this affect us? Japan exported to the United States during 1917, in round figures, $650,000 worth of merchandise for each day of that year. These exports included the product of these American looms, clay goods, glass, toilet articles, brushes, baseballs, and many other articles of daily use wherein labor is the principal element. With the exception of raw silks, Japanese silk fabrics, fancy glass, and some bric-a-brac, these exports to the United States were practically all competitive products. To the extent that we consumed them we limited the market for like articles made by Americans who were fed from American farms.

Query: Do you think the American manufacturers if "pitted against the world [Japan], not in selfishness but in brains," can continue to pay our scale of wages? American-made looms and other machinery operate just as efficiently under the touch of the deft and skilled Japanese as for Americans. Do you think it wise to legislate unselfishly, or should America legislate for Americans?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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DOES HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF?

FELLOW CITIZEN: The Napoleonic wars, in which most of Europe was engaged, ended a little over 100 years ago. The Democratic Party enacted a "tariff for revenue only" law in 1816, which yielded an average tariff duty of 22 per cent. Before we entered the World War the present Democratic Party "tariff for revenue only" law yielded less than 9 per cent. It is now yielding about 6½ per cent.

What was the effect of the Democratic 22 per cent tariff 100 years ago, during and following reconstruction? Horace Greeley, speaking of this period, says: "Our factories went down like grass before the mower. Agriculture and labor soon followed. In New England fully one-quarter of all property went through the sheriff's mill." Thomas Benton, Democatic Senator from Missouri, in his Thirty Years in Congress, says: "No sale except by the sheriff or the marshal. No purchase except by the creditor or some hoarder of money. No demand for labor, no sound of the hammer except that of the auctioneer knocking down property." Woodrow Wilson, in the third volume of his History of the American People, describes how industry had sprung up during the Napoleonic wars, and what happened to it when these wars ended. He says of the war period: "Distinct manufacturing regions began sensibly to develop in the Middle States and in the East with interests and characteristics which statesmen could not afford to overlook." Then of the peace period following: "It was manifestly injurious to every young industry that a flood of English imports should continue to pour into the country. *The remedy was a protective tariff*, such as Mr. Hamilton had wished to see at first, and the young Republican leaders of Congress did not hesitate to advocate and establish it." [The italics are mine.]

Query: Do you see at least a possibility that history may repeat itself? A protective tariff, according to Mr. Wilson, the historian, proved a remedy after one-quarter of New England had been sold by the sheriff, and when, according to Senator Benton, there was "no sound of the hammer except that of the auctioneer." If a protective tariff will work a cure when the disease has reached that stage, would it not have worked even better as a preventive? The Democratic Party believes a protective tariff a vicious thing in itself, and a violation of the Constitution in addition. The Republican Party believes a protective tariff both wise and constitutional. On which side of this great economic issue do you stand? The happiness of every man, woman, and child in the United States, and especially every laborer and every farmer who feeds a laborer, is involved. Will you vote to interpose a preventive or wait a few years and apply "the remedy"?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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WHAT MAKES A MARKET?

FELLOW CITIZEN: What are the necessary elements of a market?

We frequently hear it said that all the world is in need. Does a naked need make a market? Possibly you know needy individuals to whom you would not seek to sell anything. The two essential elements to a market are need plus an ability to pay.

It is true that all the world is in need, and it is likewise true that the United States is the only country of any considerable size where the people are able to pay for what they need. All other peoples can produce. In fact, they must produce or starve. After they have obtained the raw materials, which they must have, and have converted these into finished products, where are they likely to seek to sell? They certainly will not attempt to sell to others as poor as themselves.

Even the people of these bankrupt countries must buy raw material, like cotton, wool, many of the metals, and coal. But do you think they are likely to buy from the United States finished products that they can produce?

As you already know, the author of the Underwood tariff bill, its friends, and supporters in both Houses, and the President of the United States are on record as saying that it was not their purpose to protect American labor, but on the contrary the bill was designed to invite imports, so as to collect the revenue incident thereto.

If we remain prosperous and most of the other nations remain unable to pay even the interest on the money they owe us, are they not likely to ship a good share of what they produce to our ports? If they do not send it here, where will they send it? If the tariff law remains unrepealed, which was enacted for the sole purpose of inviting imports—"tariff for revenue only"—what is likely to happen? What, in your judgment, is certain to happen?

Do you intend so to vote as to make certain the continuance of a tariff designed to solicit a flood of pauper-made goods to take the place of products of American labor? Or are you going to vote to protect your own country first and then assist the world to the extent of your ability? A great many people think this the most important issue of the campaign.

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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WE MUST KEEP AMERICAN LABOR EMPLOYED.

FELLOW CITIZEN: A bankrupt world owes the United States $9,000,000,000, the interest on which is past due and unpaid.

That you may the better understand the real situation, I call your attention to the following appalling facts: At the close of the war between France and Germany, 1871, France was compelled to pay her enemy $1,000,000,000 indemnity. At the close of the World War France owes her allies and associates over $5,000,000,000 borrowed money. Little Italy, with a population before the war of only 35,000,000, now owes her *friends* as a result of the war over $4,000,000,000, also borrowed. Germany, with much territory and all her colonies taken from her, is trying to compromise her indemnity at about $25,000,000,000. Austria-Hungary had 260,000 square miles of territory and a population of 51,000,000 people before the war. She loses over two-thirds of this territory, nearly one-half of her population, including practically all her coal and iron deposits. Her indemnity has not yet been agreed upon, but it will not be less than the last dollar she can possibly pay.

Query: Do you prefer to have the shops and factories in the United States produce in the hope of selling to these countries or with the certainty of selling to the people of the United States? America could survive, our people could even prosper, though the rest of the world did not exist. We can still prosper though we lose all the interest due from foreign nations, yes, though we never get a dollar of either interest or principal. The only thing which we can not do and thrive is to surrender the opportunity to exchange an honest day's work for the comforts of life. We can stand anything except nonemployment of American labor. There is no suffering so severe and nothing so certain to breed revolution as to have the millions of hitherto industrious Americans walking the streets in vain for work and returning to their homes at night to find their wives in rags and their children crying for bread.

In your judgment, what is the best insurance against nonemployment and its attending evils? Shall we preserve the markets we have, our own markets, or shall we throw them open to all the world and take potluck with the world? The clown in the circus announced a very human sentiment when he said, "Of all my father's family, I love myself the best." There are many citizens of this fair land who, "of all people in the world, love Americans the best."

Some of these will vote to protect Americans by protecting the American markets.

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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JUST COMMON HORSE SENSE.

FELLOW CITIZEN: Wars, no less than lawsuits, are the result of ambiguities and uncertainties. Courts interpret contracts and wills only when their meaning is in doubt. The League of Nations is a contract between your country and more than 30 others. Do you think admitted uncertainties in its terms should be removed? Or should they be left for settlement by the league itself, the proposed Worth court, or possibly on the field of battle?

If all your interests were vested in the United States Steel Corporation as completely as they are centered in the United States of America, so that you could see nothing ahead, either for yourself or for your children, except in that one corporation, and a contract was pending to affiliate your company with the Bethlehem Steel, would you, as a stockholder, vote to have the contract signed before you had read it? Would you ask your club or your preacher or your family physician what the instrument meant or might not mean? Would you be influenced by the result of a referendum to college students, not one in a thousand of whom had read it, and not one of the entire bunch had ever drafted, studied, or listened to a legal opinion on the meaning of a contract?

Men who have drawn and interpreted contracts all their lives, as well as those who are familiar with international treaties and their effect upon nations, widely differ in their interpretations of several covenants of the League of Nations. Do you think it the part of wisdom for your country to incur the obligations of membership without express reservations making it absolutely certain just what we are giving up, and what, if anything, we are to get in return? Whatever you may think of the main question of a league of nations, do you desire the United States Senate to ratify an uncertainty? The treaty can be made certain only by amendments or reservations. Are you for or against them?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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THIS COULD LEAD TO A PRETTY MESS.

FELLOW CITIZEN: For the present please consider the single question of our right to withdraw from the League of Nations after having joined.

The Constitution of the United States is silent on the subject of withdrawals. For 75 years the right of secession was the subject of acrimonious debate. Finally certain States attempted to exercise what they thoroughly believed was their sovereign right, but the other States successfully resisted. If the Constitution had permitted withdrawals the seceding States would have been allowed to go in peace. If it had forbidden withdrawals no State would have attempted secession. The awful war between the States was made possible through an uncertainty in the document that bound the States together. Do you think the right of the United States to withdraw from the League of Nations should be left in similar doubt? The language of the withdrawal provision is as follows:

"Any member of the league may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the league, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal."

Who is to determine whether these obligations have been fulfilled or not? It is an easy matter to make claims against a nation. Many are now pending against the United States, in some of which—the claim of the Republic of Colombia, for instance—the amount only is in dispute.

President Wilson insists that the nation seeking to withdraw will be the sole judge of its right to withdraw. Very few lawyers agree with Mr. Wilson. Therefore a majority of Senators demand that the right to withdraw shall be absolute and unconditional. They also insist that the other nations shall agree to this, or at least be estopped by their failure to object.

What do you think about it? All that you hold dear may be involved in this one little paragraph. Are you prepared to take the chances, or do you want that question determined now?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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WHAT SHOULD WE DO ABOUT THIS?

FELLOW CITIZEN: Until the several States of this Union had adopted the Constitution, each State had the sovereign right to declare war against whom it would and the right to fight on either side of any controversy.

With the adoption of the Constitution, each State surrendered a goodly portion of its sovereignty and each State authorized the Union of States to conscript its sons and send them under any sky in the defense of any cause. Do you realize that if the United States joins the League of Nations, as the States joined the Union, we must either reserve our sovereignty or merge it with over 30 other nations, largely as the several States merged their sovereignties when they joined the union of States?

Our red-blooded fathers fought to establish the independence of the United States of America. They succeeded. As soon as the treaty was submitted to the Senate certain other red-blooded Americans formed an association to preserve the independence of the United States. Will these men be equally successful? Do you intend to assist them or obstruct them?

The President recognizes that to join the League of Nations under the terms of the treaty as presented involves what he was pleased to call "great sacrifices." But he recommends that these sacrifices be made for the good of the world. How much of our sovereignty are you willing to "sacrifice" in the hope that it will benefit the world at large as much as it will harm ourselves? Are you ready to merge with Siam, Japan, Haiti, Algeria, and 30 others? Algeria has 2,000,000 people, 50,000 of whom are civilized.

Every true American wants to help the world, for it certainly needs help. Some of it is illiterate, some immoral, not a little of it criminally disposed, and all of it financially embarrassed.

But would it be better for the world—forgetting ourselves—for us to join a world-wide union, and thus establish common interests and standards, somewhat above the lowest and considerably below the highest? Or would it be better for the world at large—forgetting ourselves—that we set an example of upright living and demonstrate that temporal prosperity and happiness are the natural fruits of virtue, industry, and justice according to law? This will not preclude, but, on the contrary, insure our assistance wherever and whenever we see assistance deserved. Had we better preserve our ability to assist, and our independence in each case when assistance is asked, or confer upon an aggregation of needy nations the power to control our international charities as well as our military and naval operations?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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FELLOW CITIZEN: You should bear in mind that there is this marked difference between the League of Nations, which the treaty seeks to create, and the United States of America, which the Constitution did create:

The League of Nations will have no army, no navy, and possess no right to conscript soldiers or impose taxes. The council of the league or the assembly—each having exactly the same jurisdiction "in all matters affecting the peace of the world"—is to determine what action shall be taken in each emergency as it arises. These official bodies are also to distribute the burden of maintaining peace as in their judgment shall seem expedient. These burdens can not be borne by the several member nations in proportion to population. Three-fourths of the nations are barely able, and some of them unable, to bear their own burdens. Naturally and inevitably the greater burdens will be placed upon the country best able to bear burdens.

The United States and Japan will be the only members both solvent and powerful. No others of international importance are able to meet their financial obligations as they accrue.

Would you expect the league to call upon Japan to quell insurrection, suppress rebellion, expel invaders, "preserve territorial integrity against external aggression," or to assume mandates anywhere in Europe? On whom would the league be likely to place these burdens? Where is the league now seeking to place the mandate over Armenia? In this connection you should not forget that if we accept we must conduct the affairs of Armenia under the direction of the league, report our doings to the league, and, in the event of an issue arising, we, being a party in interest, will have no voice in its determination. Have you ever had experience in a joint deal for joint benefit and you the only solvent member? How did you come out?

Not less than a dozen wars are now raging in Europe, and this does not include insurrection and bloodshed in Ireland and in Russia. If you want to place the United States at the beck and call of an association composed of 30 insolvent nations plus perhaps a half dozen small but solvent nations you should so register your wish at the polls in November. If we are going to assume the burden, we ought to begin at once, call our boys again to the colors, recross the sea, and resume the task of "making the world safe for democracy."

Do you recognize that you have never been, and never will be, called upon to help solve a question so momentous? Now, if ever, is the time to vote your judgment. Allow no one to tell you how to vote.

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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FELLOW CITIZEN: Article VIII of the proposed League of Nations is too long to quote, but it expressly provides that the "league council shall formulate plans for the reduction of armament." It further provides that after a member nation has approved the limit recommended by the council, such nation shall neither create a larger army nor build a larger navy, "without the unanimous consent of said council."

Acting in good faith, the United States must approve whatever limit of Army and Navy the council recommends. Then suppose Japan or Germany—one or both—continues its propaganda in Mexico until we are invaded by that reckless and warring people or until we are driven to invasion. He who does not recognize the possibility of trouble with Mexico is blind, and if trouble comes we will need a reasonably large Army. Will Japan promptly consent that we increase our Army to meet a condition that she has inspired?

You may forget the possibility of foreign propaganda in Mexico and still the possibility of trouble remains. Therefore a majority of the Senate adopted reservation No. 10, containing this language:

"The United States reserves the right to increase its armament without the consent of the council whenever the United States is threatened with invasion or engaged in war."

What is your attitude toward this reservation? Do you want your country dependent upon the consent of each and every member of the council of the League of Nations whenever the question of defending our own borders arises? Do you desire the United States Senate to place your country in a position where under any contingency, in order to protect her own firesides, she must either secure unanimous consent to increase her army, or, by increasing it without unanimous consent, violate the terms of the League of Nations and thereby commit an act of war against every one of the more than 30 member nations to each of whom she is beholden by the terms of the treaty?

Every foreign country, with the possible exception of Japan, is willing that we shall reserve the right to increase our Army "when threatened with invasion or when engaged in war." Only the present administration and its followers ask us to surrender the right.

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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FELLOW CITIZEN: The long-discussed Article X of the proposed League of Nations contains this language:

"The members of the league undertake to respect and preserve, as against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the league."

The President has many times explained that we are safe, notwithstanding this express obligation, because no army can be created or troops sent abroad except by order of Congress. Are you willing to make a contract and then have to depend upon Congress to break it in order to keep our boys at home?

A contract between landowners containing the above-quoted covenant would be a guaranty against trespass, either by the parties themselves or by strangers. Following the line of reasoning indicated by the President, no farmer, though a party to the contract, could be compelled to send his hired man to drive the trespassing stock of a stranger out of his neighbor's corn. Of course, he could not. All he could be compelled to do would be to pay the damages. Not every contract can be enforced by mandamus or injunction. But damages resulting from breaches of contract can always be recovered, provided the delinquent party is solvent.

You should not forget that a world court, which everyone favors, is to be created, with jurisdiction to try and render judgment against nations that disregard treaties, exactly as State and Federal courts try and determine cases where individuals violate contracts. Senator Root has already sailed to assist in the creation of such a court. I suggest that you ask your lawyer what would be our present status if we had been a party to a treaty containing the above-quoted covenant from Article X at the time Belgium was invaded by Germany and the council of the league had designated the United States "to preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity" of Belgium and we had failed promptly to act. He will probably tell you that under the terms of such a contract the United States would have to fight or pay. Whatever he may tell you, do you want to assume the risk? Do you or do you not prefer to play safe?

Without wishing to escape our share of the responsibility for the peace of the world, a majority of the Senate voted to reserve to the United States the right to determine where, when, under what circumstances, and upon which side of international controversies our sons shall fight. If you were to police a bad street in a big city, would you want an organized band of gunmen to tell you whom you should arrest? If we are to preserve the peace of the world, do you want to be outvoted by disturbers of the peace?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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FELLOW CITIZEN: Under Article XIII of the proposed League of Nations, the members promise that they "will secure and maintain freedom of communication and transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the league." You must assume, I think, that this express language means something. What does it mean?

The third of the President's famous 14 conditions of peace demanded "the removal of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all nations." Just before sailing he promised that the treaty "should prevent economic rivalries in definite and binding terms." The above quoted covenant constitutes the President's fulfillment of these pledges.

Think it out for yourself: How can "economic rivalries" be prevented or the "removal of economic barriers" or "the establishment of an equality of trade conditions" be secured and maintained between the United States and Japan, for instance, short of admitting Japanese laborers without restriction and the products of Japanese labor without customs duties? How can "freedom of communication and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the league," which the treaty pledges each member to secure and maintain, be effected without race equality and free trade? Are you ready for these?

If the question ever arises whether the provisions of the treaty forbid protective tariffs or the exclusion of oriental labor, the United States will be in a hopeless minority in any tribunal that determines it. In fact, the United States being a party to the controversy she can have, under the terms of the proposed league, no voice whatever in its determination. All other members of the league being anxious for free access to our markets will have to do violence to their own economic interests in order to do justice to ours. How would you expect them to decide a question where all the world is interested on one side and only the United States on the other, we being denied any voice, but bound by a contract at best of doubtful interpretation? On the field of battle only, and with England's aid, would we be equal to the forces already committed to race equality.

The reservations to the league covenants, adopted by a majority of the United States Senate, expressly safeguard our right to exclude from citizenship and domicile whomsoever we will, and our equally important right to levy, either for revenue or for protection, whatever tariffs the wisdom of Congress may from time to time dictate. How do you stand on that question? If the people are to decide, should the people consider?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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FELLOW CITIZEN: The reparation commission provided for in the treaty with Germany is entirely outside and independent of the proposed League of Nations. Its mission is not to maintain peace by preventing future wars, but to collect damages because of the recent war. While it is not so stated in the treaty, the intent is everywhere apparent that this commission is to so administer its powers as to prevent Germany from ever again being strong enough to wage war. To this end its powers are very broad. It is even given express jurisdiction over both the export and the import trade of Germany.

While it is true that these powers may never be exercised to the injury of the United States, yet a majority of the Senate, seeking to play safe, voted to remove the possibility of interference with our trade with Germany and adopted reservation No. 8, as follows:

"The United States understands that the reparation commission will regulate or interfere with exports from the United States to Germany, or from Germany to the United States, only when the United States by act or joint resolution of Congress approves such regulation or interference."

Foreign nations owe the United States over $9,000,000,000, the interest on which exceeds $450,000,000 per annum. The payment even of this interest will strain the credit of all of them and possibly the friendship of some. If the United States prospers, as we hope she will, and her trade with Germany grows, as it should grow, who will dare guarantee that this commission—controlled by our debtors—may not go the limit of its jurisdiction to establish "equality of trade conditions," which the treaty pledges each nation to secure and maintain?

How do you stand on that proposition? Do you prefer to reserve our right to trade with whom we will, to any extent we can, and upon as favorable terms as we may be able, from time to time, to establish? Or do you wish to permit this "nightmare" of possible foreign selfish interference to disturb the slumber of both this and succeeding industrial generations? The American people are soon to have the opportunity to express their preference. Shall we have "liberty of trade" or "equality of trade conditions" as interpreted by a foreign commission on which, in the event of an issue, we will have no representation?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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FELLOW CITIZEN: The census of 1810 shows $560 invested in factory, equipment, and working capital for each wage earner employed, while the average wage of wage earners was $240 per annum. Each subsequent census has shown a larger and larger investment of money for each wage earner employed, until in 1915 over $3,000 had been invested in plant, equipment, and working capital for each wage earner. Meantime the average wage had increased from $240 to $580 per annum. In 105 years we had multiplied the average annual wage by 2½, but it had been necessary to multiply invested capital per wage earner by 6. The present census will probably show that in 110 years we have multiplied the average wage by 5, but in order to accomplish it ten times as much actual cash per wage earner has had to be furnished by some one. Do not overlook the fact that while wages were increasing interest rates went down.

If profits had all been divided and distributed to labor as fast as earned, who would now be furnishing the necessary money to build, equip, and operate our industrial plants, our railroads, our public utilities, our mines, lumber camps, and other concerns that now afford both skilled and unskilled laborers the opportunity to feed and clothe themselves and their families? If some one tells you the Government could furnish the money, ask him where the Government would get it. Where does the Government now and always get its revenue? Do you consider the Government a money making or a money spending institution? Should the Government feed the citizen and clothe his family? Or should the Government protect the citizen in his liberties, so that he may both feed and clothe himself and furnish the opportunity to others to do the same?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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FELLOW CITIZEN: An ancestor of mine was very thrifty. He was engaged in a productive industry, worked early and late, denied himself every luxury and many comforts, paid only current wages, invested his profits in enlarging his plant, and died a rich man. He bequeathed me $100,000, which I invested in a new and untried industry. Like my ancestor, I employed labor, paid only the current wage, but during the year my aggregate pay roll exceeded $200,000, yet I made a net profit of $50,000 for myself. Everyone says this is too much, but will the fact that I have made 50 per cent net on my invested capital insure me from competition? Will it not invite competition?

How can I keep my profits—$50,000—away from labor? If I convert it into cash and lock it in a safe-deposit box, labor will get none of it. But if I enlarge my plant, labor will get most of it. If I give a fine wedding to my daughter and decorate the house with cut flowers, what share of their cost will labor get? If I buy for her an automobile, or build for her a house and furnish it ever so lavishly, what share of that aggregate expenditure will go to labor? Ore in the mine, coal in the ground, clay for brick or chinaware, sand for glass, and lumber in the forest are each relatively worthless until the hand of labor has touched them. All the things I buy are more than 80 per cent the direct or the indirect result of labor, and for their production labor has been paid a wage at which it was glad to work.

Who do you say has been injured by the fact that my ancestor accumulated wealth in the same general way that practically all fortunes have been made?

Please do not think I am trying to cajole you or to suggest that pay envelopes are just as desirable as dividend checks. They are not. But will it not be well for your children if you teach them that fully nine-tenths of those who now receive dividend checks began with pay envelopes, and that the exception is usually some one whose ancestors began, as mine did, with pay envelopes? Most men are the product of the teaching they get at home.

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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FELLOW CITIZEN: In a certain city 1,000 men are out of employment. There is nothing for them to do. In a bank in that city $1,000,000 is out of employment. There is nothing for it to do. In the foothills back of that city 10,000,000 tons of coal is out of employment. There is nothing for it to do.

The unemployed men offer the bank their joint note for the money and propose mining the coal. But the officers of the bank will not loan money that does not belong to them on the note of 1,000 men each out of employment.

Then some men who have succeeded as coal operators offer their joint note, and a mortgage on the coal mine in which they have already invested all they are worth, and the bank makes the loan, and the mine is opened. Did capital open that mine? No! Capital was idle—it was starving. Did labor open the mine? No! Labor was also starving. Is there a third element—a third factor—a third party, sometimes called management, to every successful business? Did you ever know a farmer to lift a mortgage by hard work? No! Hard work never paid for a farm. But hard work plus management have paid for many farms, and when the management has been sufficiently good less work has been required. The same is true of every business. Whenever

you hear of a failure in business you may know it is because management has buckled—it has failed to function. When you hear it said that a business has failed for want of capital, explain to your children that here, too, the fault was with management. Management attempted to do too much with its available capital.

But suppose the coal mine in question is a success. How much do you say capital should receive? What share should go to management? Should management be content with ordinary wages? Labor can always be secured for the required wage. Capital can usually be obtained with the required security, and at a reasonable rate of interest. The only element of successful business not easily obtained is management.

Who took the risk? Capital did not. It was secured. Labor did not. It was paid a wage at which it was glad to work, and paid every week. Should the risk be paid for? No one, and no insurance company, will insure success in coal mining or in any other business.

I know that you will pardon me when I suggest that you explain to your children that when they are able to demonstrate that they have aptitude for management, the requisite vision to understand the difference between a business proposition and a venture, and the courage and self-reliance essential to success, they can fix the price on their services and the world will reward them beyond anything they dare dream.

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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FELLOW CITIZEN: Sir Hugh Bell, the great ironmaster of England, once told this incident in my presence: A laboring man said to him: "Sir Hugh, I ought to support my family on three days' work per week, and when I work six days I feel that I am robbing some poor fellow of three days' work." Sir Hugh replied: "Without discussing whether your happiness would be increased or your culture improved or your worth as a citizen enhanced by three idle days per week, I want to remind you that if you could support your family on three days' work per week, and you actually worked six days, you would have money enough to hire some poor fellow for three days. Please do not suppose that by remaining idle you are giving some one work. By remaining idle you are depriving your fellow man of work."

You will notice that Sir Hugh argued upon the theory that there is a limitless amount of work to be done, and he was right.

I do not know how many hours a day a rat works. Possibly not to exceed three or four hours a day, and I am not prepared to say that a man who is willing to live as a rat lives will need to work any more hours a day. Neither do I know how many hours a day a man must work to live as Americans live. I do know, however, that in countries where people work no more than rats they live like rats. Little work in any country spells poor houses, or no houses at all; poor clothes, or no clothes at all; no churches, schools, hospitals, or libraries. I also know that during the period when Americans worked efficiently for long hours they accumulated a per capita wealth unequaled in the history of the world, and developed a people the best fed, the best clothed, the best housed, the best educated, enjoying more comforts, far more luxuries, suffering less individual privation, possessing more public buildings, better public roads, cheaper transportation facilities, and were able to get more of the comforts of life from a day's toil than anywhere else on this earth at any previous time.

Query: Is American civilization a failure? Are American institutions a disgrace? Can we improve them by uprooting? Can we exalt the lowest by pulling down the highest? Will we make better citizens of our children by emphasizing human imperfections? Will we increase their happiness by encouraging revolt at everything they do not like? Does contentment consist of idleness? Whom do you wish your children to emulate? Shall the active, the vigilant, the brave, the successful be their example, or shall they find solace in the harangues of the agitator? Does your daily comment on passing events and public men point your children upward or downward?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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FELLOW CITIZEN: Many times in the past attempts have been made to improve human conditions by the more or less arbitrary process of confiscation. This is sometimes called "transfer of property," as in the French Revolution, and sometimes "conscription of wealth," of which we now hear so much.

Evidently there are more people in the world to-day determined to repeat these experiments than ever before. Among these confiscationists there are several distinct groups, and many more who entertain such indefinite ideas on the subject that it is impossible to classify them. They are simply angry at a civilization that permits large accumulations, and they favor any movement in the direction of equalization.

It is my purpose to assist the thoughtful. If perchance you are not of that number a mistake has been made in sending you this letter.

For a generation Andrew Carnegie established one industry after another until before he retired from active business he was mining both coal and iron, making structural steel and armor plate, equipping railroads, building ships, making wire to fence an empire, bridging rivers and streams in every State, finding a foreign market for millions of products of American labor, fed from American farms, and directly affording an opportunity for thousands of skilled and unskilled laborers to exchange their toil for the comforts of life. Indirectly he furnished employment for vastly more than directly.

Then he retired from business, leaving most of his accumulated wealth still employed in the enterprises he had created and used his income, and gradually the principal, in philanthropy, as distinguished from charity. He sought to help those who were striving to help themselves. He builded libraries for cities, towns, and colleges, and established institutes to teach young men to be more efficient, and therefore more self-reliant.

Query: In which field of human endeavor did Andrew Carnegie best serve his day and generation? In which way was his marvelous vision and greater energy more conducive to happiness? Is the civilization radically wrong or substantially correct that produces Andrew Carnegies?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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FELLOW CITIZEN: The population of the world is estimated at a little over 1,500,000,000. That part of the earth's surface, the improvements thereon, and other property, over which man exercises ownership, is estimated to have a market value of somewhat less than $750,000,000,000. The per capita wealth of the world therefore is less than $500.

This is not the first time in history when wealth has been unpopular. While the French Revolution did not stop with confiscation, confiscation of wealth was its primary object. After mentioning "a million persons stabbed, drowned, shot, beheaded, or hunted to death, wars started that strewed Europe with 5,000,000 dead, a whole nation bathed in blood, bankrupted in morals and rotted in character," Dr. Hinman declares, "all these things, hideous and appalling as they may be, distracting and absorbing as they are, were but collossal incidents. The chief movement through all this sea of blood and wilderness of death was the 'transfer of property.'"

Sovietism in Russia began by stripping the bourgeoise—those who possess something—and turning it over to the proletariat—those who possess nothing. Now that the leaders have enriched themselves, they are seeking to create the impression that in the future they will be conservative, and that property rights will be hereafter respected. After successful raids even highwaymen might be suspected of a desire to have the "right of possession" respected.

Imagine, if you will, the wealth of the world conscripted, and, if such a thing were possible, converted into food, clothes, fuel, and rented quarters, and apportioned equally among all the people of the world. How long would it last? Prepaid rent, clothes in the closet, food in the pantry, and fuel in the cellar, costing $500 for each man, woman, and child in the world, would place the entire human family on "easy street," would it not? How long would it be before the name of the street would have to be changed?

Most of those who demand the confiscation of wealth seek to accomplish it by processes of taxation. They want the wealth of the Nation taxed away from the present owners and consumed in the interest of all. While they fail to formulate their plans with any degree of definiteness, the logic of their position is that we shall stop worrying, stop trying to accumulate, work little, and save less, and simply live on the accumulation of the ages.

Query: Why do so many good people believe these things? Would profligacy on the part of the entire race work results less disastrous than profligacy in single families? Is it, or is it not, true that the accumulation of one generation becomes the invested capital of the next? And must it be wisely used if it is to yield even a living?

These are interesting questions, are they not?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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FELLOW CITIZEN: Henry George, the great apostle of single tax, was a very able man. I do not say he was a very wise man. Great intellects frequently, as in this instance, lead to great errors.

Every advocate of single-tax legislation is a faithful disciple of Henry George. No one has added a new argument, stated an old argument with greater force, or reached a different conclusion. None of his followers apologize for anything Henry George ever said or refuse to stand or fall with the great originator of the scheme. Therefore to quote Henry George is to quote the best authority and all authority.

The great textbook of single taxes is Henry George's Progress and Poverty. The author begins his argument with the proposition that God made the land, the sea, and the air for his children collectively, and never granted the exclusive right of any part thereof to king or subject. All pretended grants and conveyances therefore are fictitious. From these premises he draws the conclusion that all natural resources still belong to the people collectively, and therefore confiscation in the interest of all is justifiable.

On page 401 of Progress and Poverty Mr. George says:

"But a question of method remains. How shall we do it? We should satisfy the law of justice. We should meet all economic requirements by at one stroke abolishing all private titles, declaring all land public property, and letting it out to the highest bidder in lots to suit."

On page 403 he says:

"I do not propose either to purchase or to confiscate property in land. The first would be unjust; the second needless. Let the individuals who now hold it still retain, if they want to, possession of what they are pleased to call their land; let them continue to call it their land; let them buy and sell and bequeath and devise it. We may safely leave them the shell if we take the kernel. It is not necessary to confiscate land; it is only necessary to confiscate rent. * * * We already take some rent in taxation. We have only to make some changes in our mode of taxation to take it all."

Thus you will see that Henry George, with all his intellect, was mentally dishonest. His heartbeats were sympathetic, but his mind wabbled. He was unable to see anything dishonest when I sold my acres or my lot, invested the proceeds in stocks and bonds, and then by my vote exempted my property from taxation and placed all the burdens of Government upon him who had paid me every dollar he possessed in the belief that he was getting something of value.

He would see no injustice in a government of the people loaning millions through rural-credit banks, taking as security mortgages upon lands purchased from this same government, then selling securities issued against these mortgages to widows and orphans on the recommendation of this same government that the investment was safe and secure, and finally taxing the value of the real estate away, thus leaving those who had relied upon the representation and good faith of this "government of the people" to beg their bread from door to door.

Are you also color blind, or, what is worse, blind to justice and right and common national decency as between citizens of this common country?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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FELLOW CITIZEN: If the single-tax scheme is correct, then it always would have been correct. Truth is eternal. Correct governmental principles, like principles of science, never change. Perhaps it will aid you in arriving at a just conclusion as to how the scheme will work if you glance backward to see how it would have worked had it been applied when this Government was formed.

Do you think anyone would have cleared a forest, broken a piece of prairie, or planted a field knowing that he would be required to pay in taxes an amount equal to the rental value of the land he cleared? In the spring of 1869 a man who subsequently became governor of the State of Nebraska drove 90 miles to get seed corn to plant on his newly located homestead near Osceola, in that State. Twenty-seven years thereafter Nebraska harvested 350,000,000 bushels of corn. Suppose the Government had offered Mr. Mickey and other citizens each the use of 160 acres during the cropping season subject to a tax sufficient to yield all the revenues needed for the maintenance of the Government, exempting all other forms of property, from taxation, exactly as the pending single-tax scheme provides. Do you think the homestead act would have been a success? In order to make it a success the Government found it necessary to exempt these homesteads from any tax whatever for the period of five years.

Thus far in our history the American people have sought to distribute the burdens of maintenance of their Government among all classes and conditions equitably and in proportion as each has been able to pay. Admittedly, inequalities have existed. No system of taxation thus far devised has been free from human imperfections. Only single taxes lay claim to perfection. But what I want you to consider is this: Does it appeal to your sense of justice suddenly to shift the burden of government from all other forms of property and so place it upon land as to destroy the market value of all productive as well as all nonproductive real estate? The American people through their Congress and their President sold some of their lands for cash, used much of it in payment for military services in Indian wars, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War, and granted much more to homesteaders in consideration of their enduring the hardships of frontier life and improving and developing the resources of the Nation. Not many good people would now vote to confiscate these lands. But Henry George and his followers, a few of them good people, propose to do what Henry George says is the same thing, "confiscate the rent," "take the kernel and leave the shell." How does this appeal to you?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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FELLOW CITIZEN: The advocates of single tax rest their case upon the alleged fact that the confiscation of land values will result in placing unimproved lands in cultivation and insure the erection of buildings upon vacant lots.

No one knows for a certainty all that will follow in the wake of this admittedly revolutionary adventure. I once saw the following in double-leaded type on the front page of the "Great Adventure," an official organ of the single-tax adventurers:

"Single tax will put these big land values into the Public Treasury and leave the 'ground hogs' nothing to rent but the actual value of their buildings."

Everyone concedes that the single-tax scheme, if put in force, will leave the owners of real estate nothing to rent but the actual value of their buildings. It will, as Henry George says, "take the kernel and leave only the shell." It will not, however, put the present value of real estate or any part thereof into the Public Treasury. And the statement above quoted that it will do so is only one of a thousand evidences that the advocates of the measure have no just conception of what they are talking about. The present value of lands will not pass from the owner to the Public Treasury. It is only intended to put the rental value into the Treasury instead of where it belongs—to the credit of the owner. The value of the land will simply vanish. The land won't have any value. The wealth of the State will be reduced one-half or two-thirds, and the treasury of the State will remain as poor as it is now.

But how about the reclamation of idle lands? No money can be borrowed upon real estate the rental value of which goes to the State. There would be nothing left even to pay the interest, much less to redeem the mortgage. Unless you happen to know some one who is both able and willing to take a piece of unimproved land, reclaim it and cultivate it, without borrowing any money with which to irrigate and make other improvements, you are hardly justified in assuming that unimproved land will be made productive by the naked process of taxing its life out of it.

Many of you good people have seen whole States in the Central West put in cultivation and land values advance from an average of $5 an acre to fifty times, and in some instances, a hundred times $5 per acre, exclusive of buildings. But can you recall a single instance of a farm being permanently improved except with borrowed money? How many homesteaders did you know who failed to make a loan for improvements as soon as he could get his patent?

How about the man who has a mortgage on his land exceeding the value of his improvements? His land value is gone. He can't pay the mortgage. Will he stay, struggle against this debt, or will he pack up and go? Think it out for yourself and see whether the scheme will result in putting idle lands in cultivation or in multiplying the number of abandoned farms.

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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FELLOW CITIZEN: In this letter I hope particularly to arrest the attention of labor.

"It is not necessary," said Henry George, "to confiscate land. It is only necessary to confiscate rent. We may safely leave the shell if we take the kernel."

The "kernel," according to Henry George's figure of speech, is the rental value of the land. This he proposes to take through taxation, instead of taking the land itself by "abolishing all private titles and declaring all lands public property." For many centuries it was said "the king can do no wrong." During the French Revolution it was said "the people can do no wrong." Both statements are as false as they are sinful. Wrongs can be committed by prince as well as by peasant. Injustice can be committed by sovereign king no less than by sovereign people. Have you ever met those who would not steal a penny or rob the richest of a dime and yet without a blush would vote to rob every landowner of every dollar he had paid for his land?

But forget the injustice and the wrong and study the question from purely a selfish angle.

Unless the single-tax scheme does take from all real estate its market value it will fail in the one thing wherein all its advocates insist it will succeed. Assume, therefore, that the proposition becomes a law, and the intended result is accomplished, and real estate ceases to have a market value. It is safe to say that every large building in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and elsewhere in the State was built in whole or in part with borrowed money, and two-thirds of them were built wholly with borrowed money. When the market value of the land is gone you will loan no money on real estate, and banks and insurance companies are no more foolish than you. Unless you happen to know of some one who has idle money that he wants to put into a building upon real estate that has no market value, you ought to be able to recognize that when land values are gone erecting buildings of every kind is at an end.

What is a building? A building, large or small, consists of iron, worth $1 per ton in the ground, plus labor, rock from the quarry, clay and sand from the pit, lumber from the forest, paint from the mineral, plus labor. Transportation is mostly labor. Every building in your State is more than 75 per cent labor. How will labor fare when building ceases?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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FELLOW CITIZEN: In this letter I want to arrest the attention of small capitalists.

The deposits of all savings banks and the resources of all life insurance companies and trust institutions belong to capitalists, mostly small capitalists. Every man and woman who has a dollar invested, whether from earnings or inheritance, is a capitalist.

Assume, if you will, that the single-tax scheme prevails, and the result promised by Henry George and boastfully reiterated in every issue of the Great Adventure follows and land values vanish. Will you loan any money on real estate that has no market value? Possibly a portion of what you have is already loaned on real estate. Will you renew that loan or will you at least attempt to collect it? Do you think the savings banks and life insurance companies, whose funds are largely loaned on real estate, are less prudent than you? Will they renew or will they also seek to collect? What will be the effect of a scramble for the collection of real estate mortgages?

Please hold the picture to your mind's eye and watch it develop. Have you any money on deposit in a savings bank which in turn has loaned it on real estate? Will you let your money stay there or will you try and get it out before others more active than you have "beaten you to it" and exhausted the convertible assets of the bank? Have you a policy in a life insurance company whose assets consist largely of real estate mortgages? Will you pay your next premium or will you seek to cash in before others more active than you have "beaten you to it" and exhausted the liquid assets of the insurance company? Do you think the world has ever seen such a panic, such a scramble, such a financial and industrial collapse as would be certain to follow the enactment of a law the avowed purpose and admitted effect of which is to strip real estate of its market value?

Have you ever observed that panics and financial depressions are no respecter of persons? They seriously affect large capitalists and small capitalists more seriously still. I am talking to small capitalists, many of whom have accumulated and are now adding thereto within the ranks of labor. By joining the single-taxers you may force some large capitalists to the wall and compel them to live on fried kittens, but while you are doing that you had better be mighty careful lest you force yourselves to eat fried cats. The American people, you must bear in mind, are kinsfolk. What helps one group helps every group. What injures one class injures every class, and the lower the class the greater the injury.

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

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FELLOW CITIZEN: Please consider the following concrete instances as typical examples of the impractical effect of the single-tax scheme.

The Homestake mine is reported to have paid $60,000,000 in dividends, and ten times that sum in wages. The ore of this world-famed mine averages about $3.50 per ton. It uses every drop of available water, most of which is pumped over the mountain. Yet the mountains are full of water with no gold-bearing ore to work, and within 30 miles of the Homestake there are mountains of ore yielding over $3.50 per ton with no available water and too low in grade to bear transportation.

Now, apply the single-tax scheme to the Homestake mine, to the water that it utilizes, to the floods of unusable water, and the enormous bodies of unworkable ore. The ore beds of the Homestake stripped of the improvements—untaxable under the plan—should bear no more tax than better ore that can not be given away. The water but for the pumping plant—untaxable under the scheme—is worth no more than other streams yielding nothing taxable. Figure it out as best you can, and the Homestake mine, yielding millions in dividends, would pay no taxes under a single-tax law, while the farmers of South Dakota would have the market value of their lands taxed away to supply this loss in public revenues.

At Sierra Madre Villa, near Pasadena, Calif., there lives a man who, by tunneling some distance into the mountain, has secured a few inches of water with which he irrigates his ranch, and realizes a handsome annual return from oranges and lemons. On every side there are thousands of acres of equally good soil, but practically worthless for want of water. My friend's improvements and betterments would be exempt from taxation under the single-tax scheme, and his lands devoid of these improvements would be of no greater value than the adjacent lands, which if taxed a penny per acre would be sold for taxes.

Please apply the same principle to the railroads of the country: Tax the right of way, the same as land in the vicinity devoid of improvements, exempt the grades, cuts, culverts, bridges, ties, rails, rolling stock, and earnings, and the State would lose much revenue which the confiscated rental value of productive lands and town lots would scarcely equal.

Has the world been a fool until now? Is it now about to acquire the sum total of human wisdom with socialists, anarchists, Bolsheviki, and I. W. W. as its teachers?

Cordially, yours,

ABRAHAM ADAMS.

The Soldier of the Great War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OSCAR E. BLAND,

OF INDIANA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. BLAND of Indiana. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House of Representatives, it is not my purpose in what I shall say at this time to attempt to influence legislation, because that hour has passed during this session, but I do desire on this occasion to pay my respects to the valiant soldiers and sailors of the Great War and to review some of the legislation incident to same, and to point with what I believe to be pardonable pride to my labors in connection with same.

My activities in this body began with the war session on the 6th day of April, 1917, when the President of the United States called Congress in extraordinary session for the purpose of declaring war against the Imperial German Government. Our citizens had been killed while in the pursuits of peace, and our

flag had been insulted on the high seas; the peace and security of our Republic had been assaulted; the liberties of mankind were threatened. A state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government was practically in existence on that eventful day. It remained for Congress to declare that that condition did exist. You may scan the pages of history of all civilization and you will find nowhere recorded a world condition similar to that which existed then. The great responsibility that came to me then came to all of you who were here, and I know you will agree with me that in those solemn hours we were all conscious of the tremendous import of the action we were to take. I voted for the declaration of war, knowing that we were about to engage in a terrible death struggle with the greatest military power known to the world; that we were unprepared; that we were a peace-loving people and knew little of the art of war.

I knew it would take much of our boasted wealth of treasure and manhood. I knew it would bring its years of anxiety, of sacrifice, of pain, and suffering. I knew that it would fasten upon the backs of generations to come the burdens of sacrifice and self-denial. I knew that it would bring its scourge of revolutionary strife and discontent. I visualized the horrors of dreadful modern warfare, and could see the maimed, the wounded, the dead, and dying, bringing with them the sobs of grief and bitter tears of anguish. Up to that hour we had never been so prosperous, so happy, so contented, so boastful of our national greatness, of our proud, enlightened, liberty-loving citizenship. Our Republic was the land of prosperity for all, the home of real freedmen and the asylum of peace and happiness for the oppressed of the world. To consciously plunge this proud, prosperous, happy people into this terrible maelstrom of hate and horror with its inevitable consequences, to my way of thinking was as great a responsibility as ever was placed upon human shoulders. It was justifiable only upon the mature and conscientious conviction, first, that the honor, safety, and very existence of the Republic itself was at stake; that the lives and happiness and prosperity and future opportunities of our citizenship depended upon the successful and victorious conclusion of the war.

Having voted to make war, I regarded it my unavoidable and indisputable duty to do all in my power in a legislative way and otherwise to make the Republic a tower of strength to the allied cause in the great crisis that had come to us. I voted for and supported in every way possible every measure and proposal demanded as necessary to the winning of the conflict. In a war where 30,000,000 men were engaged a few hundred thousand men could be of little avail, because this "struggle of the giants" meant the greatest efforts on the part of all of the combatants. If the liberties of mankind and the safety of the Republic were to be preserved, it called for mobilization not only of all our available fighting man power but of our industrial and economic wealth. I voted for the selective conscription in order that all of the available fighting man power of the Nation should be at the service of the flag if called upon.

In this way the Government went into the homes of our people and took out their dearest treasures, which in many instances left the fireside desolate and comfortless forever. The soul of the tender, gentle, loving Lincoln was racked with sorrow and pain when he was compelled to sacrifice lives of his fellow countrymen, whom he loved, in order that the country they love might not perish from the earth, and I know that the same sad sentiment was in many of your hearts that day. As a Representative of the people of the second congressional district of Indiana, and a more loyal and patriotic citizenship can be found nowhere in the Republic, I felt then and I feel now that to vote and advocate otherwise than I did would make me untrue to the trust reposed in me.

Having so voted to send the flower of American youth into the most hellish war of history, I have always felt it my duty, and I still so obligate myself, to do all in my power to add to the safety, the comfort, and the well-being of those brave men whom we took from their paths of peace and happiness and opportunity to fight the Nation's battles.

The soldiers of most European countries received but a few cents a day as pay for their services. The Civil War soldiers fought for about $13 a month. The heroes of Valley Forge and Morristown, while starving, freezing, and naked, oftentimes despaired of getting any pay at all. The recent war Congress, by almost unanimous vote, directed the payment of $30 per month for home service and additional pay while on foreign soil. We provided with equal unanimity and generosity for Government allotment and pay to the dependents of our enlisted men, also for voluntary allotments by soldier, sailor, or officer to his dependents, and for insurance to protect his loved ones in the event he fell in the conflict. The stupendous sums of money included in our appropriation bills to equip, supply, and take care of our soldiers and sailors astonished the world. Training camps, hospitals, munition plants, shipyards, docks, transports, submarines, submarine chasers, aircraft, and all the necessary paraphernalia of war had to be provided and provided quickly, while these men we had called were being examined, enrolled, and trained. The home folks were called upon to stimulate production not only of munitions and the materials of war, but wool, cotton, food, clothing, and medical supplies. To keep 4,000,000 men munitioned and comfortable, more than 3,000 miles away, called for sacrifices, called for extra effort, called for generous giving, called for the closest coordination of our hundred million people.

To successfully war against such an enemy we must put every ounce of power behind our fighting men. Disloyalty and treason must be stamped out. Clamorous, treacherous, goods-box mouthings of hirelings of the enemy must be suppressed. The black-hearted, little-souled profiteer, gloating over financial gains made in the hour of his country's travail, must be curbed. The food supply of the world was short, and we must shoulder the additional burden of feeding humanity, even if we must ration ourselves to the point of discomfort; our patriotic citizenship with astonishingly little complaint submitted to the most rigorous dieting in order that the boys at the front might have what they needed.

In the summer of 1917 a few thousand of our men landed on foreign soil. The allied morale was low, and the enemy saw victory in the near future. The landing of this handful of soldiers gave new hope to the allied cause. In July, 1918, after the rush of legislation was over, I felt it my duty to go on my own responsibility to the battle front, to the billets, to the ports and docks, to the hospitals, and the American military activities in France, in order that I might get first-hand information and, by better knowing and understanding the conditions under which our boys lived over there, be better enabled to intelligently legislate for their needs. I shall not soon forget the dark, foggy night of June 29, 1918, when a small, dark passenger vessel crept out of New York Harbor loaded with civilians, American troops, and a few companies of Paderewski's Poles. The waters on both shores were infested with submarines, and this little vessel, without convoy, started across the dark, dangerous, and forbidding ocean, which each day was the savage scene of the greatest tragedies of history. On this vessel I met and talked with many soldiers, and among them was a strong-hearted lad from the second Indiana congressional district. We zigzagged for 13 days without convoy across the pathless waves with a broken-down engine, with lifeboats of doubtful value, and with a crew unfamiliar with submarine activities. Did these dangers and terrors and hardships trouble the hearts of these reckless, daring young Americans who from necessity were uncomfortably quartered and none too well provided with food? I never heard an expression of fear or desire to turn back. Every one of them expressed anxiety to get into the conflict, and I really believe most of them would have hailed with joy the sight of a submarine periscope. Some of our brave boys found a watery grave and were lost beneath these cruel waters, but thank Heaven most of them who embarked landed on foreign soil and rendered a splendid account of themselves.

On March 21, 1918, the Central Powers had started their great "peace drive" on the western front. Never before in the history of warfare was such a mass of men and munitions assembled as the enemy hurled at the tired and discouraged allies. The Kaiser believed that this was the beginning of the end, and Haig soon said that his back was to the wall; the whole world shuddered at the terrible carnage and what seemed to be the certain result; the heart of civilization was broken. I was in Paris on July 14, 1918, which is the French Fourth of July. July 14 and 15, 1918, will be cherished forever as the days when the heroism and courage of the soldier of the New World saved the liberties of the Old by checking the triumphant but methodical advance of the great army of the Central Powers against Paris, which up to this time had been invincible. The mettle of the fighting Yank had already been tested, and he was the hero of the day. The many-colored uniforms from almost every country of the world marched in that great parade. I looked with admiration upon the tired and worn poilu of France, the weary but unconquerable Tommy of England, the turbaned Singalese and Indian soldier, the kilted Scotch, the fearless Irish, the unyielding Canadian, and even the stolid Russian and the fiery Italian was in the line. They had been sobered by conflict, by death and horror, and had proudly sustained the best traditions of their countries. But my heart swelled with pride and tears came to my eyes when I saw the tinpan helmets over the jaunty, smiling faces of the reckless, daring Yanks as they electrified that great city in their march across the Place de Concorde. I knew that soon they were to be tested in the crucible. The

powerful German guns could be heard in Paris that day. Within a few weeks the Kaiser hoped he would occupy this beautiful city of art, and his enemies, disheartened, would yield to subjugation.

I went out to general headquarters, to the training areas, to the billets, to the hospitals. I went up into the Vosges Mountains, where our boys were holding the line, and in the sectors at Toul and Nancy. I visited the air squadrons, prison camps, aeroplane assembling plants, ports, docks, and the varied military activities. Already the khaki uniform of the Yanks and the roaring motor of the military truck and automobile engaged in our preparation for the great day were in evidence practically all over France. America's big way of doing things had created open-mouthed astonishment in that splendid little Republic.

I was at Chaumont when Foch's great offensive at Chateau-Thierry was started on the 18th day of June, 1918. Upon my return to Paris, I visited our evacuation hospitals. Thousands of American soldiers, many of them literally shot to pieces, and some of them severely gassed, were being brought to these institutions for temporary treatment. I said then that the history of the future world was being written on the battle fields near at hand. I was the first civilian in Chateau-Thierry after the Boche were driven out. I visited the scenes of our first great sacrifice, where whole regiments were almost completely annihilated, but where the word "retreat" or "surrender" was never known. I heard first-hand there amidst the terrible wreck of recent battle the story of the attack, of the charge, of the withering machine-gun fire, of the terrible death struggle, of the unflinching suffering and courage, of the uncomplaining, furious, reckless, dashing gallantry in open warfare that the Europeans up to this hour had not known. I visited the village of Vaux, where American skill and daring and ingenuity, without the loss of a life, had captured a village considered as impregnable. I looked with glowing pride upon the Blue Woods of Belleau, where the enemy in entrenched insolence regarded his position as unassailable; I stood in the Surmelin Valley, near the Marne, where the Thirty-eighth Infantry stopped the German hoard, saved Paris, and saved the world, and earned the title "The Rock of the Marne." The enemy dead had not been buried, and shell and shot had left their withering blight, but there not many hours before the future of the world had been changed. A few miles away from the city of Chateau-Thierry our brave lads were still throwing themselves at the enemy without regard to consequences and the enemy had realized that a new force, a new power, a new spirit, was in front of him and was turning his back to the advancing tide in khaki uniform, never again to threaten the happiness and peace of civilization.

In this great drive Indiana played a proud part. Col. Adams, of Vincennes, was second in command in the Rock of the Marne Regiment and helped to withstand the terrible fury of the attack and routed three divisions of Germany's best soldiery. Some of the second district boys were in the First, Second, Forty-second, and Twenty-sixth Divisions, and I think other divisions containing Indiana boys shared in the glory of the wonderful victories of the second Marne campaign.

Col. Tyndall commanded the Field Artillery brigade, in which were many young men from the second congressional district, who were as fine soldiers as the world has ever produced. They belonged to the Forty-second Division. Up to this time they had already earned a proud record. I knew most of these boys, many of them came from the colleges and the busy business life of the second congressional district. Some of their comrades had been wounded when I visited them. They were going into the fight again the next day. Within a few days they had lost several of their comrades, but they saw no rest until the fighting was over. The unyielding courage, intelligence, and tenacity of this wonderful division of National Guards will never be forgotten. Many times afterwards before Armistice Day their well-tried, well-known courage and intrepidity as soldiers were called into use in driving the Hun out of France.

In the summer of 1919 it became my duty to visit these battle scenes in an official capacity. I again went over the scenes where our brave men had turned the German horde in the great Soissons, Chateau-Thierry, Rheims drive. No American can visit this scene and study the struggle that there took place without feeling his bosom swelling with pride because of the heroism displayed there by our splendid and gallant fighting men. I visited the cemeteries at Belleau, at Surrennes, at Romaine. I followed the line of battle and the triumphant advance of the Yanks through the forest of the Argonne, Montrebeau Wood, Madelain Farm, Hill 223, Montfaucon, and the hundred other blood-stained places in this greatest field of human conflict known in the history of civilization. From the heights of Hattonchatel I looked down into the valley where the great St. Mihiel offensive was won. I visited the scene of conflict around Verdun. I followed the Hindenburg line for more than a hundred miles. I studied and examined these well-prepared barriers, which the enemy regarded as impregnable, against which all hope of civilization might battle in vain. I saw where these twentieth century monsters of defense had resisted in vain, and I said then, and I say now, that no power in this world save the intrepid, dauntless courage, hope, and inspiration of the manhood of the New World could ever have gone over those defenses.

I saw where they had been pushed aside like the drifting sands of the seashore; I saw where the enemy in consternation and panic had been forced to leave their shelter and withdraw in haste; I saw there then why it was that early in November the enemy sued for peace, and the most horrible and devastating human conflict of history was ended.

Our Nation grieves because of the fact that 75,000 of our brave boys sleep beneath foreign soil and that hundreds of thousands of them will go through life maimed and halt, and that many hundreds of thousands of them have been weakened in body and spirit on account of the extraordinary hardships and exposure to which they were subjected. I am told that 10,000 of our boys who participated in this struggle are permanently insane and more than 100,000 were discharged with mental disability. Six hundred thousand men have been damaged in body or mind on account of their participation in this great struggle. You speak of the hell of war in France. If you have visited some of the training camps in America you will conclude that they were not pleasure resorts, to say the least. Where thousands of men were crowded together in the mud and rain and cold and inconvenience of unnatural surroundings in military training camps, suffering, pain, and disease must necessarily and unavoidably be present. Many of these 4,000,000 men called from their happy homes are permanently out of the battle of civil life by reason of their service for their country, regardless of whether they were on the fighting front or not. Now, my friends, add to the total number of insane and wounded and disabled by disease and sickness the dependents of those that were killed and disabled, and you will arrive at an enormous total of responsibility that this Nation must shoulder in the future.

When these boys marched away from their home towns and cities, when they were loaded on the trains for training camps, and when they were embarked from the ports of the United States, a full-hearted, patriotic citizenship, realizing the sacrifices these lads were making and were liable to make, bade them Godspeed and pledged them their devotion through life. "You go on, John, and fight for your country; we will back you up, and we will see that you and yours do not suffer." John did the fighting and he did it well; he did it better than we did backing him up. He lost two years of the best part of his young life.

When the war broke out the golden apple of opportunity hung low on the bough for his grasping. When he returned the walks of civilian life were new to him. His job, if he had one, oftimes was gone. His allotment and insurance most frequently had taken all of his pay. Hundreds of thousand of them did not have money enough to buy a new suit of clothes. We had spent $28,000,000,000 and loaned the Allies ten billions. We had passed revenue laws to raise this money, which put a heavy burden upon the taxpayer. The war was over, the country was saved, and some of the taxpayers began to complain. I am afraid that some of our people who longed for peace began to forget what peace had cost. I am told that the officers of the "Rock of the Marne regiment"—using this for an example—were met at the port at Hoboken and informed that they had been reduced in rank and therefore their pay was reduced. Congress hastened to give each discharged soldier two months' pay in order that he might buy a suit of clothes. While this was generous, in a way, it was a pitiful acknowledgment of the obligation that we owe to these boys who, while we were secure at home, faced hell a thousand times in a thousand ways.

Since I have been in Congress, among my several committee assignments, I have been on the Invalid Pension Committee of the House of Representatives. Before I came here I pledged my constituents that I would stand for and ardently advocate better treatment to all brave men who helped to defend our flag. I was joint author of the Smoot-Bland bill—the Invalid Pension Committee only considers pensions arising from Civil War—which gave a minimum pension of $30 and a maximum of $40 a month, and I helped to frame and report to Congress and voted and spoke for the Fuller bill, which gives a maximum of $50 and gives $72 to the totally disabled. I supported and worked for the Sells bill, which is a service bill for Spanish War Veterans. I helped to increase the pensions of soldiers'

widows, orphans, and dependants. I have been criticized for my liberal view on pensions to discharged soldiers, but I have stated publicly in my district and on the floor of Congress, and I again state, that I have no apologies to make for such liberality as I have shown in taking money out of the Federal Treasury to pay the defenders of our flag.

I understand and fully appreciate that the matter could be carried too far, but as long as I am a Representative in the Federal legislative body I shall steadfastly advocate and fight for, to the utmost of my ability, a proper and adequate compensation and help for the men who have made it possible for this Republic to exist with its present wealth and power and glory. A nation that will exact the life of its citizens to defend it in an hour of peril and then desert them or fail to render them full justice after the successful conflict is ended is unworthy of existence. Had these 4,000,000 men stayed at home, the talents of Congress would have been busily exercised at this hour devising means to pay indemnity to the Central Powers. It is frequently stated—and I think to the everlasting shame of the Republic—that a financial recognition of the lost opportunities of these 4,000,000 men at this time is commercializing patriotism. I voted for the recent compensation-adjustment bill because it, in part and only in a small way, attempted to equalize the opportunity of the men who were called into the service and those who were not called.

This Congress has done much for the discharged soldier in starting him out again in the avenues of civil life, and I am proud of the fact that I have supported heartily every measure intended to be helpful to him in this connection. For those that were disabled in service we have provided for vocational training. Hundreds of thousands of them can never again take up the work they laid down when the bugle call to duty was sounded. New fields of effort must be found, and this Congress has appropriated $130,000,000 for that purpose. More than a hundred thousand disabled men would be hopeless but for the benefits of this beneficent law. We have enacted into law a statute giving them the opportunity of qualifying themselves for trades and professions at which they can earn a livelihood in the future rather than be solely dependent upon the generosity of their country. The Nation, if it considered the financial question alone and as a business proposition, would exercise poor judgment if it failed to rehabilitate into fields of permanent usefulness the physical wrecks of this Great War. But I am glad to say that Congress in its extraordinary generosity in its legislation and appropriations for vocational training has had a higher motive than the economic gain that would come to it by making these unfortunate men self-sustaining, or nearly so.

Congress in passing this legislation believed that the country owed the disabled soldier the duty of helping him to be an independent, useful, self-respecting citizen; that his happiness and the happiness of those who were dear to him depended much upon what he did with himself as the years go on. His happiness much depends upon his consciousness of ability to help himself.

This one act on the part of Congress and the study that grew out of it brought about other legislation later in the session just closed which, to my way of thinking, is one of the most advanced and highly commendable pieces of legislation enacted since civilization began. It is now written upon the statute books that the Federal Government shall help the States reclaim and rehabilitate at public expense all those unfortunates who are injured in the various industrial walks of life. The coal miner, the railroader, the shop worker, and those who toil in various places of industry in the Nation are now given to understand that if they are so unfortunate as to become maimed or injured so as to no longer be able successfully, comfortably, and profitably to pursue their usual avocations, they may have the opportunity at public expense to learn a new trade, a new profession, a new work in which they may engage successfully. It is holding out hope to the helpless. It offers comfort not only to the toiler but to those who are dear to him and dependent upon him; it is not only humane and in harmony with the best spirit of the twentieth century but it is, in my judgment, from an economic standpoint, good business.

The world had not been thinking much along these lines until the problem came to us out of this Great War, and if I had time I would like to pick out many examples of where we have profited in many ways by our experience in this great struggle. Sad and terrible as it is to contemplate the tremendous loss of things held dear by humanity, there has come to us in these hours of bitterness new ideas, new hopes, new obligations, and new consecration to duty.

I voted for the bill which gives the ex-service man the opportunity of acquiring a home and of acquiring cheap but unquestionable insurance. This Congress has given him the preference in certain fields of Government service. We have amended the war-risk insurance act, increasing the allowance in certain classes of serious injury. The Sweet bill, which we passed, amends the war-risk insurance act with a view to increasing the efficiency of the law and greatly liberalizes the provisions of the act in the payment of compensation to disabled soldiers, sailors, and marines. We authorized by law the incorporation of the American Legion in order that the heroes of this war might band themselves together with ties of love and sympathy. This wonderful organization of the best blood in the American Republic, in my judgment, is to occupy a proud position in the affairs of the Nation. Not only will they keep green the graves of those who have fallen and who will fall by the wayside in life's struggle, but they will, by their united efforts and by their courageous and manly conduct and by precept and example, preserve the foundations of the Republic, foster love of country, instill reverence for the flag, and keep our people constantly in mind of the arduous duties of citizenship.

As I stated before, I dedicated my services in Congress largely to redeeming the pledge of the Nation to these splendid men. I have tried to keep the faith. I have in my files many thousands of letters from young soldiers in my district. I have helped them get their $60 bonus and their clothing allowance and their travel pay. I have fought out many of their cases with the War Risk Insurance Bureau in adjusting their claims and allowances and allotments. I have kept in close touch with the Vocational Board and have helped many boys from the second district to secure vocational training. I have helped to relieve the distress of hundreds of parents and relatives by keeping the lines of communication open between them and their soldier boys abroad.

During the war, Congress, the Secretary of War, and other high officials promised the distressed parents of boys who were going to the battle fields that should they fall in the fray their remains should be returned to them, if they so desired. Seventy per cent of the parents of the 75,000 soldiers who sleep in foreign soil indicated their wish that the remains of their loved ones be returned to them at Government cost. I introduced the first bill providing adequate means for accomplishing this purpose and made the first speech on the floor of the House on the subject. I caused hearings to be had before the Foreign Affairs Committee, which brought about the crystallization of sentiment that resulted in the War Department getting at the job in earnest, and I am hopeful that this great and humane undertaking may soon be finished.

My investigations in an official capacity with reference to the conduct of this war has brought me to the unavoidable conclusion that in any war of the magnitude of the Great War there will necessarily be many inequalities of law and many unjust applications of it and many mistakes, all of which may be remedied, cured, or perfected to such an extent that the mischief done may not be repeated in the future. Our court-martial laws which have been on the statute books for many years, in my judgment, have not been conducive to giving the enlisted man full justice or a square deal. The old system resulted in unjust and excessive penalties and fostered in the Army a spirit of harshness, cruelty, and revenge that was not conducive to the best Army morale. In some of the prisons in the American Expeditionary Forces, some of our boys—many of them innocent of wrongdoing—were badly treated, and I have thousands of letters from them from all over the United States demanding that these conditions be remedied and that those responsible for this misconduct be called to account.

The United States is the one Nation engaged in this Great War that I know of that did not open its civil prison doors for the purpose of recruiting prisoner-soldiers. We demanded that our Army be made up of the best citizenship of the Nation. It is not fair to say that a boy who was arrested for "A. W. O. L." is "a skulker, a criminal, a thug," and so forth. I believe the investigations made and the publicity given has already had a wonderful effect. The new Army bill provides for radical changes in the old law which, in my judgment, will make our military statutes better fitted to the needs and requirements of a great citizen army in event we are ever called upon again to mobilize one.

My colleagues, this Republic owes a great debt of gratitude to these splendid men who were the Nation's bulwark in the hour of our national peril. We must not forget their heroic service. Our prosperous, generous, patriotic citizenship must not only keep green the graves of the brave souls who fell in the strife but we must care for their loved ones; we must also care for his unfortunate comrades, who suffered with him, but who, I am grateful to know, remain with us and who are at this hour the special pride of the Nation.

The Mason Resolution and the Loyal Coalition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. GALLIVAN,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, at 4 o'clock this afternoon the second session of this the Sixty-sixth Congress will see its finish. Congress is not adjourning with its work all done, mark you, but the majority leaders have heard some one calling them to hurry to Chicago for Tuesday next, when the national Republican convention opens its sessions, and the first inning of the national game of big-league politics will be played.

No man in this House will say that this Congress has half completed the work allotted to it. I have neither the time nor the inclination to analyze in this speech the failures of the Republican leaders of this House. I have one piece of proposed legislation in mind, properly presented to this body, widely advertised, and nationally approved, agreed to by a majority of the Committee on Foreign Affairs after long and intensive study, which, we are now officially informed, will not be considered before final adjournment. I refer to the so-called Mason resolution expressing the sympathy of the Congress with the aspirations of the people of the young republic of Ireland to govern themselves without outside interference of any kind or character.

I am informed from most authoritative sources that the Republican leaders of this body have reached a secret agreement whereby the membership of the House will not be permitted to record itself on this question of recognizing the young Irish republic by extending a word of hope and sympathy. In the language of its author, the Mason resolution has been chloroformed, and we must go back to our districts and tell our people bluntly and in strict adherence to the truth that the Republicans in control of this House have denied us the right to vote on this message of cheer to young Ireland, and that they have brazenly entered into a secret agreement with the Speaker of this body not to call up the Mason resolution and to prevent anyone else from calling it up.

Mr. Speaker, you have the right to do as you are doing under the rules of this House, but you ought to have told this House before this day what is your reason for refusing to recognize the friends of Ireland's aspirations who have tried to get consideration for the Mason resolution. As the spokesman for the Republican Party in this House, by your action you are strangling a mild resolution of sympathy and encouragement whose passage would have heartened not only the patriots and the peasants of the Irish republic but would also have enthused and rejoiced the 20,000,000 Americans, Irish by blood or by birth, whose first love is America, but who never can and never should forget the land where they were born or where their fathers died.

My interest in self-government for Ireland is the interest of an American Congressman and an American citizen. I am sick and disgusted at hearing some people say that when the Irish people agree on what they want England will grant it to them. You forget, Mr. Speaker, that if that principle had been applied to us this Nation would never have existed. The constant repetition of this anti-Irish propaganda suggests to me an outstanding fact which I want to call to your attention, and I ask you to note carefully my statement.

In the election of December, 1918, England had nine political groups which returned members to Parliament. These were:

(1) Coalition Unionists.
(2) Coalition Liberalists.
(3) Coalition Laborites.
(4) Unionists.
(5) Asquithian Liberals.
(6) Laborites.
(7) National Party.
(8) Independents.
(9) Socialists.

The Irish people in the same election had only three groups:

(1) Sinn Fein Republicans.
(2) Dillon Nationals.
(3) Pro-English Unionists.

The Sinn Fein party captured 72 per cent of the country in that election, and in more recent elections it has captured other portions of the county and municipal governments which had been hitherto claimed by the Unionists. Those who do not know the truth but are willing to learn can judge from these figures whether or not the people of Ireland are divided.

Let me say to this House that the Republican leaders can not excuse their cowardly dodging of this question of self-government for the Irish people by any such pretext as the foregoing. I am inclined to the belief that they have been persuaded to their hostile action by such narrow-minded, bigoted, provincial, Tory-hearted organizations as the "Loyal Coalition," of Boston, and their kindred societies of other cities. And I want to take this opportunity to pay my respects to the crowd in my own city who have recently publicly assailed my activity in favor of the Mason resolution and in behalf of the thousands of Irish political prisoners now held in British jails.

The "Loyal Coalition," of Boston, is distinctly a treasonable, secret, anti-American body of American and provincial Tories, Britishers of a sort, and other alien-minded conspirators, officered by some cranks and a few criminals, and financed by anti-American sources. Its membership in many instances has been recruited from the wrecks and remnants of exploded and shattered society of discredited bigotry and social treason. It is a body set up to aid the stealthy activities of the British secret service, to promote British interests at the expense of American honor and security, and, by assailing the American Irish and their race, religion, and political hopes, to obtain allies among the baser elements of society and injure America by fostering religious strife and civil dissension.

The telegram of this venal, immoral, and impudent alien agency to me and other public men is an insult, just as its presence on our soil is a public danger, calling for police activity and sanitary vigilance. The cousin and agent of Lloyd-George, who signs himself president of this alien political polecat, is the brother of the notorious, anti-Christian red arrested the other day in Chicago as a public enemy; he appears to lack his inflammatory relative's courage. Anyone who will take the trouble to examine the criminal archives of Suffolk County, in my State, will come across some evidences bearing on the character and patriotism of the treasurer of this smelly concern. Of such is the "Loyal Coalition," of Boston.

Decent citizens have only contempt for the enemies of American liberty and civil religious peace. I favor treating them as their spiritual ancestors were treated in 1783. Boat them across the Bay of Fundy or ship them in the first boat going east to Halifax or Sheol.

As long as I sit in Congress I shall consider it my sacred duty to do all in my power to bring to fruition the hopes of every race and nationality struggling for freedom and self-government. In so doing my conduct will be in harmony with the noblest traditions of America and the sentiments and utterances of her great sons. Only those who have lost their Americanism, who forget the history of their country, who ignore or becloud the splendid services given to America in every crisis of her life by Ireland and the Irish, are unable to know that the fight of Ireland in 1920 and America in 1776 are similar. The demands of the Irish in 1920 may be read word for word in the Bill of Rights written into the constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and those who seek to deny Irish claims against English misgovernment, whether they do it anonymously in the press or stealthily or by indirection, like this wretched "Loyal Coalition," are faithless to America, false to the teachings of the fathers and founders of this Republic, and unfit to fellowship with Americans who love their country and its flag, and the traditions, the liberty, the humanity its name connotes.

As for this malodorous pest that dares insult me and other public men with its British-financed and British-inspired insolences, it should be taken in tongs and dropped into the nearest sewer, where it can foregather with the other foul and noxious things the sanitary authorities ban from polluting our cities. Pests of this kind should be driven out; they stink in the nostrils of the country; and the Department of Justice should no longer permit these aggregations of grafters, traitors, and agents provocateur to endanger the social and religious peace of any American community.

I hope from my heart that it is not true, as this gang now boasts, the Republican leaders of this House have hearkened to their treacherous and dark-lantern attacks.

Let us not be unmindful, Mr. Speaker, of the circumstances of the birth of our own Nation. We ought now to reassert in this Congress the principle that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

We ought now to deny the right of strong nations to enslave the weak and to make them subject to their interests. Because America has always stood for justice, we ought here and now to offer our traditional sympathy to all nations, such as Ireland, struggling to be free.

You can not drive the Irish problem out of the politics of America or of the world, struggle as you may. To paraphrase the great Irish-Virginian, Patrick Henry, whose fiery eloquence first lighted the torch of independence, "The Irish have but one lamp by which their feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. They know no way of judging the future but by the past." Judging by the past they know that there is nothing in the conduct of the British ministry to justify the hope of any Irishman that England will do justice to Ireland unless the moral force of the world looms up more powerful and compelling than British armored dreadnought or standing army.

Let us hope, my colleagues, that the "square deal" has not been buried with Theodore Roosevelt.

White Coal.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 4, 1920,

On the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 3184) to create a Federal power commission and to define its powers and duties, to provide for the improvement of navigation, for the development of water power, for the use of lands of the United States in relation thereto, to repeal section 18 of "An act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes, approved August 8, 1917, and for other purposes," and for other purposes.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, the history of civilization is the history of man's conquest of the forces of nature. An old legend tells of the three giants who in turn have toiled for man. First was Wind, a mighty fellow, but willful, who turned man's windmills and drove his boats when he listed. But Wind was not a steady laborer, and man turned to Water to aid him. Water then turned his millwheels and carried his loads. But Water could not climb hills nor leave his accustomed runway. So man, ever more pressing in his demands, learned at length of the mighty giant, Steam, near kin to Water, and mightiest of the three, always to be depended on and almost limitless in his capabilities. Had the story been cast in these days a fourth giant would have been added, near kin to Water and to Steam, and his name might have been called White Coal, the mystic, unfathomed, wondrous electricity, liberated from the power of water.

What is power in terms of modern life? It moves the wheels of every industry. Power lights our houses, hauls our vehicles on river, rail, and streets; cooks our food; harvests our grain; grinds our flour; hews the stones for our great buildings and hoists them and the mighty steel girders into place. Power lifts our elevators, carries our messages over the wires, weaves our garments, contrives everything we wear from our shoes to the buttons on our caps. Power is the warp and woof of our modern existence. The man or group of men who own power will own the people of the United States. Our coal supply is nearing its end. Our oil supply is not eternal. The very cordage in our forests is measured, and that remnant is annually gnawed at by forest fires. There remains to us in plentitude but water. The water power of the country has been variously estimated at from 60,000,000 to 700,000,000 horsepower—a stupendous thought coupled with the fact that in the not very far distant future electricity will be the universal motive power of our industrial life. Electric power is the cheapest, cleanest, surest, most all-around and indifferent-to-weather power that there is. In Rocky Mountain severest winter weather electric locomotives run when steam engines freeze. The Scientific American says that the substitution of 50,000,000 water power for steam would release 7,000,000 freight cars, avoid the mining of 275,000,000 tons of fuel, and release the services of 300,000 coal miners.

It is not any wonder that the hydroelectric people made such titanic efforts to get a bill through as quickly and quietly as possible that would take from the people the ownership and control of the water power of the United States.

Each time the House and Senate conferees have come to grips the House has stood firm against ceding the rights of the people. In consequence there has always been a deadlock among the conferees. The Senate has persistently held that rights to water-power sites should be granted by the Secretary of War. The House took the position that this privilege should be vested in Congress. The Senate at first stood for no charge to holding companies. The Senate has heretofore favored a recapture clause at variance with the interests of the public. And on the part of those favoring the water-power interests in both Houses there has been a tendency to try and crowd this bill into the log jam of legislation during the closing days of a session, when there has not been sufficient time for discussion or examination of its provisions. This is a technical subject, worthy of being presented with care and particularity.

It is a striking fact that in the 10 years' history of this legislation very little publicity attended the discussion of the water-power legislation. A long grizzly arm was reaching out to the most gigantic grab this selfish old world has ever seen, and there was scarcely a ripple on the surface of the magazines. Only glittering generalities. They did not want any publicity on the particulars of this legislation, and they said so. But an enormous propaganda, with millions of dollars behind it, sent articles broadcast to foster the idea that it was the fault of Congress that millions of cheap water power were running to waste and that thriving industries were being throttled. "Conservation," their chief propagandist was wont to say, "means saving from waste. Every horsepower of water power therefore which remains undeveloped is a waste that can not be recouped." This Uriah Heep legislation came rubbing its hands under the guise of a plan to save all that immensely valuable water power to the people that is now running wantonly to waste, going into eternity forever without possibility of recapture. It really intended the perpetual subjugation of the American people, because it purposed putting the power of navigable streams into the hands of a few private capitalists and their successors forever. Just a few more gigantic fortunes above, a greater depth of misery below. The beginning of universal monopoly. President Wilson used to say, "It is better to let the water power run to waste than to settle it in the wrong way." The plan of the interests backing this legislation is to put at naught the work of the conservationists.

Part of the efforts of the propagandists is exerted toward clouding the existence of the Hydroelectric Trust. The Electrical World is the chief exorcist. February 5, 1916, it says editorially:

The Government is once more obsessed with the idea that there is a water-power trust. We thought it was definitely proved to the Senate committee in December, 1914, that there was no such monopoly, but apparently the ghost will not down.

Even in a periodical of the apparent virtue of the Outlook there appeared in February, 1916, an article favoring the very measure that Theodore Roosevelt named "an iniquity," which ended, "Why not pass the bill?" Some of their spokesmen are saying openly and sneeringly that "the word of Gifford Pinchot and the old conservationist propaganda are now discredited." Again, in March, 1920, a writer in the Electrical World complains indignantly of—

cranks who opposed water-power legislation on the silly and erroneous theory that there was a water-power trust in our country that was trying to grab up all of the water powers and develop them entirely in its own interests. It is only one case among many where a small, well-organized minority has been able to bamboozle a great majority and make the latter suffer widespread financial loss.

Those are the kind of weasel words that make me fear this bill. We have had too many such the last few years. This bill has eliminated some of the most outrageous features of former bills. It provides, apparently, for safe recapture. It reserves to the United States the right to amend and repeal. It apparently provides for preference to a public corporation over a private or commercial corporation as lessee, though there is a loophole in the wording of the section. The matter of charge is objectionable. There should have been a tax of at least $5 per horsepower. This on 60,000,000 horsepower would have bought the plants in 25 years, and they could then have been turned over to the people.

The sinister fact is that the Hydroelectric Trust is at such pains to deny its own existence. The whole country is divided into zones. It is fairly well ascertained what parts have been apportioned to what divisions of the General Electric Co. The Pacific Electric & Gas Co. is its name in California. The Southern Power Co. has five States. The Stone & Webster Co. is the Northwestern member. Who do you think had the money and the time and the patience to build these wonders of engineering that are illustrated in the scientific papers—these marvelous dams and spillways, standing silent, waiting for an enabling act from Congress to set the stream of gold flowing from the liberated water powers? The Hydroelectric Trust may have some great scheme in mind to benefit humanity, but there is no way of judging the future but by the past and

what has there been in the past of the Beef Trust, the Oil Trust, the Coal Trust, the present Food Trust, to warrant our confidence that a further iron ring around our sole remaining inheritance would bring us relief? Monopoly in the past has not tended to reduce the high cost of living. Their talk of cheap power is alluring, only it would cease to be cheap the moment they have it in their avaricious grasp. It is latent evil, evil precedent, that makes me fear this bill. The water-power interests have been quietly agglomerating all the riparian rights they could get their hands on. This accomplished, they are indifferent as to the provisions of the enabling act.

We have within very recent years an example of what we may expect in the way of cheap rates from these philanthropic water-power companies. You remember the House recently had under consideration a bill in the interests of two companies at Niagara Falls, to permit the Secretary of War to hand over for 50 years water-power rights we acquired by treaty from Canada—not a bill to regulate them, but to endow them with rights they had been enjoying for some time, and give them 4,400 feet more. Twenty years ago the State of New York granted them the privilege of diverting the water of Niagara without paying for it. Everything they wanted the State of New York granted them. Every law framed since has protected these companies and prevented any competing companies from getting started. And what has this so carefully fostered pair done toward effecting cheap power in return for such paternal care? The use they have made of their privileges should be an object lesson. Just across the river the Canadian companies, private companies, have a rate of $9 per horsepower, with a large profit. The American companies sell for $20 up to $200 per horsepower. This bill to make a legal right of a privilege that was in its beginning a usurpation is all a part of the gigantic scheme of the Hydroelectric Trust.

No Hydroelectric Trust! It is hard to understand a state of mind that expects the people to swallow such a statement. But greed for gold is paralyzing to the intellect. It is preparing a national peril, a disaster that will inevitably engulf itself and all connected with it if it is allowed to go unchecked. Here we are, a people favored of all nations in natural resources. We had every opportunity to build up a nation where, as its founders hoped, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people should not perish from the earth. But rapacity is gouging and crowding. Human nature will not endure it forever. History tells what human nature goaded to desperation will do. A social revolution is inevitable if the grabbers of wealth and privilege do not permit their prudence to dictate to their greed. The I. W. W.'s are a symptom and evidence of the unrest of the times. Revolutions do not come in a day. There was many an act of madness before the barons rose in their might at Runnymede; years of abuse before the yeomen in their turn revolted against the heavy yoke of the barons. Mountains of cruelty and injustice preceded the grim counting of the knitting women at the guillotine.

Nero, the Roman tyrant, wished that the people of Rome had but one head, that he might chop off all at one fell swoop. When the great intellects of the business world have rounded all the diversified interests up into one vast unit under one control, there is this consoling thought, that if they manifest too-atrocious greed the Government will have a simpler operation to set us free.

The Budget.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD YATES,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, I can not support the motion to pass the new so-called budget bill. I can not vote for this budget bill. I was not for it and did not vote for it when it passed the House or when the motion was debated to concur in the report of the conference committee after the House and Senate disagreed and appointed conferees. I was against it when it first came up, because, in the first place, it created a powerful and high-salaried Government official who could remain in his powerful and high-salaried office until the age of 70 unless sooner removed by both Houses of Congress. This might mean an official appointed at the age of 25 and serving 45 years. I have never seen a man who had been in an appointive office 45 years but once. He was a State appointee, and was the most insolent, arrogant, self-important, and altogether incompetent person I ever saw or heard. I thanked God when a new governor took him by the collar and fired him without hesitation or benefit of clergy. He had bragged in my presence that no governor, whether Republican or Democrat, would think of removing him, because he had been in office 40 years. So I knew, when this bill appeared and was read, that it provided for the erection of a sacred, sanctified, uncontaminated official, in whose anteroom for 40 years all comers, and Congressmen in particular, would have to sit, hand in hand, cooling their heels, in order to get any kind of an appropriation favorably considered. The bill, as originally passed, did provide that this monster, this Frankenstein, this creation of ours, clothed with power to throttle us, could be dismissed before his seventieth year if a majority in each House voted to expel him. There was that little leeway, that much of a sugar-coating to the bill. But it still looked to me like a life job for a minor appointee. Now, here, to-day, we have in this new bill a provision that the President may appoint this man, this man of possibly 21, to serve possibly 49 years—through his seventieth year.

I can not understand how any man seeking to have and make a check upon the President, a curb upon the executive officers, can favor this bill as it now stands. When the proposed amendment, now embodied in the bill, struck out the clause giving Congress power to remove, and gave power to the President to both appoint and remove, the 70-year clause ought to have been stricken out, too. But no; if I vote for this bill, I vote for a life-long job holder to be appointed by the President, and in a bill designed to appoint a man to watch and curb the President. A confusing consummation, certainly.

Of course I do not think any Democrat is to blame for supporting this bill. You see, he will gladly vote for it, because it enables him to lay the blame at the door of a bad system instead of the extravagant, wildly extravagant, Democratic appointees.

But there is another reason for voting against this bill. The confusion characterizing the inconsistent clause just referred to characterizes this whole thing. All this mass of budget legislation which we have been listening to is founded on a good deal of bunk—just plain buncombe.

For example, I know what happened in Illinois. I know Illinois; know all about Illinois. There is no magic in the word "budget" in Illinois. No miracle has happened in Illinois. True, one of the nine cabinet officers—created by the consolidating act called the code—is a director of finance, who has under him an appointee who is a budget clerk. It is true that if the cabinet officer called director of health wants a given appropriation for any one of the 10 bureaus under his department he must go and fight it out with the director of finance before he makes his appeal before the house and senate appropriation committees of the legislature. That is probably a good thing, if there is not ability or application or firmness enough in the governor's office to keep appropriations down. But the budget closet or counter is only a small subordinate part of the finance director's work or job.

No budget director in Illinois serving 40 years. No, indeed; a man serving during the executive's pleasure—that is, "during good behavior." Here is what happened in Illinois: Harmony happened—harmony with a club! A hundred or a hundred and twenty-five commissions were apparently abolished, but there are as many jobs as before or I am misinformed. For instance, take the State Public Utilities Commission. Under Gov. Dunne it cost $300,000 a year; $600,000 in the biennal; now it costs over $700,000 in the biennal. There are as many commissions as ever, more employees, a longer pay roll, and an overhead addition—a director of trade and commerce, at $7,000 a year, with a force drawing about $50,000 a year in salaries and supplies. I know something about the utilities commission because I was the Republican member of it from its inception under Gov. Dunne, in 1913, until Gov. Lowden came in in 1917. It was not the budget which reorganized Illinois. It was the consolidating act. The code, this act, simply took every commission and put it under a cabinet officer, abolishing a few as it went along, but substituting "advisory boards," so that the list of appointees is just as long or longer. I am not criticizing or complaining. It may prove a good thing. I hope it will. I only wish I had had a legislature when I was governor willing to do this consolidating. Some day we will pass a national consolidating act, and it will be a good thing. But this budget bill will not abolish any one board or commission that I know of.

Another funny thing: Some more misunderstanding and misapprehension. Gov. Lowden testified before the Budget Com-

mittee—our congressional Budget Committee. He testified, in the main, in behalf of his consolidation code. He said his budget office was a good thing—a good institution. He did not at any time say his annual budget is the "first annual budget." But somehow this error "crept into the record." Several times the present Illinois budget is called the "first annual budget." And I have in my office now in the House Office Building a bound volume about as big as 100 pages of our CONGRESSIONAL RECORD bearing in gilt letters nearly an inch high the legend, "First Annual Budget, State of Illinois."

Now, it is not the first budget in Illinois. The Congressional Library has sent over at my request some of the annual budgets of Gov. Dunne—20 inches high, 30 inches long, 100 pages thick. And, by the way, the budget committee away back in 1913 included a man now a Member of this House, Hon. NIELS JUUL, of Illinois, then a member of the State Senate of Illinois, and his name appears in this old budget. So the "First Annual Budget of Illinois" is a misnomer. More confusion. When I was governor we also had a budget, although it was a book of typewritten leaves. And Alexander Hamilton had his budget—first Secretary of the Treasury. It will be a long time before we get a better budget than Alexander Hamilton's budget. You can see it also in the Library of Congress.

Finally, a budget system by no means indicates economy. It may cause economy; it may not. In England budgets are not new. But expenditures are ever more extensive and more and more extensive. Prof. Collins, who testified before our committee, said in substance:

> I do not say the cost will be less; it may cost more. But it will enable you to perceive and handle more intelligently your income and its sources and your various expenditures.

So, in conclusion, Mr. Speaker, this bill does not necessarily reduce expenses or taxes, does not necessarily reduce pay rolls or employees, does not give Congress any check on the President; does give the President power to appoint a life-long employee to terrorize Congress, and is based on many misunderstandings and possibly unintentional misrepresentations; and I can not vote for it.

By the way, it so happens that, in voting this way, I am voting with the President and not against him on this subject. That is exactly what I propose and intend to do—when he is right. I intend, as long as I am here, to vote with him when he is right. Democratic President or Republican President, when he is right we ought to support him. Abraham Lincoln once said:

> I am not afraid to go along with any man when he is right, and I am not afraid to part with any man when he is wrong.

I voted against the President when he vetoed the bill repealing the daylight saving law because he was wrong. But at that time I stated that I did not think the people of Illinois sent me a thousand miles to Washington just to vote against Woodrow Wilson, except when he was wrong. As to the daylight saving thing he was wrong. So I voted against him. When he vetoed the peace resolution, I voted against him. He was wrong. He ought to have approved the peace resolution. But as to this budget thing, he was right. So I vote with him. And "if this be treason, make the most of it!"

The Federal Reserve Board Is to Blame.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. KING,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, I desire to express in the closing hours of this session of Congress my deepest regret concerning lack of action on the part of the Federal Reserve Board in taking measures to reduce the high cost of living for which the administration of this board is largely to blame.

The members of the Federal Reserve Board, who no doubt are most excellent gentlemen, fail to appreciate the great crisis facing this country, a crisis in which they play the major part.

On February 28 last I introduced a resolution in this body providing for the investigation of the administration of the Federal reserve act, and at that time I publicly charged the Federal reserve administration with being the cause of three-fourths of the high cost of living in that the Federal Reserve System was furnishing the funds with which profiteers, hoarders, and speculators in the large eastern cities of the United States were cornering necessities and juggling the prices skyward, while the people, undernourished and garbed in rags, were totally unable to meet living expenses.

Due to agitation begun at that time Gov. Harding, of the Federal Reserve Board, called a conference of financial leaders in Washington last month, at which methods of reducing the inflation and faint efforts to peck at the financing of speculators were considered. Gov. Harding declined to permit me to attend the conference, stating that it was strictly private, although the welfare of the entire Nation was at stake.

From evidence which poured in to me at the time I was able to give out publicly the following statement:

> Enormous increases in the cost of necessities through the financing of the Federal reserve have netted millions in the worst form of profiteers.
>
> The sugar shortage is due almost entirely to the financing of the hoarders by the Federal reserve. The Bureau of Markets to-day informs me that on April 23 there were 127,947 tons of raw sugar stocks in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, compared with 110,991 tons a year ago. But with the aid of our Government, working through the Federal reserve, these hoarders of sugar are enabled to keep it off the market. Withdraw your credit and these stocks will come tumbling on the market in adequate quantities and at reasonable prices. These sugar stocks are being released in just sufficient amounts to maintain the shortage and keep the price soaring.
>
> Although wool garments are at prohibitive figures, the supply of wool in March was 487,107,000 pounds, compared with 478,697,000 pounds a year ago. As long as the Federal reserve will loan unlimited amounts of money to the holders of this wool, the wool will be allowed to filter on the market only in sufficient quantities to maintain the price. A large amount of raw silk is being hoarded in New York. We may soon expect to have Federal reserve bank notes issued against this silk.
>
> In New York City alone there is held at present 70,415,000 pounds of unsold condensed and evaporated milk, compared with 8,061,000 pounds a year ago. Financing is enabling the holders to keep the milk off the market and the price up, although total stocks in the United States are 250 per cent in excess of those a year ago.
>
> If prices dropped suddenly, the Federal reserve would be hard hit, and Governor Harding knows it. But if the issuance of Federal reserve money is continued there will be an awful day of reckoning, and that is what my resolution would avoid. We must stop financing speculators and hoarders. Reserve agents have urged bankers to extend credit in unconscionable amounts, assuring the bankers that every demand for more money will be filled by them. Bankers have in some instances, I regret to learn, loaned money to speculators with the understanding that they were to have half the profits for financing the deal. The volume of credit has increased, with only the sky as the limit.
>
> I have in mind one case where national banks purchased Government certificates of indebtedness netting approximately 5 per cent interest from the Federal reserve bank, and the next day put up those same certificates with the reserve bank and borrowed the money back at 3½ per cent, thus making a clear 1 per cent and more on the money which had been loaned only in imagination.
>
> Small State banks are accused of being unpatriotic in not taking these certificates of indebtedness which they would have to retain. Federal reserve banks will not accept the notes of farmers, and hence the small bank has its hands full taking care of its own customers. The Federal reserve prefers the notes of speculators. Feats of financial chicanery and jugglery which would have shamed the imagination of Baron Munchausen have taken place under the present administration of the Federal Reserve System.

Although the members of the Federal Reserve Board are too highly trained and learned men to be ignorant of the part they were playing, they continued to endeavor to raise the stone of oppression from the backs of the common people with twigs and thread when full facilities were available.

Because of their procrastination, on May 21 I introduced a bill making it unlawful for any Federal reserve bank to accept renewals of commodity notes. This bill would have enabled the Federal reserve to continue to aid legitimate commerce, but it would definitely and emphatically have ended the continual renewing of purely speculative paper for profiteers engaged in gouging out their last possible pound of flesh from the public. This bill lacked time for consideration at this session, but I predict that the subject will be a pertinent one next December unless the Federal reserve administration changes its tactics.

The New York World on May 28 contained an article explaining how certain New York banks, prompted by their own caution, were barring loans to food speculators. The article is, in part, as follows:

> Fearful of a business reversal of the kind that is being experienced in the shoe and other industries, big banking concerns of this city, which extend credits to merchants handling foodstuffs, have cut off the speculator from their credit books.
>
> This statement was made to a World reporter yesterday afternoon by Samuel S. Conover, president of the Fidelity Trust Co., Broadway and Chambers Street. The Fidelity Trust is one of the numerous banks that do a general accounting and credit business with wholesale commission merchants.
>
> Mr. Conover had invited the newspaper men to his office to explain a long statement his bank has compiled showing the increase in wholesale prices for a number of years. This survey is very thorough, but much of the material it contains has been published in The World. It was suggested to Mr. Conover that the public was interested to know just what steps banks are taking to end profiteering and to help bring prices back to a reasonable basis. Mr. Conover said:

ADMITS BANKS ERRED.

"Banks have unconsciously contributed their share to high food prices by extending credits to evident speculators in the necessities of life. But you may publish this for this bank, and I know it is the attitude of a great many other institutions doing business with food men, that hereafter no credit of any kind will be extended to professional speculators in foodstuffs. You can not make this too emphatic. Credit will be extended only to legitimate merchants actively engaged in the wholesale food business, whether as a commission man or distributor."

Asked if it were not true that the speculators in foodstuffs have received even larger credits than merchants doing business in the market districts, Mr. Conover replied:

"I can not go as far as that, but it is a fact that the speculator has been given more credit than he was entitled to. He is very largely to blame for present conditions, and the sooner he is eliminated from the business the better it will be for merchants who are known to be merchants and nothing else."

A prominent New Jersey financial expert, in expressing his regret at the conditions obtaining, said:

The correct way for mending the trouble is for the Federal Reserve Board to limit paper eligible for rediscount to such as is absolutely self-liquidating and has never been renewed either in whole or in part. They should have done this in the first place. The present condition was foreseen years ago.

The Federal reserve expands but does not contract. All attempts to reduce commodity prices while the Federal reserve bank is continuing its present practices are simply ludicrous.

It is now reported that every form of circulating notes, with the exception of Federal reserve notes, are to be retired. It may be that is best. However, with the late R. G. Ingersoll, I want a circulating note that can look me in the face and say "I know that my redeemer liveth."

A prominent Arkansas banker in writing me stated:

Reduce the commercial paper 50 per cent and the hoarded merchandise will come out of hiding places and go on the market at a legitimate profit.

Mr. Speaker, I can not too earnestly urge the members of the Federal Reserve Board to at once do their part in eliminating profiteering and hoarding.

Reducing the Price of Shoes and Men's Collars.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 3, 1920.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, the high cost of living has been enhanced by the prices charged for men's collars and for shoes for all members of the family.

In August, 1919, when the collar manufacturers contemplated an increase in the price of collars, I wrote the Attorney General, and he replied that the matter would receive consideration and investigation. On August 20, 1919, I wrote the Federal Trade Commission and received the following reply:

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN,
Washington, August 29, 1919.

Price of linen collars.

Hon. ISAAC SIEGEL,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Your letter of August 20, 1919, was duly received.

Answering your inquiry, the commission some time ago made an investigation of the principal manufacturers engaged in producing this commodity—Cluett, Peabody & Co. (Inc.)—and finding it had reason to believe that section 5 of the act of September 26, 1914, was being violated, issued its complaint No. D 90 against that concern. A copy of this complaint is inclosed herewith, and you will see from an examination of it that the principal averments relate to maintenance of resale prices. This case is being prosecuted and is expected to come to trial soon.

The other matters to which you refer, such as price-fixing combination or profiteering, would seem to fall rather within the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice.

Very truly, yours,

VICTOR MURDOCK,
Acting Chairman.

The complaint is as follows:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Before Federal Trade Commission, ss:

At a regular session of the Federal Trade Commission, held at its office in the city of Washington, D. C., on the 15th day of April, A. D. 1918.

Present: William J. Harris (chairman), William B. Colver, J. Franklin Fort, Victor Murdock, commissioners.

Federal Trade Commission *v.* Cluett, Peabody & Co. (Inc.), Docket No. 90. Complaint in the matter of the alleged violation of section 5 of the act of Congress approved September 26, 1914.

The Federal Trade Commission, having reason to believe from a preliminary investigation made by it that Cluett, Peabody & Co. (Inc.), hereinafter referred to as the respondent, has been and is using unfair methods of competition in interstate commerce in violation of the provisions of section 5 of the act of Congress approved September 26, 1914, entitled "An act to create a Federal Trade Commission, to define its powers and duties, and for other purposes," and it appearing that a proceeding by it in respect thereof would be to the interest of the public, issues this complaint, stating its charges in that respect on information and belief as follows:

PARAGRAPH 1. That the respondent, Cluett, Peabody & Co. (Inc.), is now and was at all times hereinafter mentioned a corporation organized, existing, and doing business under and by virtue of the laws of the State of New York, having its principal office and place of business located at the city of New York, in said State, now and for more than two years last past engaged in the manufacture and sale of men's collars among the several States of the United States, the Territories thereof, and the District of Columbia, in direct competition with other persons, firms, copartnerships, and corporations similarly engaged.

PAR. 2. That the respondent, Cluett, Peabody & Co. (Inc.), in the conduct of its business manufactures such collars, so sold by it, in its factories located at the cities of Troy, Waterford, Rochester, and Corinth, State of New York; Leominster, State of Massachusetts; South Norwalk, State of Connecticut; St. Johns, Province of Quebec, Canada; and purchases and enters into contracts of purchase for the necessary component materials needed therefor in different States and Territories of the United States, causing the same to be transported to its various factories, where they are made into the finished product and sold and shipped to the purchasers thereof; that after such collars are so manufactured they are continuously moved to, from, and among other States and Territories of the United States, the District of Columbia, and foreign countries, and there is continuously and has been at all times hereinafter mentioned a constant current of trade and commerce in said collars between and among the various States and Territories of the United States, the District of Columbia, and foreign countries.

PAR. 3. That with the intent and purpose and effect of stifling and suppressing competition in the manufacture, marketing, and sale of its collars in the course of such commerce and as a means of securing the trade of dealers and obtaining their aid and cooperation in enlarging the sale of its collars, and with the purpose of eliminating competition in the selling price among the various dealers in its collars and thereby depriving the dealers of their freedom to sell such collars at prices which, in their judgment, would be warranted by trade conditions and for other purposes, the respondent has fixed and maintained certain specified standard prices at which the collars manufactured and sold by it shall be resold by the purchaser thereof, and requires its purchasers to agree to maintain or resell such collars at such standard selling prices; and that for the purpose of maintaining said standard resale prices and of inducing and compelling its customers to maintain and keep such standard prices the respondent for more than six months last past has refused, and still is refusing, to sell its products to customers or dealers who will not agree to maintain such specified standard resale prices or who do not resell such products at the specified standard selling prices so fixed and determined by the respondent as aforesaid.

Therefore, notice is hereby given you, Cluett, Peabody & Co. (Inc.), that the charges of this complaint will be heard by the Federal Trade Commission at its office in the Federal Trade Commission Building, Fifteenth and K Streets, city of Washington, D. C., on the 8th day of June, 1918, at 10.30 o'clock in the forenoon of the said day, or as soon thereafter as the same may be reached, at which time and place you shall have the right to appear and show cause why an order should not be entered by the Federal Trade Cimmission requiring you to cease and desist from the violations of law charged in this complaint.

You will take notice that within 30 days after the service of this complaint you are required to file with the Federal Trade Commission an answer in conformity with rule 3 of the Rules of Practice before the commission.

In witness whereof the Federal Trade Commission has caused this complaint to be issued, signed by its secretary, and its official seal to be affixed hereto at the city of Washington, D. C., this 15th day of April, A. D. 1918.

By the commission.

[SEAL.] L. L. BRACKEN,
Secretary.

JOHN WALSH, *Chief Counsel.*
(1239)

The publicity given to my action in the newspapers stopped the increase in price for seven months. Believing that the public had fallen asleep, the collar manufacturers raised their prices in March, 1920. The following letters were then written by me:

MARCH 8, 1920.

Hon. C. B. AMES,
Assistant to the Attorney General,
Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. AMES: On August 23 you wrote me that you were investigating the increase of the price of collars. Up to date I have heard nothing further. The newspaper publicity at that time prevented the increase. It is now announced that the increase is to go into effect. Collars sold two for 25 cents two years ago. To pay 30 and 35 cents now seems to be and is unwarranted.

The Federal Trade Commission has gathered evidence in regard to the price of linen collars, and it seems to me that something should be done promptly in this matter.

Very sincerely, yours,

ISAAC SIEGEL.

MARCH 8, 1920.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: On August 29 you wrote me that the case against Cluett, Peabody & Co. (Inc.) was expected to be brought to trial soon. What has become of this case? You have undoubtedly read in the newspapers that collars are to be sold from 30 cents to 35 cents each which sold two for 25 cents two years ago. May I have your prompt answer?

Very sincerely, yours,

ISAAC SIEGEL.

The New York Evening World published the following editorial on March 12, 1920:

PROSECUTE CLUETT, PEABODY & CO.

White collars are the hall-mark of the "new poor."

White collars are making the "new poor" even poorer.

Of all the revelations of profiteering which the Evening World has made, none, we think, will cause more aggravation and resentment than yesterday's exposé of the intolerable greed of Cluett, Peabody & Co.

Prices of white linen collars have advanced from 12½ cents to 30 cents. The quality has been debased. Profits have risen from $1,871,000 in 1918 to $5,153,000 in 1919.

If Attorney General Palmer can not find material for the prosecution of profiteering in such figures, he can find it nowhere.

The Attorney General has proclaimed his friendly feeling for organized labor. Here is his opportunity to court favor with the "white-collar class" as well.

Get after Cluett, Peabody & Co.

White collars are more than a symbol. They are becoming a yoke.

The price of a collar is now 25 cents retail, but the retailer is now paying $2.40 a dozen, when in 1918 he paid $1.10 a dozen.

As chairman of the Committee on the Census it was my pleasure to report immediately the Kreider bill, which provides for a monthly census of skins, hides, and so forth. This is now the law, and the result will be that no more will shoe manufacturers be able to say that there is a scarcity in hides, skins, and so forth, when as a matter of fact the contrary is true. Representative KREIDER is one of the large shoe manufacturers of the United States, and he is of the opinion that this law which bears his name will reduce the price of shoes at least 25 per cent. Already in every large city we are hearing that the price of shoes is coming down. If the American citizen will realize that we must increase production and that care must be exercised in buying, no matter what the article is, we will get back to normal very quickly. A little real thrift and a determination to do the most work while employed will soon give us real peace, prosperity, and contentment. If each citizen would practice this doctrine, then all of his coworkers would join and America would show the world an example to be emulated by the residents of all the war-stricken countries.

If You Make a Soldier of Every Man, as Germany and Russia Did, You Can Expect the Same Beautiful Results They Have and Are Achieving.

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD C. LITTLE,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 18, 1920.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12775) to amend an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I desire to add a word or two to what I have already said in this debate to-day before we are clear away from the subject. It has been suggested by the gentleman from Illinois that if we had been armed to the teeth when the European war began it would not have begun. That is a mere guess, and one man guesses one way and one another. There is nothing in that argument, because it is pure conjecture. Possibly it is true if we had been armed to the teeth and had joined with England and Italy to help France when invasion of Belgium was threatened we would not have had the war. But that is not Admiral Sims's view. According to him we were just about as likely to have leaned one way as the other. Certainly there was nothing in the attitude of our national administration that would have made Germany pause at those awful moments.

But that is not the point. The gentleman does not come to the point. The point is not whether we could have bluffed somebody out of the war or not. You talk about military training, and if it means anything it means the Prussian system. If you were talking about the Swiss system, that is a wholly different proposition. But when you say military training in the sense it is used at Army headquarters, it means something like that in Germany or France. In the first place, it seeks to take men from their work and make every one of them a soldier. Do not get the idea that you can make a soldier out of every man in the country without the natural results. The Russians are all soldiers. They are all fighting and licking everybody they can get to. What is Germany doing? Fighting every day. They were crazy on military training. They have been taught to bear arms and fight, and when you get the whole world in such a condition of mind as that you are going to have war. What is the use of talking about that? Every sensible man knows it. If you make a soldier of every man, as Germany and Russia did, you can expect the same beautiful results they have and are achieving. There are enough menaces hanging over this country without making soldiers of everybody, and without having them go to camp and bear arms all the time. The principal point is not that we could perhaps bluff somebody from fighting. That might happen occasionally. It is the idea of uselessly taking young men out of the industries who should be working and of teaching men to have in mind all the time the continual taste of war and the desire to fight. That is what might ruin a republic. It is the serious menace. They had a republic two or three days ago in Berlin. What have they to-day? A military despot. What is the matter? Some men who had been trained for years went down there to fight, as was their trade.

Mr. CLEARY. Does not the gentleman think the League of Nations would remedy all that?

Mr. LITTLE. What have I to do with the League of Nations? I am not a Senator. I would like to see some arrangement that would constitute an international tribunal to adjust international difficulties. I believe it might be done, and I will go a step further and say that I believe that if the matter had been handled shrewdly by our representatives in Paris we could now have such a treaty throughout the world. [Applause.] It was a golden opportunity lost, and I believe they could have made such a treaty as would have practically made arms and armament unnecessary forever if the American Government had been represented as judiciously as it should have been. Does the gentleman from New York [Mr. CLEARY] want a League of Nations that would send our boys to stop the riots in Germany? I do not! "Remedy all that," he says. We can not aid Germany to "remedy that." She must help herself by abolishing militarism.

There are probably about a million young men in the United States who come of age every year, earning on the average, perhaps, a hundred dollars a month, the total of a hundred million dollars a month. The military party wishes to withdraw them from the industries for six months every year, which would entail an immediate loss of $600,000,000 that they would not earn while in the Regular Army conscription for training. Experience has indicated that it costs about a thousand dollars to make a soldier out of a young man in six months, which would be a thousand million of dollars you would expend. Here is an actual loss of a billion six hundred millions in half a year if you attempt the system of compulsory military training advocated by the General Staff. They say they wish to do this to avoid future wars. That is the reason we had the late war, because Germany and Russia and those countries spent 50 years and millions of money getting ready for it. That is the reason two-thirds of Europe is afire with war now, because the soldiers they "prepared" to fight keep right on fighting.

If you wish to spend a billion dollars a year to avoid war, why not subsidize the nations of Europe by paying them a billion dollars a year to disarm and go to work? Gentlemen, you must be reasonable and learn to turn a deaf ear to the arguments of the munition factories and their coadjutors.

Attune your ears rather, gentlemen of the House, to the sounds that came from the battle fields along the French, Italian, Serbian, and Armenian frontiers; to the roar of the cannon that leaves so many coffins in its trail; to the wail of the dying as they gasp for their last breath so far from home. Listen not to the specious arguments of those who wish you to tread in the paths Germany has followed, but to the ominous and foreboding echoes that resound in our ears throughout this debate, giving token of strife, sorrow, riot, and rebellion in half the capitals of Europe. The fight to disarm the world was won by our soldiers, and we should write into the laws of the world the decrees they fulminated on the field of battle. To do this, gentlemen, America should maintain, not sacrifice, the leadership of the world. Nothing could be more imprudent, nothing could be more unwise, than to join in a system that would give the pigmy nations of the globe an equal voice with this great Republic at the council table of the nations. The safety of the world's future depends upon the American leadership which has been evolved after centuries of struggle. If we yield America's baton to a group of puny peoples at such a critical emergency, the sun of liberty and Christianity, which rose so brilliantly from the Atlantic and had just reached its zenith to illuminate the continents, would—

> Set weeping in a lowly west,
> Witnessing storms to come, woe, and unrest.

I do not hesitate to say to you, my colleagues, that in my opinion when the President of the United States went to the world's council at Paris he was actuated by lofty ideals, and it is a God's pity that he became so obsessed by his own theories of how the world should be confederated that he lost all sense of perspective and proportion in government. He forgot that

his first duty was to the American people, not to other nations. He failed to appreciate that the preservation of the American Republic's foremost position in world politics is essential to the safety of other peoples as well as our own. He disdained the mandate of the Constitution that the President can make treaties only by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. He assumed to speak to the globe as the sole representative of a hundred million Americans without consulting them or their representatives. But those the Constitution accredited with the authority to determine on the equity and prudence of his propositions declined to approve them, in order that America might not abdicate that lofty position to which she had attained by the valor of her soldiers and the wisdom of her statesmen in 300 years of human effort and human liberty such as the world never elsewhere has witnessed. The hour struck, the man did not appear, and the golden opportunity of the moment was gone. Hereafter American statesmen must remember that the highest wisdom and the greatest strength is the reply that comes to the appeal to the people at home. [Applause.]

Price of Petroleum and its Products.

SPEECH

OF

HON. DICK T. MORGAN,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 5, 1920.

The House had under consideration House resolution No. 501, authorizing the Federal Trade Commisison to investigate and report as to the causes of the recent advances in the price of fuel oil, kerosene, gasoline, and other petroleum products.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, the resolution before the House (H. Res. 501) is as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Federal Trade Commission be, and it is hereby, authorized and directed to make an immediate inquiry and investigation into the causes of the recent advances in the price of fuel oil, kerosene, gasoline, and other petroleum products and report to the House not later than June 1, 1920; and in reporting the foregoing the Federal Trade Commission is requested to take into consideration and to report the sources of oil supply for the United States and the profits of said business, and what, if any, combinations in restraint of trade exist between those engaged in this business, and what effect, if any, the same have upon the market price of fuel oil, kerosene, gasoline, and other petroleum products with reference to the price charged to the ultimate consumer.

Mr. Speaker, Oklahoma is a great oil-producing State. I should not vote for any resolution which I thought would unjustly injure any great business interest of my State. However, all the people of the United States are interested in the price of oil and its products, which are in almost universal use. This resolution comes from the Judiciary Committee, of which I am a member. I know there was no evidence brought before this committee which even tended to prove that the price of fuel oil, kerosene, gasoline, and other petroleum products is the result of any conspiracy, combination, or trust among the producers of these products. In fact, the Judiciary Committee reported the resolution to the House without any hearing whatever, and hence without any evidence on which it could act. This House is, of course, in the same position as the Judiciary Committee. There is no evidence before the House to show that the price of fuel oil, kerosene, gasoline, and other petroleum products is the result of monopolistic control. The oil interests of this country ought not, therefore, to feel that the passage of this resolution is a reflection upon them. A few years ago we created the Federal Trade Commission. The very object and purpose of bringing this great commission into existence was to have an administrative body empowered and equipped for just such investigations as this resolution authorizes. The oil business has become a great industry. Great financial interests are centered in it. Many people are interested in this industry. They are entitled to fair treatment. But I do not believe in monopolies in any line of business. I do not believe that prices should be controlled by any kind of conspiracies, combinations, or trusts. I believe that all of our great business interests should be so conducted that the owners and managers thereof will be willing at all times to have their business methods investigated by the Federal Trade Commission, a governmental instrumentality created for this character of work. I shall therefore vote for this resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY D. FLOOD,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to print granted to me by the House I include herewith the address of Hon. FINIS J. GARRETT, of Tennessee, as temporary chairman of the Democratic convention of that State called to select delegates to the Democratic national convention at San Francisco and to nominate candidates for presidential electors. His remarks apply as well to the Nation at large as to his own State of Tennessee.

Mr. GARRETT said:

"Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I trust that I do not speak to-day to a Democracy which is either disheartened or despondent.

"We stand upon the threshold of a campaign in which the heart and conscience of the Nation are to be searched as they have not been searched for half a century—indeed, as they have never been in all our history as a sovereign people.

"We have many and vital things that are old with which to keep the ancient and unswerving faith pledged by the fathers and founders of our historic organization, and we have things that are new, things of the most tremendous import ever faced by the sons and daughters of men, to which we must apply the fundamentals of our party creed and through its application not only solve the problems of our State and our Nation, but do our share without shrinking or shirking in bringing peace to a war-stricken world, in restoring order where chaos now riots, threatening the whole fabric of human society upon every continent and every island of the multitudinous seas.

"It is a time, ladies and gentlemen of Tennessee, for plainness of speech, for resoluteness of purpose, for candor of conduct, and for vigor of action. We shall not win by timorous trimming of the sails to every passing breeze which blows; we must not be deceived by the cross currents; they will drive us upon the shoals, will dash us upon the rocks, will beat us to pieces in the shallows, and our wreck will mean the wreck of the newborn hopes of humanity, the destruction of that new chart of human freedom written for the world and its peoples in the lifeblood of unnumbered millions of men who perished in the welter of war, that mankind might be and remain free.

"We must, my friends, take counsel of our courage and forget our fears.

"The creatures least needed in the Democratic Party to-day are the pestiferous demagogue and the spineless timeserver. We want women and men of lofty faith and stainless ideals. It is to these that we must look for the leadership. These are they whose services are challenged for America and for the world in these crucial hours of history and destiny.

"The imperious demand of the age, the demand which is not to be denied if we would triumph over the sordidness and selfishness which our enemies are seeking to enthrone in the places of power, is for clear vision, for hands that do not tremble, for hearts that do not quake.

"Give us these; give us platforms not of placid platitudes or soulless solemnities but of clear-ringing words; words that will interpret themselves in unmistakable terms to the minds and hearts of the peoples of America; words that shall demonstrate our recognition of the vastnesses that are about us and over us, of the obligations which the Nation could not if it would escape and live and demonstrate, too, our own readiness to meet those obligations as becometh a great, heroic party with a history of achievement such as no political organization in all the tides of time can boast; send us forth to the battle, not with an apology upon our lips but glorying in our past and decided as to our future, militant, aggressive at every point, resolute at every angle, and we shall win.

"The womanhood of America, the manhood of America, are ready to respond to an appeal to their seriousness, to their intelligence, to their courage. They will not fail to detect shams or to spurn frauds with contempt. There is—let us not blind ourselves and refuse to see—a spirit of restlessness and discontent, the sources of which I shall later advert to, among our fellow citizens which constitutes an important element that confronts us.

"To this spirit you may rest assured our political foes will make their appeal. It is their sole hope of success. Every

artifice, every sinister insinuation, every calumnious slander that ingenious and designing political partisans can devise and improvise will be resorted to. These base things constitute the rungs of the ladder upon which they seek to climb once more to power.

"Shall they be permitted by reason of any folly upon our part thus to succeed? For the sake of our Nation, of whose glorious past Democracy has written the brightest chapters; for the sake of our future, the vital things of which depend upon Democratic success; for the sake of all that all humanity hopes for and strives for, let us, my fellow Democrats, search ourselves, hearten ourselves, bestir ourselves, and see to it that we shall win, to the end that the honor of the Republic may be kept unsullied and the glory always ours, and within the last eight years made to glow with an hundredfold effulgence, is kept unblemished.

"I think, ladies and gentlemen, that at the very basis of our endeavor and enterprise there must lie an unequivocal declaration, a nontemporizing assertion, which will mean that the Democratic Party does not believe that there is anywhere any room for any individual, citizen or alien, to walk in freedom beneath the flag of free men when that individual attacks the institutions of government over which that flag waves and spurns the principles of government of which it is the solemn symbol.

"Of this I am absolutely certain: If any phase of the fundamentals of Bolshevik doctrine are to succeed through the instrumentality of a political party, there is no place in that party for me.

"I have not infrequently wondered as I have sat in the committee rooms of Congress and heard unfolded the tales of machination on the part of those people, mostly foreigners, who have accepted our hospitality only to try to raise a poisoned chalice to our lips; as I have read the sinister and devilish propaganda with which the mails are becoming choked; as I have seen the effects of appeals to the ignorant and the discontented, whether our people here in Tennessee—in the million homes on hillside and in valley, in quiet village or amid the city's hum and bustle—realize in its fullness the menace that is involved and the danger that besets even us.

"If I know anything of Democratic principles; if I have not wholly misinterpreted Democratic tradition and history, my party has stood from the day of Jefferson until now for individualism in every activity where individualism could have play without trenching upon the rights of others; has recognized and stood ready to defend with every resource of law—and, if need be, arms—the right of the individual honestly to acquire, and having acquired, uninterruptedly to enjoy as his own, property, both real and personal; furthermore, it believes in governments of constitutions and laws, made by the people through representatives of their selection, or, in matters upon which it may be practicable to operate, by themselves directly; it believes, it knows, that in all the history of man no governmental edifice constructed by his genius has ever approached the structure given unto us by the builders of this Republic's Constitution in its assurance of liberty of action to its sovereign citizens.

"Certainly, it is my view that whatever strikes at these things strikes at the very heart—aye, at the living soul—of the Democratic Party.

"Academic, does some one say? Perhaps. But, oh, ladies and gentlemen, if you could but see as I have seen the efforts, sometimes veiled and sometimes boldly defiant, to tear down our forms of government and to rear in their stead an edifice of anarchy, or syndicalism; if you have seen the poisoned arrow leveled straight at the heart of our Constitution and laws; if you have learned of the insidious movement, financed to an extent that no revolution has ever been by the loot of Russia, to transplant here to America the sovietism of that unhappy land; if you but realize that in the great industrial centers in particular the wily and sinister apostles of riot are striving, and not without success, to cultivate the inspiration of anarchy in the souls of the ignorant, the unfortunate, and the discontented, I think a reference to the academics of democracy's faith would not at least be resented in these troublesome hours.

"These are some of the old things to which we must affirm our allegiance and to whose maintenance we must unequivocally plight our efforts and our party honor.

"It is one of the glories of our national administration that at every turn, in war and in peace, while striving, with a sympathy that at times occasioned criticism from certain sources, to insure and protect the legitimate rights of the great body of labor, it has been always quick to distinguish with clearness and precision between its rights and the unholy efforts of those who, masquerading in its garments, were leveling their blows at law and order, at the Government itself, and that the instrumentalities of the Government have been unhesitatingly invoked to crush, and ruthlessly, the vipers of violence and lawlessness; and surely it must be a matter of pride to every right-thinking citizen of this great Commonwealth, whatever his party predilection, that in the crucial hours, when every section has been threatened with the rise of chaos, there stood side by side with the national administration in its hour of stress and strain, his face set like flint for order, his bold heart pitted with unquavering loyalty against the evils and terrors of lawlessness, the chief executive of Tennessee. Surely should any party attempt in Tennessse, directly or insidiously, to make an appeal to whatever of discontent his course in that regard may have occasioned, it will bring itself under the condemnation of a loyal people, and be lashed as with scorpions.

"It must be ever remembered that in the Democratic Party lies the hope for the crushing of the rising radical menace, and therefore the greater and the graver is our responsibility. Our political foes from the hour in which they lost their first, and infinitely their greatest, leader—Abraham Lincoln—gradually and steadily began to draw away from the humanitarian aspects of government. The outcome of the War of Secession, the inevitable logic of its passion, was to make the Republican Party for long years the dominant political force of America. To it therefore there flocked all the forces that were seeking governmental privilege, all the powers who wished to profit by legislative legerdemain and the manipulation of governmental functions. These seized upon it and made it their own.

"While the great masses of men sustained it and kept it in power because of their devotion to its traditions, special interests silently, stealthily, but ever steadily wove their threads into its web and woof, until the high idealism which marked its birth and glorified its infancy was crushed out of its organism and it stood forth before men as the party, not of humanity but of privilege; not as an organization of inspiration but as a business machine, organized, financed, dominated by those who could benefit by its success at the expense of their fellows.

"It lost its heart; its human sympathies were so enveloped by selfishness and agreed that they withered and ceased to function, and the great masses of humanity who toil could find in it nothing of recognition.

"Democracy when standing squarely upon democratic principles held out for labor a legitimate hope which it could not elsewhere find, and to-day its confidence is ours. To retain it we have not to promise special favors. We shall have all that is worth while, all that will add strength to our cause if we shall but be true to the fundamentals of our faith and stand four-square for liberty governed by law. The great body of labor in these United States, organized and unorganized, is loyal to the principles of our Government and not sympathetic with the radicals which would destroy it. Their intelligence makes them to know that their opportunity and the opportunities of those who are to come after them lie in the preservation of those principles. All they ask, all that the great body of them ask, is that those principles be correctly applied to the events and vicissitudes of human life. They recognize that democracy has a pulsing heart and a sympathetic soul. They are of us and with us. Now and then some pseudo leader oversteps the bounds and abuses his power, but the mass is true and steadfast.

"They know they can not turn to the Republican Party with any hope that the sordid selfishness which began to grip it half a century ago and at length became its unresisted master has released its strangle hold.

"They have but to read the shameful record of recent weeks, the record developed by a committee of the Senate of the United States, to behold how in this year of Republican hope gold has flowed forth in an ever-increasing stream to purchase the Republican nomination for the Presidency of the United States. If for the nomination alone millions are poured out, what may we not anticipate when that struggle is over and all the special interests combine and rally around the nominee of that convention?

"Oh, my countrymen! My countrywomen! Has the cycle of history brought humanity again to an era of shamelessness such as marked the period of degradation when the crown of once imperial Rome was hawked about the seven-hilled city for sale to the highest bidder?

"It is not so. The clean womanhood and fine manhood of America will beat back this rising tide of corruption; will preserve for themselves and their children in unsullied purity and unstained integrity the priceless heritage of constitutional liberty and legal equality.

"It was 10 years ago this autumn when the people of this Republic, disappointed and disgusted at the breaking of the cove-

nants that had been entered into with them by the Republican Party two years before, gave to Democracy its first opportunity for two decades to serve humanity by the election of a Democratic House of Representatives. In this narrow and restricted field there was little which could be accomplished, but that little Democracy did. Two years later the party was intrusted with the full power in both the executive and legislative branches, and during the six succeeding years ours was the opportunity and the responsibility. Surely I need not dwell upon the history of those years, so filled with luster as to constitute the most glorious epoch in the history of any nation in the life of the world. Whatever may happen adown the centuries, we may say with certainty that the story of those six years is as ineffaceable from the annals of humanity as are the eternal stars from the everlasting heavens.

"Special privilege, intrenched for nearly half a century, was attacked without hesitation and the major operation was performed of cutting from the body of the Government the diseased tissues, the flabby excretions, the gangrenous formations which were poisoning it to its death.

"We formulated and put into operation a revenue system, predicated not upon the protective-tariff principle that one man may be taxed for the direct and private benefit of another man, the manipulation of the taxing power for private gain rather than for public necessities, but upon the theory that taxation is only for the benefit of organized society.

"Through half a century of well-nigh uninterrupted control the Republican Party had built up a system of banking and currency laws under which again and again the Nation was swept by panic, its normal life diverted, its industries stilled, its prosperity paralyzed, while suffering and want stalked abroad in the midst of plenty. It was a system which constantly tempted the use of power for the bringing of artificial panics, with their resultant depressions, profitable to a few hundred, destructive to millions.

"For it the Democratic Party substituted the present Federal Reserve System, under which the Republic has without a quiver in its fiscal affairs passed through the greatest of wars, weathering without tremor every storm. It has made this Nation the financial model for all the world.

"It is no part of my purpose to review here the achievements which marked the earlier years of Democratic control. They were constructive; they were fundamental; they were humanitarian and sound. The excision of favoritism and special privilege went forward steadily, unswervingly. The people were restored to their own. They were able to feel that their Government once more had come into their possession.

"Then came the war of Europe, and, despite all the efforts of an administration profoundly devoted to peace, we at length had to choose between the surrender of national honor and casting our own sword into the contest. Of course, there was but one course to pursue. That nation which will not protect to the uttermost the unquestioned and unquestionable rights of its citizens on land or on sea can not live and does not deserve to live.

"We entered the struggle, and we settled the issue of arms.

"There is no epoch in all the annals of mankind which compares in point of success with the execution of the war program planned and completed by a Democratic administration in the mighty contest with Germany.

"Never a battle lost, never a serious check encountered by American arms, though they drove against hitherto unconquered legions and assailed divisions whose lines had never been broken. This was not the result of chance; it was the logical culmination of plans formulated with mathematical exactness; not plans of military strategy alone, but of the things behind the lines. The supply of man power would have been worse than useless without the supply of equipment. Back of the battle fire is always the silent and often unseen force of civil administration whose duty it is to coordinate the resources of the Nation and fling them upon the pivotal point at the psychological hour. Consider, will you not, the financing of the Great War? No special agents of financial interests were called in to sell the Nation's bonds to its people with fat commissions for their reward. A Democratic administration went straight to the people, explained to them the Nation's necessities, and sold the bonds at par and without commission. A Republican administration, fighting the War of Secession, and with all the rest of the world to draw upon, was compelled when it would borrow funds to call in the magnates of finance to raise millions, and could only obtain money by selling the country's obligations at less than face value. A Democratic administration, fighting upon the battle field of the world, and having only the resources of this country to appeal to, floated twenty-four billions of bonds and other securities and obtained for them dollar for dollar.

"This is unparalleled in the history of the world. Democratic foresight and genius had devised a financial system flexible, sound to the heart, and ready even in its infancy, and almost before its organization had been completed, to stand stanch against the strain of a war such as mankind had never before believed would be possible.

"Transportation facilities were coordinated upon land and upon sea. All our lives we had heard it said, and most of us believed it, that any war which we might have with a European country that possessed no lands in the Americas at which we could strike would of necessity be a naval contest, because of the physical impossibility of transporting troops and the supplies and arms to sustain them; but in a period of little more than 12 months we had raised and equipped 4,000,000 men; had transported 2,000,000 of them to Europe, and had 10,000 pouring upon her shores between every sunrise and sunset, with all the supplies for sustaining them—the best fed, the best clothed, the best equipped army that ever assembled under the flag of any sovereignty; and back of them a Nation whose resources were assembled and consolidated, all brought beneath the control of a hand that never trembled, all launched with an aim that never erred by him who stood upon a pinnacle the heights of which no human had ever approached before in history—the calm, the resolute, the imperturbable President of these United States.

"These were the things that brought the sudden and unexpected end.

"After Germany had felt the cold steel of American marines at Chateau-Thierry; after they had witnessed the breaking of the Hindenburg line by the Thirtieth Division—the men of the Carolinas and Tennessee—and the advancement of the Twenty-seventh to Gouy; after they had seen the Prussian Guard broken to pieces, its black eagles driven from the Argonne Forest; after she realized that American genius had mobilized and was thrusting forward all the resources of man power and material in limitless abundance, the German high authorities literally forced the allied and associated powers to accept her groveling plea for an armistice and agreed to terms than which nothing could have been more humiliating—not even the loss of national existence—for had they continued and that had occurred, a thing which no well-considered thought of her enemies could have wished, Germany would at least stand out in history as having fought to the death and died with that much honor.

"It was not chance but American genius which ground the throne of Germany to dust and laid autocracy in the tomb of time, from which it may not ever emerge in resurrection if the democratic spirit may but permeate the Senate of the United States and grip by solemn treaty, without reservation or interpretation that will change in any respect its meaning, the achievements which it has won.

"Oh, but we are told that all the traditions and practices of the Nation must be reversed; that the party in power during the conduct of a successful war must be discredited and turned from place, because, forsooth, there was patriotism and loyalty by those to whom leadership was denied by the election results of 1916.

"We do not impugn, upon the contrary we glory in, the courage and spirit of loyalty which marked the course of the masses without regard to individual political predilection, but I must declare to you that in the main the support which was given the administration by the larger number of the leaders of our political foes throughout the war was a support which was dogged and sullen, given grudgingly, and only out of fear of a people's wrath. Do not misunderstand me. I make no insinuations of treason on their part to their country, but even in the midst of war political machination was steadily at play. Most of the leaders of the Republican Party in the Congress moved always in an atmosphere of envy and took constant counsel of their chagrin. The proofs of this all men who were in the circles of Washington during those months of strain and stress who will honestly declare themselves will tell you, and some proofs are of open record. To the extent that they dared, party advantage was ever foremost in their meditations and manipulations; and I tell you now that among the Republican leaders in high places to-day you will find and hear expressed a hatred for Woodrow Wilson more intense and bitter than they have ever anywhere at any time expressed toward the German enemies of the Republic.

"President Wilson knew the spirit of Republican leadership when just before the election of 1918 he made his appeal to the country for a Congress in political sympathy with him. He knew what the record had been.

"He knew that before we entered the war, when it had been proposed in the Congress that we should warn our citizens against exercising their rights upon the high seas and stain the unsullied flag of the Republic, that 111 Republicans in the House

of Representatives had voted to do it. He knew that while in the Sixty-fourth Congress we were seeking to pass a shipping bill that would furnish a merchant marine for our commerce and prepare us for war should we be compelled to enter, 160 Republicans in the House had voted against it. He knew that when we were compelled to change our revenue laws, so as to obtain the sinews of which we had been deprived by the loss of importations from the nations at war, 192 Republicans in the House had voted against it. He knew that 76 Republican Congressmen had voted to violate the practices of international law by stopping in the midst of war the shipment of munitions to those nations with whom we subsequently became associated in the conflict. He knew that when we were passing legislation to punish alien plotters who were seeking to blow up our factories and murder our people, 146 Republicans had registered their vote against it; and, about all, he knew that on the very day that war was declared there was introduced into the Congress by one Representative MADDEN, of Illinois, the same man who just a few days ago, in a burst of angry passion, insulted the memory of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, denouncing them as traitors on the floor of the House of Representatives, and this same Mr. MADDEN is one of the dominant members of the Republican steering committee of the House of Representatives, a principal figure in the formulation of Republican policy and will be one of the most potent of its leaders in the event of Republican success this autumn, a thing which Tennesseeans may not look forward to with joy; the President knew that Mr. MADDEN had introduced a resolution in Congress complacently proposing to infringe upon the constitutional authority and duty of the President by creating a congressional committee who should take over from the President the operation of the war; he knew that this resolution had been pressed with relentless vigor.

"Again and again we who were members of the Rules Committee, to which it was referred, were challenged to action upon it; were appealed to by the Republican forces; were assured of good intentions; were told that the President was too busy a man to run the war; he knew that they were pressing this resolution by every devious method known in the very midst of the great German drive of 1918 and throughout all that year; he knew that if they carried the Congress they would pass such a resolution and thrust their clumsy fingers into the delicate machinery of war, ready to injure their country if they could but embarrass him, whom they hated because they envied; or he knew that should the war end with them in power such was their malignancy of spirit as that the thing would happen which has happened; and that every move which he should make in negotiating peace and in trying to bring peace to a blood-soaked world would be thwarted if possible, diverted if it might be done, embarrassed wherever opportunity was afforded by the unholy schemes, the narrow ambitions, and the sordid selfishness of designing political marplots. He had vision and spoke with the tongue of prophecy when, in appealing to the people for a Democratic Congress, he declared in substance that our political foes sought not to support him but to control him.

"It has been all that he feared; perhaps even more. Our foes carried the Congress and organized both its branches; in the House he who had been for eight years their minority leader and who upon most war questions had shown himself big in spirit and vision and had refused to be a party to the constant nagging of the President was unceremoniously kicked from place, being refused the Speakership. Instead there was selected a gentleman from Massachusetts whose contempt for the President was known to be sufficient to satisfy the most exacting demand, and as floor leader there was chosen one who had been wrong upon nearly every war question and most all others. In the Senate leadership was conferred also upon a man from Massachusetts, Senator LODGE, whose controlling thought and passion had been antipathy to Mr. Wilson and whose dominant determination had been to destroy him and his work.

"Under such leadership and swayed by the bad passions of envy and enmity the Republican Congress convened in May, 1919. Since that time it was in practically continuous convention until Saturday, June 5, when its second session came to an inglorious, ignominious end. Its impotence long ago became the laughingstock of the Nation and its record is the shame of the Republic.

"No one need be surprised when it is remembered that the whole motive spring of its mechanism has been hatred; that it has had no thought or purpose save to discredit the President, thinking thereby to destroy the party whose leader he is.

"They have never paused in the midst of doing nothing except to do something worse.

"I have seen the entire Republican side of the House when the President has appeared in the Chamber to deliver a message, as was his practice before he was stricken with illness, deliberately, and as the result of a prearranged plan, insult him by remaining seated, contrary to custom, as he entered; I have heard a Republican Member while attacking him say with a sneer, 'and then he became sick,' and witnessed the Republican side break into smiles of rapture and bursts of applause. Should he die, I presume we might reasonably anticipate the most hilarious celebration in history among these leaders now struggling for power. I have heard him privately denounced in terms that could not be publicly used; have with disgust inexpressible heard his most delicate relationships made the butt of Republican jest, and have heard Republican Congressmen, supposed to be gentlemen, laugh at coarse jibes about him that would bring the blush of shame to the cheek of the gutter-snipe.

"What could one expect of a Congress dominated by such passion and devoted to such a hate? What, indeed, except that which has happened, the sinister effort to weave into all legislation whenever possible some stroke which he could feel?

"Confronted by problems graver in many aspects than any which the country has ever faced, they have dawdled in idleness while feeding upon passion.

"The President, in his message from France when the Congress convened in May, 1919, announced his purpose of returning the railroads to private operation January 1, 1920. Through long and weary months they trifled with the legislation which had to be passed until he was compelled to defer the date and finally gave us a measure with which many were so disgusted that they could not support it and which some of us did support with almost equal disgust as the best that was offered.

"No more important duty challenged the assumed statesmanship of a Republican Congress than the readjustment of the tax system developed by war for war to one of peace for peace. It was one which might have been approached without the slightest partisanism; the President recommended it; the Treasury begged for it; the business world demanded it; everybody wanted it.

"The answer of the Republican statesmanship to this was to pass through the House some six or eight popgun tariff bills dealing with such things as a tariff upon magnesite, in which not as many people as reside in any populous county of Tennessee have an interest, bills never intended for anything except to aid some single Representative's political fortunes. Even these bills died in the Senate, as was intended by their sponsors.

"Their only and master stroke in the effort to reduce the cost of living was embodied in a bill reported from the Committee on Ways and Means to place a prohibitive tariff on beans.

"They will tell you that they have saved money. When they do, ask them how. They will answer that it was done by not giving the departments all they estimated they could use. When they tell you this you will laugh and tell them that in this respect their course has not been different from practically all the Congresses that preceded them. You will not observe their alleged savings reflected in your Federal tax receipts when you come to pay in 1921.

"The epitome of absurdity was probably reached in the method employed by the innumerable investigating committees which have been appointed to probe the war expenditures. No constructive thing has been done or suggested by any one of these. The whole bent and purpose has been to find something, some expenditure, some act that would reflect discredit upon the responsible authority of the Government; when these efforts have proven futile it has in nowise changed their course in making report. They have deliberately disregarded every item of testimony which tended to glorify the country and have written into page after page of what they called reports the evidence of their preexisting prejudices.

"In all the vast activities of the war, every detail of which has been searched, they have found not one thing to which they give a word of praise. Over all their country's magnificent and unimpeachable record they have cast a ceaseless spray of undiluted criticism.

"I am happy to be able to tell you a thing which will stand out in history with distinct lines. From first to last, there were about 115,000 officials who had discretion in the expenditure of funds for war purposes and in the making of contracts. An intensely bitter and partisan committee composed of men of keenest intellectuality, shrewd and able lawyers, with the assistance of a horde of expert accountants, have scrutinized the records with painstaking care, and in the expenditure of some $18,000,000,000 there has not been found one case of

graft or peculation on the part of responsible officials. It is an unapproachable record.

"Refusing to make peace as becometh a great Nation, conscious of its power and its responsibility, they have sought by simple resolution to play with the most serious things of our national life. To gain partisan ends, men of power have deliberately subverted the promptings of their souls and seared as with a white-hot iron all the dictates of heart and intellect.

"This shameful and humiliating record made in the hour of most solemn responsibility has been due to two things. First, incapacity to envision the problems, and, second, indisposition to deal with even such as they could understand.

"I charge without hesitation that the responsible party in the Congress of the United States has deliberately conspired to do nothing, to the end that the people may remain in a state of discontent, believing that to restlessness of spirit they can make successful appeal and that by discrediting the leader of Democracy they can destroy Democracy itself. They stand ready to play the desperate game and hazard the destiny of free institutions here and everywhere. Democrats will accept the issue, and we shall see to it that the people know the record and understand the reasons that underlie it.

"Our appeal is to the courage and the intelligence of women and men. Our great chieftain lies stricken in body—as much a victim of his efforts for the Nation and the world as is any soldier who bears the wounds of battle—but his vision is unclouded and his spirit is unbroken; we shall have his counsel and the benefit of his wisdom and his virtue. His fame is beyond the menace of malignancy. Already his name is written in the everlasting firmament of the earth's immortals. The inspiration of his faith and genius will be illuminating generations long centuries after his detractors shall have perished from the memories of men.

"We shall find another who will be imbued with his faith, who will be loyal to his ideals; and then we shall cast aside immaterial things that might occasion division in our ranks; will refuse to trifle with the inconsequential; will forget or disregard the matters which are petty or personal, and go forth to the supreme test in the way that beseemeth men who believe in their cause and are unafraid.

"I have here a message, addressed to myself, which reads:

"'Permit me through you to extend greetings to the loyal Democracy of Tennessee, who have been tested in war and in peace, and never in vain, and to express sincere confidence that in the struggle which is to come they will neither falter nor fail.

"'(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.'"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GILBERT A. CURRIE,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. CURRIE of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, we are passing through probably the most abnormal condition this country has ever experienced. There are several factors contributing to this situation, of which the World War is the greatest. When one comprehends that in this gigantic struggle over 7,500,000 persons were killed and five times as many wounded or disabled, making a grand total in casualties of nearly 50,000,000, it is not surprising that the result should be manifested in economic conditions. Aside from the great loss in human lives, too sacred for any monetary value to be even estimated, over $186,000,000,000 in property was wasted and destroyed.

The world was engaged for over four years in an awful work of destruction. Ingenuity, man power, wealth, and everything were dedicated to the single idea of destroying the adversary. Now we find the world with a scarcity of food and clothing and with insufficient material to repair the devastation and destruction wrought by war. The demand far exceeds the supply. Generally speaking, a person who has anything to sell can demand his own price. It is a golden opportunity for the profiteer, and in many places he does not hesitate to assert his grasping, selfish power.

For a score of years statesmen have sought by legislation to prohibit combination and conspiracy in restraint of trade and have endeavored to secure for the consuming public the benefit of honest competition. These antitrust laws were very helpful in normal times, but are practically a nullity under these abnormal conditions. Combination and conspiracy to avoid competition are now unnecessary. In many lines there is no such thing as competition. There is not sufficient of the commodities to satisfy the demand, and profiteering results. How to correct these abuses by legislation has puzzled the wisest statesmen. Congress has enacted laws making profiteering a criminal act. It has appropriated millions and millions of dollars for the Department of Justice to prosecute profiteers, but without appreciable result.

For instance, I read in the newspapers a few days ago that an oil-refining company had made for the past year $178 on each $100 of its stock, yet the price of gasoline and oil goes higher and higher, and the Department of Justice seems unable, notwithstanding the law, to either punish the profiteer or check the rising price. The coal operators exerted every influence to have removed Government control and price fixing on their commodity. Yet no sooner had the Government restrictions been removed by the President than the price of coal was advanced to the public several dollars per ton. It is true that wages were increased nearly 30 per cent, but this does not warrant nor justify the present price of coal. With miners striking and insisting upon a six-hour day and a five-day week and a shortage of car supply, a restricted output is the natural result. The operator under these conditions can sell at almost any exorbitant price he may care to ask.

There is the sugar situation. My district is a great sugar-beet producing section. The Government fixed the selling price for the manufacturer at about 12½ cents per pound. The settlement was made between the companies and the beet producers on this basis substantially. The Attorney General has ruled that the broker can charge a profit of 1 cent and the ultimate retailer 2 cents per pound. Upon the statute books is a law against hoarding and profiteering, yet every housewife knows if she can buy any sugar at all she must pay over 25 cents per pound. The spirit of the law is either being evaded or violated, yet the Department of Justice, with all the law it desires, seems unable to remedy the situation.

These flagrant instances of profiteering indicate the futility of remedying this deplorable situation through legislation. The real solution is to increase production, so that the natural law of supply and demand will again apply and the consuming public receive the benefit of competition.

What hope may we have, then, for increased production? Is there any tendency in this direction? The American Federation of Labor boasts that it now has a membership of over 4,000,000 and with the railroad brotherhoods over 6,000,000. Under the present administration this membership has doubled. Have trade-union closed-shop policies increased the output per man or decreased it? Is the slogan of the leaders of organized labor to-day "Produce" or is it "Reduce"? Are strikes in factories, steel mills, coal mines, and upon the railroads conducive to increased production? Do shorter hours during these critical days, when half the world is starving, represent the millennium?

Mr. Gompers's record for strikes grows greater with each succeeding month. For the past year it is reliably estimated that striking laboring men, ofttimes out against their wish because some labor agitator has brought about a strike, lost in wages $750,000,000, costing industry $1,250,000,000, saying nothing of the loss, suffering, and inconvenience caused thereby to the general public.

It may be interesting for you to know that the switchmen's strike on the railroads caused a loss to the Government of $3,000,000 each day. Is it of no interest or concern to the public that these strikes are called? Has the public no interest or concern in preventing, for instance, a strike upon the railroads which would paralyze the traffic of the Nation, close factories, cause idleness, and in a few days bring starvation and disaster to countless thousands?

I may be pardoned for inserting here an editorial appearing in the Detroit Saturday Night of November 22, 1919, commenting upon my views on this subject:

[Editorial from Detroit Saturday Night.]

CURRIE LEADS THE WAY.

Public opinion is making itself felt in Congress. The Senate insists that strikes on railroads be made unlawful. The House is still afraid of the cars, and has so far failed to agree with the Senate. But there is hope for the House. It has at least one spokesman who sees where justice lies and has the courage to say so. To the lasting honor of Michigan be it said that that spokesman is Congressman CURRIE, of Midland. He would not only prevent strikes on the railroads, but, like Mr. Hughes, he would prevent strikes in all basic industries. He would establish an industrial court whose decisions would be binding, and would also be enforceable on recalcitrants by contempt proceedings.

This is essential. The choice is between the Hughes-Currie legislation and the chaos of a coal strike. As Dean Edwards puts it, it is no more pleasant to be frozen by a mine worker than a mine owner—and no more necessary.

My interest is in the welfare of the man who toils, and no man would be human who did not sympathize with him and stand ever ready to better his condition. Current events force me to the conclusion, however, that leaders of organized labor like Gompers and Foster are rapidly driving this country into disaster. Their policy is against the interest of the very men they profess to serve. They have blacklisted Congressmen like myself because we voted to make Government clerks work eight hours per day during the war. They insist that seven hours is all they should work. We are blacklisted because we voted for the transportation act of 1920, which recognized that the public is interested in the settlement of labor disputes arising from railroad employment. The railroad brotherhood chiefs, whose salaries are reputed to be $14,000 per year, demand that the Government shall bond itself for billions to purchase the railroads and turn them over to the employees for operation. The Plumb plan, which they advocate, provides in effect that the employees have a two-thirds control, which means complete control, in fixing their own wages and working conditions, and make the general public pay the bills. Government operation of the railroads cost the people over a billion dollars in direct loss, and it resulted in an increase of 190,000 railroad employees. After they have sovietized the railroad industry, these radical labor leaders propose to follow that scheme by taking over other essential industries—and farming is an essential industry. In Russia socialists, anarchists, and other radicals seized the farms first, but the present program of radicalism would only spare the farms to the last. For my part I shall never consent to any such socialistic scheme.

Mr. Gompers and his associates boast of their power to defeat any Congressman who dares to defy their wish in any particular. They insist that organized labor shall have a Congress that will do its bidding—they mean the bidding of a few radical trouble makers. They ask for the overturn of the courts. They would have the greatest Government on the face of the earth, established of, by, and for all the people, turned into a class Government. To this proposition I shall never subscribe.

They insist upon the right to unionize firemen and policemen of cities and their right to strike, regardless of what may happen to the people. Gompers has publicly defended the Boston police strikers who left their posts of duty and let thugs pillage, plunder, and murder the innocent and unprotected people.

When winter was setting in the coal miners went on a strike in defiance of law and refused to arbitrate their demands. Factories were closing, and thousands upon thousands of laboring men were thrown out of employment. Cold, hunger, and even death stalked everywhere, when a fearless Federal judge saved the situation. Notwithstanding this court decision, Gompers and the executive committee of the American Federation of Labor openly defied the law and pledged their resources to overcome the Government and its courts in their effort to end the strike.

My sense of public duty would not permit me to remain silent under such circumstances, which threatened the very existence of the Government. I was mindful then, as I am certain now, that this act on my part would bring upon me the wrath and merciless opposition of these radical labor agitators. It was comforting and encouraging, however, to have observed favorable comment in some of the leading papers of my State and elsewhere. The Enquirer and Evening News of Battle Creek, Mich., paid me a tribute of which I am justly proud. The following editorial appeared in its issue of November 25, 1919:

[Editorial from Battle Creek Enquirer and Evening News.]

The Hon. GILBERT A. CURRIE, Michigan Member of Congress, comes from the Bay City district, where there is considerable mining strength. It would have been quite conventional and customary for Mr. CURRIE to talk softly and sing low, and walk catwise around the labor situation and express his sympathy for everybody by wringing his hands and giving three cheers for the flag, as has been done in politics in situations of this kind before.

Mr. CURRIE, however, has talked out. He has condemned the strike. He has denounced the evasion of the court order. He has demonstrated that his patriotism is equipped with the same kind of backbone as that possessed by Gov. Coolidge and Mayor Ole Hanson, which is a kind in urgent demand at these times; so urgent, in fact, that the life of government is involved in the hunt for a patriotism which is so equipped.

Naturally, Mr. CURRIE is coming in for all the hostility with which a compact and ruthless force undertakes to intimidate those who will not buy advantage by surrendering a trust.

It remains to be seen whether Mr. CURRIE is to receive the same proofs of patriotic soundness in Michigan that were given to Gov. Coolidge in Massachusetts. Speaking in the House on these matters recently, Mr. CURRIE said:

"I am fully conscious that for Members of Congress to unflinchingly perform their duty to the public means in some cases banishment from public life. Personally, I would rather a thousand times over be retired to private life conscious that I had tried to squarely meet the issue than to be returned to Congress and know that at the critical time in the Nation's history I had been a party to surrendering the public interests and welfare into the hands of any organization. The right will prevail; free government will survive. I have an abiding faith in the intelligence of the American people. Thank God, these leaders do not represent unorganized labor nor reflect its sentiment. They do not reflect the sentiment of the rank and file of even organized American labor."

It is about time for Congress to realize that there are other interests entitled to recognition and a helping hand. It is a matter of common knowledge that thousands upon thousands of farms are idle this year because it is impossible to secure labor in competition with the factories of the cities. While Gompers and his closed-shop policy have constantly reduced production, the farmer has made a superhuman effort to increase production and feed the world. He has struggled along in an individual way. Combinations have told him what he must pay for his necessaries, his implements, and everything needed upon the farm, and when he takes his crops to market he has often been obliged to accept what other combinations have been willing to offer. I am pleased that the House of Representatives during this very week has passed a bill authorizing the association of producers of agricultural products. This measure has been urged by farm bureaus, the National Grange, Gleaners, and other progressive farm organizations. It is a step in the right direction. I am proud to have been a member of the committee which prepared and favorably reported this bill. Congress could do nothing more beneficial to the interests of the entire country and for the security of the Nation than to encourage the tillers of the soil. Down through all the ages and in every land the farmers have been the great stabilizing influence for national security and existence.

There are other ways in which the farmers can be encouraged. It is common knowledge that the importation of oriental beans is practically ruining this industry in the United States. I represent one of the greatest bean-producing sections in the country and understand this situation. Cheap Japanese labor enables that country to raise beans, export to the United States, and sell in ruinous competition with our product. It is un-American to let this condition longer remain. Notwithstanding the price of practically every other commodity has greatly increased, beans sell for less to-day than they did three years ago. No tariff bill has passed this Congress, but I hope that one of the first to receive favorable consideration will be the Osborne bill repealing the sections of the act of 1913 which reduced the tariff on beans and peas.

Merchant Marine Bill of 1920.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. EDMONDS,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 4, 1920.

Mr. EDMONDS. Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention to take up very extensively the administrative features of this bill. It is sufficient to say that this bill arranges for a new Shipping Board to be composed of seven members to whom are delegated all the powers given to the original board and to whom all property having to do with shipping acquired by the President through this or other departments, including port facilities, are to be transferred to for operation. Arrangements are made for correlation between the departments who have to do with matters affecting shipping interests, so that there will be no conflict of authority to prevent our building up and keeping upon the seas a merchant marine. It also arranges for the board to assist in the building of special ships by advancing upon mortgage two-thirds of the value of such ships. This sum is $25,000,000 to be taken out of the sales and operating profits annually for five years. As these ships are apt to cost $4,000,000 or $5,000,000, this sum, together with money invested by private parties in their construction, should build about eight ships annually. This will tend to the rounding out of our merchant marine that has been spoken off so often as necessary to its fulfilling the expectations of the American public.

In the original shipping act it was required that any corporation, partnership, or association should not be deemed a citizen of the United States unless a controlling interest was owned by citizens of the United States and unless its president and managing directors are citizens of the United States and the

corporation itself incorporated under the laws of the United States, Territory, District, or possession thereof. In the foreign trade this definition has been left as it is, but in the coastwise trade the bill calls for 75 per cent ownership instead of the controlling interest mentioned. It was deemed advisable that with the protection given the coastwise trade there should be required as nearly as possible American ownership. Numerous arguments have been advanced that in the coastwise trade 100 per cent American ownership should be required. Such a condition is hardly possible when it is realized that should in any manner one share of stock of this corporation be placed in the hands of a foreigner the corporation could be blackmailed out of business. To place such power in the hands of our foreign competitors would be the height of folly on our part, and it would lead to nothing but destruction of a splendid coastwise line of which we have been justly so proud.

In the foreign trade, however, a different condition exists. Many lines operating to foreign countries would be greatly strengthened and their business stimulated if it were possible to secure from the citizens of the country to which a line operates the purchase of an interest in the line. Such a line is the China Mail Line, the ownership of which is 60 per cent American and 40 per cent Chinese. It is perfectly clear that the residents of these countries will use such a line as far as possible, as they are interested in it, and such divided ownership would lead to great benefit in making our shipping successful.

The transfer of the wharf facilities acquired by the various departments, not for sale but for use of the Shipping Board, will place in their hands many fine wharves and warehouses to use to assist in building up American lines. They will also be held in reserve in case of future wars for use by the other departments of the Government. The investigation of the port facilities in cooperation with the Secretary of War should tend to assist in removing the inefficiency which now exists in some, I regret to say most, of our ports.

Full liberty is given the board to establish, either through sale or charter or by direct operation, lines if it is proven to them that there is a valid demand for these lines and evidence presented to them that these lines will be successful. It is not intended, however, that the board should use this authority to drive established lines, operated by citizens of the United States, out of business, particularly where the service of these lines is being fairly conducted. It has been stated that this would prevent competition, but the original shipping act, which is still in existence and under which the board operates, has such supervisory and restrictive powers that the board has full authority to prevent any unfair discrimination that might be attempted.

SALE OF VESSELS.

Government ownership and operation—it was proven conclusively by our investigation that it has not shown a fair financial return in any way. Nor does our system of Government tend toward economical operation, and in all probability it never will. It is questionable whether the operation of these ships by the Shipping Board has not been attended by a considerable loss even with the existing high rates of freight that prevailed during their operation. Many reasons contributed toward this, but since the armistice has been declared there has been very little, if any, improvement in the returns from these ships. As a result, it was decided that it was better to make the sale of these ships as attractive as possible, amortizing the war cost and marking them at the reproduction cost, taking all other conditions into consideration, including depreciation for age. It was provided that they should be sold at public or private competitive sale, after appraisement and due advertisement. This will give all interests a fair opportunity to purchase the ships and prevent any favoritism in their disposal.

All sales made by the board shall be subject to section 9 of the shipping act, which requires under penalty that it shall be unlawful to sell, transfer, or mortgage, or, except under regulations prescribed by the board, to charter any vessel purchased from the board or documented under the laws of the United States to any person not a citizen of the United States, or to put the same under a foreign registry or flag, without first obtaining the board's approval. In the sale of vessels to aliens it is required that the ships shall first be offered to American citizens, and that five out of the seven members of the board shall consent to the sale, and that they shall place in their records a full statement of the reason for making such sale. In this connection I would like to state that there are many ships of a type for which it will be impossible to find a use in our trade. Such ships should be disposed of while it is possible to find some trade in which they can be utilized, even if they are disposed of to aliens; it is questionable even to-day if our fleet of vessels hardly off the ways will be found to be as economical as the new Diesel engine ships that are now being constructed in foreign countries. Of ships being built to-day it will be found that many of them of the largest size are being constructed with these engines. Their use gives an economy of space amounting to 15 or 20 per cent of the cargo-carrying capacity of the ship, and the engine-room working force is reduced almost two-thirds. Such is the economy of this class of vessel that it is only by the most careful management that the oil and coal burning ships that we have been constructing will be able to compete. It is unfortunate that the Shipping Board did not enter more largely into the construction of this type of vessel, particularly after the armistice was declared. In my opinion, it is just as well to as rapidly as possible utilize or dispose of the ships we have on hand to-day, and in all new construction endeavor to prepare for the competition that must come from these vessels.

It is arranged that until sold all vessels under control of the board shall be managed and operated by it or chartered and leased by it, and ample authority is given to the board to carry out this section of the act.

Ample powers are given to the board in this and the original shipping act for supervising all matters in connection with the American merchant marine preventing unfair and unjust discrimination, and it should be the policy to return the board as quickly as possible to its proper functions and remove from it the necessity of operating or handling vessels. It is not good judgment to have a supervisory board such as this is operating in the lines of business over which it exercises its supervision.

INSURANCE.

It has been found after careful investigation that one of the important features in building up the merchant marine was insurance and that, owing to the number of years that we have been without a merchant marine, this facility had become so little used in this country that two-thirds of our marine insurance was being written in foreign companies. The information to be conveyed through this facility is exceedingly detrimental toward building up a merchant marine, and it was decided that at least a majority of this insurance should be written in this country, and by bringing together the insurance companies the Shipping Board has been enabled to make an arrangement for reinsuring, so that it is possible to take care of this insurance. Further than that, the interests of the Shipping Board and the insurance companies being identical, it is advantageous to both to minimize loss. The Shipping Board and the insurance companies have arranged for an American salvage service, which will eventually serve our merchant marine not only in the ports of the United States, but in all the ports of the world. This is decidedly advantageous and should result in a reduction in insurance rates, particularly if insurance departments of all the States join in helping this move along. The bill calls for the removal from the penalties of the antitrust laws of insurance combinations of this character in marine insurance only. It is very doubtful whether the antitrust laws affect the insurance, anyway, as insurance is a service, although it might possibly be construed in marine matters as being a necessity. This section of the bill, however, would remove any doubt on the subject, and undoubtedly many favorable arrangements will be made under the section.

MORTGAGE LAW.

The mortgage law as written in the bill has been the result of several months' work between the committee and admiralty lawyers, before whom the matter had been placed. If it is the desire of the American people to invest in shipping mortgages and the bonds issued under them, these mortgages must of necessity be placed in such position as to cause them to be looked upon favorably by the banking houses, trust companies, and investors. The bill arranges for two classes of mortgages; one is the old mortgage arrangement which has been in existence for some years and the second is a mortgage with a preferred status. Undoubtedly the larger companies, operating a large number of vessels upon which there is a blanket mortgage, will prefer the old style of mortgage. The preferred mortgage, however, will give the smaller operator an opportunity to raise capital upon his ships for the conduct of his business. After hearing all parties interested, the form of the bill as passed by Congress was agreed upon and, we trust, will operate satisfactorily.

AMERICAN BUREAU OF SHIPPING.

Considerable comment has been made regarding the recognition by Congress of the American Bureau of Shipping for classification purposes. It has been stated, but not correctly, that this act requires all documented or enrolled vessels of the United States to be classified in an American bureau. Only

vessels owned by the United States Government are required to be so classified, the idea being to build up a classification bureau of our own, just as several of the European Governments have built up similar bureaus, and to give it some official recognition, so that the Government can require for our bureau such recognition as is given by us to foreign classification societies, or as exist between foreign countries. The functions of the classification society are well established, and in the hands of a competitor have been used in the past and can be used in the future to the detriment of the upbuilding of a merchant marine in any country. If we expect to remain in the carrying business, we must expect to build up our own facilities, of which a classification society is of vital importance.

SPECIAL PROVISIONS IN THE ACT—IMPORT AND EXPORT FREIGHT RATES.

This section provides that the benefit of the special import and export freight rates which are now existent or may be promulgated in the future shall be only applicable to American ships unless the service can not be properly handled by American ships. There is nothing unusual in the use of these special freight rates in building up a merchant marine. Up to the time of the war, and probably to-day, special rates are given to German ships and German merchants. This method has been used by most foreign countries to upbuild their merchant marine. In view of the many discriminations that foreign countries are now imposing upon us for the benefit of their own trade, such as discriminatory export duties made higher to other countries than between their own, there is no good reason why we should not answer with some discriminations in favor of our ships. It has been stated that this might occasion retaliatory measures. I contend that it is a retaliatory measure on our part for discriminations that are being made to-day against us.

POSTAL SUBVENTION.

Almost since the time of the establishment of the Postal Service it has been customary to use the postal subvention as a means for building up steamship service to foreign ports. This was recognized by the ocean mail act of 1891, but unfortunately the speed provisions in that act did not assist in profitable operation at the rate named as a subvention. There is nothing in this act that in any way prevents the act of 1891 still being operative, but this act gives to the board, together with the Postmaster General, supervision over such lines as may be established through the intervention of the board where it may be advantageous to use the postal subvention to aid in its successful operation. The board and the Postmaster General are, of course, limited by the amounts appropriated to them annually by Congress.

DISCRIMINATORY CUSTOMS DUTIES.

This arranges in the act to abrogate all treaties which prevent our utilizing discriminatory duties in order to build up for American vessels return cargoes which are so necessary when things return to normal for the successful operation of these ships. As these treaties become abrogated, the 10 per cent ad valorem duty required by the Underwood Tariff Act on goods shipped in foreign ships will become effective. Surely such an advantage to American ships will attract the exporters and will result in the use of our ships. The figures of shipping tonnage in the United States shows that after the abrogation of the discriminatory tonnage dues and tariff duties the carrying of goods in American bottoms rapidly declined, and it is probable that this and the preferential freight rate on our railroads will be able to assist in building up our merchant marine without subsidy more than could be conceived of by any other measure. Comment has been made that this might lead to retaliatory measures by foreign powers. The answer to this is that, having discriminated against us as far as they can in many different ways, they have invited such measures of reprisal on our part.

TAXES.

There is nothing new in the release of taxes on shipping by many countries. The release from taxation in this bill is only made upon condition that the money so realized is placed in new ship construction. This is, of course, a discrimination which might seem unfair and yet at the same time will decidedly stimulate building of the special ships desired to round out our merchant fleet. Many nations have from time to time and some even to-day are giving financial assistance to their shipbuilders building merchant vessels. Without being a direct charge upon the Government the same is accomplished by this reservation of taxes and should be beneficial.

There are many other minor matters of administration and advantage in the bill which I will not describe at this time. I am convinced after eight years of study of this subject upon the Merchant Marine Committee of the House, during which we investigated the merchant shipping of the world and have had many different subjects brought to our attention, that his bill is one of the most advanced and constructive measures ever passed by the Congress of the United States to assist in building up the shipping industry. Of course, it will take years to know what the result will be. The United States is a great exporting country for raw materials. There is very little that it is necessary for it to have from other countries that can not be supplied to it from points in the Western Hemisphere. If a fair trade balance is to be maintained by this country with other countries, we should at least do 50 per cent or more of our carrying trade. With our carrying trade in the hands of other countries the invisible costs of that carrying aid in reducing the visible balance of trade. It is stated that in 1919, with an adverse balance of $3,346,000.000, Great Britain had an invisible revenue from shipping, banking profits, and foreign investments of $2,850,000,000, so that upon the figures furnished me this enormous adverse balance of over $3,000,000,000 was reduced to less than $500,000,000. It will thus be seen that if we desire to receive the benefits of our own labor it is exceedingly necessary that we supply and profit from all the sources that enter into our foreign business. When we were carrying only 7 to 9 per cent of our imports and exports, we were paying $400,000,000 or $500,000,000 a year interest to foreign investors while ostensibly the figures showed a decided balance of trade in our favor. This condition on account of the war is now reversed, and if we desire to retain our proper place among the nations of the earth we must use every endeavor to secure our proper share of the marketing of our products.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY D. FLOOD,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to print granted to me by the House, I include herewith a statement of the Secretary of Agriculture showing the effect of reduced appropriations by Congress on the activities of the Department of Agriculture:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
June 5, 1920.

The Agricultural appropriation bill for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1920, as recently passed by Congress, carries approximately $6,000,000 less than the estimates made by the department as to its needs and $2,185,000 less than the amount provided in the appropriation act for the current fiscal year. Although the effect of reduced funds on the work of the department was laid fully before Congress while the bill was under consideration, this serious reduction has been made apparently on the ground of economy. I do not believe it is real economy, however, because it will certainly hamper the department in its efforts to aid the farmers of the country in doing their work of feeding and clothing the people and will also handicap the department in administering some of the important regulatory laws intrusted to it for enforcement. The projects or activities to be curtailed or discontinued, in so far as the department has any discretion in the matter, have been determined only after a very thorough and careful review of the whole situation, taking all the factors into consideration.

There is a reduction of $304,000 in the appropriation for the Bureau of Animal Industry as a whole, and this will affect many important lines of work. For example, we have this year $446,865 for field work in connection with the eradication of hog cholera. The amount appropriated for next year is only $192,200. There was a time when the annual losses of hogs from this disease amounted to 144 head to the thousand. Since the eradication campaign was launched, however, the losses have never exceeded 67, and they have been as low as 42 per thousand. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that the eradication work is saving farmers of the United States $40,000,000 a year.

With the money appropriated for hog-cholera eradication, the department has been carrying on work in 36 of the principal hog-raising States. The specialists in the field have been directing their efforts both to treating hogs and to demonstrating to veterinary practitioners, farmers, and others the proper method of determining when hogs have cholera and of giving them the proper treatment. They have also been showing farmers, by demonstrations, lectures, and personal interviews on the farm, how they may protect themselves from losses from the disease. With the reduced appropriation only about one-third as much work can be done next year as has been done heretofore.

MUST ABANDON WORK IN MANY STATES.

The eradication work, so far as Federal assistance is concerned, will have to be completely abandoned in several States. The force of men in the field helping farmers to save their hogs from cholera will have to be reduced from 140 to about 54. The large hog-producing States which now have from five to eight Federal hog-cholera specialists will henceforth have not more than two or three and many of them only one.

The cooperation that has been established through a period of years between the Federal Department of Agriculture and State officials will have to be abandoned in many cases, which simply means that the machinery for hog-cholera control built up by patient work of years will be disrupted.

The appropriation for the investigation of animal diseases has been reduced by $14,400. One of the results will be the abandonment in New York and Texas of cooperative work looking to the control of contagious abortion of cattle. Work on other diseases will be generally curtailed, although it is impossible now to indicate the specific localities that will be affected. Among the studies that will be reduced are those on stock poisoning by plants, anthrax, tuberculosis, roundworms of sheep, internal parasites, cattle ticks, mange mites, and other external parasites. These studies are now being conducted by the branch of the department that made the fundamental discovery relating to the cattle tick which causes Texas fever, perfected the vaccine cure for blackleg, discovered the cause of hog cholera and the method of prevention, and worked out the formula for arsenical dip in eradicating cattle ticks.

DAIRY INVESTIGATIONS CURTAILED.

The appropriation for dairy investigations has been reduced by $12,750. That appears to be a small sum, nevertheless we are accomplishing a great deal with it, and the reduction will make it necessary for the department to abandon its cow-testing work in the States of Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Connecticut.

It must discontinue, also, the work it now has under way to improve the quality and increase the use of dairy products in the States of Iowa, Kansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana. It will have to withdraw from the cooperative dairy extension work in Nevada and Wyoming. Cow testing and the other lines of work that will have to be abandoned have enabled farmers in all these States to save considerable sums by pointing out the importance of eliminating the cows that do not pay for their keep and of generally improving the quality of dairy cows. As a result of the discontinuance of the work, the farmers in the States affected will probably lose this year many times $12,750, and so will the farmers of other States into which the department would have sent its trained cow-testing association experts during the next fiscal year if Congress had appropriated the same amount of money that is available this year.

About one farm in six in the United States has no milk cows. Other farms that keep some milk cows dispose of all the dairy products. The families living on these two classes of farms thus are deprived of a much-needed food. The Department of Agriculture has been conducting a campaign to emphasize the importance of maintaining family cows on farms, has been demonstrating the making of a good quality of farm butter, and, in some sections, the work has resulted in the placing of family cows on a large number of farms, thus providing much-needed food for those families. Only a very small portion of the large field has been covered. We had planned to extend it until we had covered all the territory, but this work, too, must be discontinued.

DISCONTINUE WORK IN TICK-FREE AREAS.

The Department of Agriculture has eradicated the cattle-fever tick from approximately 70 per cent of the territory that it formerly occupied. It was felt that the Government should not leave the area freed of this pest to haphazard live-stock development, but that it should follow up the tick eradication with an educational campaign to help the people to profitable cattle production. We now have a fund of $50,000 for that work. Half of it is devoted to dairy extension, assisting farmers in improving their methods of feeding, furnishing plans of dairy buildings and silos, giving instructions in the raising of calves, and aiding in the purchase of dairy cattle.

The other half is used for demonstrations in general live-stock production. The result has been the establishment of a dairy industry along the best lines in the areas freed from ticks and a steady increase in the number of beef cattle.

Congress did not appropriate anything at all for that work next year. Therefore, all Federal activities along the specialized line of live-stock production demonstrations in tick-free territory will cease, and beef-cattle specialists will be dispensed with in the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. Dairy specialists also will be dispensed with in North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, and Oklahoma.

The Southern States have demonstrated their ability to breed, feed, and produce cattle that, in many instances, have carried off the sweepstakes at our International Live Stock Exposition at Chicago and other stock shows. Therefore the live-stock industry of the South should, by all means, be encouraged and supported in every way possible.

FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE FUND SMALL.

Congress has reduced the appropriation for combating foot-and-mouth disease by $950,000—from $1,500,000 to $550,000. Foot-and-mouth disease is one of the most destructive live-stock scourges known to veterinary science. It has six times made its appearance in the United States, but we have always been able to stamp it out. It exists in many of the European countries, and is likely to appear here again at any time. If it does appear, the eradication work will have to be very prompt and very thorough or the disease will get out of hand and cause enormous losses. Of the appropriation that we have had in the past $1,000,000 is merely an insurance fund. It can not be used except in case of an actual outbreak of the disease. Practically all of this sum is eliminated by the reduction. The funds provided in the new bill will be insufficient to cope with any extended outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease and if one should occur when Congress is not in session there would be no quick means of getting the money that may be needed to protect the country.

CEREAL FIELD STATIONS TO BE CLOSED.

The funds provided for the Bureau of Plant Industry are approximately $375,000 less than the amount appropriated this year. The appropriation for cereal investigations, for example, has been reduced by $80,000. That means, first of all, that the field stations for carrying on this work will have to be closed in North Carolina and Tennessee; at Amarillo, Tex.; Archer, Wyo.; at Highmore and Brookings, S. Dak.; Nephi, Utah, Burns, Oreg.; and Lind, Wash. This is in addition to cereal field work that has already been discontinued at Williston, N. Dak., and Newell, S. Dak., because of the impossibility of continuing it under present high prices with the already inadequate appropriation.

All these stations have been built up during a number of years to carry on experiments with new varieties and methods of cultivation. They have given the farmers that they serve improved varieties and have developed for them cultural methods designed to produce the best yields.

Pathological work on cereals must be reduced. Stem rust investigations must be discontinued at Ithaca, N. Y.; Lansing, Mich.; Auburn, Ala.; Tucson, Ariz.; and Corvallis, Oreg. Cereal disease investigations along various lines, while they will not be entirely discontinued, must be reduced at Berkeley, Calif.; Milford, Conn.; Bloomington, Ill.; LaFayette, Ind.; Ames, Iowa; Manhattan, Kans.; Crowley, La.; St. Paul, Minn.; New Brunswick, N. J.; Fargo, N. Dak.; Hershey, Pa.; Knoxville, Tenn.; Arlington, Va.; Pullman, Wash.; and Madison, Wis.

CEREAL DISEASE WORK AFFECTED.

The extremely important studies that are being conducted on flax diseases, rice diseases, oriental downy mildew of corn, stripe and blotch disease of barley, soil-infesting rots of corn roots, stalks, and ears, and wheat scab will be greatly reduced, and investigations of many less important diseases will be practically discontinued. I will give just one illustration of what these cereal disease investigations mean. During the past two years our specialists have discovered that corn root rot and wheat scab are caused by the same fungus; that corn rot causes many missing hills and barren stalks; that it sometimes causes early ripening of apparently sound, but really diseased, ears which, because they are early, are saved for seed. Then they have shown that it is possible to detect the disease-carrying kernels by germination tests and so prevent the use of infested ears for seed. They discovered, also, that this same fungus is responsible for part of the heavy spoilage of canned corn known to commercial canners as "blacks," and they have shown how this loss may be prevented by testing sweet corn seed on the germinator and rejecting the diseased ears. This is only one among hundreds of lines of work carried on at these stations which must be abandoned or curtailed.

The appropriation for western irrigation agriculture has been reduced by $20,000. That means, first of all, that the department will have to abandon its stations at San Antonio, Tex.; on the Umatilla reclamation project, Oregon; and on the Newlands reclamation project, Nevada. These stations have been of great benefit to farmers on irrigation projects in the working out of methods for the most satisfactory crop production under the varying conditions of the different projects. Closing them means the loss of the trained men who have been operating them and of the increasingly valuable information secured from their work.

This work was undertaken as a matter of simple justice to the farmers who had settled on the irrigation projects. The irrigated lands include something over 15,000,000 acres. One and one-half million acres are included in projects in which the Government has already invested more than $100,000,000 in construction work. The settlers are undertaking to repay that money to the Government. The stations that we now have to discontinue have been equipped gradually to provide facilities for making the irrigated farms profitable to the settlers, who could then repay the Government for the money it has spent.

DRUG CROP PRODUCTION WORK CURTAILED.

The appropriation for drug, poisonous, and oil plant investigations is $20,000 less than the amount provided this year. Just a word about what we are doing with that appropriation. Camphor, for instance, is extensively used in medicine and is indispensable in the celluloid industry. The world supply of camphor is controlled by the Japanese camphor monopoly.

We have undertaken to develop an American source of supply, and large plantings of camphor have been made in Florida, but to establish the industry on a permanent basis it is necessary to continue our efforts a few years longer. Belladona, digitalis, and cannabis are indispensable in treating many serious ailments. The supply has ordinarily come from other countries, but when the war shut off the imports of drugs from abroad the crisis was promptly met by increased production of these crops at home. That was possible only because of the department's investigations and introductions of drug plants. All that work will be seriously hampered because of the small amount of money provided for its prosecution next year. We shall have to abandon our cooperative work in the development of drug crops. Poisonous plant surveys on the western stock ranges and in the national forests also will have to be largely discontinued, little further work can be done on vegetable oil crop investigations, and the camphor project will have to be reduced by 75 per cent.

The appropriation of $32,500 for biophysical investigations has been completely eliminated. That was the money with which we financed the investigations of the problems of temperature, moisture, soil, air, and other physical factors in relation to plant growth. The entire work must be discontinued, and the results of years of careful study on fundamentally important problems will be lost.

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FOOD AND DRUG INSPECTION REDUCED.

The appropriation for enforcing the food and drugs act has been reduced by $30,000. Even with the present appropriation, the department has been able to maintain the enforcement of that important law only with great difficulty and through the practice of the most rigid economy. With the reduced amount provided for next year and constantly increasing costs of operation it will be necessary to cut down the force to such a point that the food and drugs consumed by the people of this country can not be safeguarded with the usual measure of thoroughness. This situation arises at a time when there is the greatest need for unusual care in the inspection of food and drugs. The high prices of materials constitute a temptation to manufacturers to adulterate their products. As a result of decreased appropriations for the maintenance of the necessary inspection service, adulterated products, both imported and home manufactured, will find easier access to the tables and homes of the Nation than they have found since the enactment of this law.

DYE INVESTIGATIONS CUT 30 PER CENT.

The appropriation for color investigations in the Bureau of Chemistry has been reduced by $30,020, or more than 30 per cent below the funds available this year. When the World War began the United States was practically dependent upon Germany and Austria for its dyestuffs. The color laboratory a few years ago began investigations which are rapidly putting this country on a self-sustaining basis in the dye industry and which have already resulted in the granting of 16 patents. One achievement will serve to illustrate the importance of the work. Phthalic anhydride is used in the preparation of more than 300 chemicals, many of them of great commercial importance. Germany had enjoyed a practical monopoly on it and at one time it sold as high as $7 a pound. The work of the color laboratory has made possible the manufacture of the product in the United States at 45 cents a pound. American manufacturers are turning out enough of the material to take care of all domestic needs and are supplying Switzerland and some other foreign countries in direct competition with Germany. This alone has enabled the American manufacturers to start

a new industry, and it has already more than returned all the money appropriated for the color laboratory since it was first organized; and yet it represents only one line of work of the laboratory. There are 15 other lines that have resulted in important developments.

The appropriation for investigating the handling and transportation of poultry, eggs, and fish has been reduced by $10,000. That work has been yielding results worth to the country every year many times the amount of the whole appropriation. The breakage of eggs in transit formerly was so great that the railroads claimed they were handling eggs at a loss. Now, packing and shipping methods have been devised by which breakage can be reduced to little or nothing. These methods, however, are not yet in general application, and there is need for extending the work to various sections of the country. Methods have been developed for preventing the spoilage of poultry in transit, and means have been devised for shipping fresh fish in good condition to inland cities which previously could not obtain them. We had planned to extend these three lines of work to sections of the country not yet reached, but this can not be done with the reduced appropriation.

FOREST EXPERIMENT STATIONS CLOSED.

The appropriation for forest investigations has been reduced by $28,728. Here are some of the things the country will lose as the result: It will lose at least three of the four forest experiment stations on the western national forests, located at Priest River, Idaho; Colorado Springs, Colo.; Flagstaff, Ariz.; and Stabler, Wash. Much of the work dealing with maintaining and reproducing the forests in the East and South, where the problem of forest devastation and future timber supply is most acute, will have to be abandoned. Nothing whatever can be done in the Lake States or in the Northeast.

Hardly a start can be made on urgent problems connected with the rapidly waning supply of hardwoods in the Central States and the Appalachian regions. Studies of the growth, yield, and future use of the vast areas of yellow-pine lands in the South will have to be abandoned. Little progress can be made in the general survey of national forest resources and in studying the economic problems inseparably connected with the development of a comprehensive forest policy.

CROP ESTIMATE PROJECTS TO BE DISCONTINUED.

The appropriation for the Bureau of Crop Estimates has been reduced by about $53,000. This means the discontinuance of all special service except the regular monthly crop reports on acreage, condition, and production of staple crops. It means that the services of crop reporting specialists on cotton, tobacco, and rice will have to be dispensed with—and these three crops last year had a farm value of nearly $3,000,000,000. Loss of the rice specialists will directly affect the farmers in the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, South Carolina, and California. The value of the work of the tobacco specialists, which will be discontinued, is well known to the farmers of Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Wisconsin, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Maryland, and Georgia. Through the loss of the cotton specialists all the cotton-growing States will be affected. Special estimates on the commercial production of fruit and truck crops, which had a farm value last year of nearly $500,000,000, will have to be discontinued. The commercial apple estimates are said to have been worth at least $1,000,000 to the apple growers alone last season; and the estimates of the commercial surplus production of potatoes are reported to have been worth more than $100,000 to the growers of a single county in Minnesota last season.

PINK BOLLWORM FUND REDUCED.

The appropriation for the eradication of the pink bollworm of cotton has been reduced by $100,000. The pink bollworm possibly is the most destructive enemy of cotton in the world. It has inflicted tremendous damage to every cotton-producing country on the globe, with the exception of the United States. It is present in this country in a few counties in Texas and in three parishes in Louisiana. With the full cooperation of the States concerned, the opportunity now exists to eradicate it. If it is not eradicated now, it will inevitably spread over all the cotton-growing territory in the United States and will undoubtedly cause enormous losses.

The Department of Agriculture is pursuing the only program that promises success. The work is already well under way and the prospects for complete eradication are distinctly favorable. Half-way measures will almost certainly mean money and work wasted. Such work can not be adjusted so that it will cost a fixed sum. It must be maintained on a basis which will insure the accomplishment of the end aimed at. It is like fire control or the maintenance of levees. It can not be dropped and later taken up again. As soon as vigilance is relaxed the opportunity for control is lost. The reduction in the appropriation will make it impossible for the department to prosecute its efforts to eradicate the pink bollworm on the scale which the experts think necessary in order to insure success.

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MUST DISCONTINUE MANY MARKETING PROJECTS.

The appropriation for the Bureau of Markets has been reduced by approximately $270,000. The funds for its investigational work, for example, are $30,000 less than the amount provided this year. One of the results of this decrease will be that the project which has to do with the marketing and distribution of farm products in cities will have to be discontinued. This work has resulted in many improvements in marketing conditions and has benefited the consumer as well as the producer. Among the cities in which this project has rendered assistance in improving market conditions are Chicago, Cleveland, Akron, Colorado Springs, Denver, Detroit, Indianapolis, Jacksonville, Key West, Richmond, Lynchburg, Memphis, Milwaukee, Miami, Pittsburgh, Oil City, Salt Lake City, Toledo, St. Augustine, and Wilkes-Barre.

It will be necessary to discontinue all the work relating to the direct marketing of farm products by parcel post, express, and otherwise. This work has brought to light very useful information, and only through investigations of this sort is it possible to find a market outlet for much food which is not produced in sufficient quantities to be marketed in car lots and which otherwise may go to waste.

MARKET NEWS SERVICES CURTAILED.

The appropriation for the market news services on fruits and vegetables and on live stock and meats has been reduced by $58,680. These services have been indorsed by a large number of representative argricultural associations and by thousands of individual producers, commercial firms, and others. To conduct them properly the department formerly had 17,000 miles of leased wire in operation. On account of decreased funds, its wire mileage already has been cut to about 5,000, and must be still further reduced under the limited appropriation. The Pacific coast, the intermountain region, the South, and Southwest, which during the past year have been largely deprived of the benefits of the news services, have suffered further reductions in the last month. This is particularly unfortunate, since all these sections, relatively remote from markets, are in urgent need of accurate and dependable market information.

The service rendered the public from most of the large market centers, especially Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Omaha, and Minneapolis, must be curtailed to such an extent that wide dissemination of information regarding market demands, supplies, and prices will be impossible. Forced consolidation of present leased-wire facilities will result in confusion and delay on account of congested wires. It will be necessary to eliminate all live-stock market messages during the forenoon to eastern points on the leased wire from the Kansas City, Omaha, and East St. Louis markets; and it will be necessary also to delay, until the day's trading has commenced, the transmission to the great live-stock markets of the West of all reports of prices in the eastern wholesale dressed-meat markets.

We have just had to close the office at San Francisco which furnished market news on fruits and vegetables, and, within a few months, will have to discontinue the issuance of market reports on dairy products at Minneapolis and San Francisco. For practical purposes, this will deprive the Pacific coast of the services on dairy products and fruits and vegetables, and it will greatly delay the dairy service to the important dairy sections now served from Minneapolis. One or two temporary offices will be open on the Pacific coast to render a service on special crops during the heavy crop movement; but, as stated, the reduced funds have compelled the virtual elimination of an all-the-year-round service in this region.

REDUCTION IN FOOD-PRODUCTS INSPECTION SERVICE.

The food-products inspection service, during the few years it has been in operation, has prevented the loss of thousands of dollars to the producer. It has practically eliminated the commission man in the important markets who used to buy on a gamble and then reject the shipment if prices declined before it was received. It has made it possible for shippers and other interested parties to obtain reliable reports on the condition of their products when received in the markets. Terms and conditions of sale are stated with greater clearness and precision. The chances of misunderstanding are reduced, and the reports indicate to the shipper whether or not the stock was correctly graded, packed, and labeled. The service facilitates the distribution of farm products, hastens the release of cars, and prevents deterioration and waste caused by the delays incident to disputes.

There is urgent need for the expansion of this service; but, with the reduced appropriation, not only is expansion impossible but retrenchment is unavoidable. Butter-inspection work can be conducted in only four of the large markets, and the inspection of certain other commodities specified in the law, such as hay, can not be handled at all. We had expected to establish offices for the inspection of fruits and vegetables in such cities as Hartford, Conn.; Louisville, Ky.; and Norfolk, Va.; but this can not now be done. It should be borne in mind, in this connection, that the food-products-inspection service at the present rate of progress will collect in fees this year about $58,000, which will be turned into the Treasury.

COOPERATIVE MARKETING WORK CAN NOT BE EXTENDED.

Through the cooperative employment of field agents in various States, important progress has been made in developing broad, consistent marketing policies. Without assistance in coordinating the activities of the various agencies, each State will undoubtedly develop its marketing work in a different way, and confusion and waste will be inevitable. The study of marketing problems on a comprehensive scale was undertaken so recently, and authoritative information is consequently so meager, that it is particularly important to give State agencies the benefit of such conclusions as have been reached by the department and such States as have undertaken work along these lines; otherwise, they can not avoid costly mistakes and loss of time. We are at present cooperating with 28 States and had expected to extend the work to the other States.

The appropriation for this work, however, has been reduced by $6,650, and its expansion, which seems so essential at the present time, will have to be postponed until funds are available.

CURTAIL GRAIN STANDARDS WORK.

The Department of Agriculture is charged with the duty of enforcing the United States grain standards act. The appropriation for this purpose will be reduced by nearly $50,000 on July 1, although it is now barely sufficient to enable the department to carry on the work in the most satisfactory way. This legislation, being mandatory and not permissive, imposes upon the department certain duties which it can not avoid, and the decrease of already inadequate funds necessarily embarrasses the department and makes it difficult to enforce the law in the constructive manner which the public has every right to expect. To carry out the provisions of the grain standards act it is necessary, of course, to maintain an organization covering the entire United States. This requires the maintenance of a relatively large number of branch offices, and these in the larger markets must be manned by forces sufficiently large to handle effectively and expeditiously the great volume of work which arises automatically through the operation of the law. Measures will, of course, be taken to execute as much of the work as possible with the decreased funds, but in order to come within the appropriation we shall have to discontinue two field stations, i. e., Salt Lake City, Utah, and Cleveland, Ohio. In fact, the Salt Lake City office was closed March 31, 1920, in anticipation of the reduction in funds, and the Cleveland office was closed on May 31. Urgent appeals have been received to reinstate the work in Salt Lake City, but the reduction in funds absolutely precludes such action. The staff at Boston, Mass., must be reduced. It is highly desirable to maintain the force at its present strength, but this can not be done with reduced funds. It will be necessary to postpone for at least one year the promulgation of standards for milled rice. There is insistent demand for the standardization of additional cereals under the grain standards act, and arrangements had been made to promulgate rice standards before it became clear that the appropriation would be reduced. In fact, tentative standards were announced in February, and hearings regarding them were held in March of this year. Promulgation of the standards must now be deferred until such time as an adequate appropriation is made available for their effective enforcement.

The appropriation for surveying soils, so that the farmers of the country may know the character of the soil on their farms and that the department and State colleges may be in position to help them in solving their soil problems, has been reduced by $17,500.

FOREST-INSECT CONTROL AFFECTED.

The funds available to the Bureau of Entomology for combating insect pests have been curtailed by $247,000. The amount provided for forest-insect investigations, for example, is $7,590 less than the sum appropriated this year. This will make it necessary, first of all, to abandon the field stations at Colorado Springs, Colo., and Ashland, Oreg., and the substation at Chico, Calif., and also to reduce the work at the field laboratory at Los Gates, Calif. All work in the northwestern United States on the investigation of insects injurious to forests, forest products, and shade trees will be discontinued. Work in the Southeastern States relating to insect infestation of cut timber and forest products will be abandoned. Plans to enlarge the work relating to chemical treatment for the prevention of white ants can not be carried out. Generally speaking, the reduction will cripple the work of forest-insect control throughout the United States. This project has been carried on for a number of years without any increase in appropriation, although there has been a steady increase in the demand for assistance from the Forest Service, the National Park Service, and private owners of woodlands.

A cut of $21,760 has been made in the appropriation for truck crop and stored product insect investigations, and Congress has directed that $10,000 of the funds remaining be used for a new line of work. The project for the control of sweet potato weevil, the most serious menace to a southern food crop that was worth last year $138,000,000, will have to be considerably curtailed. The six States in which the weevil is known to exist are Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida, which produce more than 50 per cent of the crop. Means for the eradication of the pest have been devised and are being satisfactorily carried out in three States. In a fourth, Alabama, the weevil has been practically eradicated, only one locality reporting an infestation during the last harvest. This work, so well begun, must now be greatly reduced. The let-up in the active campaign will result not only in heavy monetary losses to the South but lack of inspection and control operations may be followed by general reinfestation of the areas freed from the pest.

TWO INSECT-CONTROL STATIONS ABANDONED.

Aside from the sweet-potato weevil work, other serious curtailments must be made. We shall have to abandon the station at Greeley, Colo., which is investigating sugar beet and potato insects, and also the station at Chadbourne, N. C., which is studying berry and cabbage insects. Discontinuance of the work at Greeley is particularly unfortunate because of the threatened serious outbreak of the sugar-beet webworm this season. Without control, it may cause losses running into millions.

The fund for miscellaneous insect investigations has been reduced by $10,000. About three-fourths of this reduction must be borne by the project for the investigation of insects affecting the health of man, such as mosquitoes, the house fly, etc., and insects affecting domestic animals. Some of the work will have to be abandoned and the remainder curtailed. The rest of the cut will fall on what we call the systematic staff—a corps of experts of world-wide reputation brought together by reason of their intimate knowledge of the different groups of insects. An insect must be identified before the means of controlling it can be found. That is what these men do, not only for the Department of Agriculture but for the various State agricultural colleges and experiment stations.

GYPSY MOTH CONTROL WORK CURTAILED.

The fund for control of the gypsy moth and the brown-tail moth has been reduced by $52,650. This work was begun in 1906, when these two pests were threatening to destroy all kinds of trees in New England and the Northeast. Several million dollars of Federal money has been expended on it, and a still larger amount has been spent by the States concerned. The pests are under control, but disastrous spread has been prevented only with the greatest difficulty under the present appropriation. The Federal activities have been concentrated largely along the border lines, in order to protect the rest of the country, while work in the interior of the infested areas has been left largely to the States. Now work along the border line must be greatly curtailed and, if conditions are favorable for the spread of the pests, the year may see a great deal of new territory infested. Sporadic outbreaks have occurred from time to time in Ohio, New York, and New Jersey, but we have always succeeded in exterminating the moths in these areas. If such outbreaks occur now, there will not be sufficient money to handle them properly.

A reduction of $2,000 has been made in the appropriation for investigation of tropical and subtropical plant insects. That is a comparatively small sum of money, but it seriously affects six or seven projects, involving important fruit industries in California and Florida and the other Gulf States.

OTHER ACTIVITIES AFFECTED.

It is impossible in this statement to indicate in detail all the lines of work that will be affected by the reductions made in the department's appropriations for next year, and of course it does not take into account the projects which the department feels, as indicated in the estimates submitted to Congress, should be inaugurated or expanded in order to deal more effectively with important problems in the field of agriculture. Many important activities in addition to those mentioned will necessarily have to be curtailed, including investigations in the culture and improvement of forage crops, studies of live-stock production in sugar-cane and cotton districts, work in the control of the potato-wart disease, field experiments in the various methods of road construction and maintenance and investigations concerning road materials, farm-irrigation investigations, and farm-drainage investigations. A reduction of $50,000 in the fund heretofore available for the essential improvement work on the national forests will also make necessary the postponement of much-needed work in connection with the construction and maintenance of roads and trails, bridges, fire lanes, telephone lines, fences, and other improvements necessary for the proper and economical administration, protection, and development of the national forests.

All these reductions are much more serious than appears from a mere dollars and cents statement. A dollar, as we all know, buys much less of everything than it formerly bought and also does considerably less work. Even if all the appropriations had been retained at the old figures, therefore, the department would have been seriously handicapped in carrying on its work effectively.

CONGRESSIONAL SEED DISTRIBUTION CONTINUED.

Notwithstanding the recommendation of the department that it be eliminated, the item of $239,000 for congressional seed distribution has been included in the bill. A special letter was sent on February 26, 1920, to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry strongly urging that the appropriation for the free seed distribution, which has been carried in the bill for many years, be discontinued and that the funds thus saved be used for the prosecution of urgently important investigational work on problems of crop production. The Senate committee adopted the department's recommendation and its action was confirmed by the Senate. The conferees, at first, were unable to reach an agreement on the matter, and so reported to both Houses of Congress. It was then considered by the House, and the House conferees were instructed to insist on the retention of the item in the bill. The question was reconsidered by the conferees, but they were unable to agree, and again reported a disagreement. The House again insisted on the inclusion of the appropriation in the bill. At this stage the Senate suggested, as a compromise, the following:

"For the purchase, testing, and distribution of valuable seeds, bulbs, trees, shrubs, vines, cuttings, and plants, $75,000. Said seeds, bulbs, trees, shrubs, vines, cuttings, and plants shall be sent only to such persons as shall make request therefor: *Provided*, That all such requests made of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates in Congress, if transmitted to the Department of Agriculture, shall be complied with by said department."

The House, however, refused to accept the proposal, and the Senate finally receded from its amendment striking the item from the bill. The congressional seed distribution, therefore, carrying an appropriation of $239,000, will be continued during the next fiscal year.

Better Salaries for Teachers and a New Conscience on Education.

Let Congress do its full duty to the teachers in the Nation's Capital, and it will have an electrical effect in raising the salaries of teachers all over America.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. UPSHAW,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 26, 1920.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 13266) making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.

Mr. UPSHAW. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the graphic picture of American valor which our eloquent colleague from Washington [Mr. MILLER] has just painted for us—yes, and the victory and glory with which that valor was crowned—brought all of us to our feet with a pæan of thanksgiving in our hearts that the civilization for which these brave Americans fought was not lost. But the shocking revelation concerning our poorly paid teachers made in the speech of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS], who is himself a distinguished educator, brings us face to face with the fact that we are blind enough to suffer a process of neglect that threatens to submarine the very foundations of that civilization for which our brave boys fought and fell.

It was my good fortune—almost a melancholy pleasure—to see during the past two weeks a painful illustration of this fact. By invitation of that splendid head of the schools of the District of Columbia, Prof. Thurston, and the principals of different schools here, it has been my privilege during my short stay in Congress to speak to many thousands of the boys and girls in the Washington schools. Incidentally, may I say, I slip out between times and address boys and girls, as I have been doing for 25 years over the country, in order to keep young by bathing myself in a sea of youth. [Applause.] In speaking to 3,000 students in three different schools in the past two weeks, I saw the great educational tragedy of those 3,000 boys and girls, packed, standing in the aisles, and around the walls of each building, in auditoriums that were capable of seating comfortably only about half of that number.

At the Eastern High I found it that way; no room in which to take care of the boys and girls that are there in their general daily educational duties, to say nothing of occasional assemblies so necessary to the larger life of every school. At the McKinley High, the great technological school, I spoke to over a thousand bright young Americans, packed into an auditorium that would seat comfortably only 500. They were standing three or four deep, and I found that in this great school, bearing the honored name of the martyred Christian President, loved North and South and East and West, there is not even a gymnasium; and the neglect and congestion there is only illustrative of most of the other schools in this city. Only this week, by invitation of the principal, I spoke to the Business High here in Washington, about 1,100 students lining the walls and standing in the aisles in an auditorium seating barely 600.

The distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS], who was a college president before coming to Congress, can bear testi-

mony to the value of the assembly period in schools, its pyschic unity, and the school spirit that it produces; and yet I bring the startling declaration to you that, outside of the Central High School, there is not an adequate assembly room in any school of the Nation's Capital; and only three or four of these schools have any assembly room at all.

I want to emphasize, gentlemen, that if this Congress, which has to sit as a city council, a board of education, and the general educational guardian of the boys and girls of the National Capital, all in one, were charged with the proper rearing of pigs and calves and colts, if you please, we would see to it by proper legislation that they had plenty of room to gather and properly disport themselves for the fullest physical development. It seems that we are forgetting here, at the fountain head of our governmental life and our boasted and beloved civilization, the actual meaning of that civilization.

THE MEANING OF CIVILIZATION.

We are forgetting to teach by our appropriations that spell our investment in education and civilization; we are forgetting to teach, by our example to the rest of the country, that civilization does not exist and government is not maintained in order that men may clip their coupons and count their cash; that civilization does not exist and governments are not maintained in order that railroads may belt the continent like nerves of steel; that civilization does not exist and governments are not maintained in order that factories may turn their wheels to the music and march of progress; for all the factories and all the farms and all the industries of the District and the Nation, if sold here on the Capitol steps to-morrow at high noon, would not bring a single dollar if it were not for the boys and girls that give them their only value. These material concrete things that we are accustomed to call wealth have no intrinsic value in themselves; theirs is only a related value—a value that comes wholly from their relation to humanity—and I declare to you that it is the duty of this Congress to never again be scant and "little" toward the "crown jewels" of the Nation's Capital and the teacher-builders of our civilization.

It is bad enough for the men in the Army and the Navy, the officers on whose education this Government has spent literal millions, to have to leave the service and jeopardize the efficiency of our defenses as they are now forced to do for lack of a living compensation; but it is an infinitely worse tragedy that these teachers, who are the unsung, the uncrowned, the heroic, the unselfish sentinels along the outposts of our advancing civilization, should be living now, or trying to live, on salaries that force them to skimp and save and suffer—practically the same salary that they received many years ago, when the cost of living was less than half of what it is now—and some of these teachers tell me almost with tears in their eyes, and with a passion of patriotism that is positively as pathetic as it is heroic: "We are holding on to our work because we love it; we do not want to quit the schoolroom, but it is so hard to make buckle and tongue meet." Gentlemen of the House, such a situation in our educational life is nothing less than a tragedy. How can the teacher do his best or her best in developing childhood and building civilization when daily confronted with the pains of pinching poverty, when the sun of every day's terrific struggle goes down behind a cloud of uncertainty and anxiety? Teachers and preachers deal with the supremest questions that touch humanity, the principles that give humanity its supremest value, the things, let me urge, through which humanity gives value to everything else in the world, and so, gentlemen, let me put into italics the great need of our Washington schools. Indeed, I make an earnest plea for greater liberality toward our schools and teachers everywhere. Just about everybody's salary has been raised except teachers and preachers, and they are the real redeemers of our civilization.

A NEW EDUCATIONAL CONSCIENCE.

The truth is, my colleagues, the Nation needs a new conscience on the place of education in our national life. Great and overtowering as we know education to be from an economic standpoint, yet every community has missed its highest unit of computation and the Nation its loftiest incentive if schoolhouses are builded, colleges endowed, and teachers paid from a commercial point of value. While that community is blind and that nation asleep that does not recognize the economic value of education to every atom of property in reach of its influence, still we must lift education in the realm of our thinking and our building into the purer, sweeter atmosphere of ethical valuation. The president of Wellesley said one morning at the opening of the college term:

Girls, we don't promise you that the education we give you here will help you to get more bread, but we do promise you that it will make every morsel you eat taste sweeter.

And it is because education, the right kind of education, expands the individual, liberates the individual, broadens the horizon, and sweetens everything that it touches in individual, community, and national life that we, as a Nation, need a new educational conscience.

I believe the department of education should be lifted to the dignity and power of a Cabinet position, perhaps incorporating with it the department of health. If we have a Cabinet place for the handling of money; if we have Cabinet places for ships and men and guns and men; if Cabinet wisdom is invoked and Cabinet energy dedicated to the cultivation of our lands, the direction of our labor, and the development of our commerce, then, in the name of the God who made body, mind, and soul greater than all these tangible and perishing things, why should we not have Cabinet wisdom and Cabinet energy dedicated wholly to the guardianship and development of the crowning handiwork of God? For in vain do men coin money, till the soil, build up great properties, seek the solution of great problems, and fight and die for all of these unless they have minds to think, hearts to feel, and character to appreciate the blessings of liberty and the sacredness of home!

And because of these great fundamental considerations I believe that this Government, in its dealings with the District of Columbia—the only opportunity that Congress has to deal directly with the teachers, builders of our civilization—ought to seize upon this opportunity to lift the teachers' salaries in keeping with their needs and the dignity of their position; and such an act on the part of Congress in the Nation's Capital would have an electrical effect in raising the salaries of teachers all over America.

AGAINST COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING.

And while discussing these fundamentals in education I count it a good opportunity to register my protest against the proposed bill for compulsory military training. I believe in military training as a part of our educational system, but I do not believe in doing violence to the genius and spirit of free America by making the military feature compulsory in time of peace. Proper military training in school develops "young America" in physical prowess, obedience to law, and the general processes of discipline, and I believe the Government, from the standpoint of education as well as providing for the national defense, should offer every possible attraction to young men to take this course, giving encouragement without stint also to the fitting schools all over the land which have provided military training for their students. This is educational; this is patriotic. But let not the Government lay its hand on the treasured son of any home in time of peace and say, "You shall take military training." That is too much like Germany. That leads to the spirit of Prussian autocracy, which America and the Allies fought side by side to overthrow.

But before I sit down let me urge again a general policy of increased liberality toward our teachers and toward every facility for education, so that those who fashion the stature of our future citizenship may build in comfort and from every angle of wholesome inspiration.

Say not that the clay in their hands is "only a child." Only a child? Only a plastic mind, only a bundle of potential dynamics, only an "angel of light" or a demon of darkness, only a formative energy that shall poison the sweet waters of our Christian civilization or go forward to rule the world in righteousness "like ascending constellations in God's horoscope of time," only a spark from Divinity's throne, only an immortal spirit that, under proper tuition, shall "outlive the stars and outshine the sun."

Gentlemen, if we are to vote appropriations for anything during this session of Congress, let us vote for a substantial increase of salary for the teachers, and for an enlargement and improvement in the buildings for these splendidly conducted schools.

Mr. McKEOWN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there for a question?

Mr. UPSHAW. Yes, sir.

Mr. McKEOWN. When we increase the salary, which is probably very much needed in the District of Columbia as well as needed throughout the Nation for the teachers, it seems to me there should be some care taken as to whether the teacher is sound on views of government. I understand that we are having some trouble with teachers who are hostile to our form of government.

Mr. UPSHAW. I have found no such teachers in our Washington schools. But even as there is "no place beneath the American flag for the heart that does not love it nor the arm that will not defend it," there is certainly no place in our school

system for any teacher who is not true to that flag, and thus true to the boys and girls who, as Jacob Riis says, are "the to-morrow of the Republic."

More and more our schools must be made the trysting places of that loyalty and that God-fearing patriotism in whose responsive soil the noxious weeds of skepticism and anarchy can not grow; but rather a youthful enthusiasm for unselfish citizenship and that "righteousness that exalteth a nation." [Applause.]

The Merchant Marine Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SHERMAN E. BURROUGHS,

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 4, 1920.

Mr. BURROUGHS. Mr. Speaker, the bill under consideration is entitled—

An act to provide for the promotion and maintenance of the American merchant marine, to repeal certain emergency legislation, and provide for the disposition, regulation, and use of property acquired thereunder, and for other purposes.

It is the so-called Greene bill passed by this House in the early part of December last together with several other bills which have been either passed by the House since that time or reported favorably to the House by the Merchant Marine Committee. These bills have all been included in one measure by this conference report upon which the House is now to take final action. Altogether the bill as it now stands constitutes, in my judgment, one of the most far-reaching constructive measures ever enacted by this or any other Congress.

The bill accomplishes the following very definite objects:

(1) It declares what is to be henceforward the policy of the United States with reference to its merchant marine. That policy is "to do whatever may be necessary" to develop and encourage the maintenance of a merchant marine under the American flag, to carry the greater portion of its commerce, and serve as a naval or military auxiliary in time of war or national emergency, and ultimately to be owned and operated privately by citizens of the United States.

(2) It creates a Shipping Board to be composed of seven commissioners to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, specifying their terms of service, powers, duties, qualifications, and sections of the country from which they are to be appointed, viz, two from States touching the Pacific Ocean, two from States touching the Atlantic Ocean, one from States touching the Gulf of Mexico, one from States touching the Great Lakes, and one from the interior. Not more than four of these commissioners shall be appointed from the same political party.

(3) Repeals subject to certain specified limitations, five emergency acts and parts of acts placing extraordinary powers in the hands of the President during the war emergency, and transfers to said board all vessels and other property or interests of whatsoever kind acquired by the President pursuant to the authority conferred upon him by the acts and parts of acts repealed.

(4) Authorizes and directs the board to sell, as soon as practicable consistent with good business methods and the objects and purposes to be attained by this act, at public or private competitive sale, after appraisement and due advertisement, the vessels constituting our present Government-owned fleet. It specifies certain considerations that shall be taken into account by the board in fixing the price at which these ships may be sold and also limits such sale, except in the case of American vessels not deemed necessary to the "promotion and maintenance of an efficient American merchant marine," to persons who are citizens of the United States.

(5) It authorizes and directs the board to investigate and determine as promptly as possible after the act becomes effective, and from time to time thereafter, "what steamship lines should be established and put in operation from ports in the United States to such other domestic and world markets as in the judgment of the board are desirable for the promotion, development, expansion, and maintenance of the foreign and coastwise trade of the United States," and so forth. The board is also authorized in cooperation with the Secretary of War to investigate ports and the territorial regions and zones tributary thereto; the causes of the congestion of commerce at ports and the remedies applicable thereto; water terminals, including necessary docks, warehouses, and appliances, with a view to devise and suggest types most appropriate for different locations and for the most expeditious and economic transfer or interchange of passengers and property between carriers by water and carriers by rail; and if after such investigation the board is of opinion that rates, charges, rules, or regulations of common carriers by rail subject to the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission are detrimental to the promotion, encouragement, and development of ports and transportation facilities, the board may submit its findings to the Interstate Commerce Commission for such action as such commission may consider proper under existing laws.

(6) Provides for a so-called "construction loan fund," consisting of a sum not exceeding $25,000,000, to be annually set aside by the board out of revenues from sales and operations to be used in securing the construction by persons, citizens of the United States, in private shipyards in the United States, of vessels of the best and most efficient type deemed by the board to be necessary and desirable in establishing steamship lines capable of meeting competition in the ocean carrying trade.

(7) Forbids, under penalty of fine of $5,000, or imprisonment for not more than five years, or both, the sale, transfer, mortgage, except under regulations prescribed by the board, the charter of any vessel purchased from the board or documented under the laws of the United States, to any person not a citizen of the United States or the registry of any such vessel under a foreign flag without first obtaining the board's approval.

(8) Authorizes the board to make all necessary rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of the act and particularly to make rules and regulations affecting shipping in the foreign trade not in conflict with law, in order to meet general or special conditions in the foreign trade which are believed to be unfavorable to our shipping and which conditions arise out of or result from foreign laws, rules, or regulations, or foreign competitive methods or practices employed by owners, operators, agents, or masters of vessels of a foreign country. No such rules or regulations, however, shall be established by the board to give any vessel owned by the United States any preference or favor over vessels owned by persons who are citizens of the United States and which vessels are documented under our laws. Forbids, under penalty of fine of not more than $25,000 for each offense, any payment or allowance or agreement or understanding, expressed or implied, to pay or allow deferred rebates to shippers or the making of any unfair or unjustly discriminatory contract with any shipper based on volume of freight offered or that excludes from admission upon equal terms with all other parties thereto a common carrier by water which is a citizen of the United States and which has applied for such admission.

(9) Extends the coastwise laws of the United States from and after February 1, 1922, to the island possessions of the United States not now covered thereby. In the meantime the board is directed to have established adequate steamship service at reasonable rates to accommodate the commerce and passenger travel of said islands and to maintain and operate such service until it can be taken over and operated and maintained upon satisfactory terms by private capital and enterprise.

(10) Repeals the act giving the Shipping Board power to permit vessels of foreign registry and foreign-built vessels admitted to American registry under the act of August 18, 1914, to engage in the coastwise trade during the present war and for a period of 120 days thereafter, except coastwise trade with Alaska. This is subject to the provision that foreign-built vessels admitted to American registry owned by citizens of the United States on February 1, 1920, and foreign-built vessels owned by the United States at the time this act becomes effective when sold and owned by persons who are citizens of the United States may engage in the coastwise trade so long as they continue in such ownership, subject to the rules and regulations of such trade. Provision is also made that until February 1, 1922, the board may issue permits for carrying passengers in foreign ships if such permission is deemed to be necessary between the Territory of Hawaii and the Pacific coast.

(11) Allows the owner of a vessel documented under the laws of the United States and operated in foreign trade for each of the 10 taxable years while so operated, beginning with the first taxable year ending after the act becomes effective, a deduction for the purpose of ascertaining his net income, subject to war-profits and excess-profits taxes, of an amount equal to the net earnings of such vessel during such taxable year, to be determined in accordance with rules and regulations made by the board, and provided that such owner shall not be entitled to such deduction unless during such taxable year he

invests, in the building in shipyards in the United States of new vessels of a type and kind approved by the board, an amount equivalent to the war-profits and excess-profits taxes that would have been payable by such owner but for such allowance. Provision is also made that any citizen of the United States who during the next 10 years may sell a vessel documented under the laws of the United States and built prior to January 1, 1914, shall be exempt from income taxes payable upon the proceeds of such sale, provided the entire proceeds thereof shall be invested in the building of new ships in American shipyards to be documented under the laws of the United States and to be of a type approved by the board.

(12) Provides for the recognition by the Government and all departments, boards, bureaus, and commissions thereof of the American Bureau of Shipping as their agency for the classification of vessels owned by the United States, this to continue as long as such board continues to be maintained as an organization having no capital stock and paying no dividends.

(13) Debars all merchandise from transportation by water, or by land and water, under penalty of forfeiture thereof, between points in the United States and its possesions embraced within the coastwise laws, in any other vessel than a vessel built and documented under the laws of the United States and owned by persons who are citizens of the United States, or vessels to which the privilege of engaging in the coastwise trade is extended by section 18 or 22 of the act. This section, however, is not to apply to merchandise transported between points within the continental United States over through routes recognized by the Interstate Commerce Commission for which routes rate tariffs have been or shall hereafter be filed with said commission, when such routes are in part over Canadian rail lines and connecting water facilities.

(14) Makes provision for so-called "export and import rates" whereby vessels documented under the laws of the United States may charge, collect, or receive for transportation, under any joint rate or under any export, import, or other proportional rate which is based in whole or in part on the fact that the persons or property affected thereby are to be transported to, or have been transported from, any port in a possession or dependency of the United States or in a foreign country by a carrier by water in foreign commerce, a lower rate, fare, or charge than that which is charged by it for the transportation of persons or a like kind of property for the same distance in the same direction and over the same route in connection with commerce wholly within the United States. The giving of such preferential rates to vessels documented under their own laws is now a common practice among nearly all of the great maritime nations of the world. It is believed that a like permission given to our own vessels will, to some extent, aid in overcoming the handicap under which American shipowners must continue to operate their ships, at least so long as they are, as now, overloaded with construction costs, maintenance costs, labor, and other operating costs, and a none too high general efficiency. If we do not in some way lighten that dead-weight load in accordance with the principles and practices of other countries whose shipping is successful we shall have small hope of success in this highly competitive business.

(15) Provides for associations to take care of the marine insurance and reinsurance business in the United States instead of allowing this business, as heretofore, to be done almost entirely through foreign agencies.

(16) Makes provision under which the ship mortgage may be given a legally preferred status instead of, as now, being subject to so many liens, a fact which militates very strongly against it as a high-class security. This to my mind is one of the most important features of the bill. It should aid materially in interesting capital throughout the country to go into the shipping business. I believe it will be a great help to the operator with a small or moderate amount of capital in obtaining the necessary credit for the purchase of one or more of these ships.

There is reason to believe that America to-day has the opportunity to enter upon another period of supremacy upon the sea. For upwards of a half century natural as well as economic conditions have operated in such a way as practically to eliminate this country from the ocean carrying trade. Without attempting to go into the details of the various causes which brought about this condition, it may suffice to state that so long as Great Britain was able to build ships at least 40 per cent cheaper than we were able to build them, and so long as wages and other operating costs on American ships were substantially higher than on British ships, and so long as antiquated navigation laws still further hampered and embarrassed American ship owners and operators, it was well-nigh impossible to interest capital in American shipping. Especially has that been true during the last 50 or 60 years, when the great industrial development of the interior States has held out to the enterprising capitalist and investor far greater inducements than he could possibly see in the merchant marine.

There was a time, however, when America was supreme in navigation. Indeed, at least twice in our maritime history has American genius and enterprise been sufficient to give us a commanding position on the sea. The first period was between 1800 and about 1820, when approximately 90 per cent of all our foreign trade was being carried by our own ships. The second period was between 1840 and 1860. This was the period when the famous "clipper ships" developed, in which American navigators made records which have never to this day been equaled by "wind and wood."

It was in this period that radical changes in the design of the hull, which skeptics said would surely result in the sinking of the ships, were inaugurated by American builders, and the first sailing ship of radical design, which crowds gathered in New York to see sink on its launching, went to Hongkong and back in record time. It was during this same period that shippers all over the world paid bonuses up to $10 a ton for American ships, whose time was uniform and much less on long voyages than that of British ships.

From these high spots in our maritime history we had, through the operation of many causes, some of which I have alluded to, come to the position at the outbreak of the late European war when, instead of carrying 90 per cent or thereabouts of our foreign trade in our own ships, we were carrying less than 10 per cent of it. Our total average yearly production of ships of over 3,000 tons in the United States previous to the war was only about 250,000 dead-weight tons.

But the Great War has seemingly brought us the opportunity to reclaim our lost prestige upon the sea. When the deadly submarine was destroying merchant shipping at a frightful rate, the world looked to America for ships to meet the staggering losses. At that time we had not only few ships suitable for ocean transportation, but we had comparatively few shipyards in which to build such ships. In order to get the ships to construct the needed "bridge to France" we had first to construct the yards. Moreover, at the outbreak of the war we did not have in all the country probably over 50,000 men who understood the art of building ships. As a practical proposition, except for the coastwise trade, the shipping industry in America had gone out of existence and shipbuilding had become a lost art.

It will stand forever to the credit of the American name that in this great emergency American courage and enterprise were equal to the situation. In place of a bare 50,000 shipbuilders in 1914, we had at the time of the armistice close to 350,000. In place of a total of 65 shipyards in America in April, 1917, containing 102 shipways for the building of steel and wooden ships of over 3,000 tons, we have to-day a total of 223 yards, containing 1,099 shipways. These men and these yards have built and delivered to the Government since we entered the war a total of 2,001 ships, having a dead-weight tonnage of 11,179,343 tons.

There are also at the present time in process of construction 285 more ships of 2,100,000 dead-weight tonnage capacity, making a total of 2,286 ships completed or in process of completion and having a capacity of 13,343,761 tons. In the last eight months there has been delivered and put in operation an average of more than 600,000 dead-weight tons of shipping each month. This is more than twice as much tonnage per month as we built on an average in a year in prewar times. I have said, and I repeat it, it furnishes a record of which Americans may well be proud—a record, too, that is without parallel in the shipping history of the world. When we consider the manifold difficulties and embarrassments under which this work of such tremendous magnitude has been done, too much can not be said in commendation of all those who have been in any way responsible for its accomplishment.

The important question to-day with reference to these ships—the question in which we are all interested—is this: What are we going to do with them? They were built to meet an emergency. We had to have that "bridge to France" in order to get our Army and its supplies to the firing line. The cry was for ships and more ships, anything that could sail the sea and get the much-needed men and food supplies to Europe. Of course the cost has been enormous—many times what it would have been if the same ships had been constructed in prewar days. These 2,286 ships will have cost the taxpayers of this country approximately $3,000,000,000. But the fact that we were able to build them in this record-breaking time was a

factor, and I believe a most important factor, in bringing Germany to see the futility of her scheme of world empire and forcing a conclusion of hostilities a year ago. Even if the ships never did another thing or earned another dollar they would, in my view of it, be well worth to America and to the world the full amount they have cost.

Now that the emergency is over, however, the American people expect to see these ships, at least those that are useful, retained under the American flag and used to reestablish a great and prosperous merchant marine. They want to see this done for two reasons: First, because they have a justifiable national pride in seeing the produce of our fields and factories and mines going, not in foreign ships under foreign flags but in our own ships and under the American flag, into all the ports and harbors of the world; and, second, because they wish never again to be placed in the humiliating position, in the event of war, of being called upon to defend themselves without any auxiliary naval fleet. Both as a commercial proposition and from the standpoint of national defense, therefore, we must, if possible, retain this fleet, or at least all of it that is permanently useful, and use it to build up and establish an American carrying trade upon the sea.

But it takes something more than ships of any type to make a merchant marine. These 2,286 ships are built of steel and wood and composite and concrete. None of them have a speed equal to 10 knots an hour. Very many of them are comparatively small boats; that is, under 6,000 dead-weight tons. A good many of them are of less than 4,000 dead-weight tons, and these small boats are all of deep draft, anywhere from 24 to 30 feet, making them wholly unfit for use in many of the shallow water harbors on the Central and South American coasts. Approximately 600 of these ships are built of wood and are believed to be wholly unfit for permanent and efficient service in the ocean carrying trade. They were built purely to meet emergency needs and apparently have little or no value when we come to consider the needs of an American merchant marine. Of the whole 2,286 ships there are practically no passenger steamers. The great majority of them are cargo carriers, tankers, and barges. Many of the larger boats, on account of their relatively slow speed and on account of their equipment with various kinds and makes of boilers requiring heavy renewal expenses in the near future, are probably unsuitable for the stiff competition which is bound to come when the present high freight rates go down and the world once more gets onto something like a normal peace basis. Mr. J. H. Rosseter, until recently director of operations of the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation, and himself one of the best-informed and most competent ship operators in America, in testifying recently before the Merchant Marine Committee of the House of Representatives, used the following language:

> We built a lot of ships in a great hurry for war purposes. There was abroad in the country the impression that those ships should be serviceable for our overseas commerce when the war was over. That was a very nebulous idea. It was entirely erroneous, for the ships which we built were in no way at that time suited for the establishment of an American overseas service. We have at this moment to rely on the ex-Germans we seized on the declaration of hostilities and the 26 ships we have built of a high class. Beyond that we have nothing but a motley array of ships best described as tramps, a class of ships which can not survive in the international competition. Thus we have not the nucleus, either for ourselves or for private enterprise, to do the things the country believes and expects you are going to do.

I asked Mr. Rosseter if it was not the purpose of the Shipping Board in the construction of this fleet to have something when the war was over which would be of use to us. This was his answer:

> They all thought that, but there was no shipping men on that board, and when they started in to build a ship they took the Robert Dollar type of tramp ship. I know the Robert Dollar type of ship very well. She was contracted in 1911, and at the very same time I contracted, in an exchange of confidence with Mr. Dollar, for a ship to be erected at the immediately adjoining yard. The Robert Dollar cost $240,000, and our ship, somewhat smaller, built in Great Britain in the adjoining yard, cost $450,000, almost double and not quite so large. Now, I was not throwing that $200,000 away. I was looking and thinking in the same terms I am thinking now, that it is not the tramp that I wanted. I wanted the ship that was the hard-time ship, the ship that would survive under competitive conditions and would establish a regular service.
>
> Now, when we built we did not build the improved type I had been building; we went to work and copied the Robert Dollar type that will average 9 knots and do well at that, a ship that will come into a port and handle ten or twelve hundred tons of cargo a day, whereas my ship will handle 6,000 tons of cargo a day with her own gear. We never thought of that when designing our fleet at all. We had in the back of our minds the fact that these ships would be serviceable for our trade, but we did not have the knowledge and experience to distinguish between what we needed and what was not needed. What we were principally thinking of was to construct that bridge of ships to France and the thing we could build quickest.

I quote this testimony of Mr. Rosseter's not to disparage or discredit the ships we have. There are undoubtedly very many good ships among them. Most of them, I understand, have been rated A1 by Lloyd's Register of Shipping. That means that they meet the test of the British standard ships, and, of course, as we all know, the British standard has heretofore been regarded as the world's standard in this regard.

But I cite these words of Mr. Rosseter's to illustrate a point which I think we are likely not to have in mind, and which, as I view it, is a most important consideration of this problem of the merchant marine. What I mean is this: Ships are good ships or bad ships, efficient or inefficient, according as they meet or fail to meet the requirements of the particular trade routes in which they are to be used. If we are to make effective our efforts for the reestablishment of the merchant marine it is a prime necessity that we should establish regular lines. Indeed, everything fails if we fail or neglect to get our ships into regular lines or trade routes. By "regular lines" I mean lines sailing under a fixed schedule at definite dates, making certain ports of call outward and certain ports of call homeward and returning to the port of origin. I do not wish to underestimate the importance of the so-called "tramp" steamer. No doubt the major part of the tonnage of the world prior to the war was of this class and their operations had a very appreciable effect in regulating ocean freight rates. The fact, however, still remains that the regular lines to Central and South America, to the Continent of Europe, to the Baltic, and to the Mediterranean ports and to the Far East must constitute the backbone of a permanent and prosperous American merchant marine.

Now, a ship may be serviceable and reasonably efficient in one of these trade routes and wholly inefficient and unable to meet competitive conditions in another of these routes. For instance, in the Central and South American trade no doubt the smaller type of steamer can be used to advantage. I refer to ships of 3,000 or 4,000 tons. But such ships, as I understand it, must have a much lighter draft than the ships of this size that we now have. This is on account of the shallow-water ports in these regions. None of them ought to have a maximum draft of over 18 feet, whereas the ships of this class that we have draw, as I say, from 24 to 30 feet of water. On the other hand, these small ships are wholly unfit to compete successfully in the regular trade routes to Europe and the Orient. This is due to their slowness of speed and to their relatively high cost of operation. For such trade routes we need the ten, twelve, and fifteen thousand ton ships. Instead of 9 knots an hour they ought to have a speed of from 12 to 15 knots an hour.

In other words, the point I am trying to make is that in order to be serviceable and efficient and reasonably meet competitive conditions, the ship must be adapted in size and draft and speed to the conditions that obtain in the particular trade route in which it is to be used. No doubt a good many of the ships we have can be used economically in these trade routes already established, or new ones that we may establish, into different parts of the world. But it is the opinion of men who have had large experience in operating ships that a considerable proportion of these 2,286 ships we now have are not of such type and design as will be able to meet competitive conditions in the regular lines of overseas trade when the world once more gets onto a normal basis of trade. It is my opinion, and the bill so provides, that such ships should be sold. In that class I would put all the wooden ships, all the composite and concrete ships, probably quite a percentage of the steel ships under 6,000 tons, and some, although a much smaller percentage, of the steel ships above 6,000 tons. These ships should be sold at as early a date as it can be done consistent with good business judgment. American citizens should be given the first chance to buy them, but in any event they should be sold, because they are not, and can not be made to be, useful and efficient in a permanent, prosperous merchant marine. I would put in charge of the sale of these ships the best trader I could find—some "David Harum"—who would try to get out of them for the Treasury of the United States as nearly as possible their original cost of construction, but who, in any event, would find somebody who could use them in some part of world commerce, and would be glad to get them at a reasonable price. Any loss to the Government sustained from such a transaction I would charge off on the books and forget it.

This would probably leave us ten or twelve hundred ships of fair size, some of them less than 6,000 tons, but most of them more than 6,000 tons, and with a total tonnage of perhaps 9,000,000 tons. We ought, in my judgment, to dispose of them in such a way as will bring them as far as possible into regular lines in our overseas trade. These steel ships of the larger

and better types I would sell only to American citizens. We must keep these ships under the American flag. But they should ultimately be sold, because I am confident it is not in the interest of an efficient and prosperous merchant marine that the Government should own and operate the fleet.

The best opinion in America to-day is clearly and unequivocally and strongly opposed to Government ownership and operation of ships as much as it is opposed to such ownership and operation of railroads, telegraph lines, or any of our other great essential industries. And there is good reason for this. Governmental action is notoriously slow and the machinery cumbersome. Its methods are wasteful and inefficient. Red tape ties the hands of bureau chiefs, who for 24 hours every day are smothered in the atmosphere of politics. Nowhere, to my knowledge, has Government operation of any kind of business ever been a success outside of Prussia under a militaristic régime.

But we can not dump this great mass of shipping on the market and expect to dispose of it overnight. We certainly should not sell these ships to anybody who is willing to take them and pay the price. Indeed our prime purpose in selling the ships ought not to be to get the high dollar for them. Our prime purpose, as the bill provides, should be to develop and encourage the maintenance of an American merchant marine. It is because, and only because, we believe private ownership and operation will best serve that great purpose that we provide for their disposition by the Government in such a manner as is best calculated to get them into the trade routes of the world, in the hands of American citizens who have the means, the experience, the ability, and the enterprise to operate them successfully.

Not for a moment should we forget it is not money we are after primarily in the sale of these ships, but rather the establishment of a great and prosperous American merchant marine.

I said a moment ago that we should not sell the ships to Tom, Dick, and Harry—anybody who will take them and pay the price—but we may as well face the fact that Tom, Dick, and Harry will be after them from the moment they go on sale. Why? Not at all for any constructive purpose, not at all to aid in building up a merchant marine. They will seek these ships because they see in the abnormal high freight rates now prevalent throughout the world an opportunity to make some money. They would not build up an organization necessary for a permanently successful service. They would use the ships as "tramps," skim off the cream while the high freight rates continue, and then go out of business as suddenly as they came into it, and send the ships to the junk pile. Such an event would be disastrous, and we must guard against the possibility of its occurrence. I believe the present bill does that.

How, then, shall the ships be sold? In my judgment the one thing necessary above all others is for the Government to take such action as shall aid prospective purchasers in getting the necessary credit. We want the ships as widely distributed as possible among responsible operators. As things stand now, the banking interests of the country do not look with favor upon a shipping enterprise. Why? Because the Government has not yet declared any policy either as to what its prime purpose is with reference to its ships, whether it will continue itself to operate ships in competition with those it may sell, or as to the prices at which it will dispose of this tonnage. Moreover, the ship mortgage, unlike most any other mortgage, is subject to many liens; and this fact militates against it as a high-class security. Add to this the fact that the Government allows the shipowner to charge off only 3 per cent for depreciation in determining the amount of excess-profits taxes, when the actual depreciation is probably at least four times that amount, and you can begin to get an idea why business and financial interests have not been overanxious to invest their money in the shipping business. All of these considerations have been taken into account in framing this bill.

We must not be deluded by those who tell us that the long-hoped-for American merchant marine has at last arrived. Many and great difficulties yet lie in the way of its arrival. Ships alone—and certainly such ships as we have—do not make a merchant marine. After 60 years of reliance upon foreign shipping in our ocean carrying trade we must develop again among our people the habit of thinking in terms of the sea. We must stop playing into the hands of our rivals by discriminating against our own ships through our false system of regulating details of ship management by act of Congress. We must define the legal status of the ship mortgage, making it, so far as possible, a first-class security. In order to overcome the handicap of the substantially greater cost of operating American ships we are doing well in following the example already set by some of our States in exempting from the payment of excess-profits taxes for a period of years American citizens, corporations, and firms who shall purchase and operate ships in the foreign trade, provided that the amount thus saved be invested in new American-built tonnage.

If we are willing to adopt a broad and comprehensive governmental policy along the lines indicated, and as provided in the pending bill, it is not unreasonable to believe that the ships can be disposed of at fair prices and placed in the hands of competent operators, men who have the necessary knowledge of conditions and the necessary energy, vision, and enterprise to create a sufficient organization, including the agents and facilities in foreign ports, necessary to establish from eight to ten million tons of American shipping in the trade routes of the world. If we can do that, we have good reason to expect to see in the not far distant future the American flag once more flying at the masthead in every port and harbor of the world, announcing the return to the sea of an American merchant marine capable of handling at least one-half, and probably considerably more than that, of our large and increasing foreign trade.

A Few Facts.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CROWTHER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. CROWTHER. Mr. Speaker, during the first and second sessions of the present Congress we have reduced the Democratic demands for public expenditures by more than $2,000,000,000. We have pared down their Army bill so as to save another billion dollars annually. When the people shall give the Republican Party full charge of the executive as well as the legislative branch of the Government we will proceed immediately to recover at every possible point the tremendous waste of public funds during the period of the war amounting to billions of dollars. With courage and confidence we face the future and appeal to the citizenship of the country for adequate political power to accomplish this result.

TAXES V. TARIFF.

In the Treasury Department it was currently reported that the Underwood tariff was intended to cut $100,000,000 out of the tariff revenues. It accomplished that purpose without any serious difficulty. It was also indicated that the shortage was to be replaced by a like return from income tax. What does the record show? When the first returns came in and a Democratic Secretary of the Treasury cast his dragnet over the country to catch the millionaires and round them up with funds sufficient to supply the Treasury for evermore and thus prevent a deficit, what did he discover?

Under the income tax the returns were $67,000,000, but previous to this action we had been gathering in from the corporation tax enacted in 1909 the sum of $30,000,000 annually. Thus there was a net return from the Democratic income-tax law for the first year of only $37,000,000. Gloom, dark and heavy, o'ercast the countenances of Democratic chiefs in the Treasury at this time. They started out in a second effort to find some more millionaires and failed in the search, and Congress was called upon for more legislation and enacted more war taxes in time of peace. Still they were short about $30,000,000 of the $100,000,000 that had been cut out of tariff returns. A third effort was made, and still the $100,000,000 did not materialize.

The volume of imports up to the present time, if the Republican tariff that was on the books in 1913 had remained a law, would have given us about $1,200,000,000 more in customs revenues then we have received and without any increase in the cost of living. The Democratic policy of "as near free trade as we dare" has cost us a billion and a quarter dollars. But a small matter of a billion is mere piffle to the Democratic Party that has squandered the people's Liberty bond subscriptions like a drunken sailor.

Mr. McAdoo recently boasted of the fact that there were no panics while he was Secretary of the Treasury. Of course not; when a nation is raising money by every possible device and distributing it with lavish hand among cost-plus contractors and Government departments crowded to overflowing with useless

help, there is no thought at such time of financial panic. The panicky days come when the time arrives to "pay up"—"the day of reckoning," so to speak. Long before that day arrived Mr. McAdoo bowed himself out very gracefully and allied himself with the moving-picture heroes and heroines as their legal adviser, having in the meantime also gracefully ducked the impending railroad strikes and general unsatisfactory rail conditions that developed during his incumbency as Director General.

THE WORLD WAR.

The war was won by American soldiers backed up by the American people, but all that we have heard in this session of Congress is that the Democrats and their party won the war. The records are filled with evidence of their wild extravagance and profligate waste; they are open for all who care to read them; and the only excuse the Democrats offer is that the extreme necessity demanded unusual haste and methods perhaps subject to criticism.

Two years of letter writing and watchful waiting and no heed taken of constant advice as to preparedness forces us to regretfully acknowledge that such wasteful procedure was in some instances necessary. And now we must pay the bill; not the Democrats, but every man, woman, and child, irrespective of political affiliation.

After all, the real sacrifice was made by the boys who gave their lives and the fathers and mothers and widows who must gaze at the "vacant chair" for long years to come. Those who came back to us wounded, and some even helpless, must be the subject of our heartfelt consideration, and this Congress will continue to provide legislation that will permit these boys to fit themselves as useful members of society. They come back to us filled with ambition in spite of their severe handicap, desiring to prove their worth in peace time as they did in war. We must open every gate leading to the garden of opportunity, thus fulfilling in some slight measure our obligation for the service they rendered.

THE AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION ACT.

Under the agricultural extension act the wonderful fund of knowledge accumulated by the great Agricultural Department, during its entire existence, in agriculture, horticulture, animal industry, farm economics, raising, canning, and preserving foods, and many other useful investigations, is being placed at the service of the farmers in practically every agricultural county in the United States, under a cooperative plan, by trained men and women in the service of the Government. Under this cooperative system provided for in this law a method of itinerant agricultural teaching and demonstration of home economics and agriculture has been inaugurated, which has revolutionized, diversified, and increased production throughout our great country.

THE GOOD ROADS ACT.

Under the "good roads law" millions of dollars have been appropriated and are being expended by the Government in aiding the construction of good roads to the marvelous benefit of all the people. Nothing is more conducive to development and prosperity than the improvement of our roads and highways.

Good roads are essentially a necessary attribute to agricultural success. The difficult problem all over the country is for the farmer to get his produce to market. Good roads have simplified this difficulty, and together with the great advantage offered by the establishment of the public markets has made the way easier for our American farmers. It is remarkable that there should be manifested a spirit of antagonism against the farmers by those who represent the cities in this House and elsewhere. The prices of farm products which the consumers in the cities pay are at least twice what the farmer who produces such products receives. This more than 100 per cent increase between the farmer and the consumer represents the unconscionable profits which their own dealers receive and impose upon their fellow citizens. But instead of trying to limit the excessive profits of their own dealers to the detriment of the great body of their own consumers, these gentlemen blame all this high cost of living on the farmers, and when the farmers make any effort to reduce the immoderate profits of these middlemen, or desire by cooperation to increase production to the immediate benefit of the city consumer, the city representatives oppose their efforts.

It would be much wiser if those who represent city constituencies would realize that not only their prosperity but their lives are dependent on the products of the farm. Everything they eat and wear comes from the farm. Every comfort they enjoy comes from the farm. It will not be by opposition to the interests of the farmers that they can further their own interests. It will not be by discouragement, discredit, and abuse of the farmers that they will insure their own prosperity. It should be seen by all that our prosperity and the comfort and happiness of our people must depend upon the cooperation and friendly relationship of all, and that no class or portion of our citizenship can afford to build his own prosperity on the misfortune or discomfiture of others. "One country, one and indivisible," is not only a good political maxim, but it is a wise, economic, and business principle as well.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Democratic national chairman, Mr. Cummings, issued a dismal wail to the effect that the Senate "has broken faith with our allies." Is that so? Well, it has kept faith with America and has preserved the Constitution and the American liberty, and, after all, that is where the duty of the Senate lay. It is impossible to break faith with our allies in preserving our own honor and nationalism.

Perhaps both Woodrow Wilson and his ardent followers have forgotten the following pungent words uttered by the President in Washington, D. C., on May 6, 1914. To refresh their memories I quote as follows:

> America should lead her own life. * * * We can not form alliances with those who are not going our way. We need not, and we should not, form alliances with any nation in the world. Those who are right, those who hold their honor higher than their advantage, do not need alliances.

Thus is the league condemned out of the mouth of its most ardent supporter.

REPUBLICAN DOCTRINE.

When we consider the absolute lack of anything under Democratic rule that might by wide stretch of the imagination be described as a foreign policy, it will be inspiring and invigorating to read once more the words of President McKinley, delivered at his first inaugural:

> It has been the policy of the United States since the foundation of the Government to cultivate relations of peace and amity with all the nations of the world, and that accords with my conceptions now. We have cherished the policy of noninterference with the affairs of foreign Governments, wisely inaugurated by Washington, keeping ourselves free from entanglement, either as allies or foes, content to leave undisturbed with them the settlement of their own concerns. It will be our aim to pursue a firm, dignified foreign policy, which shall be just, impartial, ever watchful of our national honor, and always insisting upon the lawful rights of American citizens everywhere. Our diplomacy should seek nothing more and accept nothing less than is due us.

The plain, everyday folks that are the backbone of this country, those in industrial, professional, or agricultural pursuits, are all looking forward to a return to first principles. We gave our boys' precious lives to help kill autocracy, and we must banish its baneful influences that have so significantly manifested themselves during the past seven years of Democratic rule. Let the Constitution continue to be the basic foundation stone of these great United States, with equal rights and equal privileges for all, not forgetting that in return we owe unswerving devotion and loyalty to our country and its emblem of Stars and Stripes.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLAUDE KITCHIN,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

The House had under consideration joint resolution (H. J. Res. 327) terminating the state of war between the Imperial German Government and the United States.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I must confess that I find myself in hearty agreement with the entire speech of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] who has just taken his seat, except as to his statement of facts and his conclusions. [Laughter.] I must also confess surprise that he should make a speech condemning the League of Nations and denouncing the President of the United States for his attitude toward the League of Nations. Why, my friends, I remember one of the best speeches I ever heard or read in favor of a League of Nations to enforce peace, in favor of the combined military and naval strength of the nations being summoned against an offending or attacking nation, was the speech of the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] on this floor on January 19, 1919. [Applause on the Democratic side.] In that speech he strongly favored and espoused the cause of a League of Nations whose fundamental principle was brute military and naval force in the protection of the political and territorial integrity of every nation that belonged to such a League of Nations, and my

Republican friends who applauded him to-day to the echo in his denunciation of the President and the League of Nations should turn after this vote to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 19, 1919, and read what he said then, and ask themselves what manner of man is this? [Laughter.] Not only was he in favor of a League of Nations far beyond that which the President has indorsed, but he ridiculed and criticized Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE and Senator KNOX, of Pennsylvania, for opposing a League of Nations to enforce peace. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

He denounced to-day the President of the United States for keeping in force the war measures. The President does not, can not, keep any war measures in force. This Republican Congress keeps them in force. [Applause on the Democratic side.] It has had the power any day since May 19, 1919, to repeal them, but has refused to repeal a single one. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Certainly the President was in favor of enforcing the law, the Lever Act, as long as a Republican Congress permitted it to remain on the statute books. He was sworn to enforce it, and under it the Attorney General issued injunctions against the strikers in the coal mines. If there was or is anything wrong, if there was or is anything unjust, in that Lever Act, in that war measure, under which the courts issued injunctions against labor leaders and striders in the coal strikes, why in the name of common sense and common justice has not some one Republican in this House since the 19th of May, 1919, up to this good hour, introduced a bill to repeal that act? [Applause on the Democratic side.] If the gentleman knows of outrages the President or the Attorney General committed in the coal strike, he knows and has known ever since this Republican Congress convened on May 19, 1919, that act was on the statute books, and I ask him why has he not or why has not some Republican introduced a bill to repeal that so-called outrageous war measure? [Applause on the Democratic side.] I am a little surprised at his referring to this coal strike and condemning the administration's attitude in it in face of the fact that on October 31, 1919, every Republican in this House, as well as every other Member, voted for the resolution to give "constant, continuous, and unqualified support" to the President in the enforcement of the Lever Act in relation to the coal strike. [Applause on the Democratic side.] And if the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] had been present then, he would have voted for it, too. But he was not here. As I said, every Republican present and every Democrat present voted to indorse the President's position in enforcing the Lever Act against the coal strikers. In condemning the President my friend from Illinois condemns Mr. MONDELL, the majority leader; he condemns Mr. FESS, chairman of the Republican congressional committee; he condemns Dr. TEMPLE and Mr. Chairman PORTER; he condemns the Republicans of the committee that reported this resolution; he condemns the whole Republican Party in this House except himself, because he happened not to be here then. [Applause and laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, I will not discuss the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of this resolution. But it was strikingly observable that the opponents of this bill yesterday and to-day did cite authority after authority, did cite the framers of the Constitution, men like Jay and Hamilton and Jefferson and Madison; they did cite all the law writers of this country on the Constitution; they did cite statesmen from the days the Government was founded until 1900, Republicans, Democrats, Federalists, and Whigs; they did cite resolutions of Congress after Congress from the formation of the Congress up to 1900, all declaring that a resolution like this was unconstitutional. And I listened to the speech of every gentleman who has advocated this resolution, and I have read the report of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and not one authority, from the framers of the Constitution, from the statesmanship of this country, the writers on the Constitution, or from the Congress, has been cited by a single one to sustain the constitutionality of this resolution.

What does this resolution do? They call it a peace resolution. They would have the people believe that the Republican Party is in favor of peace and ending the war, and that this resolution does this. Why, gentlemen, we have peace. The war has been ended. The passage of this resolution will not prevent a single German from shooting down an American boy in France, because the shooting and fighting were stopped 17 months ago. The passage of this resolution will not bring back to America a single soldier from France. He is already back, and he has been back for months. The passage of this resolution will not demobilize the Army, for it has been demobilized. The passage of this resolution will not send back to a mother or a father a single boy. He is already at home in their arms and has been there for months. The Democratic administration sent him there. [Applause on the Democratic side.] A technical, official ending of the war has not been made or declared. This resolution, although in my judgment unconstitutional, purports to put a technical and official end to the war between Germany and the United States. Gentlemen, I can not understand how any American patriot who knows the facts—I can not understand under the conditions how any red-blooded American, either born here or foreign born—can possibly justify his vote for this resolution in declaring the war technically at an end. Although physical war has stopped, it is absolutely necessary for technical, official war to continue. Why? If this resolution passes and should become a law—which it never can—then the technical, official ending of the war has been brought about. Why is it necessary for us to keep a technical, official state of war? In order to permit the United States, in making a treaty with Germany—and one must be made separately by the United States if we do not ratify the treaty of Versailles in one form or another—to treat her as a vanquished and defeated foe, with the United States, with our country, as the victor. If this war is declared to be technically at an end, then when America attempts to make a treaty with Germany, Germany and the United States must stand on equal terms—with both parties equal. Every other nation at war with Germany kept up the technical, official condition of war and never dared to end it technically until they had dictated, as conquerors, to Germany, the vanquished nation, the terms of the treaty. [Applause on the Democratic side.] These Republicans, if they are sincere in this, would have America placed at a disadvantage, would have America put in the position of treating with Germany on equal terms, not as a defeated foe but as her equal. Germany would have as much right then to demand and dictate terms as America would. We must continue this technical state of war in order that America may treat with Germany in a treaty of any kind just exactly like every other ally and every other country in the world treated her—as a defeated foe, as a vanquished nation, and they as victors.

If by this resolution we end this war technically, then if America in treating with Germany should want to have the advantage of her victory, if she wanted to stand in the position of a triumphant, victorious nation, which her immense sacrifices achieved, Congress would have to declare war over again, so that she could dictate the terms of the treaty of peace, which would start afresh an uproar throughout the world. A nation not technically at war with another can not dictate terms. Only the victor nation can dictate terms to the vanquished nation. Gentlemen, have you thought of the measureless sacrifices in lives and blood and treasure which our country has made, and are you now ready by this resolution to vote to forego the advantages which these sacrifices have given your country? Do you propose this resolution in the interest of Germany or in the interest of your own country? If you have any red American blood in you, you are bound to vote against this resolution and keep America in the position to treat with Germany as every other nation on earth at war with Germany has treated with her and dictate terms as a victorious, triumphant Nation to her as a vanquished, defeated nation. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

End this war technically by such a resolution, if you dare, and then Germany can demand such terms as she pleases equally with your own country, and the result of the negotiations might be that the demands and the terms of the treaty would conflict with the terms and demands of the treaty made by our allies with Germany and make America cross the obligations and terms of the treaty made with her allies, to the detriment of America and to the detriment of the Allies. It would not be treating the Allies, with whom we won this war, fairly and justly to permit Germany to treat with America on equal terms, because the treaty, if made, might conflict with the interests of our allies.

So that, gentlemen, it is absolutely necessary, from the real patriotic American standpoint, that the state of technical war should be continued. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS] said in his speech the other day, amid a round of applause, that there had not been an hour since October 15 when this country could not have ended the war if the President had wanted to. I reply there has not been an hour since October 15 when we could not have had peace restored in this country and throughout the world if the Republican Senate had wanted it. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

They say that the President is directly responsible for the rejection of the treaty of peace. They have spread that libel broadcast throughout the country. They have uttered it upon this floor repeatedly, yesterday and the day before and dozens and dozens of times since this session began. The Republicans on this floor followed the instincts and habits of the Republi-

can Party to be unfair and unjust by deceiving and misrepresenting. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

I say here now that the responsibility for the rejection of the treaty, or the acceptance of the treaty with the Lodge reservations, has never been put up to the President. A Republican Senate dared not put it up to him. They wanted for political purposes to say that he was responsible for a failure to restore peace and peace conditions, and yet did not have the courage to give him the chance to take the responsibility of rejection or acceptance of the treaty with the Lodge reservations. When did the treaty with the Lodge reservations or other reservations ever pass the Senate and go to the President? When? Not for a second since the war ended.

They criticize the President because they say he is "bull-headed" and will not take the advice of the Senate. When did the Republican Senate ever advise the President with respect to this treaty? It pretended that it desired to advise him in the Lodge reservations. The Constitution requires, in making treaties, the advice of the Senate. Never has the Senate performed in any way that responsible duty, because, although Republicans in the Senate put the reservations one after another into the treaty, never did they send the required or any advice to the President. When it came to the point of sending it and the Republicans in the Senate had the opportunity, they refused and withheld such advice from the President, and to this day he has not received it. Following, as I said, the instincts and the habits of the Republican Party to be unfair and unjust, they now denounce the President for refusing to take the advice of the Senate which the Senate has never yet had the courage or wisdom to give. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Is the President responsible? The President had in his hand only 20 Democratic Senators' votes. They are the only votes he could control. He could control them absolutely—20. How many Senators are there in this Republican Senate? Ninety-six. Will you not be fair? How could the President's 20 Senators control the remaining 76 Senators? Remember, I want every man and woman in the United States to know this fact, I want the world to know this fact, that the Democratic Party in the Senate furnished to the Republican Party in the Senate 21 votes, enough to ratify that treaty with the Lodge reservations, and send it to the President by not only a two-thirds vote, but a three-fourths vote. Remember this, that when the test vote came the Republican Party furnished enough votes in opposition to defeat the treaty with the Lodge reservations, which they themselves had put in. [Applause on the Democratic side.] It is the Republican Senate that is responsible, and directly responsible, for the defeat and rejection of that treaty and for the absence of peace throughout this country and the world to-day. [Applause on the Democratic side.] If the Republicans in the House want to be fair, they ought to give the facts.

I charge the Republican Party in the Senate with the deliberate rejection of that treaty. [Applause on the Democratic side.] I charge the Republican Party in the Senate with the deliberate refusal to give the President an opportunity to accept the responsibility of accepting or rejecting the treaty. [Applause on the Democratic side.] The Senate never complied with the constitutional requirement by sending the treaty back to him with its advice by a two-thirds vote, and the Republican Party prevented the President from considering their advice or from taking the responsibility of accepting or rejecting the treaty. It is pure, downright hypocrisy, misrepresentation, and deception, it is plain, downright libel, it is downright malicious slander, for the Republican Party, here or elsewhere, to attempt to fix the responsibility upon the President. [Applause upon the Democratic side.]

Now, gentlemen, I do not want to be hard on anybody. Sometimes the real, palpable truth makes a man say things that are unpleasant to him, that he does not want to say. I charge, and I am going to prove it, that there is not a line of patriotic sincerity from the beginning to the end of this resolution. [Applause on the Democratic side.] I make the further charge, and I am going to prove it, that every line of it is one of false pretense and hypocrisy. [Applause on the Democratic side.] When Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE conceived this resolution in his mind, he knew it was demagogy and hypocrisy. When he put this ridiculous absurdity upon the shoulders of the Republican steering committee of the House, he knew, and they knew, that there was not a line of sincerity in it. Let us see if there is. What did you say, gentlemen? What did all of you say? What does the committee's report say was the reason why they want to pass this resolution? First, to restore trade with Germany; second, to repeal the war-time measures. I am going to show now that there is not a Republican in this House who was sincere when he made that statement; that they were not sincere when they reported this bill out or when they said they favored it; not one. If that is the object of this resolution, it can not become a law, as everyone in this House knows; but if it did become a law those are the only two results that this resolution could possibly have, but in actual fact these results would not follow. As I said a while ago, it can not demobilize the Army, because the Army is already demobilized. It can not bring back the boys from France, because they have already been brought back from France. The only result they say it could have would be the restoration of trade with Germany and the repeal of the war measures. Every Republican must admit that there is certainly some doubt in his mind as to the constitutionality of the resolution.

Now, if you are really sincere, why not bring in a bill in the ordinary and proper and usual way, a bill with respect to which there could be no doubt in the mind of anybody in the United States or anywhere on earth as to its constitutionality. Why not bring in a bill providing, and why have not you done so before, "*Be it enacted, and so forth*, That the trade relations between Germany and the United States, and the nationals of Germany and the nationals of the United States, are hereby restored as they were before the outbreak of the war?" How simple this would be if you are really sincere. Why not go further and say, second, that all war measures that were to expire on the termination of the war are hereby repealed? To make it absolutely certain, why not have reported a bill repealing specifically each of the war measures that you pretend you want repealed? That is the way to have done it; you would have gotten scores of Democrats to help you pass such a bill through. Senator LODGE when he conceived this scheme, the steering committee when they forced it through the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Foreign Affairs Committee when they considered it and reported it, and every Republican on this floor knew and they know now that it is an absolute impossibility for this resolution to become a law. They know that the President under his oath of office is bound to declare it unconstitutional and veto it. If he should veto it, you know that you can not get enough votes to pass it over his veto; and you know that this resolution is an absolute false pretense—that it can never become a law; and therefore by it you accomplish nothing except an opportunity for fresh deception and more misrepresentation to be used in the coming campaign. [Applause on the Democratic side.] You pretend that you are going to give labor in this country the benefit of the repeal of these war-time measures and the industries the benefit of trade with Germany. Let us see. If you are sincere in a desire to repeal these war-time measures, let me tell you something you could have done. You have had ever since May 19, 1919, to repeal any one or all of them. Dr. FESS, in a speech yesterday, said that is the reason he wanted this resolution passed—to get rid of these war-time measures. He said in his speech on the dyestuff tariff bill some time ago that the Republican Party in the campaign of 1918 promised the people they would repeal these war-time measures and abolish these war-time restrictions. Dr. FESS, let me ask you a candid question. What bill have you introduced since May, 1919, to repeal one of these war-time measures? [Applause on the Democratic side.] Mr. MONDELL, majority leader, let me ask you a plain question. What bill have you introduced to repeal a single one of these war-time measures from May 19, 1919, to this good hour? [Applause on the Democratic side.] Mr. LONGWORTH, what bill have you introduced to repeal any of these war-time measures?

Mr. LONGWORTH. This resolution.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; this resolution; but you have been mighty late about this resolution. I will tell you that they knew they could not pass this resolution and that it never could become a law. If they knew it could become law, they would not favor it. [Applause.] Why did you not bring in a straightforward bill repealing these war-time measures specifically, a bill that was constitutional and that could pass, and why did you not do it before now, during the 12 months you Republicans have had control of the House? [Applause on the Democratic side.] If you or any of you Republicans had or will do so now, and if the President should veto it, I guarantee enough Democratic votes here to pass it over his veto. [Applause.] Mr. PORTER, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee and author of this resolution, what bill have you introduced to repeal a single one of these war-time measures that you promised in the campaign of 1918 you were going to repeal? [Applause on the Democratic side.] Gentlemen of the Judiciary Committee, where is there any bill that you have introduced and reported out to repeal one of these war-time measures? If there is a Republican in this House who from

the 19th of May, 1919, to this good hour has offered a bill to repeal a single one of these war-time measures, let him hold up his hand now.

Mr. MASON. I did.

Mr. SNELL. Right here.

Mr. EDMONDS. I did.

Mr. KITCHIN. All right, gentlemen, you have held up your hands. Here are three gentlemen who say they have introduced them. Why did they not appear before the proper committees and urge them to report their bills out? The fact is not one introduced a bill to repeal the Lever Act or any other war measure. Why did they not get Mr. MONDELL and the steering committee to have them reported out? [Applause.]

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; I will not yield right now. You have held up your hand. You are on the Rules Committee. Why did you not get your Rules Committee to report out your bill as it did this resolution? [Applause on the Democratic side.] The bills that these gentlemen introduced no Republican committee has ever seen or heard of. I have never seen or heard of them. They just carried them and dropped them in that basket, and nobody knew they had introduced them. Why did you not call them up? Gentlemen, I will tell you now why the Republicans did not want to repeal any of these war-time measures, and I want every Republican to listen to me, and inside in his heart and conscience he is going to say it is the truth; I do not care what he may say outside. I have shown you that not a Republican in this House wanted or wants to repeal one of these war measures, because if they had wanted to they could have done it at any hour since May 19, 1919. [Applause on the Democratic side.] They could have passed it through this House at any hour since then. [Applause.] They have not attempted to do it, because they do not want to do it.

I can tell you why. I hate to be hard on them. I will risk my salvation—and I have got some faith in the hereafter—but I am going to speak now the simple truth and tell you the reason why. The most unpopular of all the war measures among the farmers throughout the country, among the little business men, the small bankers, the manufacturers, and the merchants, is the Lever food-control act. The farmers and business men of this country have petitioned and written letters to every Member of this House begging him to repeal that act and not let the Government have anything further to do with their private business; not to let the Government go around prying into the smokehouses, the barns, the storehouses, to see whether they have anything hoarded against the provisions of the Lever food-control act. They do not want the fixing of prices. They know that is and has been a sham and cover under which the profiteers have plundered the people.

Now, the Republicans know that if they repeal any war-time measure they must repeal the Lever food-control act first, because it is so unpopular. Why have they not repealed it? Ask the big corporate interests of this country, gentlemen. The Lever Act is the one and only act on the statute books to-day that gives power to the courts to issue injunctions against labor and labor leaders in strikes; it is the only act upon the statute books to-day that permits injunctions to be issued that authorize the imposition of jail sentences against labor and labor leaders. The big corporate interests in this country that employ thousands and thousands have demanded of the Republican leaders in the House and the Senate that the Lever food-control act should be the last act that is repealed, because in these times of unrest and unsettled conditions, this period of great contests between capital and labor, it is the only act by which they can hold a club over organized labor and shout "injunction, contempt proceedings, jail sentences, the Lever Act," and so it is understood that the Republican leaders of the House and Senate are to make that the very last act that they repeal. [Applause on the Democratic side.] They are against the covenant of the League of Nations, but they are in favor of the covenant of the league of corporate interests to protect such interests against labor and labor leaders. [Applause on the Democratic side.] The Republicans in Congress dare not at this session repeal the Lever Act, because they fear to disobey the orders of the big corporate interests.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina has expired.

Mr. FLOOD. I yield to the gentleman 10 minutes more.

Mr. KITCHIN. Now, if any man wants to vote for this resolution because it is going to repeal that war-time Lever Act and relieve labor from these conditions, let him not be deceived, for this resolution can never accomplish it. It will never become a law. The President will veto it, and you can not possibly pass it over his veto. Every man that votes for it is voting to deceive labor, because it is impossible to repeal this Lever Act under this resolution and let labor breathe freely once more.

Now, we are going to test these Republicans; we are going to test the sincerity of every Republican in this House. We are going to offer the Republicans a constitutional bill, a bill that I assure you will be signed by the President, and a bill that, if it is not signed by the President, if he vetoes it, we will get enough Democratic votes with the Republicans to pass over his head. [Applause on the Democratic side.] The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] is going to make a motion to recommit the bill by striking out all after the enacting clause and the preamble and incorporating your section 2, that proposes to repeal the war measures, and we are going to add to section 2 language so plain that every laboring man, every merchant, every banker, every business man in the United States with common sense, including Republicans [laughter], will know what it is and when it means, and it is this:

Provided, That all acts, joint resolutions, or parts of such acts or joint resolutions which by the terms of the same expire upon the expiration or termination of war are hereby repealed.

[Applause on the Democratic side.]

The resolution in that motion to recommit will be perfectly constitutional. No man can have any doubt about it. If you help us to pass it, it will be signed by the President, and if not signed by the President it can become a law by passing it over his veto with Democratic help, because we are sincere, and we propose to test your sincerity; prove it by voting for the motion to recommit. [Applause on the Democratic side.] I assure you the President will sign it, and if he does not I will guarantee enough Democratic votes to pass it, not only with two-thirds but with three-fourths majority vote, over such veto, and we will write it into law and we will have what you pretend you want.

I want to ask any friend of the laboring man here, Republican or Democrat, will you do something for labor by voting for this impossible false pretense of a Republican resolution, for this consummation of hypocrisy, or will you vote for the plain, straight, manly repeal of war-time measures, as we propose in the motion to recommit? My friends, if you are sincere, and I know some of you are sincere, you can not be honest with yourselves, you can not be honest with labor, if you vote for this false pretense and refuse to vote for the act that will help labor to get relief from injunctions, contempt proceedings, and jail sentences, and will help the small business men throughout the country, the merchants, the farmers to get relief from Government intermeddling.

We are going to test your sincerity. There may be some that are sincere. You could hardly find a body of 245 men, even Republicans, that you could not find some few sincere men among them. [Laughter.] Gentlemen, I do charge you, I brand you, if you vote against this motion to recommit, that will repeal these laws, and vote in favor of your resolution, that will not and can not repeal any of them, because it can not become law, I brand you as an organization of consummate hypocrisy, because every vote you will cast will stamp the brand of false pretense on you. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

You say you want to restore trade with Germany. You have told the Germans in your districts that you want it so fixed that a German can send money and supplies to his poor countrymen, his needy family and kinsmen over in Germany, and that if you pass this resolution they can do it. Pass this resolution and it is an insult and offense to Germany and the German people and every German-American, because if Germany does not accede under the provisions of this resolution to the terms of a treaty which the Republicans in the Senate have rejected, then it will be an offense punishable by two years in the penitentiary and $10,000 fine if a poor German here, having a distressed family or kinsmen in Germany, should send them a $10 bill or a barrel of flour. Want to trade with Germany! It is an insult to the German people and every German-American. But you know you can not pass this, and you know that if this resolution does become law Germany is not going to and can not accede to the demands of the resolution. Fooling, fooling, deceiving the German-Americans in this country in order to get their votes! Whenever you talk to a German-American about what you are trying to do for him I want that German to say to you, "Hand me your resolution and let me read about that penitentiary offense."

Pass this resolution of the Democrats as amended by the proposed motion to recommit and it will restore the rights of trade with Germany, and it will permit the German here to send money or supplies to his German kinsmen in Germany,

because we repeal the embargo and the export war-time acts, as well as other war-time measures.

Mr. Speaker, I want to say just one word now to the Democrats, and then I am going to conclude. We are going to see here to-day an example of so-called party loyalty. My Democratic friends, with the rarest exceptions you are going to see the Republicans to a man vote for this unconstitutional, false pretense, this measure of hypocrisy, and I want to make this solemn, heart-to-heart appeal to my fellow Democrats: If the Republicans in this House are so loyal to party as to be willing to violate their oaths and vote for an unconstitutional proposition, why, in the name of truth and justice, can not the Democrats in this House be as loyal to their party and be willing to vote for a constitutional measure which we will present and not violate their oaths of office? [Applause on the Democratic side.] Take that home with you when you go to your conscience and judgment. Can we not show as much loyalty to party as the Republicans when both propositions purport to accomplish the same thing? The Republican proposition will accomplish nothing, while our proposition, if passed, will accomplish what they pretend and what they declare they want to accomplish, and what every Democrat here actually wants to accomplish, namely, the repeal of the war-time measures. [Loud and prolonged applause on the Democratic side.]

The Peace Resolution.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. GOODWIN,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 9, 1920.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 327) terminating the state of war declared to exist April 6, 1917, between the Imperial German Government and the United States, permitting on conditions the resumption of reciprocal trade with Germany, and for other purposes.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Mr. Chairman, this debate has, indeed, assumed a wide latitude. The gentleman from Kansas [Mr. LITTLE] some two or three days ago essayed to make a great constitutional argument to the effect that after a great war all you have to do is to cease the prosecution of hostilities and automatically, ipso facto, bring about the status quo ante bellum, and peace follows. Why have a peace treaty? is the substance of many of the arguments made by gentlemen on the other side. Why make a peace treaty? If not, why should the President have gone abroad and have taken with him a commission, and after six months succeeded in bringing about a spirit of reconciliation, some thirty-odd nations agreeing to a treaty, agreeing upon terms with the Imperial German Government, if no treaty is necessary? Then why did the Senate of the United States for nine long months haggle and wrangle in a futile effort to bring forth a ratification of the treaty proposed, which it never did intend to ratify? And, if peace should follow without ratification, why did not somebody who believes in that doctrine, even on the Republican side of the aisle, introduce a resolution to that effect more than 16 months ago, inasmuch as the armistice was signed more than 17 months ago? Surely you have a majority of more than 40 on that side. We may propose, but you dispose. Why has not something been done all these months to effectuate this futile thing which you seek to do here to-day if ratification is unnecessary?

The gentleman from North Carolina and others, I think, have properly characterized this resolution. It proposes, of course, to do an impossible thing, and no one knows that better than its proponents, in seeking to bring about peace terms with Germany and compelling her to acquiesce and to function, when the world to-day knows that Germany is in the throes of an awful revolution. She might not be able to do anything politically; she might not be able to accomplish anything economically; but the terms under the third section of this resolution provide that after 45 days, if she does not comply with the terms of the resolution, then all trade relations existing now or that may hereafter exist between America and the Imperial German Government shall come to a final conclusion.

I need not speak of the economic advantage that that will give other countries, because just now it is a matter of procedure that we are discussing, whether, as outlined by the great charter of our liberty, the Constitution, we can do the impossible thing. But, diverting for a moment to the economic theory, it must follow, as night follows day, that in the event of the refusal of the Imperial German Government to comply with the terms of this resolution, whether willfully or not, other nations would set up and rebuild that stricken country. The world to-day, and no part of the world more than Germany, needs billions of dollars of raw material, and no country except the United States is so well equipped to supply the world's wants, including the things that Germany must have.

She needs to be financed. She must get back upon her all fours economically, and there is no one country in all the world one-half as potential in rendering the needed aid as your Uncle Samuel. [Applause on the Democratic side.] In April last year the Chamber of Commerce of the City of New York enunciated the fact that our potentiality is so great, possessing as we do more than one-third of the world's supply of gold, that we can produce as many goods as all the balance of the world combined. The one nation that possibly can take more of our manufactures and our raw materials than any other is the German Empire. By the passage of this resolution all trade relationships, either now or that may hereafter subsist between the two high contracting parties, must under certain conditions come to naught.

But that is not all of that feature of the resolution, Mr. Speaker. Germany can not undertake to do what is required of her, although the German Parliament should attempt to do that which this resolution seeks to impose upon Germany. Germany to-day is absolutely in the hands of the Reparations Commission. What power has that commission? It has plenary power. Germany must go economically and come at the beck and call of that commission. Suppose, for illustration, that the Reparations Commission should say to Germany, "You must not export gold; you must not trade with certain countries; you must do without this commerce; you must initiate all this at home and conserve your gold supply." What follows? She puts an embargo upon gold and upon everything that the commission may arbitrarily then and there dictate and order.

Thus, it seems to me, we are trying to follow a will-o'-the-wisp. We are chasing moonbeams. We are attempting to reach the end of the rainbow, and we will never attain to it, even if the President himself should sanction the resolution, which, of course, he will never do.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have said that this discussion has gone far afield. Why, they have even lugged in the name of George Washington here. I am surprised, indeed, that the friends of this measure should invoke the sanction and approval of the fathers, knowing that no man that ever lived has been so bitterly denounced as George Washington in America, save and except possibly the present Executive at yonder end of the Avenue. You know that men at all times have been jealous of their rivals and their superiors. But the worst thing ever said yet against the great Washington, in my opinion, was the suggestion by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] that if George were to come down the middle aisle to-day, he would go to bed with him politically; and that he would take a seat along with the Republicans in this House. [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

Gentlemen, you will pardon a personality. George Washington, you know, was always first in war, but the gentleman from Illinois never was in a scrimmage in his life. When the tocsin of war sounds, the gentleman from Illinois never fails to take to the bushes. The gentleman from Illinois has always been at peace. When the British Empire imposed certain things upon the colonists that they could not endure, then it was that the great Washington drew his stainless sword. But when the war was over it was again sheathed in victory. But the gentleman from Illinois, when a great military autocracy had challenged the integrity of our country, never did draw his sword, but all along during the heat of the controversy, when the fight was heaviest and the mill was grinding hardest, the gentleman from Illinois always appealed for peace, for peace, voting against measures for the successful prosecution of the war, when he knew there could be no peace until the autocratic Government of Germany was vanquished by the prowess of American arms and the supremacy of American valor. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Now, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] has this resolution appraised correctly. It did not receive its birth over here. That resolution, Mr. Speaker, is as a little foundling born out of the bounds of holy wedlock and laid upon the doorway of some other home, to be cared for then and there. This resolution never received its birth in the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House. It first saw the light of day somewhere else. And, Mr. Speaker, no real parent should ever disown his own child. No true father should deny the paternity

of his own offspring. But this thing, this little outcast which has been brought to the serious attention and consideration of the House, seems to have no pride of ancestry and its father is no single sire. This babe of the woods is the composite product of many Senators. Likewise, through the calling into the case of one Elihu Root, he became its emergent midwife on a hurry-up call for a speedy delivery. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

This child, disowned by its parents, was conceived in party stress and depravity and brought forth in political desperation and Republican degeneracy. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Indeed, sir, it is a by-product, the refuse, the leavings-over of a nine months' spasm of incubation that began three weeks ago in the crowning statesmanship of another body at the other end of this Capitol, the culmination of a partisan and unholy alliance unequaled in American annals, a conspiracy which in its infancy smells to high heaven and carries with it an odor unlike either the sweetness of new-mown hay or the aroma of the attar of roses. [Applause on the Democratic side.] This child, this unfortunate thing, banished from its own home, was laid surreptitiously one night last week at the doorway of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House, an immature, feeble thing, wrapped in swaddling clothes, incautiously labeled "U. S. S." and bearing the laundry mark "H. C. L.," which, by the way, does not stand for the "high cost of living," to which the Republican Party refuses to apply the pruning knife lest it destroy the profiteers and incidentally limit campaign contributions for the fall elections. Were it otherwise, Mr. Speaker, should the claws of the profiteers be finally clipped, that party of ethics, of high ethics, might not be able to Michiganize and Newberryize the election in November. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Impostors, Mr. Speaker, should not be permitted to go about the world incognito, lest devils as well as angels be entertained unawares. So that from its face the mask must be torn, that this rancid, this putrid thing, this fake resolution might be known in all its illegitimacy. While the chairman of the committee [Mr. PORTER] admits its paternity, for the sake of his own good name he must not be permitted to father this outlawed child. And right here, speaking for myself and other Democrats, I serve notice that we will not pay any part of its mother's lying-in expenses or any bill that its Republican caretakers or wet nurses may present. We on this side of the House, speaking for an overwhelming majority of its membership, here and now disown and repudiate and denounce it as an interloper in all decent society. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Let us turn now over this blear-eyed, jaundiced thing and examine other aspects of its cosmos. I challenged its sponsors the other day, Mr. Speaker, in the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and I again make the challenge to-day to those who favor this resolution, to put their finger upon one jot or tittle, upon one word of Federal organic law, the Federal Constitution, that warrants this House in bringing about a state of peace between America and any foreign foe. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

That is a function for the Senate alone to perform, but that body has deliberately, led by the Republican majority, destroyed all hopes of ratification, and now this feeble subterfuge is brought upon the floor of the House with the hope of fooling the American people. I made that challenge in the committee the other day and to-day I renew that challenge. When we took the oath of office in this very place we held up our hands to high heaven and swore that we would uphold the Constitution and defend this country against all enemies, foreign and domestic. I await an answer now and here to that challenge.

I shall even go further, Mr. Speaker, while the challenge is on; I will challenge any gentleman who favors this resolution to put his finger upon any affirmative action taken in the constitutional debates favoring and sanctioning the action which is undertaken to be had here to-day. I still throw the gauntlet down and ask any gentleman here to accept that challenge, and I still pause for an answer.

Mr. MASON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. I pause for a correct answer.

Mr. MASON. Will the gentleman let me decide whether my answer is correct?

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. I yield, but I ask the gentleman not to take too much of my time.

Mr. MASON. Give me two minutes. I claim that under Article I, section 1, of the Constitution, which gives us legislative power, and under Article VIII of the Constitution, which gives us power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, we have this power, and I claim that this resolution, while declaring simply a finding of fact of the state of peace, attempts nothing further except to regulate commerce between Germany and the United States.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. I heard the gentleman's speech. He enunciated that doctrine a few minutes ago, and now the mountain has labored and brought forth a mouse. I ask the gentleman when and where in that section to which he referred there is reference to treaties and to war? There is a special provision, so nominated in the bond in the Constitution, that says how you may bring about a state of peace, and that is what this resolution hypocritically pretends to do.

Mr. MASON. No treaty of peace.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. The gentleman's application is no application at all, because it does not hit the mark.

I will go even further than that and make another challenge, and ask any gentleman to put his hand upon any authority on either constitutional or international law that sanctions what is sought to be done here to-day, and I pause for an answer to that query. The answer is as silent as the voice of the tomb.

Mr. Speaker, what a splendid gathering of men it was that culminated in the work of framing the Constitution of 1787. Only four months did it require to complete their labors, from May until September, 1787. Oh, such a galaxy of big men! Men whom the Lord, I believe, almost inspired and set apart for that divine handiwork. [Applause.] I might call the roll of that convention. I have not the time to do it here, nor do I even recall all the names; but suffice it to say that pilgrimages will be made to the tomb of each and every one of them by the lovers of constitutional liberty throughout all the annals of time. Virginia was there. Mason was there—I mean Mason of Virginia, not of Illinois—although he did not give his sanction to the Constitution. Madison was there, the most conspicuously active figure in the creation of that instrument, and almost the maker of the great Federal organic law. Gouverneur Morris, of Pennsylvania, was there. Old Dr. Ben Franklin, also of the William Penn State, was there, than whom, I believe, few men have ever lived or died who were more versatile; printer, journalist, philanthropist, patriot, statesman, diplomat, philosopher, all combined in one, and no one can recount the good things that emanated from that convention without considering his paternal advice. There were the two Pinckneys from South Carolina, the two brothers. Oh, what luster illuminated that convention! Fortunately for the world, while shorthand was not practiced in those days, Mr. Madison, a most accurate man, took down all the essentials of the debates, made notes daily and wrote them out every night, and his journal is one of the most wonderful books extant, because it gives us the inside workings of the mental attitude of the fathers. But let me read to you what Franklin said.

I will preface that by saying that Mr. Madison was content to make notes of what was said and done without comment, save and except in the last nine lines of his wonderful book. Here is what Mr. Madison says there:

> Whilst the last Members were signing, Dr. Franklin, looking toward the President's chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few Members near him that painters had found it difficult to distinguish, in their art, a rising from a setting sun. "I have," said he, "often and often, in the course of the session and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

Oh, that a Raphael or a Michelangelo had been there to put on imperishable canvas that inspiring scene! In lieu thereof, however, every American who loves his country and his duty can picture in his own mind the sublime suggestion made by the great Franklin. The time had now come when this precious, this immortal document must receive the signatures of its creators. All night long they had kept the people's vigil, and as the last delegates were subscribing their names the sun was breaking its way over the eastern hills, rising upon the new Republic of the west, nascent in its new birth of baptismal freedom. Oh, the sun rose bright upon America's hopes on that eventful morn, and may that luminary never sink to rest upon her grave.

But, Mr. Speaker, no picture can be made complete without calling to the attention of the House the name of the presiding officer of that great convention, the tallest figure in all the history of the world, Gen. George Washington. [Applause.] Some one—I believe it was a British author—said that Washington was the "greatest of good men and the best of great men." Guizot, the great French historian, said of him that "Washington did, indeed, do four things. He maintained by peace the independence of his country which he had won by war. Out of disconnected fragments he molded a whole, a unity, and made it a sovereign Commonwealth. He achieved his country's independence by the sword; he maintained that independence by peace as by war. He finally established both his country and its freedom in an enduring frame of constitutional government, fashioned to make liberty and union one and inseparable."

These four things constitute the unexampled achievement of Washington. And yet this immortal document, this cloud by day, this pillar of fire by night, we are asked to spit upon, to trample upon, and dump it into the cesspool of polluted politics merely to meet a political emergency, to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the Republican Party, long since recreant to a constitutional trust. For my part I will not lend myself to any such conduct. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

As for me, I refuse to stultify my plighted vow; I refuse to draw the assassin's knife and stab to the heart this covenant that gave us birth; I refuse to discredit the creators of that charter by casting to the winds this covenant of our faith; I refuse to make myself a party to a conspiracy to give death to that whereby we live; I refuse, here and forever, to destroy the hopes, the liberties of the American people by voting for such a cowardly thing as this. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

A Personal Rural-Credit System.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. GOODWIN,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, on March 18 last I made a speech in favor of the bill, H. R. 12678, introduced by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MCFADDEN], for the establishment of a personal rural-credit system. It was only recently, during the present month, that a general circulation of that speech was made, so it is hardly time to obtain a general expression on it; but the favorable replies already received are so numerous that it is out of the question to quote them all. However, some of them are from men with such exceptional opportunities for acquiring information as to the actual needs of agriculture that I must ask your indulgence while I read them. I refer especially to the letter received from Mr. F. L. Houghton, secretary of the Holstein-Friesian Association of America. He has devoted his life to the building up of that association, which his father organized in 1885. Under his management the yearly transfers have increased from 3,000 to over 100,000, and its yearly income now exceeds half a million dollars. He is a man of intelligence, business experience, and rare organizing ability, and few people in this country are better qualified than he to speak of the needs of the dairy industry. He writes:

BRATTLEBORO, VT., *June 15, 1920.*

Hon. WILLIAM S. GOODWIN,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I have read with considerable interest your able speech on cooperative rural credit. I am in hearty accord with the views you so forcibly expressed that we must have a broader market for productive farm credit than our present deposit banking or credit system affords. The open market is the safest place for the farmer to go for the sale of his productive credit paper, and the McFadden bill creates the machinery through which the farmer can create and market such paper.

The enactment of this bill into law would be a boon to agriculture, especially to dairying and cattle breeding. It will open the door of opportunity to the educated and industrious young men being turned out yearly by our agricultural colleges, as it will enable the worthy among them to capitalize their abilities, and thus put a stop to the constant inroads being made on farm labor by our industrial centers.

Thanking you for sending me your speech, and trusting this bill may become a law, I am,

Very truly, yours,

THE HOLSTEIN-FRIESIAN ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.
F. L. HOUGHTON, *Secretary.*

Prof. E. J. Wickson, of the agricultural department of the University of California, and editor of the Pacific Rural Press, who was a member of the United States Commission on Rural Credits, which went to Europe a few years ago to study the credit systems of those countries, writes:

THE PACIFIC RURAL PRESS,
San Francisco, Calif., April 8, 1920.

Hon. WILLIAM S. GOODWIN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have read with keen interest and admiration the exposition of the principles and practices of a proper system of personal rural credit in your speech of March 18.

It is strikingly clear and logical and should have a marked influence in the understanding of this important matter and in securing provision for the speedy organization of it.

Very sincerely,

E. J. WICKSON.

Mr. Chester H. Gray, president of the Missouri Farm Bureau Federation of Nevada, Mo., has taken a very active interest in the subject, and it has been largely through his efforts that the American Farm Bureau Federation, the great and growing young organization which is now seeking to unite the leading farmers of America, came to indorse the legislation and to instruct Mr. Gray Silver, the Washington representative of the organization, to work for the McFadden bill. Mr. Gray writes:

THE MISSOURI FARM BUREAU FEDERATION,
Nevada, Mo., May 3, 1920.

Hon. WILLIAM S. GOODWIN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I have read with much interest your speech on the cooperative personal rural credit measure (H. R. 12678), which has been introduced by Mr. MCFADDEN, of Pennsylvania. This measure seems to me one worthy of the support of our State Farm Bureau Federation, and I should be pleased to receive from you the corrected copy of the bill as it now stands for consideration.

Very truly, yours,

CHESTER H. GRAY,
President Missouri Farm Bureau Federation.

Among the numerous letters received from county agents, a class of men with large experience in dealing with the difficulties faced by the farmers of this country and with a particular insight into the inadequacy of our present system to meet the peculiar needs of the farmer, I will quote a typical letter from Mr. R. S. Clark, county agent of Huntingdon County, Pa., to Congressman JONES of that State:

HUNTINGDON COUNTY FARM BUREAU,
Huntingdon, Pa., June 1, 1920.

Mr. E. J. JONES,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. JONES: Replying to your circular letter of June 1 in regard to the McFadden personal rural-credit bill, allow me to say that I believe that this McFadden bill is an ideal one and needs all the support that we can give it.

I believe that Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas has formed splendid conclusions regarding this bill, and I heartily concur with his thoughts of it. I do not imagine that we should encounter much opposition on account of organized bank capitalists in this bill, but, at any rate, I believe that the rural people will be very much benefited if this bill could be passed.

Very truly, yours,

R. S. CLARK, *County Agent.*

The above, Mr. Chairman, are but a very few of the many letters received by me and by other Members who have been giving their support to this rural-credit bill.

To sum up the character of such indorsements, I will be brief by stating that this measure is favored not only by the different cattle breeders' associations but the farmers' organizations throughout the country. And should this bill become a law, it will make complete the credits circle of the country.

The time is near at hand when Congress must leave nothing undone following the great wreck of war to revive the latent energies and activities of farm wealth, to bring about greater production to an underfed and undersupplied world, to bring people back from the crowded cities into the open air of God's sunshine, and permit them likewise to become producers of farm products, thus saving the wreckage that now threatens the world in the way of millions of people underfed and undernourished.

Termination of War with Germany.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES A. REED,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Friday, May 14 (legislative day of Tuesday, May 11), 1920.

The Senate had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 327) terminating the state of war declared to exist April 6, 1917, between the Imperial German Government and the United States, permitting on conditions the resumption of reciprocal trade with Germany, and for other purposes.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I desire to have printed in the RECORD as a prelude to my remarks the correspondence between the President and a county chairman in Oregon with reference to the policy of the Democratic Party on the League of Nations, the telegram of the county chairman, Mr. Hamaker, being dated May 6 and the reply of the President being dated May 9.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[From the Washington Post May 10, 1920.]

The correspondence given out at the White House last night is as follows:

The President received the following telegram:

"PORTLAND, OREG., *May 6, 1920.*

"Primary election May 21. Please wire whether you consider it important to nominate candidates pledged to ratify Versailles treaty without Lodge reservations.

"G. E. HAMAKER,
"Chairman Multnomah County Democratic Central Committee."

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER.

To which the President has replied:

"WHITE HOUSE, *May 9, 1920.*

"Hon. G. E. HAMAKER,
"Chairman Multnomah County Democratic
"Central Committee, Portland, Oreg.:

"I think it imperative that the party should at once proclaim itself the uncompromising champion of the Nation's honor and the advocate of everything that the United States can do in the service of humanity; that it should, therefore, indorse and support the Versailles treaty and condemn the Lodge reservations as utterly inconsistent with the Nation's honor and destructive of the world leadership which it had established and which all the free peoples of the world, including the great powers themselves, had shown themselves ready to welcome.

"It is time that the party should proudly avow that it means to try, without flinching or turning at any time away from the path for reasons of expediency, to apply moral and Christian principles to the problems of the world. It is trying to accomplish social, political, and international reforms and is not daunted by any of the difficulties it has to contend with. Let us prove to our late associates in the war that at any rate the great majority party of the Nation, the party which expresses the true hopes and purposes of the people of the country, intends to keep faith with them in peace as well as in war.

"They gave their treasure, their best blood, and everything that they valued in order, not merely to beat Germany but to effect a settlement and bring about arrangements of peace which they have now tried to formulate in the treaty of Versailles. They are entitled to our support in this settlement and in the arrangements for which they have striven.

"LEAGUE 'HOPE OF WORLD.'

"The League of Nations is the hope of the world. As a basis for the armistice, I was authorized by all the great fighting nations to say to the enemy that it was our object in proposing peace to establish a general association of nations under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike, and the covenant of the League of Nations is the deliberate embodiment of that purpose in the treaty of peace.

"The chief motives which led us to enter the war will be defeated unless that covenant is ratified and acted upon with vigor. We can not in honor whittle it down or weaken it as the Republican leaders of the Senate have proposed to do. If we are to exercise the kind of leadership to which the founders of the Republic looked forward and which they depended upon their successors to establish, we must do this thing with courage and unalterable determination. They expected the United States to be always the leader in the defense of liberty and ordered peace throughout the world, and we are unworthy to call ourselves their successors unless we fulfill the great purpose they entertained and proclaimed.

'The true Americanism, the only true Americanism, is that which puts America at the front of free nations and redeems the great promises which we made the world when we entered the war which was fought, not for the advantage of any single nation or group of nations, but for the salvation of all. It is in this way we shall redeem the sacred blood that was shed, and make America the force she should be in the counsels of mankind. She can not afford to sink into the place that nations have usually occupied and become merely one of those who scramble and look about for selfish advantage.

"The Democratic Party has now a great opportunity to which it must measure up. The honor of the Nation is in its hands.

"WOODROW WILSON."

Mr. REED. I also shall desire from time to time briefly to refer to certain quotations. I ask permission to insert the quotations at greater length than I shall read them.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, with some hesitation I ask the Senate to listen to anything that I may have to say with reference to the pending so-called Knox resolution declaring a state of peace. I think I should have taken no part in the debate if it had not been for the doctrine announced by the distinguished leader of the proleague forces on the Democratic side. I refer to the body of his speech, and particularly to his colloquy with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS]. Before I come to discuss that I wish to also refer to the oft-repeated assertion of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] that the Knox resolution is an inconsequential thing. Employing a new and startlingly original phrase, he declared, "The mountain labored and brought forth a mouse." The animal may be very small, but it has occasioned a great rustling of skirts and a pronounced hysteria among the advocates of the league. It has excited the distinguished Senator from Nebraska almost to the point of screaming. It threw the syndicate of international bankers, who want their European bonds guaranteed by the blood and treasure of America, into a state of violent agitation. It produced consternation among that group of business buccaneers who have gazed with greedy eyes upon European fields of exploitation. It brought a disgust amounting almost to nausea to those foreign financiers who had planned to obtain five thousand million dollars more of American money upon their own terms and without adequate security. It produced chagrin and disappointment to those European statesmen who had confidently contemplated the United States as the mandatory of Armenia.

The importance to European countries of the United States assuming a mandatory over Armenia is found in the fact that such a mandatory would have compelled the United States to maintain an army of at least a quarter of a million men in Armenia. I know that the figures have been otherwise stated, but I shall be able to show that a quarter of a million men can not do the work.

These soldiers of the United States would constitute the shock troops necessary to protect against the hordes of Turkey and Asia, Great Britain's newly acquired territories in Mesopotamia and Turkey, and the oil fields she has recently grabbed, which extend from Baku on the Caspian to Batum on the Black Sea. Our troops would likewise be compelled directly or indirectly to defend France in her domination over Syria.

This little army of American boys would also be compelled to withstand the first attacks that will undoubtedly be some day made by Russia when she seeks to recover the land wrested from her.

The enormous military obligations sought to be forced upon us are shown by the declaration of Lloyd-George, made on April 29, that "neither Great Britain nor France nor Italy is willing to undertake a mandate for Armenia, because that would involve heavy military resources for a great conquest if the Armenians are to have anything more than a paper Government." It is also shown by the fact that there has been introduced in the Senate, by a distinguished Senator always close to the White House, a bill providing that an army of 250,000 Americans be placed in Armenia to hold that country in armed subjection.

This legislative mouse, the Knox resolution, probably also has disturbed the equanimity of Japan, because she has hitherto enjoyed the belief that under the League of Nations the great United States would guarantee to her the loot of the Shantung and protect her against the just wrath and probable revenge of China. So much, Mr. President, for the legislative mouse we are now considering.

The Senator from Nebraska takes the position that the United States can not declare a state of peace by solemn joint resolution, to be sent to the President for his signature. At the same time the Senator asserts the new and startling doctrine that if the President makes a speech suggesting a League of Nations, and the Members of the Congress applaud the speech, the country is thereby committed, even as to the greatest of its foreign policies.

Mr. President, I shall put in the RECORD, without reading, because the Senate heard the remarks only two or three days ago, the statements made by the Senator from Nebraska.

The matter referred to is as follows:

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, that brings me to a necessary consideration of what pledges were made and by whom they were made when we entered the war, and their binding force upon the consciences of the American people, for if we did pledge ourselves to the contents of the pending treaty, then regardless of its consequences we should stand by our agreement and ratify the treaty. But I deny, Mr. President, as earnestly as it is in my power to do so, that any motives save those appearing in the address of the President on the 2d of April, so far as they have been accepted by the Congress, or such as may be found in the legislation of that period, were made or could have been made to the world binding either the representatives of the people or the people themselves, and he who asserts their existence, of course, has the burden of sustaining the charge.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CURTIS in the chair). Does the Senator yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. What has the Senator to say concerning the speech of the President delivered to the joint session of the House and Senate on the 8th of January, 1918, in the midst of the war?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I have this to say, that the pledges to which the Senator must refer, and the pledges to which the President refers, are those which led us to enter the war. He says so in terms.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. This is a speech of the Executive of the United States, who, by the Constitution, is charged with the sole duty of conducting foreign affairs and of initiating peace propositions. He called the House and Senate into session. He laid down certain purposes of the war. Among those was the formation of an association of nations, or League of Nations, for the prevention of war in the future. That address was delivered officially. It was delivered to both Houses of Congress. It was received with applause, and not a voice was raised, either in the House of Representatives or in the Senate, in criticism of that pledge of the President for the formation of a league of nations for eight months after it was delivered.

Now, I ask the Senator, under those circumstances, when the constitutional officer of the United States, in the presence of the legislative body, laid that down as one of the objects of the war, had not the world a right to believe that the Nation proposed to live up to it?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I am glad the Senator asked me that question, because I know that he believes and has acted upon the belief that it was his duty to recognize that pledge and to make it effectual in the treaty. But if that particular pledge is binding upon the Senator's conscience, and if he thinks that it should be binding upon my conscience as well, were not the other pledges then made equally binding upon the conscience of the President, and why did he virtually abandon them?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. When the President laid down those purposes for which we were fighting he did not lay them down as the purposes for which our associate nations were fighting, and when he got together with them to agree upon terms of peace and the terms of an armistice he could speak only for the United States. He was bound in the very necessities of the case to make such settlement as he and they could

together agree upon. Now, he and they did agree to the terms of this League of Nations, and, as I said, in the United States there was not, officially or otherwise, any protest anywhere from anybody against the formation of a League of Nations for eight months after the President proclaimed it.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, the Senator, like the President, has become obsessed with one of 14 points. That one point is so sharp, so prominent, and so persistent that it has impaled them both; they have lost their sense of perspective, the Senator as an able leader of the treaty forces here, the President as the sole actual representative of the people of the United States at Versailles.

These 14 points, Mr. President, have been harped on for a long time; but inasmuch as the question propounded by the Senator deserves consideration, let us see what they are for a moment:

"1. Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view."

There is one of the pledges, if the speech of the 8th of January embodies pledges as the Senator contends, which has not only been forgotten but constantly disregarded. The negotiations were not open; and I do not think they should have been open, let me say, because a public convention of a peace conference in Paris would have been just about as successful as a circus in a Catholic Church. Publicity is impossible where the affairs of nations are being considered and agreements are so difficult to arrive at.

"After which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind."

Mr. President, the world teemed with private understandings during the period covered by the sessions of the Versailles conference. They have been disclosed here, among others, understanding as to Egypt and Persia, the latter being an especially good illustration, against which no protest was registered, even at Versailles, by the American delegation.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. THOMAS. "But diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view." I yield.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Suppose the Senator is able to demonstrate that every other one of the 13 points was abandoned by the President; does that prove his statement that there was no pledge for a League of Nations?

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, no; it does not prove that.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Then why take up the time of the Senate to argue it? The Senator made the statement that there has been no pledge for the formation of a League of Nations. I point him to that speech, and, in answer to it, he undertakes to say that other pledges were made and broken. Is that any reason for breaking this one, even admitting that he is correct, which I deny?

Mr. THOMAS. The President uses the plural. It is the Senator from Nebraska who uses the singular. I am not assailed as dishonoring my country and my party because I have declined to vote for a treaty containing a pledge. It is the Senator, and not I, who seeks to confine this entire controversy to one assurance. I contend that the last of these 14 points is no more important than any of the others, and was no more important at the time they were announced; and all of them succeeded our entry into the war.

The second point was:

"Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed, in whole or in part, by international action for the enforcement of international covenants."

That poor pledge went glimmering almost before it was enunciated.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I will yield in just a moment. It was expressly excluded from the note of November 5, 1918, and the President himself said that it did not amount to anything—I do not use his exact language—because it had not occurred to him at the time of its announcement that with a universal league of nations the seas would be free, anyhow. Therefore he turned his back upon this, which, in my judgment, is an essential to the existence and operation of a successful league of nations. Gone? Why, Mr. President, it never came.

I yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The Senator claims that there was such a pledge made as he has just recited?

Mr. THOMAS. I am reading from the speech to which the Senator called my attention.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Then he, of course, admits that this pledge was made for a League of Nations, which before that he denied.

Mr. THOMAS. I have not denied it at all. I have said it was not proclaimed before our entry into the war.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I understood the Senator did deny it before I rose to interrogate him.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator did not ask that question.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He denied that the United States was ever pledged to a League of Nations.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator asked me if I regarded the President's speech of January 8 as constituting a pledge of America to the Allies for the war. My reply was that I regarded these pledges, if any, which were made at the time of our entrance into the war, as showing the purposes for which we entered it, and to which the President's last announcement expressly referred.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. But now I understand the Senator asserts that this pledge which he has mentioned was a pledge. If that was a pledge, then this one referred to by the President was a pledge. I should like the Senator to say specifically whether he now admits that the United States was pledged.

Mr. THOMAS. No; I do not.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Then the Senator comes back to his original position, and I ask him how he can otherwise interpret the President's speech, delivered officially in the presence of the Senate and the House, and which went without any question for eight months? If that was not a pledge, what is a pledge?

Mr. THOMAS. Is the Senator through?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Temporarily. I thank the Senator.

The plain intendment and import of Senator HITCHCOCK'S speech is that because the President, in the month of January, 1918, nearly one year after we entered the war, delivered an address called the "fourteen-points" speech, and in it advocated 14 things, and among the 14 things advocated a League of Nations, and because certain Members of the House and Senate were then and there present and then and there applauded by clapping their hands, this country is bound to accept not only a League of Nations but any kind of a League of Nations the President sees fit to submit.

This is a new and alarming doctrine. If it is to find root in the jurisprudence and legislation of our country we can not too soon learn the fact. If it be true that the President, by mere word of mouth, by a mere verbal utterance, can bind the people of the United States to policies of the most solemn and important nature, then we should use great care in selecting a President.

Mr. President, of all the heresies, of all the absurdities, of all the intellectual monstrosities, of all the cringing and cowardly and un-American doctrines ever uttered by the lips of the sane or the insane, this is indisputably the worst. It was not a haphazard utterance. The same thing has been repeatedly stated in these debates in substance and effect. We have been told that our honor is committed, because the President in a speech said thus and so; that we are bound to pursue a certain course, because the President at some time wrote a letter or gave an interview in which he favored a particular policy. Such a power would have hardly been ascribed by the courtiers of Rome to the most despotic of the Cæsars. Scarcely has despotism ever cursed this earth so cruel that the people have given to the tyrants' speeches the force of law. Caligula, Tamerlane, Pharaoh, Nero, bloody masters of cringing subjects, did not pretend their words were law until they had been formulated and published as decrees.

If this new doctrine is accepted, what becomes of the Government of the United States? What becomes of the Constitution which declares that all powers are vested in the people; that provides for three coordinate branches of the Government; that solemnly stipulates that each branch shall be limited in its authority to the powers expressly granted to it; that does not vest in the President a single legislative function of any kind or nature whatsoever; that confine him in domestic affairs strictly to Executive acts, and in foreign affairs to the simple negotiation of treaties which remain without vitality or force until the breath of life had been breathed into them by the representatives of the people assembled in the Senate? There is but one answer—the Constitution will be obliterated. Liberty will be dead.

Yet a great leader on the Democratic side of the Chamber rises in his seat to announce that if the President comes to Congress and makes a speech, and somebody claps his hands, thereby a hundred million people have been bound and this great Nation has been committed!

Mr. President, if this new doctrine is to be accepted, then indeed we must be wide awake in the future. We must follow the President day by day, step by step, hour by hour. Whenever he gives expression to an opinion we must instantly repudiate it, lest we be estopped by silence!

I do not think the President has ever claimed that. It has been hinted at by others, but the Senator from Nebraska is entitled to the unique honor of first having boldly proclaimed it.

I presume it will be argued that there is a difference between a speech made by the President to the Congress and a speech made elsewhere. Let us examine that. By what right does the President appear before Congress? And what is the measure of his authority?

The sole authority is found in section 3 of Article II. It provides that—

> The President shall give to Congress information of the state of the Union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall deem necessary and expedient.

For more than 100 years the method of submission was by a written message. Recently, on certain occasions, the President has seen fit to request the assembling in one room of both branches of the National Legislature, and has delivered his message by word of mouth. Against that I make no complaint, because I believe the President is within his constitutional right, although I wish the old custom had never been varied from, and I hope it will be speedily returned to. Clearly, all the President can do is to submit his views for the consideration of Congress, and whether they are submitted by word of mouth or by written document is immaterial. If we are bound by silence in the one case, we are bound by silence in all cases.

So it comes to this, that if the doctrine announced by the Senator from Nebraska is correct, then if the President sends a message here and we allow it to remain upon the desk for a few days or a few weeks we have thereby acquiesced in it, and it takes on the force and effect of law without any action whatever on the part of Congress, or at least Congress is in honor bound to follow the President's suggestions. I repeat that absurdity

can go no further, and it is only because the assertion has been made in this Chamber, where the Constitution is supposed to have interpreters and defenders, that I take anybody's time to comment upon it.

There being no legal authority in the President to bind us by a speech made in the Senate or in the House more than there is legal authority in him to bind us by a speech made anywhere else, I desire to call attention to the peculiar situation in which we would find ourselves were we to adopt the doctrine that whatever the President says immediately takes on the force and effect of a statute, or that at least the Congress is so far committee that in honor it must do the things necessary to carry out the President's ipse dixit.

It will be interesting to see how rapidly we would be obliged to change our position. Perhaps, as a preliminary to that suggestion, I might call attention to the present situation. The argument is that because the President has announced certain doctrines and negotiated a treaty—which is, of course, without vitality until ratified by the Senate—the honor of the country and the Senate are bound. Let us look a little to the origin of that doctrine, to the birth of that thought. I read:

His—the President's—only power to compel compliance on the part of the Senate lies in his initiative in negotiation, which *affords him a chance to get the country into such scrapes*, so pledged in the view of the world to certain courses of action, *that the Senate hesitates to bring about the appearance of dishonor which would follow its refusal to ratify the rash promises or to support the indiscreet threats of the Department of State.*

The language I have just quoted is from Woodrow Wilson's "Congressional Government," pages 232 to 234.

It will be observed that in the President's letter to County Chairman Hamaker, as well as in the address of the Senator from Nebraska, the claim is advanced that by reason of the President's acts we are now "so pledged in the view of the world" to the course of conduct marked out by the President that we are in honor bound. That is to say, "The President has gotten the country into such a scrape and so pledged in the view of the world to a certain course of action that the Senate is bound to ratify his rash promises."

The origin of the doctrine now being asserted is clearly traceable to the President's book which I have just quoted.

Mr. McCORMICK. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. McCORMICK. I want to suggest to the Senator that the Senate would have vertigo if it sought to turn often enough to follow the President in any course which he might pursue.

Mr. REED. I may come to that in a little while.

Having shown that Mr. Wilson years ago declared that the President had power "to get the country into scrapes and commit it so that to save the United States' honor the Senate would have to carry out the President's rash promises," I call attention to the President's declaration that he intended to pursue exactly that course.

On March 4, 1919, speaking of the German peace treaty, he said:

When that treaty comes back, gentlemen on this side will find the covenant of the League of Nations not only in it, but so many threads of the treaty tied to the covenant that you can not dissect the covenant from the treaty without destroying the whole vital structure.

That is to say, that the President declared he would adopt the very policy which in his "Congressional Government" he had asserted might be followed.

Now, after the Senate has twice defeated the treaty because the League of Nations was woven into it, we find the President, in his letter to County Chairman Hamaker, of Oregon, asserting that "the Nation's honor is involved," although that was never pledged, save and except as the President may have "got the country into such a scrape, so pledged in the view of the world to a certain course of action as to bring about the appearance of dishonor if the Senate should refuse to ratify his rash promises."

That this is his position is clearly shown by the threat he made on March 4, already quoted, and by the language of the letter to County Chairman Hamaker, from which I now quote:

I think it imperative that the party should at once proclaim itself the uncompromising *champion of the Nation's honor* and the advocate of everything that the United States can do in the service of humanity; that it should therefore indorse and support the Versailles treaty and condemn the Lodge reservations as *utterly inconsistent with the Nation's honor.* * * * *Let us prove to our late associates in the war that at any rate the great majority of the Nation*, the party which expresses the true hopes and purposes of the people of the country, *intends to keep faith with them in peace as well as in war.*

Keep faith with them on what? On anything to which this country has, in accordance with the law and in accordance with the Constitution, committed itself? Nay, verily; to keep faith with them by carrying out the "rash promises and indiscreet" declarations made by the President upon his own responsibility. With whom, pray, is our honor involved? To whom have we promised a League of Nations?

The President answers the question. I read from his letter.

The League of Nations is the hope of the world. As a basis for the armistice, I was authorized by all the great fighting nations to say to *the enemy that it was our object in proposing peace to establish a general association of nations*—

And so forth. "To say to the enemy!" The pledge, therefore, is to Germany. Our honor has been pledged to Germany. The specific plea is that we have pledged Germany that we will establish a League of Nations, and that if we do not redeem this pledge to Germany we are dishonored.

Yet, sir, on every platform between Washington and the Pacific coast the President charged that those who opposed the League of Nations were acting in the interest of Germany. The cry "pro-German" has on this floor been hurled at the opponents of the league.

Now we are told by the President himself, and by the Senator from Nebraska, that we must accept the League of Nations because we promised it to Germany; and that our honor is pledged to Germany, because, forsooth, the President, on his own responsibility and without legal authority to bind the country, the Congress, or anybody but himself, made a speech known as the "14 points" speech.

The Senator from Colorado on the day before yesterday demonstrated that 13 of the 14 points have been repudiated or abandoned by the President himself. The single "point" remaining is the one containing the alleged promises to Germany that we would set up a League of Nations. If this is true, Germany is being grossly cheated on the last remaining point, for while the league has been set up, Germany has been kept out.

I pass from that phase of the question, and resuming consideration of the doctrine that the country is bound by whatever the President may say, I remark that what he says outside of Congress is just as binding legally as what he says inside of Congress. Each is alike without force if measured by the Constitution, and each is alike potential under the Nebraska doctrine.

Let me compare some of these statements. As I do so observe to what a contravariety of views our honor has been committed by presidential utterances.

On May 16, 1914, he made a speech in Washington. It was applauded. Accordingly, under the Nebraska doctrine, it bound the country. I read:

John Barry fought like every other man in the Revolution, in order that America might be free to live her own life without interruption or disturbance from any other quarter. You can sum the whole thing up in that, that America had a right to her own self-determined life.

* * * * * * *

There are just as vital things stirring now that concern that existence of the Nation as were stirring then, and every man who worthily stands in this presence should examine himself and see whether he has a full conception of what it means that *America should live her own life.* Washington saw it when he wrote his farewell address. It was not merely because of passing and transient circumstances that *Washington said that we must keep free from entangling alliances.* * * * *We can not form alliances with those who are not going our way; and in our might and majesty, and in the confidence and definiteness of our purpose, we need not and we should not form alliances with any nation in the world.*

In contrast with the foregoing, I read from a speech delivered by the President in California on September 20, 1919:

Then there is that passion that some gentlemen have conceived that we should never live with anybody else. * * * When men tell you that we are, by going into the League of Nations, reversing the policy of the United States, they have not thought the thing out. The statement is not true. The facts of the world have changed. *It is impossible for the United States to be isolated.* It is impossible for the United States to play a lone hand, *because it has gone partners with all the rest of the world with regard to every great interest that it is connected with.*

Nineteen hundred and fourteen, *no alliance;* 1919, *a partnership with all the rest of the world with regard to every great interest.*

If the speech on John Barry remained unanswered and unrepudiated, it would have confirmed the policy there announced and fastened it upon our country. According to the new doctrine, the speech of September 20, 1919, is equally binding. Which of these doctrines was right?

Mr. President, I am old-fashioned enough to stand where the President stood on May 16, 1914, and to agree with the President as of that date when he said that the utterances of Washington were not to cover merely transient conditions but that they endure for all time.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. REED. I yield.

Mr. LODGE. I observe that the President, in the address which the Senator just read, attributed to Washington the

phrase "entangling alliances." Washington did not use that language.

Mr. THOMAS. I never used it.

Mr. LODGE. It was used by Jefferson, as we all know, in his first inaugural. As he was a good Democrat, I think the President ought to have known that.

Mr. THOMAS. Washington's language was, I think, "permanent alliance."

Mr. LODGE. That we should "steer clear of permanent alliance," and might "safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies."

Mr. REED. Again, Mr. President, I find my mind confused in attempting to apply the new doctrine—whatever the President says binds the country. If the doctrine is correct, then we are bound to exact opposites. I read from the President's speech at Tacoma, Wash.:

It is of particular importance to remember, my fellow citizens, at this moment when some men have dared to introduce party passion into this question—

the League of Nations—

that some of the leading spirits, perhaps I may say the leading spirits, in the conception of this great idea were the leading figures of the great Republican Party. I do not like to mention parties in this discussion. I hope that there is not a real thoughtful, conscientious person in the United States who will determine his or her opinion about this matter with any thought that there is an election in the year 1920. And, just because I want you to realize how absolutely nonpartisan this thing is, I want you to forget, if you please, that I had anything to do with it.

* * * * * * *

I am saying these things merely because I want to read the riot act to anybody who tries to introduce politics.

That was September 13, 1919. Now, behold, that audience applauded, so I suppose what the President said became a part of the fixed policy of our country, according to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK].

But listen to the statement of the President on May 9, 1920:

I think it imperative that the party should at once proclaim itself the uncompromising champion of the Nation's honor and the advocate of everything that the United States can do in the service of humanity; that it *should therefore indorse and support the Versailles treaty and condemn the Lodge reservations.* * * *

* * * * * * *

It is time that the party should proudly avow that it means to try, without flinching or turning at any time away from the path for reasons of expediency.

* * * * * * *

The Democratic Party has now a great opportunity to which it must measure up. The honor of the Nation is in its hands.

So, Mr. President, the question that was above politics in 1919 is now "the opportunity of the Democratic Party," and the demand is that the league shall be indorsed in the Democratic platform.

Again, Mr. President, I come to the great question of neutrality. At some length I put into the RECORD on a former occasion many of the utterances of the President in favor of the doctrine that the United States should remain neutral in all world quarrels. I shall not repeat at length what I then said, but I call the attention of every man who claims to be a Democrat to the fact that the strongest speech ever made for neutrality by anybody in the world was delivered by Gov. Glynn when he placed Mr. Wilson in nomination for a second term. That speech was submitted to the President before it was delivered and received his unquestioned sanction.

I shall, however, content myself with a few brief statements by the President himself, showing his position on neutrality. He said:

It is your duty to stand off and not let this Nation be drawn into the war.

Woodrow Wilson at Chicago in January, 1916.

Again:

We can show our friendship for the world and our devotion to the principles of humanity better and more effectively by keeping out of this struggle than by getting into it.

Woodrow Wilson, February 12, 1916, at Kansas City:

I can assure you that there is nothing nearer my heart than keeping this country out of this war.

Woodrow Wilson in a statement to the Scandinavians at the White House, March 13, 1916:

There are actually men in America who are preaching war—

He undoubtedly referred especially to Mr. Roosevelt—

who are preaching the duty of the United States to do what it never would before do—seek entanglements in the controversies which have arisen on the other side of the water—abandon its habitual and traditional policy and deliberately engage in the conflict which is now engulfing the rest of the world. I do not know what the standard of the citizenship of these gentlemen may be. I only know that I for one can not subscribe to those standards.

Woodrow Wilson at Des Moines, Iowa, February 1, 1916.

Contrast these declarations with his speeches in 1919:

There are no neutrals under the League of Nations.

Article 11 is my favorite article at present. We must mind our own business, but under article 11 we can *mind other people's business.*

The following colloquy took place between the President and the Foreign Relations Committee on August 19, 1919.

Senator MCCUMBER—

Speaking to the President—

Do you think that if Germany had committed no act of war or no act of injustice against our citizens we would have gotten into this war?

The PRESIDENT. I do think so.

Senator MCCUMBER. Do you think we would have gotten into the war anyway?

The PRESIDENT. I do.

Again:

I believe that Belgium and her part in the war are in one sense the key to the whole structure, because the violation of Belgium was the call to duty which aroused the nations. (Address to the Belgian Chamber of Deputies at Brussels, June 19, 1919.)

The violation of Belgium occurred in 1914 and antedates many of the statements in favor of neutrality which I have read to you. We did not enter the war on account of Belgium; we did not enter the war on account of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, diabolical as both those acts were; on the contrary, for two years we continued to proclaim the doctrine of neutrality. Moreover, even after Germany had announced the renewal of unrestricted submarine warfare and had warned us off the ocean, the President, in solemn messages to Congress, asserted that we could not enter the war until an overt act had been committed against the United States. Not until that overt act was committed did we declare that a state of war existed.

After commenting upon the facts I have just referred to, the President in his message of February 3, 1917, said:

Notwithstanding this unexpected action of the German Government, this sudden and deeply deplorable renunciation of its assurances, given this Government at one of the most critical moments of tension in the relations of the two Governments, I refuse to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do. I can not bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the willful prosecution of the ruthless naval program they have announced their intention to adopt. *Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now.*

If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose should unhappily prove unfounded; if American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress, to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral Governments will take the same course.

We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. *We are the sincere friends of the German people and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people.* We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people which I sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago—*seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life.* These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany!

In discussing our entrance into the war I can not refrain from calling attention to the President's message of January 22, 1917:

It must be a peace without victory. Victory would mean peace forced on the loser; a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest not permanently, but only as upon the quicksand.

Sixty-six days later he asked us to declare war. How soon the idea that only peace without victory could last was abandoned is shown by his message of December 4, 1917:

Let there be no misunderstanding. Our present and immediate task is *to win the war,* and nothing shall turn us aside from it until it is accomplished. Every power and resource we possess, whether of men, of money, or of materials, is being devoted and will continue to be devoted to that purpose until it is achieved. *Those who desire to bring about peace before that purpose is achieved I counsel to carry their advice elsewhere.* We will not entertain it. We shall regard the war as won only when the German people say to us, through properly accredited representatives, that they are ready to agree to a settlement based upon justice.

And so forth.

Mr. President, if the statement that no peace resting upon victory will abide was true on January 22, 1917, it was true on December 4, 1917. But it was a groundless, an utterly impractical dream. The doctrine of December 4 was sound—the

only way to end the war was by the conquest of Germany, by bringing her to her knees. That was as true in the first instance as in the last.

But if the doctrine that we are committed by all the President says is correct, then we are in sore straits, for we are bound to two opposites; we embrace irreconcilable theories.

I do not question the right of the President to change his mind. I am only discussing this new and silly doctrine that whatever the President says binds the country. It can hardly do that when it does not even bind the President.

Attend now to the various declarations of the President on woman suffrage. Bear in mind I am merely pointing out the difficulties attending the new doctrine that whenever the President speaks his words bind the country, bind the world, and especially bind Congress.

On July 4, 1914, the President addressed a body of ladies who represented the National Federation of Women's Clubs.

He discussed the constitutional amendment which proposed to grant universal suffrage and said:

You have asked me to state my personal position with regard to the pending measure. It is *my conviction that this is a matter for settlement by the States and not by the Federal Government;* and, therefore, that being my personal conviction, and it being obvious that there is no ground on your part for discouragement in the progress you are making and my passion being for local self-government and determination by the great communities into which the Nation is organized of their own policy and life, I can only say that since you turned away from me as a leader of a party and asked me my position as a man, I am obliged to state it very frankly, and I believe that in stating it I am probably in agreement with those who framed the platform to which allusion has been made.

Again, on October 6, 1915, the President issued the following statement with reference to woman suffrage:

I intend to vote for woman suffrage in New Jersey, because I believe that the time has come to extend that privilege and responsibility to the women of the State; but I shall vote not as the leader of my party in the Nation but only as a citizen of New Jersey. * * *

My position with regard to the way in which this great question should be handled is well known. *I believe that it should be settled by the States and not by the National Government,* and that in no circumstances should it ever be made a party question, and my view has grown stronger at every turn of the agitation.

I agreed with that; I probably applauded that. Thereby, I suppose, I am bound; but if I am bound, I should like to have the rule extended so that it will bind other people.

You will observe that up to this time the President had told the country that we should not adopt a constitutional amendment on suffrage. Now, I call your attention to what I think is one of the most remarkable state papers ever produced in America. We were, on the 30th of September, 1918, debating the woman-suffrage resolution in this Chamber. In the midst of that debate the President entered. I read briefly from his address:

I regard the concurrence of the Senate in the constitutional amendment proposing the extension of the suffrage to women as *vitally essential to the successful prosecution of the great war of humanity in which we are engaged.* I have come to urge upon you the considerations which have led me to that conclusion. It is not only my privilege, it is also my duty, to apprize you of every circumstance and element involved in this momentous struggle which seems to me to affect its very processes and its outcome. It is my duty to win the war and to ask you to remove every obstacle that stands in the way of winning it.

I call attention to this language:

Have I said that the passage of this amendment is a vitally necessary war measure, and do you need further proof? * * * I tell you plainly, as Commander in Chief of our Armies and of the gallant men in our fleets, as the present spokesman of this people in our dealings with the men and women throughout the world who are now our partners, as the responsible head of a great Government which stands and is questioned day by day as to its purposes * * *—*I tell you plainly this measure which I urge upon you is vital to the winning of the war and to the energies alike of preparation and of battle.*

Mr. President, what was the situation on September 30, 1918, when that address was delivered? In the month of June of that year the terrible advance of the Germans toward Paris had been arrested. More than a million and a half of American boys were on the fields of France or crossing the ocean. Immediately the commanders began sending them into the English and French lines. By the close of the month of June the German military machine had met its master. The retreat of the French and also the advance of the Germans toward Paris had been halted. Then came a few days of steadying, of preparation, and then the boys, many of whom had been in the Army less than two months, proved themselves the masters of veterans. They taught the English and the French and the Belgians on our side and the Germans and the Austrians on their side that an American soldier only knew how to march in one direction, and that was to the front.

Then, sir, came the long months of close and tense struggle. In the early part of September we had 2,500,000 men in France. We had taken possession of a portion of the line, and that portion of the line never moved except it moved toward Berlin. Our fleets made the ocean gray as they plowed the water bearing supplies. There had come, sir, the Battle of the Marne on August 6, in which the Germans were routed; the Battle of the Argonne had been begun, and the Germans had been hurled back upon both flanks, right and left; San Mihiel, with its glories and its heroism, had been recorded in history; Belleau Wood was the scene of an American victory. Germany was in full retreat. Bulgaria had thrown down her broken sword and quit the fight. Her cities were being captured daily. Her armies were dispersed and decimated. Austria, seething with internal revolt, had sued for peace. Germany was beaten, and all the world knew it; the German heart was broken; the German sword was falling from hands that could no longer hold it. Such were the conditions on September 30. Yet on that day the President said *we "could not win the war if we did not pass the woman suffrage resolution";* that "it was vitally necessary to the winning of the war." And some of us applauded. Therefore was recorded, I suppose, not only on earth but among the angels as a fixed fact of history that we could not win the war unless the suffrage resolution was passed. The President had said it, and most of you applauded it, and that settled it. I did not applaud. Yet within 30 days thereafter Germany had cried for quarter. Several days were consumed in negotiations. On the 11th day of November the last shot of the war was fired; the battle flags were furled; Germany lay prostrate; and the woman suffrage resolution had not yet been passed. [Laughter.]

It will hardly do to take the position that everything the President says binds the country, fixes the facts of life, and records the events of history. It will hardly do to accept the new doctrine of the Senator from Nebraska that we are bound to adopt the League of Nations because the President advocated it and some of the Members of the Senate applauded, for about the same crowd that applauded the speech in favor of a League of Nations applauded the President when he said we could not win the war unless we passed the woman suffrage resolution.

Of course the passage of the woman suffrage resolution had no relation to the winning of the war. I am not now discussing the merits of woman suffrage. This is what I say—and I said it then—"I give to the American woman too much credit to think that her conduct in this war will be affected to the slightest extent by the passage or failure to pass the suffrage resolution." The hearts of men did not burn with a greater flame of patriotic fervor than the hearts of the women of America. In every home they were busy, the white and tapering finger of the lady of fashion, the grimy hand of the woman inured to toil, were alike busy knitting, knitting, knitting, sewing, sewing, sewing, to produce bandages for the wounded and clothing for the living. And, better than that, there were going from millions of American homes the messages of American mothers and wives and sisters, cheering the boys to battle, inspiring them with Spartan heroism. No woman faltered or hesitated because the suffrage resolution had not been passed.

But, Mr. President, returning to my theme, namely, the contrariety of views the President has entertained and the consequent difficulty of accepting them as infallibly sound. The Democratic platform of 1912 declared:

We favor the exemption from toll of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the canal.

The platform was accepted by Mr. Wilson and approved by the voters at the election.

We had passed the law providing for the canal. We had dug the ditch. We had begun to fortify it. We had paid for it with American money. It was dreamed in the brains of great American engineers. It was wrought out by the brawn of American labor. We had passed the law exempting American ships from tolls. It was our ditch. Then, on March 5, 1914, the President came before Congress and insisted that we repeal the law, repudiate the Democratic platform, and yield to the demand of Great Britain that her ships and the ships of all the world should go on the same terms as the ships of America.

I expressed myself regarding the proposition at the time. I do not intend to repeat the arguments then made. It is enough to state that the movement for the repeal of the Panama Canal tolls act was started by British railroads that owned boats that ran through the canal. They wanted their ships to go through free if ours did, because otherwise our merchant marine, our commerce, and our American cities would have an advantage over foreign ships and Canadian cities. The Canadians carried their protest to Great Britain, and Great Britain brought it here. The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX] was then Secretary of State, and he silenced the British minister's protest. Afterwards the British minister renewed the request, but not until an American Senator [Mr. ROOT] had made a speech on this floor in favor of yielding to Great Britain. This was followed by an expensive propaganda carried on by the Carnegie Foundation, an institution about as pro-

British as anything ever permitted to exist on American soil. Then the President yielded. I refused to repudiate the Democratic platform, even though the President did.

I regarded the platform as a pledge to the American people. It was a pledge of the party and a pledge of the candidate. I did not believe that a pledge to the American people could be fulfilled by repudiating it in the interest of the British Empire.

If the doctrine that everything the President says is binding upon the country, then the instance of the canal tolls shows how we may be bound to opposites.

Again, on January 22, 1917, the President said:

No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.

That was applauded. It was applauded by the Senate and by the House Members who were present. Did it thereby become a principle of law binding upon us, binding upon our honor? If so, how shall we answer for the fact that in the treaty of peace the President signed, which we are asked to sanction, the rape of Shantung, the enslavement of 25,000,000 Chinese, the degradation and subjugation of Egypt, and the thraldom of India are all recognized and guaranteed? How shall we answer the cry of Ireland and other oppressed peoples for the right of self-determination, and who appeal to the President's noble words of January 22, if we accept the treaty of Versailles which rivets their claims forever? Again we are bound to opposites.

Mr. President, on December 4, 1917, the President asked us to declare war on Austria. He then made this statement, and we applauded, and therefore by the Nebraska doctrine it became binding upon the American conscience. Let me read it:

We owe it, however, to ourselves to say that we do not wish in any way to impair or to rearrange the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is no affair of ours what they do with their own life, either industrially or politically. We do not purpose or desire to dictate to them in any way. We only desire to see that their affairs are left in their own hands in all matters, great or small.

Was that binding upon us? Did that mortgage our honor? Did that fix a status that we could not thereafter avoid without dishonor? What did we do? We tore the Austro-Hungarian Empire in twain. Then we dismembered Austria. That great empire—which, as I recall, had over 50,000 population at the beginning of this war—is by the powers of dismemberment reduced to 8,000,000 souls.

Yet if the doctrine that is now invoked by the Senator from Nebraska be true—namely, that because the President declared he favored a League of Nations, therefore the Nation is in honor bound to join the league—then we were likewise bound not to dismember Austria and we have repudiated our solemn pledges. Once more it appears the country is bound to do two things, each exactly the opposite of the other, merely because the President has said two opposite things.

Mr. President, I might proceed with similar illustrations until the cock would signal to-morrow's dawn and not then have exhausted the theme. I denounce the doctrine. I assert that this is not a Government of men; it is a Government of law. I assert that it is not only not a Government of men but that it certainly is not the Government of a man. I solemnly declare that the people of the United States speak only in the manner laid down in the Constitution, and that they can be bound only when their agents are able to point to the language of the Constitution and the law conferring the authority they undertake to exercise.

Of course, he is out of date, dead, and long since turned to dust, yet I want to read a few words from Daniel Webster, once the lion of the Senate. He was discussing the doctrine, then attempted to be asserted, that the President of the United States was the custodian of the rights of the people. In referring to the argument adduced in its support, Mr. Webster said:

In asserting power for an American President, I prefer that he should attempt to maintain his assertions on American reasons. I know not, sir, who the writer was—I wish I did—but whoever he was it is manifest that he argues this part of his case throughout on *the principles of the constitution of England.* It is true *that in England the King is regarded as the original fountain of all honor and all office, and that anciently, indeed, he possessed all political power of every kind.* It is true that this mass of authority in the progress of that Government has been diminished, restrained, and controlled by charters—

And so forth.

But with us there never was a time when we acknowledged original, unrestrained, sovereign power over us. Our constitutions are not made to limit and restrain preexisting authority. *They are the instruments by which the people confer power on theeir own servants.* If I may use a legal phrase, the people are grantors, not grantees. *They give to the Government, and to each branch of it, all the power it possesses, or can possess, and what is not given they retain.* In England, before her revolution, and in the rest of Europe since, if we would know the extent of liberty or popular right we must go to grants, to charters, to allowances, and indulgencies. But with us we go to grants and to constitutions to learn the extent of the powers of government. *No political power is more original than the Constituttion, none is possessed which is not there granted, and the grant and the limitations in the grant are in the same instrument.*

Sir, if all this means anything, if it be not empty sound—

That is, the assertion of the doctrine of the President at that time—

it means no less than that the President may do anything and everything which he may expect to be tolerated in doing. *He may go just so far as he thinks it safe to go; and Cromwell and Bonaparte went no further.*

Mr. President, this new doctrine that "the word of the Executive binds the country" is neither more nor less than a reincarnation of the old despotic creed, "The will of the monarch is the law of the land." With what abhorrence should we regard that old blood-stained dogma!

Out of the night of time we hear the clash of fetters, the groans of slaves, the swish of cruel whips laid on the bleeding backs of men. We behold countless thousands slaughtered to make a holiday for titled brutes who reveled in the lust of cruelty.

At last the votaries of freedom began to lift their heads. They dared proclaim the doctrine of equality. They were executed on a million scaffolds, burned at the stake, imprisoned in dungeons, tortured on the rack, flayed alive, but the awakened soul of liberty could not be dismayed.

Then there came a day when on these shores, where even the wild forests "sang the hymns of freedom," men were inspired with the sublime courage to exclaim, "Give us liberty or give us death!"

In battle after battle they sustained the aspiration of their souls. In freezing snows, in icy streams, in forest depths, in prison ships they suffered and they died to establish here a government of the people. They wrote a Constitution and declared that it was the Constitution *of the people;* that the people were the source of all authority, right, and power; that the public officers were but their servants, subject to their will, obedient to their demands, at all times limited by the Constitution. They divided this Government and subdivided it in order to prevent the usurpation of power by any man. They rebelled in the first instance because the King of England had asserted the right to impose his will upon them, although even then there was a requirement of parliamentary acquiescence. But now, sir, at the end of it all, surveying the entire field of history, its ghastly fields of battle, where men have died for freedom, its scaffolds and its prisons, its heroes and its martyrs, at the end of it all, we are told that our Government can be bound by the mere utterance of a single individual, and that we must obey and carry out any statement he may make in a speech delivered to Congress. That is the doctrine of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK]. I would not have so long discussed it, but the same heresy has been foreshadowed here and sometimes stated, in substance, by others. I repudiate the doctrine as un-American, undemocratic, as the last word in senile servility and despotic degradation.

In considering the Knox resolution it is well to understand the reasons for which we entered this war as they are expressed in the resolution of Congress. This is true because Congress is the sole authority empowered to declare war. The declaration specifically states that Germany has made war upon us:

Resolved, etc., That *the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared,* and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

That state of war was in fact terminated on the 11th day of November, 1918. Since that time no hostile gun has been fired. People have resumed the avocations of peace; commerce, business, industry have taken the place of armed camps and marching soldiery. Notwithstanding this indisputable fact, men stand here and oppose a measure which proposes to do no more than to officially and legally state the facts as they now exist.

What, pray, is the purpose of your hearts? What do you expect to gain?

You will continue upon the statute books laws which were passed with a solemn pledge that when the war was over these statutes would cease to exist. How long will you continue them if this joint resolution be defeated?

The alternative you present is that we shall ratify the peace treaty exactly as the President gave it to us; that we must accept it in toto. When, sir, will that be accomplished? Surely not before the 4th day of March, 1921, for there is no man in

his senses who believes that it is possible to secure the ratification of the treaty without most radical amendments by the present membership of the Senate. That membership wil lexist as it is now, save for the act of God, until the 4th of March, 1921. Not a Member changes, save by sickness, death, or resignation, until the day arrives when the President himself goes out of office.

Thus we are to continue this situation until the 4th of March, 1921; and what then? If, sir, the President's dictum is to be followed, if the Democratic Party writes in its platform the demand that it shall accept this treaty without reservation or change, and if the Democratic Party elects every Senator of the 32 who run for office in November of this year, there will still remain in the Senate more than one-third of the membership who will never approve this treaty without radical change or reservation. So that the ratification of the treaty in the form demanded by the President can not come until after we have held two elections. Do you propose to keep the country technically in a state of war until March 4, 1923?

But will the Democrats elect all of the 32 Members? Is there anybody outside a lunatic asylum who believes we will defeat all of the Republican candidates for the Senate? But if we did, I repeat, there would still be 37 men in the Senate who will never vote for the treaty without change or reservation.

How many Democrats will come back if we accept the President's dictum? There are 17 Democrats and 15 Republicans who will go out on the 4th of March, 1921. Of course, a good many Republicans will come back in. I am afraid to say how many.

Mr. President, for the sake of explaining the tabulation, I present a brief epitome of what the various Lodge reservations cover.

RESERVATIONS.

Reservation No. 1: The treaty gives the United States the right to withdraw on two years' notice if it has fulfilled all international obligations. The reservation reserves to the United States the right to judge for itself whether it has fulfilled these obligations.

Reservation No. 2 refers to article 10 and strikes out the obligation of the United States to defend other countries against attack or to use its military forces to preserve their political independence.

Reservation No. 3 relates to mandates and provides that no mandate shall be acceptable except by act of Congress.

Reservation No. 4 makes the United States the judge as to what questions are domestic, thus protecting us from interference by the league with questions which we regard as domestic.

Reservation No. 5 by clear and decisive language preserves the Monroe doctrine.

Reservation No. 6 declines to make the United States a party to the Shantung outrage.

Reservation No. 7 provides that the representatives of the United States to the league shall only be selected pursuant to an act of Congress.

Reservation No. 8 protects us against interference by the reparation commission with the exports of the United States to and from Germany, unless authorized by Congress.

Reservation No. 9 specifies that the United States shall not be obligated to pay any expenses of the league except by act of Congress.

Reservation No. 10 provides that if the League of Nations reduces the size of armies that we may increase ours without its consent when the United States is threatened with invasion or engaged in war.

Reservation No. 11 reserves to the people of the United States the right to have commercial relations with the subjects of a boycotted country residing in our midst.

Reservation No. 12 provides that no provision of articles 296 and 297 of the German treaty shall be regarded as authorizing or approving any act otherwise illegal or in contravention of the rights of the citizens of the United States.

Reservation No. 13 withholds the consent of the United States to articles 387 to 427, inclusive, which sets up a semi-Bolshevist government of the world in all matters of labor.

Reservation No. 14 provides that the United States shall not be bound by any vote where the British Empire has cast more than one vote.

Reservation No. 15 provides that in consenting to the ratification of the treaty with Germany the United States adheres to the principle of self-determination and to the resolution of sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choice adopted by the Senate June 6, 1919, and declares that when self-government is attained by Ireland, a consummation it is hoped is at hand, it should promptly be admitted as a member of the League of Nations.

Now, I am going to ask, in view of the President's letter demanding that the party shall make a party issue of the League of Nations without change, in what shape the Democrats whom I am about to call by name will be when they run for reelection, what chance they will have, whether the position the President takes does not insure their defeat. I shall present them alphabetically.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECKHAM] voted for reservations 3, 5, and 7. I have already set out the substance of these important reservations.

The Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN], who is the victim of this presidential correspondence, voted for reservations 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, and 15—for all of the reservations, I believe, but one. When he faces his constituency and his opponent confronts him with the letter from the President, what will be the chance of Senator CHAMBERLAIN to come back here? He must overcome the opposition of the President and also an overwhelming Republican majority, for his State is overwhelmingly Republican, and he has heretofore carried it by sheer personal popularity. How long can a party live thus controlled? How long can a party live when one man sets up his will as the party law and ruthlessly seeks to destroy all who dare differ in the slightest degree from him? I am now dealing with this as a political situation, because the President, who all along has declared the league to be absolutely nonpolitical, has suddenly reversed himself and by his letter makes it for the first time a political question.

I can not refrain from calling special attention to this direct attack upon GEORGE CHAMBERLAIN. He is as patriotic a citizen, as good a Democrat as lives. He has carried a Republican State repeatedly. He is intelligent, brave, industrious. The attempt to blackjack him is, from every political consideration, indefensible.

The Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER]. How will he answer his constituency if his constituency follow the presidential edict? He voted for reservations 1, 3, 5, 7, 12, and 14.

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. GAY] I believe is not running; but even he voted for reservation 3.

The Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE] is running in a close State. He is one of the ablest men who has ever stood in the United States Senate. I say without hesitation that Woodrow Wilson would not have been nominated for the Presidency of the United States in 1912 if it had not been for THOMAS P. GORE, and I know whereof I speak. But under his oath the Senator from Oklahoma thought it his duty to vote for every one of the Lodge reservations. In all probability he will be renominated. The President's letter may defeat him in the general election.

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. HENDERSON] voted for reservations 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, and 15. How will he answer his constituency if the President be the leader of the party and the Nation, as he claims? When the President has said that those who voted for these reservations voted for the dishonor of the Nation, what reply will he make to his constituency?

The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON] perhaps can plead that his offense was only a little one. He voted for reservation 3; that is, he voted that the United States should not accept a mandate and assume the duty to hold, by fire and sword, a people in subjection unless Congress said so, and that is the extent of his offending. Yet, according to the President, he voted to dishonor the Nation.

The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. KIRBY]. What a faithful friend he has been of the White House, and yet, after hearing the debates, when put to it upon his oath, he voted for reservations 3, 5, 7, 10, 14, and 15.

Because I do not want to consume your time, I place in the RECORD the list of other Senators, some of whom voted for substantially every one of the Lodge reservations, all of whom voted for one or more. The list is as follows:

Democratic Senators who voted for the Lodge reservations to the German peace treaty in the Sixty-sixth Congress, second session—reservations for which they voted are indicated opposite their names.

Democratic Senators.	Vote in the Senate sitting as Committee of the Whole.	Final vote in the Senate on reservations 2 and 15.
Ashurst, Henry F	1, 2, 4, 14, 15	2, 15
Bankhead, John	Absent	
Beckham, J. C. W	3, 5, 7	
Chamberlain, George E	1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14	2, 15
Comer	Absent	
Culberson, Charles A	3	
Dial, Nathaniel B	3	
Fletcher, Duncan U	1, 3, 5, 7, 12, 14	
Gay, Edward J	3	

Democratic Senators who voted for the Lodge reservations to the German peace treaty, etc.—Continued.

Democratic Senators.	Vote in the Senate sitting as Committee of the Whole.	Final vote in the Senate on reservations 2 and 15.
Gerry, Peter G	2, 15	2, 15
Gore, Thomas P	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.	2, 15
Glass, Carter	3	
Harris, William J	3, 15	15
Harrison, Pat	3, 15	15
Henderson, Charles B	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15	2, 15
Hitchcock, Gilbert M	15	15
Johnson, Edwin S. (South Dakota)	3	15
Jones, Andrieus A. (New Mexico)		
Kendrick, John B	2, 7, 15	2, 15
King, William H	3, 4, 5, 10, 13	
Kirby, William F	3, 5, 7, 10, 14, 15	15
McKellar, Kenneth	3, 15	15
Myers, Henry L	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14	
Nugent, John F	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15	2, 15
Overman, Lee S	3, 7	
Owen, Robert L	5, 11, 14	15
Phelan, James D	2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 14, 15	2, 15
Pittman, Key	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 14, 15	2, 15
Pomerene, Atlee	2, 3, 9, 12, 14	2
Ransdell, Joseph E	3, 15	
Reed, James A	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.	2, 15
Robinson, Joseph T		
Sheppard, Morris	3, 15	15
Shields, John K	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.	2, 15
Simmons, Furnifold M	3	
Smith, Ellison D. (South Carolina)	15	15
Smith, Hoke (Georgia)	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14	2
Smith, John Walter (Maryland)		15
Smith, Marcus A. (Arizona)	Absent	
Stanley, A. Owsley	3	15
Swanson, Claude A	Absent	
Thomas, Charles S	3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 13	
Trammell, Park	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 14	
Underwood, Oscar W		
Walsh, David I. (Massachusetts)	2, 14, 15	2, 15
Walsh, Thomas J. (Montana)	15	15
Williams, John Sharp		
Wolcott, Josiah O	3	

A total of eight not voting for any reservation. From this total BANKHEAD, COMER, SMITH of Arizona, and SWANSON should be excepted because not present.

The terms of 17 Democratic Senators expire March 4, 1921; nearly all are candidates for reelection this fall. (The names of these 17 appear in italic.) Of these 17 only 2 did not vote for any of the Lodge reservations or any of the substitute reservations agreed to. These are MARCUS A. SMITH and OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD. Of these two MARCUS A. SMITH was absent from the Senate.

Truth to tell, sir, all but six Senators voted for one or more of the Lodge reservations, one of those Senators being absent all the time on official business. All but six come under the sweeping condemnation of the President. According to the President, all but six voted to dishonor the land they had sworn to protect. According to the President, all but six put the brand of shame upon the brow of Columbia. If they are thus guilty, they should be incontinently hurled from office. But did they dishonor their country or did they preserve their country's honor? Did they not preserve the sovereignty and independence of the Nation against the machinations of those who prefer the dream of internationalism above the Nation they swore to serve and defend?

Moreover, after the Lodge reservations had been attached and the treaty stood thus stamped all over, fifteen times stamped and branded with dishonor, according to the President, the following Democrats voted to ratify it in that dishonored form: ASHURST, BECKHAM, FLETCHER, GORE, HENDERSON, KENDRICK, KING, MYERS, NUGENT, OWEN, PITTMAN, PHELAN, CHAMBERLAIN, POMERENE, RANSDELL, SMITH of Georgia, SMITH of Maryland, TRAMMELL, WALSH of Massachusetts, WALSH of Montana, and WOLCOTT; and there were a number paired. JONES of New Mexico, GERRY, and SMITH of Georgia were paired. The first two, I feel sure, were paired for the measure as thus dishonored, disgraced, and damned.

The majority of the Democratic Senators so voted, and I state what has several times been declared upon this floor by Senators celebrated for their friendship for the White House, that, excepting those who were against the treaty in any form, there were not more than three Senators who would not have voted for the treaty with the Lodge reservations attached if the President had not interposed his powerful influence to induce them to vote for its rejection.

What a spectacle the Democratic Party will make as it lines up for battle in the next campaign! Here they come, 48 States—and I do not know just where to assign a Senator in this political battle, but I think he ought to be as high as a colonel—every Democratic colonel except three or four voting for the Lodge reservations, and hence voting to dishonor his country. Having so voted, they have got to eat their own votes and repudiate their own words on every platform from which they speak. When one of them rises and proposes to defend the national Democratic platform that declares for the treaty without change or reservation, the interested auditor will be pretty sure to rise and inquire, "Did you not vote to change it and did not the President say you voted to dishonor your country?"

Thus if we accept the President's advice we will start into the fight with leaders who have been honored by the people and who voted under their oaths of office disgraced in advance. Likewise the party record, so far as the party has a record, will have been repudiated.

How is this to be accomplished? The national committee, the managers draw large salaries, and assume to shape the policies of the convention. The chairman names himself to sound the keynote, although that has been an office heretofore filled by the ablest man that could be found in the entire country. Postmasters, United States district attorneys and marshals, all backed by the vast machinery and power of the Government, are to be employed to force a platform declaring for the ratification of the treaty without amendment or change. Such a platform will be the epitaph of the present-day Democracy.

I read:

> There are illegitimate means by which the President may influence the action of Congress. He may bargain with Members, not only with regard to appointment but also with regard to legislative measures. He may use his local patronage to assist Members to get or retain their seats. He may interpose his powerful influence in one covert way or another in contests for places in the Senate. He may also overbear Congress by arbitrary acts which ignore the laws or virtually override them.

I read again:

> He may interpose his powerful influence in one covert way or another in contests for places in the Senate—

And, of course, any other place. Who said that? Woodrow Wilson, in his Constitutional Government of the United States. That is old philosophy. It has been applied to influence Congress. It is being applied to coerce the party convention.

Mr. President, just a further word. How will the Democratic Party defend itself under these circumstances against the assaults of its ancient enemy?

I do not know what platform the Republican Party will write, but I do know that the most sinister influences that have ever controlled or cursed that party—the great financial interests, the great international bankers—have been flirting with the Republican national chairman, Mr. Will Hays, and that his influence and all that financial influence is being exerted to-day to induce the Republican Party to adopt a halfway declaration on the League of Nations.

Surveying the field of the past, I am not unmindful of the fact that generally the evil spirits of the Republican Party have polluted its soul and controlled its policies. But I assume in this instance you may not be seduced. You have been hearing from too many States. At every place where you have had a free ballot and an honest count, where money has not been poured in to a criminal extent, JOHNSON has swept the field; and I think you may be learning something. I hope, for the good of the country, you have; but in what shape will the Democratic Party be when it goes to its defense?

Question 1. The League of Nations covenant gives us one vote and gives the British Empire six votes. It was alleged here in debate that we must accept that situation, because, it was said, if we change this sacred and holy document it would be necessary to reassemble the representatives of the various warring countries in order to ratify the change. Of course, that was not the truth, because the representatives of those warring countries were then in session and have been in session ever since, except Germany, and all they have to do with Germany is to say, "Come over here, Germany," and she is there the next morning; she can not help coming. Besides, it was not necessary to consult Germany. She was not a member of the league and had nothing to do with the changes the members might see fit to make.

Then, it was argued that if we claimed an equality of voting Great Britain and France would not ratify the document in that form, and that we had better accept an inequality in voting power and occupy a position exactly similar to that occupied by a dominion or colony of the British Empire than to lay unholy hands upon the sacred instrument; but since that time France, through her statesmen, has declared that she will accept the doc-

ument with any amendments we put on it; and Lord Grey, speaking for the British Empire, has declared that it is not only satisfactory to Great Britain that we shall have as many votes as Great Britain but has further declared that our claim is based upon equity and justice. Nevertheless we are to be required to go to the people declaring that we will not accept an equality of voting even when Great Britain says we are entitled to it. We are to have an American President and a Democratic platform and an army of Democratic candidates declaring that they do not want as much for the United States as English statesmen say we are entitled to have.

If that be the case, we had better import a few thoroughbred Englishmen and run them for office.

Question 2. What defense will we make against the charge that we are opposed to the United States reserving the right to withdraw from the league and to determine for herself whether she has fulfilled her international obligations? What defense will we make when it is charged and proven that the treaty leaves unamended the question as to whether or not the United States has fulfilled her obligations under the league and international law to a foreign tribunal composed exclusively of foreigners? What man dare affront the American people with a defense of a proposal so treacherous and traitorous?

Question 3. What Democrat dare stand before his people and assert that the Monroe doctrine ought not to be reserved and saved and preserved by clear and distinct language? That is all that is done by reservation No. 5.

I read it in full:

5. The United States will not submit to arbitration or to inquiry by the assembly or by the council of the League of Nations, provided for in said treaty of peace, any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe doctrine; said doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of said League of Nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said treaty of peace with Germany.

Astonishing as the fact is the President has rejected that reservation and it is denounced as a badge of dishonor.

Question 4. What defense will a Democrat make if we go before the American people declaring against reservation No. 10? What is reservation 10? Article 8 of the treaty provides that the council of the League of Nations shall recommend the size of the armies and navies of the various countries and that once the recommendation has been accepted it can not be changed except by the consent of the council of the League of Nations. That consent can only be granted by the unanimous vote of the council.

Under that provision as written, if we have accepted the recommendation of the league, although an enemy is preparing to invade us, if her fleets are assembling, if her enginery of war is being mobilized, if the sea is black with her pirate craft, were bearing down upon our devoted land, we can not raise another soldier or man another ship without the unanimous consent of eight foreigners sitting on the top of a Swiss mountain in Geneva, the new capital of the world.

What, I repeat, is reservation 10? The reservation is so weak I am ashamed of it, for no country is ever justified in surrendering the right of self-defense. The right to raise armies and to raise navies is as essential to the life of a nation as the right of man to use his arms and his hands to defend life and home. The whole provision of article 8 should have been stricken out.

But what says the reservation? Merely that if the United States shall at any time adopt any plan of limitation of armament proposed by the council of the League of Nations under the provisions of article 8, *it reserves the right to increase such armament "without the consent of the council whenever the United States is threatened with invasion or engaged in war."*

Only in two instances do we reserve the right to increase our armaments; only when the invader is at our gates; only when war is upon us. The President says that to adopt such a reservation dishonors this Nation. We are asked to affirm the President's doctrine at the Democratic convention. Dare we go before the American people declaring that we will surrender the right of the United States to defend itself when war is at its gates and the sword is at the breast of its people unless peradventure it can get the gracious permission of eight aliens sitting over in Europe, each of them the representative of an alien Government, and six of them the representatives of kings and emperors and mikados who hate republics and envy our greatness, prosperity, and happiness?

Mr. President, madness could go no further.

Mr. REED subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in parallel columns certain quotations which I used in my remarks this morning to be printed in the RECORD. They are statements placed in contrast each with the other. I desire to have them so printed as to illustrate the frequency of presidential reversals and the consequent absurdity of the argument that whatever the President says in messages or otherwise binds the country.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

POWER TO GET INTO SCRAPES. His (the President's) only power of compliance on the part of the Senate lies in his initiative in negotiation, which affords him a chance to get the country into such scrapes, so pledged in the view of the world to certain courses of action that the Senate hesitates to bring about the appearance of dishonor which would follow its refusal to ratify the rash promises or to support the indiscreet threats of the Department of State. (Woodrow Wilson's Congressional Government, 1900, pp. 232–234.)	GOING TO GET INTO SCRAPES. When that treaty (the German peace treaty) comes back, gentlemen on this side will find the covenant not only in it, but so many threads of the treaty tied to the covenant that you can not dissect the covenant from the treaty without destroying the whole vital structure. (Woodrow Wilson's speech at New York Mar. 4, 1919.) GOT YOU IN A SCRAPE. After the Senate had twice defeated the treaty with the League of Nations, which the President had negotiated, on May 9, 1920, in a letter to the Democrats of Portland, Oreg., the President stated: "I think it imperative that the party should at once proclaim itself the uncompromising champion of the Nation's honor and the advocate of everything that the United States can do in the service of humanity; that it should, therefore, indorse and support the Versailles treaty and condemn the Lodge reservations as utterly inconsistent with the Nation's honor. * * * Let us prove to our late associates in the war that at any rate the great majority party of the Nation, the party which expresses the true hopes and purposes of the people of the country, intends to keep faith with them in peace as well as in war. "* * * We can not in honor whittle it down or weaken it as the Republican leaders of the Senate have proposed to do."
AGAINST FOREIGN ALLIANCES. John Barry fought, like every other man in the Revolution, in order that America might be free to make her own life without interruption or disturbance from any other quarter. You can sum the whole thing up in that, that America had a right to her own self-determined life. * * * There are just as vital things stirring now that concern the existence of the Nation as were stirring then, and every man who worthily stands in this presence should examine himself and see whether he has the full conception of what it means that America should live her own life. Washington saw it when he wrote his Farewell Address. It was not merely because of passing and transient circumstances that Washington said that we must keep free from entangling alliances. We can not form alliances with those who are not going our way; and in our might and majesty and in the confidence and definiteness of our own purpose, we need not and we should not form alliances with any nation in the world. (Address of President Wilson at the unveiling of the statue of John Barry, May 16, 1914.)	IN FAVOR OF FOREIGN ALLIANCES. Then there is that passion which some gentlemen have conceived that we should never live with anybody else. * * * When men tell you that we are, by going into the League of Nations, reversing the policy of the United States, they have not thought the thing out. The statement is not true. The facts of the world have changed. It is impossible for the United States to be isolated. It is impossible for the United States to play a lone hand, because it has gone partners with all the rest of the world with regard to every great interest that it is connected with. (From speech of Woodrow Wilson delivered at Los Angeles, Calif., Sept. 20, 1919.)
THE LEAGUE NOT A POLITICAL QUESTION. It is of particular importance, my fellow citizens, at this moment, when some men have dared to introduce party passion into this question, that some of the leading spirits, perhaps I may say the leading spirits, in the conception of this great idea, were leading figures of the *great Republican Party.* I do not like to mention parties in this discussion. *I hope there is not a real thoughtful, conscientious person in the United States who will determine his or her opinion about this matter with any thought that there is an election in the year 1920.* And, just because I want you to realize how absolutely nonpartisan this thing	THE LEAGUE IS A POLITICAL QUESTION. I think it imperative that the party (the Democratic Party) should at once proclaim itself the uncompromising champion of the Nation's honor and the advocate of everything that the United States can do in the service of humanity; *that it should, therefore, indorse and support the Versailles treaty and condemn the Lodge reservations.* * * * It is time that the *party* should proudly avow that *it* means to try, without flinching or turning at any time away from the path for reasons of expediency. * * * *The Democratic Party has now a great opportunity to which it must measure up. The honor of*

is, I want you to forget, if you please, that I had anything to do with it. * * * I am saying this merely because I want to read the riot act to anybody who tries to introduce politics. (From speech of Woodrow Wilson at Tacoma, Wash., Sept. 13, 1919.)

—

NEUTRALITY.

It is your duty to stand off and not let this Nation be drawn into the war. (Woodrow Wilson's address at Chicago, January, 1916.)

—

We can show our friendship for the world and our devotion to the principles of humanity better and more effectively by keeping out of this struggle than by getting into it. (Woodrow Wilson's speech at Kansas City, Feb. 2, 1916.)

—

I can assure you that there is nothing nearer my heart than keeping this country out of war. (Woodrow Wilson in a statement to a visiting delegation of Scandinavians at the White House, Mar. 13, 1916.)

—

There are actually men in America who are preaching war, who are preaching the duty of the United States to do what it never would before—seek entanglements in the controversies which have arisen on the other side of the water, abandon its habitual and traditional policy, and deliberately engage in the conflict which is now engulfing the rest of the world. I do not know what the standard of citizenship of these gentlemen may be. I only know that I, for one, can not subscribe to those standards. (From Woodrow Wilson's speech at Des Moines, Iowa, Feb. 1, 1916.)

—

It is plain enough how we were forced into the war. The extraordinary insults and aggressions of the Imperial German Government left us no self-respecting choice but to take up arms in defense of our rights as a free people and of our honor as a sovereign Government. (Woodrow Wilson's Flag Day address at Washington, June 14, 1917.)

—

There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it needs not to convince others by force. (May 10, 1915.)

—

I have tried to live up to the counsel I have given to my fellow citizens not only to be neutral in action but also to be neutral in the genuine attitude of thought and action. (Feb. 3, 1916.)

—

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.

11. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants. (From Wilson's fourteen points, address to Congress Jan. 8, 1918.)

—

The Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government are contending for the same great object, have long stood together in urging the very principles upon which the Government of the United States now so solemnly insists. They both are contending for the freedom of the seas. (July 23, 1915.)

the Nation is in its hands. (From letter to Democrats of Portland, Oreg., May 9, 1920.)

—

NONNEUTRALITY.

Senator McCUMBER. Do you think that if Germany had committed *no act of war or no act of injustice against our citizens we would have gotten into this war?*

The PRESIDENT. *I do think so.*

Senator McCUMBER. *Do you think we would have gotten into the war anyway?*

The PRESIDENT. *I do.* (From meeting of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate with the President, Aug. 19, 1919.)

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I believe that Belgium and her part in the war are in one sense the key of the whole structure, because the violation of Belgium was the call to duty which aroused the nations. (The violation of Belgium occurred in August, 1914.) (Address to the Belgian Chamber of Deputies at Brussels, June 19, 1919.)

—

We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government, and the undictated development of all peoples, and every feature of the settlement that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose. (Cablegram to Russia May 26, 1917.)

—

Now we are going to lay all our wealth, if necessary, and spill all our blood, if need be, to show that we were not accumulating it selfishly but accumulating it for the service of mankind. (June 15, 1917.)

—

Neutrality is a negative word. It is a word which does not express what America ought to feel. (Oct. 11, 1917.)

—

Under the League of Nations there can be no neutrals. * * * The nations are engaged to maintain the right, and in that sense no nation can be neutral. (Sept. 19, 1919, San Diego, Calif.)

—

NO FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.

One of the principles that I went to Paris most insisting on was the freedom of the seas. Now, the freedom of the seas means the definition of the right of neutrals to use the seas when other nations are at war, but under the League of Nations there are no neutrals, and, therefore, what I have called the practical joke on myself was that by the very thing that I was advocating it became unnecessary to define the freedom of the seas. (San Diego, Calif., Sept. 19, 1919.)

PEACE BASED ON VICTORY CAN NOT LAST.

It must be a peace without victory. Victory would mean peace forced on the loser; a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which the terms of peace would rest, not permanently but only as upon the quicksand. (Jan. 22, 1917.)

—

THE WAR CAN NOT BE WON UNLESS WOMAN SUFFRAGE IS GRANTED.

Have I said that the passage of this amendment is a vitally necessary war measure? And do you need further proof?

I tell you plainly this measure which I urge upon you is vital to the winning of the war and to the energies alike of preparation and of battle. (President Wilson's address delivered to the United States Senate Sept. 30, 1918, calling attention of the Senate to ratify the woman suffrage amendment.)

—

IN FAVOR OF FREE TOLLS FOR AMERICAN SHIPS.

We favor the exemption from toll of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the canal. (From the Democratic platform of 1912, on which Woodrow Wilson was nominated.)

The President in many speeches declared that platforms were solemn pledges to be sacredly observed.

—

PEOPLES NOT TO BE HANDED ABOUT LIKE PROPERTY.

No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that Govern-

PERMANENT PEACE MUST BE BASED UPON COMPLETE VICTORY.

Let there be no misunderstanding. Our present and immediate task is to win the war, and nothing shall turn us aside from it until it is accomplished. Every power and resource we possess, whether of men, of money, or of materials, is being devoted and will continue to be devoted to that purpose until it is achieved. Those who desire to bring peace about before that purpose is achieved I counsel to carry their advice elsewhere. We will not entertain it. We shall regard the war as won only when the German people say to us, through properly accredited representatives, that they are ready to agree to a settlement based upon justice and the reparation of the wrongs their rulers have done. They have done a wrong to Belgium which must be repaired. They have established a power over other lands and peoples than their own—over the great Empire of Austria-Hungary, over hitherto free Balkan States, over Turkey, and within Asia—which must be relinquished. (Message of Dec. 4, 1917, asking declaration of war against Austria, pp. 3 and 4.)

The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible government, which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out, without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established principles of international action and honor. (Aug. 28, 1917.)

—

GERMANY ALREADY DEFEATED WHEN WOMAN SUFFRAGE MESSAGE WAS DELIVERED.

Prior to the delivery of the President's message of September 30, 1918, the following successful allied engagements had taken place:

The allied offensive began July 18.

August 6, Battle of the Marne. The Germans were in full retreat on the Argonne.

September 15, Austria asked for an armistice.

—

AGAINST FREE TOLLS.

I have come to you upon an errand which can be very briefly performed, but I beg that you will not measure its importance by the number of sentences in which I state it. No communication I have addressed to the Congress carried with it graver or more far-reaching implications as to the interest of the country, and I come now to speak upon a matter with regard to which I am charged in a peculiar degree by the Constitution itself with personal responsibility. I have come to ask you for the repeal of that provision of the Panama Canal act of August 24, 1912, which exempts vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States from payment of tolls, and to urge upon you the justice, the wisdom, and the large policy of such a repeal with the utmost earnestness of which I am capable. * * * I ask this of you in support of the foreign policy of the administration. I shall not know how to deal with other matters of even greater delicacy and nearer consequence if you do not grant it to me in ungrudging measure. (From President Wilson's address to Congress Mar. 5, 1914.)

—

PEOPLES WERE HANDED ABOUT LIKE PROPERTY.

Shantung, Egypt, India, Ireland, Persia, Syria, and nearly all of Africa, with their millions of pro-

ments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property. * * * Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset. It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly and constantly against it, and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is no tranquillity of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right. (Message of Jan. 22, 1917.)

—

In a message asking for a declaration of war against Austria-Hungary, he said:

"We owe it, however, to ourselves to say that we do not wish in any way to impair or to rearrange the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is no affair of ours what they do with their own life, either industrially or politically. We do not purpose or desire to dictate to them in any way. We only desire to see that their affairs are left in their own hands, in all matters, great or small." (Message of Dec. 4, 1917, p. 4.)

testing people, were handed about as property.

—

The Austro-Hungarian Empire dismembered and then each kingdom subdivided.

Austria reduced to an area so small that her prewar population of approximately 50,000,000 is now less than 8,000,000.

Temporary Admission of Illiterate Mexican Laborers.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the following:

[Statement of Hon. A. J. SABATH before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, on H. J. Res. 271, relating to the temporary admission of illiterate Mexican laborers.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, due to an important hearing before the Committee on Foreign Affairs and my illness I was unable to be present during the entire hearings on this bill, which, I assure you, I regret exceedingly. However, I had the pleasure to listen to the remarks and statements of our colleague, Mr. HUDSPETH, of Texas, in behalf of the resolution; also those of our colleague, Mr. HAYDEN, of Arizona, and those of Mr. Mandeville, representing the sugar-beet people, urging favorable consideration of the resolution. I also followed with great interest the earnest statement of our colleague, Mr. Box, of Texas, a member of the committee, and the evidence of Mr. James H. Patten, the representative of the Patriotic Order of the Sons of America, in opposition to the resolution.

Inasmuch as we are about to take a vote, I feel that it is my duty and that I owe it not only to myself but to the committee to express my views upon the principle involved in the proposed legislation. This is the seventh term that I have had the honor of being a member of this committee and during these many years I have heard many discussions and arguments and a great deal of evidence on the immigration and labor questions and I came to the conclusion, after careful study of the subject, that foreign labor is needed to keep up the production and development of our country; that 98 per cent of the immigration has been loyal, beneficial, and needful.

I have frequently stated that it is my honest belief that immigration has been advantageous and beneficial to the country and to American labor because it has advanced the American laboring man to the better and higher position which he to-day occupies.

Mr. White, of Kansas, has splendidly stated "that America was primarily an agricultural country and the great mass of American people have devoted themselves to agricultural pursuits," and even though I admit that to-day America is a great agricultural country and as shown during the past four years was capable of feeding not only our own country, but nearly the entire unfortunate population of Europe, I also wish to point out that America is also the leading manufacturing Nation in the world. Within the last 20 years we have made wonderful progress and our exports of products for the year 1919 exceed our imports from four to five billion dollars, or, to be more explicit, over $4,500,000,000. I admit that our exports during the last four years have been extraordinarily large, but even before the war, as the figures will show, our exports outstripped the imports by millions and millions during the last 10 years.

To be able to continue in this great production, not only in farm products but also in the production of our mills, shops, and factories of raw materials and finished products, labor is required. I feel satisfied that you all will be obliged to admit that fact.

Gentlemen, before the signatures on the armistice agreement had a chance to dry, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy had started to regain the trade of the world that America had secured during the war, and it is up to this country to be on its guard lest we lose the advantage gained. Being the richest and the greatest country in the world, with unlimited resources and wealth, we grow and produce more than we can consume and, consequently, we must keep an open market for the surplus. But to be able to do so in the future we will be obliged to compete with the prices of other nations and unless common labor is forthcoming that will be absolutely impossible.

To-day the ships flying the American flag can be seen in every harbor and on every sea. We must not permit the disappearance of America's wonderful merchant marine, but unless we have the labor to till our soil and keep our mills, shops, and factories going, I fear that this is what will happen.

I must admit, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, that I am not familiar with the need of Mexican labor so urgently appealed for by the gentleman representing the cotton and sugar-beet industry in Texas, Arizona, Colorado, and other States.

I wish to assure you I have no interest in these industries or in any especial industry and, in fact, I would be the last man that would desire to aid the sugar, cotton, packing, or any other industry that has been taking advantage of conditions to boost prices and in a large measure responsible for the high cost of living, to secure cheap labor. During my entire service I have at all times aided and assisted the cause of organized labor and labor in general, and my utterances and votes on the floor of the House of Representatives will bear me out in this assertion. I deplore exceedingly, and am ready to go as far as any member of this committee to prevent large employers or any industry to utilize the immigrant for the purpose of beating down the wage of the American workman.

But, Mr. Chairman, I can not help believing the contention of various gentlemen that this labor for which they plead is needed. But not only is the Mexican labor needed for the farms, in the cotton fields of Texas, and in the sugar-beet sections of California, Texas, Colorado, and other States, but I know there is a great shortage of male as well as female labor all over the United States. Many a plant in the city of Chicago and in other parts of the country is handicapped for lack of labor, and they all are clamoring and pleading for relief.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I believe it is our duty to help to increase instead of retarding growth and production, as only in that way can we hope to bring down the high cost of living which confronts the American consumer. However, will it be fair to relieve one section of our country and one or two industries and refuse to relieve the other sections and other industries?

For that reason I feel it to be my duty to move an amendment to the bill, so that not only will Mexican labor be permitted to come, but that more beneficial white labor from Europe be permitted to come to aid and assist in cultivating our fields and in keeping our shops, mills, and factories going. Surely the objections that have been raised with regard to the Mexicans by the gentleman from Texas, Mr. Box, can not be successfully raised against the honest and industrious people that we have been receiving the last decade from Europe. I feel that we can safely and to advantage suspend for the time being the literacy test, and thereby permit the entry of the honest agricultural and other labor, even though they be illiterate, as that, I am sure, does not make them less efficient tillers of the soil and workers in the mines, mills, shops, factories, and on the railroads of our country.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion permit me to say that if my advice had been heretofore taken it would not have been necessary for these many gentlemen to appear and plead for the suspension of the literacy test, as I have always maintained that the literacy test does not exclude the educated disturber and trouble maker, the editors of seditious sheets, the teachers and advocates of anarchy, the preachers of discord and opposition to our form of government, but does keep out the illiterate, but honest,

laboring people, about 80 per cent of whom come from the rural and farming districts of European countries.

For years the restrictionists advocating the literacy test and other restrictive immigration measures have pointed out the grave dangers to our country from the alien in the event that our country should be forced into war; trying to prejudice the minds of the American people with the contention that our country would not be able to rely upon them and that they would be a source of danger to the Nation. Being acquainted with the peoples of these nations from whom we were receiving the major portion of our immigration in the last 10 and 20 years, I was satisfied that the statements of these restrictive advocates were not well founded, and consequently I have frequently, before this committee and on the floor of the House, assured the country that we had nothing to fear of the immigration we were receiving; that they were of races who loved freedom and liberty and would appreciate our democratic form of government and if opportunity would ever present itself that they would demonstrate that they are appreciative of the hospitality, advantages, and opportunities extended them by this great Nation of ours.

Therefore, I was overjoyed as our country was forced to war that these very people enlisted in such large numbers, offering their services, their lives, and their all for our country, demonstrating their appreciation and showing their love and loyalty to our flag, bearing out my repeated assurances as to their worth to the Nation.

I am satisfied, and the records and statistics will bear me out, that in proportion to the population a larger number enlisted the first 30 days and during the war than the native-born Americans, and that without seeking commissions or places of safety. The only dissatisfaction they expressed was that they could not be sent to the firing line immediately. Yes, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, of course there were exceptions, but they were very few. Not only have these foreign born been useful in the Army and Navy, but they were found working without murmur in producing much needed material, steel products, war munitions, and, in fact, in every industry to enable our country to supply its great Army and Navy so that the war could be won in the shortest possible time, and I, as yet, have to find a single case of an illiterate immigrant being charged with causing any disturbance or preventing enlistments in our Army or Navy, or advocating sabotage or joining the I. W. W.'s or of being guilty of sedition.

I make this statement because I feel that I was justified in making frequent assertions in behalf of the immigrant and on the question of immigration.

At some other time it will give me pleasure to insert in the hearings statistics of our production, of our exports, of the growth of our industries, as well as the record made by the foreign-born citizens during the last, and, I hope, the very last war.

The Growth of the Navy Under the Democratic Administration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. OLIVER,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, when the Democratic administration came into power in March, 1913, it was not pleasing to learn that the Navy of the United States ranked a poor third among the navies of the world, and yet confessedly this was true.

It must now kindle the pride of every true American to know that the Democratic administration has so wisely and liberally provided for the upbuilding and enlargement of the Navy that in the year 1923, when the building programs heretofore authorized and undertaken are completed, we will have the foremost Navy in strength and efficiency in the world. Such was the statement made to Congress on March 22 by none other than Mr. BUTLER, the present distinguished Republican chairman of the House Naval Committee. More recently, on June 1, Mr. BRITTEN, another leading Republican member of the Naval Committee, in the course of a speech, confirmed Mr. BUTLER's statement in the following words:

Mr. Speaker, with the assistance of the Office of Naval Intelligence, I have made a very careful comparison between the first-line battleships and battle cruisers of Great Britain and the same character of ships of the American Navy, and I think I can prove without fear of successful contradiction that in first-line 20,000-ton ships of at least 20-knot speed, the United States now has in built and building the most powerful Navy in all the world.

During the years 1916, 1917, and 1918 the United States has made tremendous strides in battleship authorizations, with the result that 1923 will see the American Navy the predominant Navy of the world and capable of defeating the navies of any three nations combined, excepting, of course, Great Britain.

All admit that this permanent position is alone due to the farvisioned and wise legislation of the Democratic administration. In this connection it must be emphasized that since March, 1919, when the Republicans gained control of the Senate and House, not a single additional ship to the Navy has been authorized, and the Navy of 1923, as now authorized, will be solely the product of legislation passed by the Democratic administration.

It was in the year 1916, referred to by Mr. BRITTEN, when that greatest of all constructive legislation was passed by a Democratic Congress authorizing a three-year building program, comprising a total of 156 ships, at a cost of more than half a billion dollars. During the war the construction of this program was necessarily delayed, but its final completion is now promised in 1923.

While I fully agree that our naval supremacy will be unquestionably established in 1923, with respect to all types of ships considered or thought necessary by the navies of the world prior to 1917, yet I wish to remind my Republican colleagues that a solemn responsibility rests on this present Congress, which they control, to provide for an aerial fleet. The General Board and the Secretary of the Navy strongly urged on the Naval Committee before Congress adjourned the importance of immediately providing modern aero carrying ships, to which, I regret to say, a deaf ear has thus far been turned. Our splendid fleet, now built and building, to be completed in 1923, will not give us necessarily the naval supremacy claimed unless lessons of the Great War are now heeded and adequate appropriations made for the aviation requirements of the fleet. It is earnestly hoped that when this Congress reassembles in December next these important needs, so anxiously pressed by the General Board and the Secretary, will not longer be neglected. The Democrats have builded and planned wisely and well, but it was not humanly possible to anticipate all the lessons that the Great War has taught as to naval needs, and something yet remains for our Republican friends to do in the present Congress.

When Mr. Daniels on March 5, 1913, became Secretary of the Navy he found it lacking in matériel, short in its authorized personnel, practically no building ways available at navy yards, inadequate docking and repair facilities, and many urgently unsupplied needs of the Bureau of Ordnance.

Fortunately he found a sympathetic House Naval Committee, one willing to forget politics and to actively cooperate with him and the General Board in correcting the Navy's shortcomings. He has enjoyed the confidence and support of the House Naval Committee, irrespective of party, in a very large way. Let me here give a brief chronological outline of some of the important recommendations and the progress of the first three years of Secretary Daniels's administration, showing how, in advance of the general public opinion, he was ever urging large preparations for naval efficiency, how quickly Congress responded, how alert the Navy Department was in preparing plans and letting contracts for the ships authorized in the great building programs, and how great advanced steps were taken to prepare the Navy for every possible eventuality that might occur.

The Secretary was quick to find that the previous session of Congress had authorized only one new dreadnought and that the authorized strength of the Navy was short over 4,000, and though the previous administration had stated that there were enough midshipmen appointed to the Naval Academy to provide enough officers the Secretary saw that this estimate was incorrect, and his first acts toward strengthening the Navy were (1) to ask Congress to authorize every Congressman to appoint two midshipmen to the Naval Academy, and (2) by travel in foreign lands and an educational policy leading to promotion of enlisted men to secure the full number of enlisted men authorized by Congress. He secured the legislation asked of Congress in the summer of 1913, and enlistments increased so steadily—the number exceeding 5,000—that by the next year 36 more vessels were placed in commission than in March, 1913, and 77 were under construction. The estimates he made in the fall of 1913 were for two dreadnoughts and other new construction. He urged and had passed an act strengthening the Naval Militia and authorizing a Naval Reserve, this being the first time the Navy was ever provided with a reserve of any character. That law as amended in 1916 made possible the

enrollment of a quarter of a million men in the reserves when they were needed for war.

In 1914 the Secretary secured an appropriation for three dreadnoughts—three times as many as in the year before he became Secretary of the Navy—and began the policy of providing larger reserves of ordnance than had been appropriated for in any previous year, obtained legislation creating the positions of admiral and vice admiral, secured the right to appoint enlisted men as midshipmen to the Naval Academy, increased the number of officers for engineering duties, and began the first real development in aviation, and obtained legislation creating the Office of Naval Operations.

On May 7, 1915, the *Lusitania* was sunk; on May 11 the Office of Naval Operations was fully organized; on May 15 the President attended a great review of the Atlantic Fleet at New York, when the Secretary made an address urging the building of a greater navy; on May 28 he addressed an official communication to all chiefs of bureaus directing them to report on their preparedness for war; on May 28 all submarine forces were placed under Admiral Grant, who was instructed to keep them in perfect condition for any emergency; on June 11 he had a conference with naval leaders regarding the expansion of the Navy and plans for a larger naval program; on June 28 he created the Naval Advisory Council to discuss and carry out measures of preparedness; on June 28 he increased the inspection board, and survey was begun of all merchant vessels with a view to their utilization as naval auxiliaries in case of war; on June 30 steps were taken to improve the communication system, which proved invaluable in war; in July the General Board was directed by the Secretary to submit a program "formulated in the most definite terms" for a stronger navy; July 30 the General Board reported that the United States Navy should ultimately be equal to the most powerful navy in the world; in July the United States Naval Consulting Board was appointed, with Mr. Thomas A. Edison at the head; on October 7 the General Board was instructed to prepare "a building program that will continue over a period of five years, with an expenditure of about $100,000,000 a year for five years on new construction only; on October 12 the General Board made recommendations calling for $499,876,000; on October 15 the Secretary submitted estimates for the beginning of the five-year program; on December 1 the Secretary, in his annual report, urged the adoption of the $500,000,000 program for new construction; on December 7, 1915, in his message to Congress, the President urged the big building program, and again the President, in a speech at St. Louis in February, 1916, urged that we should have the most adequate navy in the world.

This speech of the President's did much to mold public opinion for a big Navy, and Secretary Daniels, on May 31, before the House Committee strongly again urged the building of the $500,000,000 program of new construction; on May 25 the big bill was reported to the House; on May 31 occurred the Battle of Jutland; on June 2 the biggest naval bill in American history passed the House; on July 21 the bill increasing the number of ships to 156 and number of men to 97,000 passed the Senate; on August 18 the conferees submitted their final report and it was adopted; on August 29 the President ratified the act; on October 2 bids were invited to build battle cruisers and dreadnoughts; on October 25 contracts were let to build all the destroyers authorized; on November 1 contracts were made for other fighting ships, including scout cruisers; on December 1 the Secretary urged that still more fighting ships be authorized for immediate construction; on December 2 he announced completion of plans for armor-plate factory, the naval gun factory, and big extensions of navy yards.

This brings us up to the year 1917. Every energy of the department had been and was in operation for full preparedness. Stress was laid by the Secretary upon filling up the enlistment of regulars; on February 1 Germany began unrestricted submarine warfare, and on the same day the General Board apportioned merchant ships for war to Army and Navy; on February 3 the United States broke off relations with Germany and the President delivered special message to Congress; on February 4 the General Board made recommendations of steps to be taken in case of war with Central Empire; on February 10 the General Board made recommendations regarding mine forces; on February 14 as to supply of floating mines; on February 21 on additional supply of defense mines; on February 27 the President made special address to Congress on arming of American merchantmen for protection against submarine attack, and the Navy Department prepared to arm vessels, assembling gun crews; March 4 the naval bill passed Congress authorizing the construction of additional destroyers; on March 6 the General Board recommended assembling fleet in Chesapeake Bay, and it arrived on March 27; March 12 the President announced that American merchant ships would be armed and Navy began work of arming them, which gave much protection; on March 13 regulations were made concerning armed guards on merchant vessels; on March 14 the first American vessels armed sailed from New York; on March 20 the Secretary wrote to General Board to outline measures to protect merchant shipping, and on same day it recommended escorting vessels to and from ports, patrol of the Atlantic coast, and joint action with British and French Governments; on March 24 the President issued proclamation to increase enlisted strength to 97,000 men; on March 25 the Secretary sent telegrams to all newspapers asking them to aid in recruiting campaign; on March 28 Admiral Sims ordered to Europe; on April 4 Admiral Mayo directed to organize patrol force; on April 5 the General Board reported on assistance United States could give Allies upon declaration of war; on April 6 war declared and fleet mobilized; April 10 conference at Hampton Roads between British and French and American admirals on how America could render the best and most immediate help; April 11 at conference between Secretary and naval officers and British and French admirals working agreements for full cooperation agreed upon and Admiral Mayo directed to order division of destroyers to fit out for distant service; on April 14 six American destroyers were ordered to Europe; on April 28 Admiral Sims cabled that the British Admiralty and war council had decided that "twenty-odd" American destroyers would suppress and keep suppressed the submarines operating in the Queenstown area; May 1 practically all the destroyers with the fleet had been ordered to fit out for distant service, and the last of June found more than 35 destroyers in European waters.

We were then deep in the war, and the American Navy strained every nerve and ordered the maximum contributions possible to winning the war.

It is well to let the high naval officers who were in command of the fleet speak of its efficiency and preparedness when we were suddenly forced to declare war in April, 1917. I briefly quote some of them. Admiral Mayo, who was in command of the Atlantic Fleet, says:

> When the active fleet arrived in Hampton Roads about the 1st of April after its training period in Cuban waters, it was in the best state of preparedness that it had ever been, and there was a feeling of confidence in the personnel of being able to cope with any emergency; the personnel was, however, on a peace basis, and the transfer of trained personnel for armed guard and other duty was already being felt in a decrease in efficiency. The destroyers that were first dispatched to the war zone, though they were assigned to operations for which they had not been specially trained, showed the effect of their general training by the efficiency with which they at once entered into their new duties.

Admiral Rodman, in command of our ships serving with the British fleet, says:

> I wish to state from having been in the Atlantic Fleet from the time the United States declared war that never in my forty-odd years of service, most of which I have spent at sea, and in the latter part in the North Atlantic Fleet, never have I seen such preparedness and efficiency as obtained in our battleship fleet as at the beginning of and during the war. No ship has ever, in my experience, been absolutely efficient; nor will there ever be one whose commanding officer will conscientiously state that it is 100 per cent so. For this reason every officer who has pride and interest in his command will always strive for greater efficiency. No ship will ever be in absolutely perfect condition for no other reason than that from its complicated design, from the multiplicity and complexity of its machinery and constructive features, it will always require certain repairs, alterations, and improvements to keep pace with new and important inventions and improvements, and for its maintenance and upkeep.

Admiral Plunket, who was director of gunnery exercises and target practice, and later commanded the naval railway batteries in France, said in regard to the efficiency of our gunnery:

> At the end of March, 1917, when we were on the verge of entry into the war, the gunnery was at the highest state of efficiency that it has been in the history of the American Navy.

I have already quoted from two distinguished Republican leaders of the House as to the marvelous growth of the Navy as a result of wise Democratic legislation, statements from high naval officers as to the fleet's efficiency and preparedness early in 1917 have been set out, and I now desire to quote another distinguished Republican leader on the splendid record made by the Navy in the Great War. Certainly no one is better authorized to speak on this subject than the Hon. FREDERICK C. HICKS, another distinguished member of the Naval Committee and a Republican Representative from the State of New York.

The following excerpts are taken from an eloquent address which he made to Congress on February 4, 1919, soon after the fleet's return from European waters:

> Out of the mist and the snow of the morning of December 26 a great battle fleet entered the harbor of New York and in the majesty of its power steamed past the Statue of Liberty. It came as a messenger of a conflict won, a silent victory, but a triumph as complete and overwhelming as any ever won by the American Navy. We are too near

the tragic events of the great struggle to write with accuracy and fullness the log of our Navy's brilliant achievements. The complete record of the valor, the heroism, and sublime courage of the officers and men who manned those ships, and the unselfish spirit and devotion to duty of those whose fighting strength at home carried forward the organization which made victory possible, will come only through the perspective of the future. To-day we can but briefly appraise their gallant deeds, but we can and we do, in the name of the Republic, extend to them all our heartfelt thanks. For all time they have earned the gratitude of their country in maintaining the high principles for which our Republic entered the conflict and for which they fought and died. The honor and the glory of the flag were safe in their hands. [Applause.]

In order that Congress may judge of the work of the Navy, let me give, briefly, some interesting figures. Of the 2,079,800 men transported to France since April 7, 1917, 911,047 were taken over in United States transports and 40,499 in other American ships, or 46¼ per cent of the total carried. Forty-eight and one-fourth per cent were conveyed in British ships and 5½ per cent in ships of other nations. Of the total strength of the naval escort guarding all those convoys, 3⅛ per cent was furnished by France, 14⅛ by Great Britain, and 82⅜ by the American Navy. A special testimonial to the efficiency of the convoy operations lies in the fact that not one of the eastbound American transports was torpedoed or damaged by the enemy, and only three sunk on the return voyage.

As Secretary Daniels has truly said:

"The history of the convoy operations in which our naval forces have taken part, due to which we have been able so successfully to transport such a large number of our military forces abroad and so many supplies for the Army, is a chapter in itself. It is probably our major operation in this war, and will in the future stand as a monument to both the Army and the Navy as the greatest and most difficult troop transporting effort which has ever been conducted across seas."

As an indication of the extent of the work done by our naval vessels in the war zone, let me submit the averages of miles steamed per month:

Destroyers	275,000
Mine sweepers	10,000
Mine layers	10,000
Battleships and submarines	90,000
Submarine chasers	121,000
Miscellaneous patrol craft	120,000

Or a total of 626,000 miles per month, and these figures do not include troopships, transports, cargo carriers, or merchant ships plying through the war zone.

During July and August, 1918, 3,444,012 tons of shipping were escorted to and from France by American escort vessels; of the above amount, 1,577,735 tons were escorted in and 1,864,677 tons were escorted out of French ports. Of the tonnage escorted into French ports during this time, only 16,988 tons, or 0.009 per cent, were lost through enemy action; and of the tonnage escorted out from French ports only 27,858 tons, or 0.013 per cent, were lost through the same cause. During the same period 259,604 American troops were escorted to France by United States escort vessels without the loss of a single man through enemy action.

On the day hostilities ceased we had in the service in the various branches over 600,000 men and 9,600 yeowomen and 1,386 women nurses.

At the close of the war approximately 5,000 officers and 70,000 enlisted men were serving in our naval forces in Europe, a number exceeding our total naval strength before the war.

On the day war was declared 197 ships were in commission; at its close there were 2,003, of which 338 were in foreign waters. When Germany surrendered her fleet we had abroad 9 battleships—the *New York, Texas, Wyoming, Florida, Arkansas, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, Oklahoma*—and 74 destroyers.

In aviation also the Navy won distinction, and well-merited praise can justly be bestowed upon the officers and men for their accomplishments in this dangerous service. During the war we established abroad 2 repair and assembly bases, 4 kite-balloon stations, 18 seaplane stations, 5 bombing-plane stations, and 3 dirigible stations, all manned with Navy personnel, which included 624 officers, 97 observers, and over 15,000 enlisted men.

Let me speak of other achievements of the Navy, accomplishments of incalculable assistance to our fighting forces and potent factors in the final triumph. To avert the submarine menace and prevent the destruction of tankers carrying oil to the allied fleets in the North Sea a great pipe line was constructed across Scotland, thus reducing both the danger and distance of supplying the ships with fuel. This project, so startling to our British cousins, was carried forward to completion with the same energy and quiet determination that characterized every undertaking to which the Navy set its hand.

Over 56,000 American mines had been laid in strategical areas in European waters, the personnel engaged in these activities alone calling for 6,700 men, a dangerous occupation and one fraught with trying hardships and ceaseless toil. But the work of supreme magnitude and importance was the laying of a great mine barage, 25 miles wide and 230 miles in length, from Scotland to Norway, across the deep waters of the North Sea. This daring project had its inception in the Bureau of Ordnance in April, 1917, and called for the planting of upward of 70,000 mines from the surface to distances of 250 to 300 feet below the surface. Owing to the great depths between coasts, in places exceeding 800 feet, a special type of mine had to be devised.

To the achievements of the Navy in erecting great training camps, destroyer and aviation bases, hospital units, in training thousands of men for overseas duty, the arming of merchant ships, the building of a vast fleet of smaller vessels, the construction of great warehouses, the manufacture of heavy guns and their mounts, the production of powder, and the purchasing of enormous quantities of supplies, must be added the most spectacular achievement of all—the repair of the interned German ships.

Let me speak, too, of the great railway battery of 14-inch guns, manned exclusively by bluejackets. These huge guns, built originally for our new battle cruisers, were mounted on great railway trucks. Each gun had a complement of 12 specially constructed cars for the operation of the battery and the maintenance of its crew. There were armored ammunition cars and machine-shop cars, barrack, kitchen, crane, and radio cars, making the battery independent of any permanent artillery base. With a range of 30 miles, these guns were the most powerful of any on the line and did splendid execution in the closing days of the conflict.

No one appreciated more highly the efficient work done by our Navy than did Sir Eric Geddes, of the British Admiralty, who last October paid this tribute to our sea forces:

"I venture the opinion that when the history of this war is written there will be no more glorious page in that history than the one which tells of the work done, the dangers faced, and the privations endured by your Navy in common with the navies of your cobelligerents, and there will be no greater manifestation of the overwhelming importance of sea power in a fight such as this has been. In that manifestation the great American Navy has played a highly honorable and increasingly important part."

As Secretary Daniels has so eloquently said:

"Nations and people, too, that knew of the Navy of the United States only by hearsay or random incident know it now as the organized will of a free people, prompt to heed the call of right against might, tireless in effort, fertile in resource, happy in cooperation, and unyielding till the ultimate goal be won."

[Applause.]

This splendid tribute to our Navy's efficiency is not overdrawn, and the Navy holds to-day a deservedly higher place in the confidence of the American people than in any other period of its history.

In conclusion, let me summarize how the Navy has grown in material and personnel since March 5, 1913. More than 1,004 vessels have been authorized since that date and many of them have been completed. The following list gives the types of ships authorized and ordered:

Battleships	16
Battle cruisers	6
Scout cruisers	10
Destroyers	285
Submarines	120
Gunboats	2
Eagles	60
Sub chasers	341
Mine sweepers	49
Tugs	95
Auxiliaries	20

The present capacity of the navy yards for constructing vessels greatly exceeds the capacity to do such work in March, 1913. At that time there was available but one building slip for capital ships, and this one was at New York, and there was in addition one building slip capable of taking large auxiliaries, such as fuel ships, and so forth. At the present time there are available in the various navy yards and stations facilities for constructing simultaneously 7 capital ships, 18 destroyers, 2 auxiliaries, 7 submarines, and 3 mine sweepers or vessels of similar size. A larger number of the smaller types of vessels could be constructed on existing ways if the number of capital ships was somewhat reduced, since the ways have been designed with a view to caring for the construction of smaller vessels if desired. A number of the ways for destroyers and smaller craft are of a temporary character and may be removed in the future.

We had only 20 dry docks in March, 1913, and none of these of greater length than 732 feet. Nine modern docks have been added since, six of which have sufficient length to take ships of 950 feet in length.

The Bureau of Ordnance has now nearing completion a great composite armor, projectile, and gun plant at South Charleston, W. Va., with many facilities which can be used in common for all materials to be produced. The ultimate per annum capacity of this plant will be 20,000 tons of armor—10,000 tons of major caliber gun forgings, up to and including a 20-foot caliber, and 10,000 tons of major caliber armor piercing projectiles.

The naval proving ground has been greatly enlarged and modernized and the powder factory has a daily capacity of 50,000 pounds, capable of being quickly expanded to 80,000 pounds.

The torpedo stations have been increased in number and greatly enlarged and modernized and are now adequate to supply the needs of the fleet in time of peace.

A mine depot and filling plant, consisting of 11,000 acres, well adapted for the storage, loading, and shipment of depth charges, aerial bombs, and other weapons carrying large charges of high explosives, has been purchased and is rapidly approaching final completion. It will be modern in every respect and thoroughly equipped for this important service of the Navy.

A modern naval gun factory capable of manufacturing 16-inch and larger guns has also been added since 1913. The capacity of this factory is more than double that of the only two commercial companies in this country capable of making 16-inch guns, namely, the Bethlehem Steel Company and the Midvale Steel Company.

A new optical building equipped with all modern machinery for the manufacture of all optical instruments is now owned by the Navy.

With this great enlargement of the Navy it became necessary to increase the enlisted and officer personnel. In 1913 the authorized enlisted personnel was 51,500, which has now been increased to 143,500. The permanent commissioned officer personnel was 2,411, now increased to 8,044. In the Marine Corps the authorized enlisted strength was 9,893 in 1913, now increased to 27,500.

It requires much money to build and maintain a navy, but our own frontage on the Pacific and Atlantic, the value of our overseas possessions, the necessity of protecting the Panama Canal and our merchant marine, and the disturbed conditions of the world make it important and necessary that we maintain a strong and efficient Navy.

Our people earnestly desire an agreement with the nations of the world to limit armaments, to guarantee the territorial integrity of nations from external attack, and sooner or later this hope, now expressed in the League of Nations, will be realized.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HATTON W. SUMNERS,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 4, 1920.

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on the 23d day of February the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TINKHAM] introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives to investigate the action of the Attorney General with regard to alleged price fixing of Louisiana sugar. On the 4th day of March the House adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary or any subcommittee thereof is hereby authorized and empowered to investigate in relation—

First. To the admitted concurrence of the Attorney General in a maximum, agreed, or fixed price of seventeen cents for Louisiana clarified sugar at the plantation and of eighteen cents for Louisiana clear granulated sugar at the plantation, made in a telegram dated November 8th last to the United States Attorney at New Orleans, La., or otherwise.

Second. Whether, directly or indirectly, immunity from prosecutions under the statutes against profiteering in any way was given to Louisiana sugar growers or others in the sugar traffic in Louisiana.

Third. The facts and the authority of law, if any, upon which the Attorney General or his representatives or agents fixed, agreed, or concurred in the price of seventeen cents for Louisiana clarified sugar at the plantation and of eighteen cents for Louisiana clear granulated sugar at the plantation, and how such facts were obtained.

Said committee shall report its conclusions to the House at the earliest possible date, together with such recommendations as it may deem proper and desirable to submit. And said committee shall have power to send for persons and papers, and administer oaths, and shall have the right to report at any time.

Pursuant to that resolution a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the House began its investigation, and on the 2d day of June, 1920, three days before the expiration of this session of Congress, the majority members of that subcommittee filed their report. On the day following the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. WHALEY] and myself filed a minority report.

The authority conferred upon and the direction given to this subcommittee by the House limited the scope of its inquiry to the official action of the Attorney General, as the chief law-enforcing officer of the United States, with reference to a specific transaction with regard to alleged price fixing of Louisiana sugar. It was in the nature of an indictment preferred against the Attorney General, implying, if not charging, a breach of official duty. But the investigation was scarcely under way until the subcommittee began to bring into the inquiry the whole sugar controversy, seeking to fasten upon the Attorney General and upon the President and upon the Democratic Party entire responsibility for the present prices being paid for sugar in this country. It early developed in the proceedings that it was to be a part of the general campaign of agitation with regard to sugar and concerning which the possibility of political profit has not been one of the minor inspirations. At the beginning of the introductory statement which was made by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TINKHAM], who appeared in the nature of a prosecuting witness, there was added to the scope of inquiry fixed by the resolution adopted by the House the charge that this violation of official duty and discretion alleged against the Attorney General had enhanced the price of Cuban sugar, and in connection with this charge it was also charged that the present prices of sugar had resulted from the failure of the President to act properly with regard to the purchase of the Cuban crop produced during the year 1919. Unfortunately for the discovery of the truth with regard to the Attorney General's official action, this entire investigation and the proceedings had with regard thereto have not for one moment been free from partisan influence. The gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL], chairman of the Rules Committee of the House, in opening the preliminary debate upon the resolution, began the keynote address as follows: I quote from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 4, page 3871:

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, this resolution brings before the House a question that has been agitating the country for 10 years—a reduction in the cost of living. Ten years ago the control of this House was turned over to the Democratic Party.

Then follows the charge that the policy of the Democratic Party could not reduce the cost of living, but he said, referring to sugar, that—

it was thought, of course, that if the President by any action of his could specifically save $700,000,000 to $900,000,000 a year to the American people on the one item of sugar, a daily necessity in every household, he would avail himself of that opportunity.

This gentleman bespoke the spirit and laid bare the purpose of this investigation. No seeker for the truth ever chases that spirit to guide him to its discovery, nor did such a spirit ever lead to an impartial conclusion. This investigation, born of that spirit, conducted under its influence, guided by its purpose, in due time reached its predetermined conclusion.

There is raised by this record not only the question involved in the resolution itself, but that of the responsibility of the President and of the Attorney General for the present price of sugar, and all consolidated into the one imputation, the sole, culpable responsibility of the Democratic Party. The whole record made by the majority members of the subcommittee puts itself in motion toward the one objective, the political objective.

There have been two investigations of sugar made by this Congress, one by the Senate and one by the House. The Senate investigation was first. The House investigation drew into its record, from the Senate record, much that was disclosed by the Senate investigation. These two investigations and their records are but parts of the general sugar agitation carried on by resolution, speeches, bills, and investigations.

I have quoted the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL]. I now quote the Senator from Oregon [Senator MCNARY], who was the chairman of the subcommittee which conducted the Senate investigation. I quote from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of December 10, 1919, page 361:

Senator MCNARY. Mr. President, I shall hurry on, as I hope to finish this discussion in a very few moments. I have attempted in a few words to fix the responsibility on the President for the situation.

This has reference to the sugar situation. That was the time when it was presumed to be the business before the Senate, of trying to enact constructive, remedial legislation to meet an admitted serious situation affecting the American people. At the time the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL] spoke, the matter before the House was presumed to be, and legislatively was, a resolution to investigate the Attorney General for a specifically alleged violation of official duty. Trying to fasten responsibility upon a Democratic President, trying to fasten responsibility upon a Democratic Attorney General, trying to make political medicine, while a legislative opportunity knocked at the door and the legislative necessity of the people was unattended! Now, let us see what the facts are.

CREATION OF EQUALIZATION BOARD—LICENSE AND CONTROL.

The food control act under which the Cuban sugar crop produced in 1918 was purchased and distributed to the American people was enacted on August 10, 1917, when the Democrats controlled not only the Presidency but both the House and the Senate. Thereafterwards the Sugar Equalization Board was created by a Democratic President. It was incorporated under the laws of Delaware with a capital stock of $5,000,000, and under the authority to purchase, which it exercised, and under the licensing feature of the food control act, it proceeded to purchase the Cuban crop of 1918–19 and to enter into agreements with domestic producers and with refiners under which there was a basis price for the new raw sugar, and a specific charge for refining, and a limitation upon the profits of both the wholesalers and the distributors, all of these being controlled under the licensing power of the food control act.

While there were, no doubt, numerous instances of individual profiteering, the great bulk of the sugar crop was distributed to the American consumer at figures around 10 and 11 cents.

The food control act was one of the numerous war measures. Immediately after the enacting clause these words follow:

"That by reason of the existence of a state of war it is essential to the national security and defense, for the successful prosecution of the war, and for the support and maintenance of the Army and Navy," to do the things provided for in the bill. And then the bill proceeds to give the President very broad discretionary powers with reference to the doing of certain things when determined by him to be essential to the national security and defense. The act provides in its twenty-fourth section "that the provisions of this act shall cease to be in effect when the existing state of war between the United States and Germany shall have been terminated and the effect and date of

such termination shall be ascertained and proclaimed by the President."

Actual hostilities ended with the armistice of the 11th day of November, 1918. From the time the peace treaty was submitted to the Senate the food control act hung by a thread. When the summer of 1919 had come the peace treaty had not been ratified, but it was clearly in the contemplation of everybody that the matter would be disposed of within the session of Congress. There was a division of opinion in this country as to whether the extraordinary powers exercised by the Government during the war to control by regulations the limits of profits ought to be abolished. The President took the position that during the period of reconstruction those powers affecting the price of necessities ought not to be abolished but extended and broadened in scope. I quote from his message to Congress delivered on August 8, 1919:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS: I have sought this opportunity to address you because it is clearly my duty to call your attention to the present cost of living and to urge upon you, with all the persuasive force of which I am capable, the legislative measures which would be most effective in controlling it and bringing it down. The prices the people of this country are paying for everything that is necessary for them to use in order to live are not justified by a shortage in supply, either present or prospective.

* * * * * * *

It is a matter of familiar knowledge, also, that a process has set in which is likely, unless something is done, to push prices and rents and the whole cost of living higher and yet higher, in a vicious cycle to which there is no logical or natural end.

* * * * * * *

What we can do we should do, and should do at once.

* * * * * * *

There is reason to believe that the prices of leather, of coal, of lumber, and of textiles have been materially affected by forms of concert and cooperation among the producers and marketers of these and other universally necessary commodities which it will be possible to redress.

* * * * * * *

Let me urge, in the first place, that the present food control act should be extended both as to the period of time during which it shall remain in operation and as to the commodities to which it shall apply.

* * * * * * *

As it stands now, it is limited in operation to the period of the war and becomes inoperative upon the formal proclamation of peace.

* * * * * * *

And it does not seem to me that we can confine ourselves to detailed measures of this kind, if it is indeed our purpose to assume national control of the processes of distribution. I take it for granted that that is our purpose and our duty. Nothing less will suffice. We need not hesitate to handle a national question in a national way. We should go beyond the measures I have suggested. We should formulate a law requiring a Federal license of all corporations engaged in interstate commerce and embodying in the license, or in the conditions under which it is to be issued, specific regulations designed to secure competitive selling and prevent unconscionable profits in the method of marketing. Such a law would afford a welcome opportunity to effect other much needed reforms in the business of interstate shipment and in the methods of corporations which are engaged in it; but for the moment I confine my recommendations to the object immediately in hand, which is to lower the cost of living. * * *

This was a message delivered by the President to a joint session of the Congress. In that message he asked for legislation which, if granted, not only would have extended to a time definite the powers exercised by the Sugar Equalization Board, but would have made it possible to put other necessities of life under a control similar to that exercised in the distribution of sugar. Whether these powers ought to have been granted or not, each one is privileged to have his own opinion. But there is no choice of opinion as to whether or not the President asked for these powers, and no choice of opinion as to whether or not this Congress complied with the request. The record proclaims the fact that this legislation was asked of this identical Congress and this Congress refused to grant this legislation looking toward the reduction of the cost of living and looking to a continuation to a definite period of the licensing powers under which the Sugar Equalization Board had held down the price of sugar to the American consumer. That is not a partisan statement. That is a fact. That is a part of this sugar record.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

August 14, 1919, the Sugar Equalization Board suggested to the President the desirability, from a commercial standpoint, of purchasing and distributing the 1919–20 Cuban sugar crop as the 1918–19 crop had been handled. The President did not reply to that letter nor to another letter of the same import written by the Sugar Equalization Board on the 20th day of September, 1919.

As a matter of fact, however, the President, as I have stated, did on August 8 ask the Congress, in a special message delivered in person to a joint session of the two Houses, to extend to a definite period the provisions of the law under which the Sugar Equalization Board had distributed the 1918–19 sugar crop. And this request which the President made in person to this Congress this Congress refused to grant. And while the responsibility for high prices of the necessities of life is being charged by the Congress against the President, the spirit of fairness will not permit the nonconsideration of this effort on the part of the President to obtain from the legislative branch not only the power to hold down the price of sugar, but the power to hold down the price of other necessities by the same sort of control which the experience of the Sugar Equalization Board with reference to sugar had demonstrated to be efficient. Nor can the Congress escape the responsibility for the high prices which have resulted and which could have been prevented if the Congress had granted the power which the President asked the Congress to grant.

Whether there is any relationship between this requested power on the part of the President and the suggestion on the part of the Sugar Equalization Board that the Cuban sugar crop should be purchased and distributed, no record discloses. Why the President did not reply to the letters of the Sugar Equalization Board after he had gone to Congress with the request for legislation which included the power the Sugar Equalization Board required in order to purchase and distribute the sugar crop, no record discloses, or whether, as I say, there is any connection between the two or not, no record discloses. Whether the letters of the Sugar Equalization Board actually reached the consideration of the President, I do not know. Whether there is anything behind the suggestion made by Senator MCNARY (page 108, Senate hearing) that maybe the communications of the Sugar Equalization Board did not reach the President, I do not know. That is a matter of speculation, but there is no ground for speculation about the fact nor any denying the fact that six days before the President received the suggestion from the Sugar Equalization Board that the Cuban crop be purchased he had asked the Congress to enact legislation which would have included the powers which the members of the Sugar Equalization Board testify, both before the Senate Committee and the House Committee, they required before undertaking the purchase and distribution of the Cuban crop. There is no amount of speculation, no amount of appeal to partisan prejudice, that can eliminate that fact. Of course, there can be no limit placed upon the charges and countercharges and deductions which individuals may see fit to make. I do not say there were not some things which the President should have done which he did not do. I do not say that he spoke all to Congress which he ought to have said. But I do say, and I speak by the record, that with regard to that which I have quoted of his request the Congress did nothing and has done nothing except let the situation run wild and criticize the President for the high cost of living which the President warned Congress of and asked legislative help in preventing. That is the record.

I do not say the President is free from responsibility. I need make no apology for him. Let the country judge. But, in common fairness and in due regard for the public interest, let it judge by the record. Congress not only refused to grant this requested legislation, but I challenge any person to point to a single constructive or remedial measure touching sugar to the credit of this Congress, which has been in almost continuous session for practically a year. Those are not mere words; I affirm the fact that there has been no such legislation and I seriously challenge any Member of Congress to take the opposite side. Not only is that true, but when we consider the present price of sugar it would be safe to challenge, generally, anybody to convince any person with any sense at all that this one year's uninterrupted agitation and advertising of sugar shortage by Members of Congress, with nothing done to counteract the influence of that agitation and advertisement, could have had any other effect than to stimulate the price of sugar. That agitation constitutes, as the records show, the sum total of the effective activities of Congress with regard to this matter. I do not exempt the McNary bill. It was never operative for one minute, and stands to-day an unanswerable indictment against the legislative sincerity and the legislative competency of this Congress. I am going to discuss that bill presently. The trouble is that this Congress has been busy during the year throwing its responsibilities into other people's barnyards. But the facts bring them home to roost.

It does not matter whether we are Democrats or Republicans, there are certain fundamentals for which we must all stand. We must stand for justice, for individuals and for officials, and we must hold responsibility where power resides; or, put another way, we must not permit those who possess the power to do a thing to escape the responsibility for its nonperformance; or, if power is divided, no possessor of a part of that power ought to be permitted to escape a corresponding part of the responsibility for the nonexercise of the power, and especially for the nonattempt to exercise the power possessed. We must demand that the critic come with clean hands if he would

escape the condemnation which he would have imposed upon others. It is the law of life and it is the law of right. Due regard for the efficiency of the public service, as a matter of their own protection, imposes this necessity upon the people, regardless of party.

THE RECORD IN THE CASE.

Now, let us see what are the facts—the indisputable facts—with regard to this sugar matter and the relative responsibility therefor. If the legislation was requested by the President, if it was refused, and if it was necessary, can anyone be so partisan as to question the conclusion that Congress can not rid itself of responsibility for the result which follows its failure? That is a clear-cut proposition. Can any fair-minded, patriotic person escape the obligation to support it with the influence of his agreement to it? Was it necessary to have this legislation in order to have the Sugar Equalization Board function in the distribution during 1920 of the Cuban sugar crop grown during 1919? That is the important, definite, concrete subject for immediate examination, the decision with regard to which fixes or denies congressional responsibility.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TINKHAM] introduced the first resolution on this subject. That was June 30, 1919. It was a general resolution to investigate the sugar situation, the distribution of which was then being controlled by the Sugar Equalization Board. He testified, however, before the House committee that at the time he introduced the resolution he did not know that the Sugar Equalization Board was in existence. It was upon a later resolution by this gentleman that this investigation of the Attorney General was had. He has made a great many speeches on the subject of sugar shortage. He has worked more persistently, perhaps, than any other person in trying to shift responsibility from Congress and to lead the country to believe that the President, the Attorney General, or some one else is responsible for the sugar situation. Certainly his statement of the situation can not be regarded as prejudiced in favor of the Democratic Party, the President, or the Attorney General, each, both, and all of whom he has been denouncing and charging with responsibility for sugar prices during the past year. True, he has offered no constructive or remedial measure, but that does not differentiate him from the others. He is a stanch Republican. He was the first witness who appeared before the House Judiciary Committee. He was the prosecutor, the gatherer of evidence. He procured other witnesses to appear. His testimony spreads over the first hundred pages of the record of that investigation. Now, clearly it can not be claimed that any statement which he would make with regard to the need for this legislation could be prejudiced in favor of the President, or the Attorney General, or the Democratic Party. I quote from page 31 of the House hearing:

MR. TINKHAM SAYS M'NARY ACT NUGATORY.

Mr. TINKHAM. May I explain, Mr. Chairman, that under the Lever Act the situation was this, that the Equalization Board believed that it would be useless for it to purchase the Cuban crop unless it had the power to license. When the treaty was signed, the Lever Act would go out of operation and then they would have no control; therefore it said, before the Senate Committee on Agriculture, 'If you are going to compel us to do business, extend to us the power to license," and the power to license was extended, as I remember it, until the 1st of April; but the act was practically nugatory, because it was not passed until after the entire Cuban sugar crop had passed into the general market and was without control.

This is not my statement; it is the statement made by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TINKHAM], and made under oath. It is the statement of the prosecutor in this investigation. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TINKHAM] states the fact and gives the reason why the Sugar Equalization Board would not proceed under the precarious licensing power carried by the Lever or food control act. He states the fact that the Sugar Equalization Board asked this Congress for a definite licensing power, and he states the fact that the Congress responded to that request with an act which was practically nugatory, because it did not arrive at legislative maturity until the Cuban crop had been sold. Does not the admission made by this distinguished gentleman, "against interest," entitle me to the inclination of judgment, at least, that thus far there rests under my statements the foundation of facts? And when we shall have finished the examination of the McNary Act, which embodies the sum total of the legislatively expressed interest and the sum total of the displayed legislative genius of this Congress with regard to sugar prices, you will wonder why so much energy should have been expended in resoluting, speech making, and agitating and so little energy expended in remedial constructive help by the great Congress of this Nation. Their eyes saw not their duty which lay at their feet because their eyes were looking toward the first Tuesday of next November. That has been the trouble.

This investigation is a part of the general political agitation with regard to sugar which for months has been carried on in this country, the clear objective of which has been, and is, to fasten responsibility upon the Democratic Party for sugar prices, and to politically capitalize the general discontent with regard to those prices. This investigation ran the whole limit and covered the whole field of effort in this regard.

Gentlemen may try to explain those things with regard to which the gentleman from Massachusetts has testified and to sidestep, but it can not be done. They are facts—facts of record. Nor is there any escape from the imputation of insincerity and legislative incompetency which those facts clinch upon the Congress. Remember, we are dealing with this Republican Congress, with its Republican steering committee and its Republican-controlled Rules Committee, the function and the power of which is to keep legislation under complete control of the Republican majority. These are the gentlemen who have made this a political issue and in their desperation have sought to destroy the reputation for official integrity of individual officers of the opposite faith. As persuasive as is the testimony of the gentleman from Massachusetts, given against the interest of his position and of his party, the importance of the particular matter under consideration, not alone to the officials involved but to the country, which wants to know the truth and to compel those who have the power to bear the responsibility incident to that power, suggests the advisability of seeing what the other witnesses who testified before the committees of the House and Senate have had to say on this point, and particularly the members of the Sugar Equalization Board.

Mr. Glasgow, a member of the board and the attorney for the board, states on page 99 of the Senate hearing, as follows:

Mr. GLASGOW. Our position is certainly clear, and I want it to be made clear, if I can, that if you gentlemen determine that we ought to buy this crop, give us the powers that are absolutely essential to carry it out; if you determine it is undesirable to buy this crop, then do not make the purchase and let the refiners buy if they can in the markets upon terms.

Senator MCNARY. Upon that point—and I think it very vital—if Congress simply authorized the Sugar Equalization Board and gave it the power to acquire the balance of the Cuban crop, you would not desire to function unless you had the power of license and the power of placing embargoes?

Mr. GLASGOW. Absolutely. We have got to control the refiners in the United States in order to accomplish any good by the purchase of that crop.

Senator MCNARY. You have operated the last two years under the license system, have you not?

Mr. GLASGOW. Oh, yes. We can not keep the refiners together unless we have the control.

Now, bear in mind that the only power which, it is claimed, the President could have given when the matter was submitted to him was to purchase the Cuban crop. As a matter of fact, the Sugar Equalization Board had the power already. The Sugar Equalization Board is a private corporation and these gentlemen constituted its board of directors. The power to grant to it the authority to control distribution through a definite time belonged exclusively to the Congress, and it will be noted that Mr. Glasgow testified that the Sugar Equalization Board would not desire to purchase the Cuban crop unless the Congress gave to it the power to license. They required a power to license covering a definite time, sufficient to distribute the sugar, as distinguished from the power conferred by the food control act, which terminates with the proclamation of peace, and besides they wanted Congress to indorse the purchase. Mr. Zabriskie, president of the Sugar Equalization Board, testified to the same effect (p. 50 of the Senate hearing). Mr. Zabriskie further explained his position with regard to this matter on page 111 of the Senate hearing, from which I quote:

Senator MCNARY. I wish you would state briefly, Mr. Zabriskie, whether you think it necessary for legislation to contain a licensing provision.

Mr. ZABRISKIE. I feel that we can not render the service that is expected of us in the interests of the American consumer unless we are in a position to control the sale of sugar from the refiner to the wholesale dealer or the retail dealer doing a business of over $100,000 a year.

On page 114 of the House hearing Mr. Zabriskie, testifying with regard to the necessity for the licensing power, said:

Mr. ZABRISKIE. There would have been no benefit in purchasing the Cuban crop if we had simply purchased the Cuban crop and turned it over to the speculators; they might just as well have purchased it themselves.

I quote again from the record of the Senate hearing, page 105:

The CHAIRMAN. Is it your belief also, Judge, that unless we have a licensing system that we could not effectively handle the sugar crop and that we had better stay out of it and not buy it?

Mr. GLASGOW. I think, Senator, if we do not have the control which we have put in this bill—I do not say license; I say license and embargo—it is possible you might get through without the embargo, but it would be very useful right now, if we had it, to keep sugar in this country.

But, I say, if we do not have the power of control in the form of the license and the embargo I can not see anything to be accomplished by putting the United States Sugar Equalization Board into the act of purchasing the sugar crop of Cuba. Better let the refiners go and purchase it, and there is no place for the Sugar Equalization Board to effectively operate in behalf of the United States and its people.

On page 106:

Senator McNARY. Briefly, Judge, the Sugar Equalization Board does not desire to continue its efforts to control the sugar situation or acquire the 1920 Cuban crop, unless Congress shall enact about such a bill as proposed in the Senate October 19, known as 2919, which was prepared by you?

Mr. GLASGOW. In my judgment, and I believe the board concurs with me, we can not accomplish any good otherwise.

Senator McNARY. Let me ask Mr. Zabriskie the same question.

Mr. ZABRISKIE. There is no question about that; it is absolutely imperative.

On page 107:

Senator NORRIS. You did have authority without any additional legislation to buy the Cuban crop, did you not?

Mr. Glasgow explained that they did have authority because the Sugar Equalization Board was a Delaware corporation, but that it did not buy it because "we did not know whether we could successfully carry out the purposes of the Sugar Equalization Board unless Congress gave us the power to regulate through the refiners and the wholesale dealers the distribution of the sugar."

Senator NORRIS. Ought not the crop been bought before this?

Mr. GLASGOW. Not unless we had that power.

* * * * * * *

Mr. GLASGOW. But, Senator, do you think we would go down there and buy 3,000,000 tons of sugar when our power to dispose of it depended on having the control, when the act might drop any time you gentlemen might ratify or declare peace?

On page 108, referring to the authority to purchase the sugar crop at the time the matter was submitted to the President:

Senator NORRIS. As a matter of law, the authority existed at that time to buy that?

Mr. GLASGOW. Yes, sir. But I think we would have been very culpable if we had gone on and exercised the power of the Sugar Board to purchase the Cuban crop of sugar unless we knew Congress desired us to continue the control and distribution for the coming year.

Senator NORRIS. If the President had authorized you, would you have done it?

Mr. GLASGOW. No, sir; not until Congress had given us the powers and they thought it proper. It would come back at last to the discretion of Congress as to whether they desired the distribution of sugar continued.

* * * * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. *You said something that I think ought to be framed in a gold frame, to the effect that you did not feel like acting until Congress had its say.*

Mr. GLASGOW. I am not much on these golden frames. I just did not want you gentlemen to put us in the position of buying this crop without an expression as to future policy. I have some respect for what the men I have been associated with have done, and I did not want to be put in the position of making any failure.

That was the position clearly held by the Sugar Equalization Board, clearly announced to the Senate committee, and definitely indorsed by the chairman of the Senate committee, but now under the pressure of political exigency, criticism, and denunciation is hurled forth because the purchase of the Cuban crop was not made without congressional indorsement. This is just an other case of the shifting of position to catch every political wind that blows.

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION REQUIRED.

That last testimony is given by the man who is not only a member of the Sugar Equalization Board, but who acted as attorney and legal adviser for the board. He states that the Sugar Equalization Board would not have bought the Cuban crop if the President had authorized its purchase unless Congress had indicated its approval and had granted at least the necessary licensing power as distinguished from the licensing power carried in the food control act, which licensing power terminated with the declaration of peace. Members of the Sugar Equalization Board testified before both the Senate committee and the House committee that they would not have depended for their licensing power upon the licensing power carried in the food control act, which, by its provisions, terminated with the declaration of peace. In this connection it must be borne in mind that on August 8 the President had given to the Congress the opportunity to express its approval of a policy to continue in operation for a definite period not only the war power carried by the food contrbl act, but additional powers to regulate the profits made on other necessities, and the Congress had failed to express legislative consent for the extension to a definite time of these powers of control of sugar and other necessities. The fact that sugar was not mentioned may be used as an argument by those who seek to escape responsibility, but it does not alter the fact that the power to license the sale of that commodity would have been incorporated in the legislation which the President requested if it had been enacted. It is argued by those connected with the Congress who seek to escape responsibility that the information given by the Sugar Equalization Board to the President with regard to the need of purchasing the Cuban crop was not conveyed to the Congress. As a matter of fact that is begging the question. It is a matter of common knowledge that the sugar situation last year was practically the same as the situation was the year before, and that there was the same danger of high prices this year that there was during the two preceding years, and the Congress, though it was a Democratic Congress, under the same condition of necessity, had placed sugar distribution during the last year under the Sugar Equalization Board. Certainly there was no knowledge in the possession of any Member of Congress that the condition had sufficiently changed to justify the belief that there was no need to continue the power with reference to the distribution of sugar during the year 1920. But whatever may be said with regard to the particular period from August 14 to November 3, 1919, there did come a time, and that time well within the possibility of remedial action, when the Congress was fully advised with regard to the sugar situation and the need for legislation under which the Sugar Equalization Board would feel justified in purchasing the Cuban crop.

THE SENATE INVESTIGATION BEGUN.

On the 27th day of September, 1919, Senator NEW, of Indiana, introduced a resolution in the Senate to investigate the sugar situation. The Committee on Agriculture and Forestry began its hearing on October 3. On that date Messrs. Zabriskie and Glasgow appeared before the committee. I have already quoted sufficiently from the record of the Senate hearing to show that Messrs. Zabriskie and Glasgow testified clearly and positively that before the Sugar Equalization Board would feel justified in purchasing the Cuban crop it would be necessary for the Congress to enact legislation which would make the Sugar Equalization Board certain that it would possess the power at least to license the distributors of sugar during the year following the purchase of the Cuban crop; that it would not feel justified in purchasing the Cuban crop without Congress's sanction; that it would not purchase the Cuban crop depending upon the licensing power carried in the food control act, which power terminated with the declaration of peace. The reasonableness of that position was not questioned by any member of the Senate Committee. It was not questioned by any member of the House Committee. It cannot be questioned. It was a most reasonable thing for this board to ask to be made certain as to the continuation of the licensing power until the distribution of the sugar purchased was consummated. Congress possessed the power to give and there was no reason why Congress should not give the power other than the nondesire that the Cuban crop be purchased and distributed. And aside from the necessity to have the power, it is reasonable to suppose that the Sugar Equalization Board would not have felt justified in launching upon so important a venture unless the Congress of the United States should give its approval. At that time there was a very powerful influence at work in this country to end the exercise of all such war powers as the Sugar Equalization Board was operating under.

SUGAR EQUALIZATION BOARD PUTS IT UP TO CONGRESS.

When the members of the Sugar Equalization Board appeared before the Senate committee on October 3, they "put it up" to Congress unconditionally and without reference to the President's approval or disapproval that if the Congress would enact the legislation which it deemed necessary and indicate its approval the Sugar Equalization Board would purchase and distribute the Cuban crop. There is not the slightest question about that, and no person who has any regard for the truth will deny that statement. It only remains to be determined whether or not it was too late then to purchase the Cuban crop or whether it would be too late at the consummation of legislation expeditiously enacted. If it was too late, then the Congress has no responsibility other than the responsibility which rests upon it by reason of its failure to grant the legislation requested in the President's message of August 8. If not too late then, but too late at the consummation of the necessary legislation expeditiously enacted, then the Congress would still only share the responsibility incident to its failure to enact the legislation requested by the President in his message of August 8, whatever that may be, whether much, or little, or none. But if not too late to purchase, and the Congress failed to expedite this legislation, being fully advised as to the situation and the necessity of rushing the legislation, and if when the legislation was finally enacted it was too late to purchase the Cuban crop, what person can be so partisan as to say that responsibility does not attach itself to the Congress?

EQUALIZATION BOARD FULLY ADVISES CONGRESS.

In a peculiar way the Congress was responsible at that particular time. The President's illness began on September 26. The president of the Sugar Equalization Board said to the congressional committee on October 3: "Give us your approval, and give us the licensing power, and we will purchase this crop and distribute it to the American public." There were no "ifs" and "ands" about it. It was a clear-cut proposition. Let us see what the testimony before the committees is on this point. I quote from page 61 of the Senate hearing:

Senator MCNARY. In order that we may know and the Senate may know the situation, let me ask whether, if legislation authorizing the purchase of this crop were prepared and passed expeditiously, you extend the hope that you could acquire this crop at a reasonable figure which would prevent the price soaring to the consuming American public?

Mr. ZABRISKIE. I do think so.

Just preceding this statement Mr. Zabriskie testified:

I think the disposition of the Cuban producer is entirely friendly. I think that the banking element would like very much to see something of the sort. As to the price, whether it would be 6½ cents or 7 cents, or whatever, that would be problematic.

This is a sufficient quotation from the record to indicate the situation on October 3, except that the English Royal Commission had not purchased the third of the Cuban crop which Mr. Zabriskie had notified the President on September 23 had been purchased; it had not gotten itself in the proper trading condition to purchase this crop, and at the time of this hearing before the Senate committee this was the situation. I quote from the record of the Senate hearing, page 59:

Mr. ZABRISKIE. Mr. Chairman, there is one point I would like to clear up. When we wrote that letter (the letter of September 23) the Royal Commission was negotiating with Cuba, which would account for the fact that we mentioned such a large proportion as one-third. At that time the Royal Commission was negotiating for some three hundred or four hundred thousand tons. That deal has not been consummated yet.

Senator RANSDELL. So you do not know whether one-third has been contracted for to date?

Mr. ZABRISKIE. No, but at that time we were advised that it had closed. We learned since that Great Britain had purchased the Mauritius crop and was trying to get herself in a better trading position so that she could go after Cuba.

Page 68 of the Senate hearing:

Senator MCNARY. Then do I understand you, as a matter of fact, one-third of the crop has not been purchased?

Mr. ZABRISKIE. I do not think that more than one-fourth of the crop has been purchased.

This one-fourth also included purchases by American refiners. Page 87 of the Senate hearing:

Mr. GLASGOW. One-fourth of the Cuban crop which has been sold includes not only the purchases in Europe of such small sections as may have been made by individual refiners in the United States?

Mr. ZABRISKIE. That will probably be 200,000 tons.

It should be remembered in this connection that of the preceding Cuban crop purchased by the Sugar Equalization Board one-third of that crop, under agreement, was purchased for the English Royal Commission and went to England. So that on the 3d day of October, when the McNary committee got under way, the Cuban refiners had unsold of the current crop a larger part than was the part we took from the preceding year.

Now, let us suppose for the sake of argument that the Congress held no responsibility with regard to sugar prior to October 3, 1919; that it did not have any knowledge of the general sugar situation; that the President had not even read to the Congress his message of August 8, and that if he had read that message to Congress the Congress did not have understanding enough to appreciate what powers the President was asking the Congress to grant; that the Congress did not even know that the licensing power carried by the food control act would expire with the ratification of the treaty of peace; that the Congress did not even know that the treaty of peace was pending in the Senate and was possible of ratification at any time, carrying with its ratification the termination of the licensing power under the Lever or food control act; that the Congress did not even know that sugar, during the preceding year, had been distributed under the Sugar Equalization Board.

But even if all of the Congress could be blanketed in and protected against responsibility by the cloak of ignorance up until the 3d day of October last, the testimony of the president of the Sugar Equalization Board, Mr. Zabriskie, and of Mr. Glasgow, a member of the board and the attorney for the board, destroys the possibility of the further utility of that protection, for on that date the Senate committee and the Congress were advised, first, that a larger percentage of the Cuban crop was then unsold than we had taken from the preceding Cuban crop; second, that it could probably be purchased at a reasonable figure; third, that there was a world shortage of sugar; fourth, that it was necessary to have the licensing power extended to a definite time covering the period of distribution of the crop, if purchased; fifth, that the legislation, in order to be effective, must be expedited. Besides, these gentlemen were there before the committee, tendering themselves to the committee to give to it any information upon the sugar situation which the committee desired.

The committee was fully advised that if the Congress would give to the Sugar Equalization Board its indorsement for the purchase of the Cuban crop and give to it the necessary definite licensing power to distribute the crop, it would proceed to purchase and distribute. That testimony was published and available to all members of Congress.

THE DELAYS OF CONGRESS.

This is how expeditiously Congress proceeded. It was not until November 3, a whole month afterward, that the committee reported a bill to the Senate. The bill did not pass the Senate until December 12. On December 16 it passed the House with amendment. Later the conference report was agreed to, the President signed the bill, and it became effective on the last day of December. This is a copy of the bill which it required from October 3 until December 12 to pass the Senate:

[Public, No. 109, 66th Congress.]

[S. 3284.]

An act to provide for the national welfare by continuing the United States Sugar Equalization Board until December 31, 1920, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President is authorized to continue during the year ending December 31, 1920, the United States Sugar Equalization Board (Incorporated), a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Delaware, and to vote or use the stock in such corporation held by him for the benefit of the United States, or otherwise exercise his control over the corporation and its directors, in such a manner as to authorize and require them to adopt and carry out until December 31, 1920, plans and methods of securing, if found necessary for the public good, an adequate supply and an equitable distribution of sugar at a fair and reasonable price to the people of the United States. Sections 5 and 10 of the act entitled "An act to further provide for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel," approved August 10, 1917, as far as the same relates to raw or refined sugar, syrups, or molasses, are hereby continued in full force and effect until December 31, 1920, notwithstanding the provisions of section 24 of said act: *Provided*, That the provisions of this act shall expire as to the domestic product June 30, 1920: *And provided further*, That the zone system of sale and distribution of sugars heretofore established by the said United States Sugar Equalization Board shall be abolished and shall not be reestablished or maintained, and that sugars shall be permitted to be sold and to circulate freely in every portion of the United States. The termination of this act shall not affect any act done, or any right or obligation accruing or accrued, or any suit or proceeding had or commenced in any civil case before the said termination, pursuant to this act; but all rights and liabilities under this act arising before its termination shall continue and may be enforced in the same manner as if the act had not terminated. Any offense committed and all penalties, forfeitures, or liabilities incurred prior to such termination may be prosecuted or punished in the same manner and with the same effect as if this act had not been terminated.

Approved, December 31, 1919.

This is the bill which the gentleman from Massachusetts referred to when he said before the House committee "and the power to license was extended, as I remember it, until the 1st of April, but the act was practically nugatory because it was not passed until after the entire Cuban sugar crop had passed into the general market and was out of control," except that it was in the House that the bill was amended, giving to the Sugar Equalization Board the licensing power which it requested. Not only was this bill delayed in its passage through the Senate, as is shown by the record to which I have referred, but as it passed there it expressly repealed section 5 of the food control act, which is the licensing section of the food control act. In other words, it expressly denied to the Sugar Equalization Board the very power which the Sugar Equalization Board said it was necessary for it to have before it would feel justified in purchasing the Cuban crop. Thus it made doubly certain the nonpurchase of the Cuban crop, first, by the delay in its passage, and, second, by the failure to give the power which the Sugar Equalization Board told the Senate committee it was necessary for it to have in order to function in the handling of this crop. Of course, when the bill reached the House the middle of December it did not make any difference what amendments were added. The Cuban crop had been sold. The act was dead. The only thing the House amendments could do was to make the corpse look as respectable as possible.

It does not alter the force of these facts because they are stated by one who is a Democrat. They are facts of record. It took from August 8 until almost Christmas to get this legislation through one body of the Congress, if the date when the President's message was delivered be considered. But if the Congress be relieved of all the responsibility prior to October 3, and certainly only the most partisan and biased judgment could so relieve the Congress, it took from October 3, with a Congress

in full knowledge of the acuteness of the situation and the necessity to expedite the legislation, until almost Christmas to pass this little bill. Can the Congress be heard to say that it did not have the information? Mr. Zabriskie and Mr. Glasgow gave it to the Senate committee of the Congress.

CONGRESS TOLD IT MUST EXPEDITE LEGISLATION.

Did the Congress know it must expedite the legislation if to be effective? These gentlemen told this committee of the Congress so. These are facts of record. Should a Congress which can pass, through one House, under a special rule, with only 40 minutes' debate, a bill of many pages, vitally affecting many interests and carrying the levy of a tax of not less than a billion and a quarter dollars, be heard to say that it has met its legislative responsibility, that it has demonstrated the interest which it professes in the American consumer, when it requires from October 3 until Christmas to pass a bill of this sort? Would the sugar have been available if the legislation had been expedited? A full month after the president of the Sugar Equalization Board testified before the Senate committee, to wit, on November 3, 1919, Senator McNARY filed a report under that date from which the following quotation is taken:

It is true that a considerable portion of the Cuban crop of 1920 has been acquired by purchase and by contract by domestic refiners and foreign governments. However, it is the belief of the committee that two-thirds of this crop yet remains free of contract and not affected by sale and that it could be acquired at a reasonable figure in view of the world shortage, though perhaps a little higher than the price that would have been exacted in July or August and the price paid for the crop of 1919.

On page 116 of the House hearing Mr. Zabriskie testified that he rather thought he could have bought the Cuban crop as late as November 8 for six and a half cents a pound. This was a month and five days after the whole situation had been laid before the Senate committee.

THE BOARD'S PROPOSITION TO CONGRESS.

Mr. Glasgow, page 129 of the House record:

And the board—I believe Mr. Zabriskie agrees with me—was prepared to carry out the policy that was directed either by the President with the approval of Congress, by legislation, or, if it was directed by Congress, without prior recommendation of the President or suggestion of the President. If it was the President's direction or policy we had to have Congress's action approving it, or we could not do it; if it was Congress's action upon the policy, we did not have to have the President's approval other than the signing of the act which Congress might pass.

I suggest to the judgment of the Congress and of the country if it is not a fact that if a Republican majority of both houses of Congress had displayed one-half the energy and interest in the sugar consumers, when it had the power and the duty to protect them by effective, expeditious legislation, which it is now exerting in trying to deceive the American public as to their responsibility for the present price of sugar, this bill could have been passed within 20 days, certainly within a month, and sugar would be selling now within not more than 2½ cents per pound of the price of last year. Can anybody deny that? While pretending to the American people an interest in procuring for them sugar at a reasonable price and endeavoring to impress the fact of that interest by resolutions, investigations, speeches, and bills introduced, creating a public panic and the wildest sort of scramble for sugar, with its inevitable effect in the direction of enhancement of price, they saw to it that no bill was passed until it was too late to protect the people or to interfere with the private profits which are being included in the present prices demanded for sugar.

INSINCERITY OR LEGISLATIVE INCOMPETENCY.

I do not charge directly that this was willfully done. There are two horns to this dilemma. One is insincerity and the purpose to protect private profits, and the other is legislative incompetency. The facts will not permit an escape of both. The whole field of argument is limited to which horn of the dilemma they may lay hold of. They talk much of sympathy for the American public and opposition to high prices of sugar and fashion a legislative policy which brings benefit to the profit-taker and high prices to the American consumer. I do not charge the purpose, I charge the fact, and I charge the further fact, because it is perfectly apparent, that, in addition to the benefits which have come to the profit taker by this legislative policy, the Republican Congress controlling majority has added much to sugar profits by the campaign of advertisement of sugar shortage, with the competitive scramble for sugar which has resulted from that agitation. But that is not all that is remarkable about the agitating, criticizing Republican majority in control of legislation in both branches of Congress dealing with the sugar situation. This bill which they got through too late for the last crop, this bill which did not arrive in time to help the people to get cheap sugar for this year—again I do not charge the purpose, I charge the fact, a fact of record—this bill dies by its own limitations within this year. It would be worth your while to read carefully this bill, which started in its preliminary stages the first of October and arrived at legislative maturity as a sort of "booby" Christmas gift to the American public. It is the sole legislative and constructive expression of professed concern for cheap sugar for the American public which is to the credit of this Congress, too late to help with present prices, but if the guiding genius of congressional legislation could not send it in time to help with regard to present prices, certainly an American public for whom such deep interest has been expressed, and with regard to whose prices paid for sugar so much denunciation has emanated from the Congress, should expect that this legislation, though ineffective now, carries in its provisions hope for cheaper prices next year. But that is not a fact. That feature has been taken care of also. By the very terms of the bill itself it provides that it shall become inoperative as to domestic sugar, American-grown cane and beet sugar, on the 30th day of this month, while the crops are yet under cultivation out of which the sugar is to be made which the people are to use next year. As to all other sugar it expires within this year. It therefore can not affect next year's distribution.

Politics—that is the explanation for the legislative inefficiency which the record of the Congress reflects. Play along with this matter. Let the profiteers get their profits; that will please them. Let the situation get bad; fasten the responsibility on the Democrats; fool the people with resolutions, speeches, investigations, and denunciations; get political profit and let the public pay the price.

SERVE THE PEOPLE WITH THEIR WORDS.

Great indignation is expressed at the price being charged for sugar—at the "robbery." The necessary legislation to prevent that "robbery" was held up in passage by those who now profess that indignation until too late to protect. It arrived all right, but it stands by inoperative and ineffective while we are being "robbed" this year, and it leaves by the terms of its own limitations too soon to protect us from the "robbers" next year. It is like a policeman who having full knowledge that we are about to be robbed, and plenty of time to reach us before the act begins, cuts down his speed to suit the convenience of the robber and expects us to accept his expressions of sympathy and indignation in lieu of a little more speed in arriving. Of course, we might be overcredulous and overpartisan and somewhat overlook this tardiness in arrival, but how much confidence could the most credulous and most partisan of us have in the sincerity of professed interest if this policeman who arrived too late to protect against the first assault should leave us just as the robber was approaching to rob us again? Read the bill and judge by its own provisions as to the fitness of this analogy.

I have not raised this as a party issue. But the gentlemen of the majority have so busied themselves in trying to capitalize into political advantage the widespread distress and discontent which the sugar situation has aroused that it has seemed to me to be a duty to give to the Congress and to the American public the facts with regard to the responsibility of these critics and agitators and boosters of sugar prices. Whatever may be thought of the fairness of the deductions which I have drawn or of the argument which I have made, the facts which I have stated speak for themselves. They are facts of record, which can not be disposed of by pointing the finger of accusation at some one else. They can not be swept aside by any wind of partisan prejudice which may be put into motion. They are facts which any ordinary person can possess himself of from the public records.

It matters not what may be thought as to the share of responsibility which belongs to the President, the Attorney General, or anyone else, or as to what anyone else should have done or should not have done, no hand of partisan interest, however strong, can lift from those who control this Congress the responsibility for the present price of sugar which the facts fasten upon them.

REFUSE TO FACE RESPONSIBILITY.

If the gentlemen of the majority had been fair enough to face the country upon this proposition, admitting the difficulty of the situation, sharing, as manly men ought to do, the responsibility which belongs to them, together with the responsibility which belongs to others, I would possibly not have felt obligated to make these statements. But when they run from their own responsibility, make such a contribution to a bad situation as the facts show they have made with regard to the sugar situation, and then undertake politically to profit by the results which have flowed from their own neglect, and in their desperation and disregard for the obligations incident to their inquisitorial power attack without warrant the reputa-

tion for official integrity of an individual officer—this is carrying the matter farther than is justified even under that most infamous saying, born of the lowest possible conception of civic duty, "All is fair in politics and war."

I hold no warrant to defend the Attorney General. I sustain toward him no personal or personal-political relationship. I owe to him no duty save that duty which is imposed upon every man to every other man to see to it that there is fair play. I sat as a member of the Judiciary Committee which investigated his action with regard to Louisiana sugar, that wrote its solemn condemnation of his action, and filed it three days before the adjournment, as a public document, in the archives of the Congress, thus ending the last act of the subservience of official power to the hope of political profit. I know these are strong words, but they speak out from the record.

THE FACTS RELATIVE TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S ACTION.

Let us see what the facts are with regard to this official act of the Attorney General which has brought down upon his head the partisan judgment of condemnation. His official responsibility and power were fixed and limited by the criminal provisions of the food-control or Lever Act against unreasonable profits. At the time of the action by the Attorney General out of which this investigation has grown these were the salient facts with regard to the Louisiana situation and the undisputed facts:

First. Sugar was selling on the sugar exchange of New Orleans at above 20 cents per pound. The undisputed testimony shows that offers at this price and above were being made from every section of the country for the Louisiana sugar and the market was showing every disposition to "run wild."

Second. From the standpoint of yield the Louisiana producers had experienced one of the worst years in their history, the yield being considerably below half a normal crop and the labor cost had been the highest in their history.

Third. There are approximately 10,000 cane growers in Louisiana and, in round numbers, 160 sugar manufacturers.

Fourth. The food-control act does not apply to farm products; therefore the cane growers could sell their cane at any price they could get.

Fifth. The manufacturers of sugar under the law could pay any price for the cane of the farmers and, under the law, add to it a reasonable manufacturers' profit and sell the sugar at whatever price was necessary to cover cost of cane plus a reasonable manufacturers' profit.

Sixth. At the time of the Attorney General's action these independent growers had existing valid contracts with the manufacturers to sell their cane at the value per ton of 100 pounds of sugar on the open New Orleans market as quoted on the New Orleans sugar exchange. In other words, on the very day the Attorney General acted these growers were entitled to receive for their cane above $20 per ton, and the manufacturers were entitled to sell the output in the neighborhood of 20 cents per pound, depending upon yield, manufacturers' cost, etc. There was not a single law or a single regulation which could prevent this. As the price of sugar went up the price of cane would go up and as the price of cane went up the price of the sugar manufactured from this cane would go up.

Seventh. The only sugar in Louisiana subject to the food-control act was the sugar manufactured from cane produced on the plantations of the 160 sugar manufacturers, and the control over this sugar was limited to that carried by the criminal provisions of the food-control or Lever Act authorizing prosecution for the charging of an unreasonable profit.

Eighth. The Sugar Equalization Board had not received from the Congress sanction to purchase the Cuban crop and the extension of powers requested, and was not proposing to attempt to control the distribution of Louisiana sugar.

Ninth. The situation was daily growing worse, and, as stated, the market was showing every disposition to "run wild."

The probable effect of this condition upon the general market aroused the gravest apprehensions among those interested in holding the price of sugar within reasonable limits. What should have been done, of course, would have been for the Sugar Equalization Board to have bought the Louisiana crop at a fair price, whatever the facts showed that price to be, or to have done that which would have amounted to the same thing, bought the Cuban crop and absorbed out of the profit on the Cuban crop the difference between the purchase price paid for Louisiana sugar and the average selling price of the two crops. That is what it contemplated doing if the Congress had given it the necessary legislation in time. With the hands of the Sugar Equalization Board tied by the nonaction of Congress, the sole power of the Government to influence this situation was under the criminal features of the food-control act against excessive profits. Clearly it was a difficult situation to handle with so limited a power, but the public interest was great. Whatever could be done that would influence the situation as quickly and as generally as possible was demanded by that situation. The thing most essential was to check the upward trend of the general Louisiana market. That was impossible through ordinary legalistic processes under the control of the Attorney General.

The sugar from the cane of the independent growers carrying only the price paid for cane on the basis of the price for which sugar was selling, plus a reasonable manufacturers' profit, the sugar from the plantations of poor yield would be free, without coming in conflict with the criminal features of the food-control act, to accept the highest bid probable of offer. In such a circumstance the application of the criminal law, however vigorously applied, could not affect the general situation nor remove the course of the general danger. It was not the amount of sugar being sold but the prices being received and published to the world which was reflecting itself upon the general market, and especially upon the Cuban sugar, the price of which was not subject, of course, to any law which we could enact or any regulation which we could impose.

Everything was in confusion in Louisiana. Nobody could guess where the market would go to. Nobody knew what effect the confusion and high prices would have on the Cuban crop, except that it was certain to tend the price upward. There was not even a fair-price commission operating in Louisiana to assist in this situation, the chairman having resigned. Without reciting in detail with reference to the informal conferences had by some of the leading growers of Louisiana and the Sugar Equalization Board with the Attorney General, it is sufficient to say that nothing resulted directly therefrom. But there did result a conference in New Orleans between Federal District Attorney Mooney of that district and those representing a large part of the sugar-producing interests of Louisiana. At that conference was done that which has been denounced and investigated and criticized. With regard to what was done Mr. Mooney testified before the House committee that he had gathered all the knowledge he could from every available source of information and had determined that under the conditions existing in Louisiana he could not expect a conviction for sales not above 17 cents for yellow clarified and 18 cents for granulated; that the sugar growers were anxious to know what to do and their attitude held the possibility of bringing the general situation under some sort of control.

After considerable discussion and negotiations those present, though only one person at first would consent, agreed not to sell sugar at prices above the figures 17 and 18 cents, respectively. And Mr. Mooney made them to understand that if they would do this there would be no prosecution, but all sales above 17 and 18 cents would be subject to examination and possible prosecution.

The criticism of the Attorney General is that he pursued this course instead of keeping his conclusions a secret and prosecuting individuals after they had violated the law against excessive profits, and instead of effecting an agreement have permitted the sugar from the cane of the independent growers and from the factory plantations of the poorer yield to run wild on the open competitive market. That is absolutely the fact.

These facts which I have thus far enumerated are not disputed by a single witness nor challenged by a single deduction from any testimony in this remarkable record unwarranted by the authority given the committee and inconsistent with any purpose to discover only the pertinent facts.

If it was the honest conclusion of the district attorney that a conviction could not be had for sales not above 17 cents for prime clarified and 18 cents for plantation granulated sugar, all questions as to prosecution or nonprosecution end there, because there were afterwards no sales above those figures. But let us proceed to probe to the very bottom.

The next inquiry is, Was that conclusion an honest conclusion? But let us not stop there. Was that conclusion, as a matter of fact, a proper conclusion? Not only was it honest—and nobody whose own depravity does not breed general suspicion will charge that it was not—but to what conclusion does the testimony direct with reference to the correctness of the district attorney's judgments? What does the testimony suggest as to the probabilities with reference to convictions for sales not above 17 and 18 cents, respectively?

The crop of Louisiana in 1919, the year under consideration, was 121,000 tons; for the preceding year, 280,900 tons. Twice the 1919 crop would lack over 39,000 tons of equaling the yield of 1918, with a higher labor cost.

The Sugar Equalization Board allowed 9 cents for granulated sugar from the 1918 crop.

Was Mr. Mooney's conclusion correct, that not above 18 cents for a crop of only 40 per cent of the yield of a crop upon which 9 cents per pound had been allowed by the Sugar Equalization Board was probably a fair price? Tested by the same reasonable-profit test which the Sugar Equalization Board had applied the year before, there can be no question about it. It is a simple matter of mathematics, the cost of producing the smaller crop being equally as great as had been the cost of the larger crop.

It is obvious that it would require more than double the 1918 price per pound to give the total net returns and an equal "reasonable profit" which the Sugar Board allowed in 1918, assuming the price of the Sugar Board to have been fair, and there is no contrary assumption permitted by the record. That ought to be clear to all. In fact, under those prices the 1918 prices fixed by the Sugar Board brought $50,562,000, and the crop of 1919 at 18 cents brought $43,560,000.

No one has claimed or will claim that a conviction could have been obtained for selling sugar at 17 and 18 cents, respectively, under a state of facts representing the average profits on an average yield in Louisiana last year.

Nor is that all. The committee conducting this investigation with inquisitorial power and with specific authority granted, upon request of the chairman, to employ auditors to inspect books, etc., does not bring to the knowledge of this House a single case in which the facts would indicate that a conviction probably could have been had. The witnesses which appeared before the committee covered in their operations practically the entire sugar belt and they all testified to the most general conditions of disastrous production. Besides the total yield of only 40 per cent of the 1918 crop shows that fact.

These statements, which nobody will dispute, indicate the general condition when the Attorney General through his district attorney came to deal with the situation. I have not quoted the record to support these statements because the facts stated are not in dispute.

The Attorney General owed at that time two duties, one to the public and one to the citizens who were producing sugar in Louisiana.

How should he proceed? What was the practical, commonsense, honest thing to do? At this point the majority members of the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee and the minority members of that committee came into conflict of opinion.

There were two ways to proceed and only two, one as Mr. Mooney proceeded and the other as suggested by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TINKHAM], with which method the chairman of the committee expressed agreement (p. 56 of the House hearing). I quote from Mr. TINKHAM's testimony, page 36 of the House hearing:

> I think that the only authority that the Attorney General had under the law was to prosecute individual profiteering cases. Now, what result it might lead to makes no difference. He had to act within the authority given him by law. As I stated before, it would be a very difficult thing to indict and convict where there were so many varying conditions and varying factors which would enter into the problem of whether the profit or price was extortionate or not. I will admit that.
>
> I rather think, however, that what practically would have worked out would have been this, that if the Attorney General had made an examination through his United States attorney and found out what seemed to be a fair price and then had prosecuted and established, as he had a full right to do under the law, what the jury in that particular case thought was a fair price, the trade would have more or less settled to whatever figure that might be. Now, I could not say that would result from one case. In other words, he could take the same course that, as I understand it, was taken under the antitrust law, the Sherman law, where the rule of reason was established by several decisions. Men do not want to contest with the Government; men do not want to pay attorneys' fees unnecessarily, and if they can find out what they should do, the honest one and the fair one usually wants to pursue that course. I know that the average man is honest and fair and wants to keep out of court and out of trouble and avoid trouble and expense.

The majority found themselves forced either to choose this position or to indorse the action of the Attorney General. It was the only position, narrow, ridiculous, and hurtful to the public interest as it would have been, from which the Attorney General could be attacked. The Attorney General is criticized for not treating these Louisiana people as criminals in the first instance, these citizens of this Government confronted with a disastrous year, engaged in a necessary industry. If the gentleman from Massachusetts had been Attorney General, he would have had his district attorney investigate "what seemed to be a fair price." Well, that is what this Attorney General did. And then he would have had his district attorney prosecute, and then he would prosecute some more cases, and then the trade "would more or less have settled to whatever figure that might be." Would not that have been a wonderful procedure? He would have revealed "what seemed to be a fair price" through a prosecution. Why not tell it to the people and save the prosecution? He would have to tell it to the jury in the prosecution. Why force them into conflict with their Government? He says, and says well, they did not want it. He says that "men do not want to pay attorneys' fees unnecessarily if they can find out what they should do." In the name of common sense and common honesty, why not help such a people to a knowledge of what they ought to do? Could the lips of a man under a situation like that in Louisiana have fashioned more foolish words? The gentleman from Massachusetts is a far better man than his statement indicates. The difficulty is that my friend has gotten it into his head that he is a sort of amateur sugar expert and does not appreciate that there is not necessarily any difference between having memorized a lot of figures about a thing and not knowing anything about that thing.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TINKHAM] would have investigated and determined what was a fair price and then he would have locked that knowledge in a secure place in one of the unoccupied vaults of his mind, where it could not be pulled out by accident, and then to the best of his ability he would have branded as criminals and made haters of his Government these men whom he says wanted no contest with the Government. And now listen. I quote again: "Men do not want to pay attorneys' fees unnecessarily, and if they can find out what they should do, the honest ones and the fair ones usually want to pursue that course. I know that the average man is honest and fair and wants to keep out of court and out of trouble and avoid trouble and expense." He was right. Most men are honest and all they want to know is what they should do. But in an extraordinary situation like that in Louisiana last year, when 10,000 honest men wanted to know what was right, wanted to avoid contact with their Government, when the whole situation was up in the air, prices were running wild, much of the sugar was subject to no Government control, he would have limited his activity to the petty policy of trying to send somebody to jail and let the market "run wild." He really would not have done that. If he had been the district attorney and those people had come to him and said, "Tell us what you think about it now and we will try to conform and help you and help the Government," he would have told them, because to have closed his lips against the revelation of his conclusion, which they only wanted to know in order that they could conform thereto, and instead to have laid in wait for them and prosecuted such a people in the first instance, would have been a dastardly act and a foolish act on the part of any Government dependent for its perpetuity upon the affection of its people and their belief in its justice. For not having done that, however, the Attorney General is denounced, investigated, and criticized. This but illustrates what situations men may plunge themselves into when partisan prejudice guides their footsteps. That is not a charge. That is the kindest thing which may be said. For no man who claims the privilege of walking free among his fellows and feels in his heart that he is worthy of that privilege, if he were the chief prosecuting officer of this great Government would do what these gentlemen say ought to have been done. No real man, sobered by the sense of responsibility which the consiousness of the power which that great office carries, could think of doing such a thing. These gentlemen do themselves an injustice. This was not an ordinary situation. The criminal provisions of the food-control act are not fashioned as are the ordinary criminal laws. Agriculture is not like the ordinary business.

The district attorney investigated just as the gentleman from Massachusetts advised he would have done. He determined the fair price, and then he did the only fair thing, the only honest thing that the representative of the government of a free people could do. He announced his determination, and in the same spirit in which he met these producers they rewarded his approach and rewarded the public by bringing Louisiana sugar down from 20½ cents to 17 cents and 18 cents. And they brought under the control of a general agreement the sugar from nearly 10,000 independent farmers, over the basis of the price of which neither the food-control act nor any other law ever had any control whatever. Toward which plan would a proper exercise of the discretion of the prosecuting officer incline his selection? Which policy do we want reflected upon the private citizenship from the office of the Attorney General, behind whom is all the power of a mighty Government? No wonder this committee went far afield in its search! No wonder it has sought to distract public attention from the only legitimate subject of its inquiry!

Not only did the Attorney General do what I have stated, but in addition thereto he brought under the control of this

agreement the sugar from a large majority of the plantations which operate their own factories. These planters, such as Milling, Pharr, Dickinson, and Chaffe, and others who testified before the committee, either lost money at the agreed price or fell far below a reasonable per cent on their investments. The public did not suffer by the Attorney General's action.

These were the people who suffered and they suffered in the public interest. It was not their fault that the excessive rains had all but ruined their crops. They met their Government's request in the spirit of sacrifice for the public good, because their Government approached them as honest men should be approached, in a spirit of open candor, with an appeal to their public spirit, and not in the Tinkham-Husted way, as though they were criminals.

Abandoning for the time the position that the Attorney General's action had worked to the public hurt, these critics of the Attorney General say this was a hardship upon these men. And so it was. It had been a hardship to give their sons for the public defense. Those were times when the public interest was dominant. Individuals, some legislative bodies, and administrative officers were stretching to the limit their respective powers to promote and protect the public interest. These sugar men, through the firm, tactful, man-to-man method of approach of the Attorney General acting through the district attorney, were brought to meet the challenge of that time, and agreed to sell sugar at a price to which neither the market nor any power exercisable by the Government could have forced them. Nobody will dispute that. These men are not complaining. Why should the gentlemen of the majority weep on their shoulders?

But, say these irreconcilable critics, there must have been some one in Louisiana whom the Attorney General could have convicted for profiteering at sale prices of 17 and 18 cents. Somewhere there must have been a favored spot where the clouds did not pour their floods upon the fields. We have no disposition to shirk at any point of difference between the majority and the minority members of this subcommittee. I do not doubt there were such spots. The crop reports indicate that. Suppose there could have been found a planter, this particular season, who was making even 40 per cent profit on his sugar at 17 and 18 cents, though there was no testimony to that effect. I do not propose to beg the question; for the sake of discussion let us admit it. Is there a man who has had any experience as a prosecuting officer, who knows anything about the hazards of farming, and who has any real sense, who would conclude that he could convict a sugar producer under the Lever Act for selling at 18 cents when the general market was from 2½ to 3½ cents above, even though he was making a profit of 40 per cent, and solely upon the proof that in that year he was making that profit? I suppose these gentlemen think they could. This is their last ditch. Let us see whether they could or not. The sugar farmer each year gambles the use of his equipment and cultivation cost that his seed cane will not rot in the field, that there will be enough rain, that there will not be too much rain, that the freeze will not come too early, and so forth. One year he loses money, the next year he may break even, and the next year either of these may happen, or he may make a good crop and get a good price. If there is too much rain, the "hill" man wins and the "bottom" man loses. If there is too little rain, the "bottom" man is better conditioned than the "hill" man. The opportunity to secure the average price through the lean and the good years balances up the profits and losses and is the only thing which makes agriculture possible.

Would it be a just or a wise public policy, if possible to enforce, to compel a given farmer to take his losses when they come and take from him the profits which balance against those losses? Do the distinguished gentlemen who constituted the majority on this subcommittee believe that, or that a jury of men could be assembled to whom such a belief could be transferred? I would like to see the Attorney General of the United States, or even the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts, or the distinguished chairman convict a farmer for selling his crops at a figure not above the average price received for the commodity by others merely because in that year fortune had sought to repay his losses and give to him hope for the next year's effort. Only the man who thinks in the terms of a manufacturing plant, which with a given amount of equipment, labor, and material can calculate with reasonable certainty as to output and can protect itself either by prior sales or current sales with regard to price and profit, would undertake such a prosecution; only the man whose vision of mentality has been shortened by the limited range of a city's streets would criticize a man like District Attorney Mooney, who has some real sense, for concluding, as he testified, that in his judgment he could not convict for sales not above 17 and 18 cents. Of course he could not have done it. He handled this difficult situation in the only practical way. He approached these men as honest men ought to have been approached, and as a result he stopped the upward trend and pulled down the price of Louisiana sugar from 20½ cents to 17 cents. That is the fact. He saved the Government the expense of futile prosecutions, and bound down that price by an agreement which no man violated. He is the one and only man that I know of who has it to his credit that he did last year something which did reduce the price of sugar somewhere.

The real purpose of this investigation was disclosed by the opening statement made by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TINKHAM] in his enumeration of the questions involved in the investigation (p. 4 of the House hearing): "Fourth, what effect his (the Attorney General's) action had, if any, upon the price of sugar, particularly in Cuba."

Upon this point four witnesses testified, among them the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TINKHAM]. He did not claim to be a sugar expert, though he did appear before the committee as a sort of self-confessed amateur sugar expert, more or less of the correspondence-school type. He said that the action of the Attorney General in the matter might have added $74,097,560 to sugar prices, and then he proceeded to multiply these figures by two and said it might have been $148,192,120 (p. 77, House hearing). Mr. Zabriskie testified that the effect of sugar selling in Louisiana at 21 cents per pound and going up, in his opinion, was greater than the effect of the fact that the Attorney General would not prosecute for sales not above 17 and 18 cents, respectively (p. 122, House hearing). Mr. Hoover testified that he did not know which would have the greater effect (p. 294, House hearing). Mr. Glasgow testified that it was the fact that sugar was selling as high as 21 cents in the New Orleans market, and not the action of the Attorney General, which excited the Cuban market (p. 130, House hearing).

I respectfully submit that common sense testifies that an open market of 21 cents, showing tendencies to "run wild," reflecting a scramble for sugar and the willingness to pay the price necessary to get it, would have a greater effect upon anybody who has sugar to sell than the action of the Attorney General which pulled the market down to 17 and 18 cents, and by the exercise of the proper spirit and tact fastened above those figures an agreement which never permitted prices to go above those figures, though there was under the market the pressure of the strongest sort of demand at practically any price. Ordinary common sense can pass on that as well as can any expert who ever lived or ever will live on this earth. But the majority members brought the experts, and the experts would not testify that the action of the Attorney General put up the price of Cuban sugar. And yet in the face of that testimony and in the face of common sense the majority members of this subcommittee in their report to the House solemnly stated it as a fact that the action of the Attorney General in this matter "caused an advance in the Cuban market." That sort of proceedings is not right. It can not be excused by any sort of political exigency.

I do not care what may be thought of my own political bias, or what my party would have done if the situation had been reversed. This country belongs to the people. Regardless of political parties there are certain fundamental principles of justice for which we must all stand. Whether I challenge this sort of procedure because of my party affiliations or because I do not believe it to be right makes no difference; I do challenge it and I stand ready to defend the challenge. Whether it be my party or some other party which attempts to do and does do that which the Republican Party has attempted to do and has done with regard to this sugar matter, it is the duty of somebody to challenge that attempt and those acts.

In order that there may be no uncertainty, I make the following definite affirmations and respectfully challenge any Republican Member of this Congress to deny them:

First. That on August 10, 1917, under a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President, the food control or Lever Act, as it is sometimes called, was passed, and under the provisions of this act the Sugar Equalization Board was created, the Cuban sugar crop was purchased, and the distribution of this crop and of the domestic crop was controlled, and general prices held within the neighborhood of 10 and 11 cents.

Second. That the food control act being a war measure and terminating with the declaration of peace, the President on August 8, 1919, in a message delivered in person to a joint session of both Houses of Congress, specifically asked the Congress to extend to a time definite the provisions of the food control act.

Third. The Congress refused to comply with this request and failed to extend the operation of the food control act, and left the power to control the distribution of sugar subject to the uncertainty of termination incident to the proclamation of peace.

Fourth. On the 3d day of October, 1919, the president of the Sugar Equalization Board, Mr. Zabriskie, and Mr. Glasgow, a member of that board and its attorney, appeared before a subcommittee of the Senate investigating as to sugar and known as the McNary committee and advised that committee:

(a) That at that time at least three-fourths of the Cuban crop, which was one-sixth more than the amount of our share of the preceding Cuban crop taken in the division of that crop between ourselves and the commission purchasing sugar for Great Britain, was unsold and available for purchase at a price in the neighborhood of 6½ to 7 cents per pound.

(b) That the Sugar Equalization Board would proceed to purchase this sugar if the Congress would give its indorsement to the venture, and extend to a time definite, sufficient to cover the distribution of the crop purchased, a power to control its distribution similar to the power carried in the food control act.

(c) It was specifically pointed out and emphasized that the Sugar Equalization Board would not undertake this purchase in the absence of the indorsement of the venture by Congress or in the face of the possibility of having its power to control distribution cut off at any time by the proclamation of peace.

(d) It was impressed in the strongest possible manner that in order for anything to be done beneficial to the American people legislation indicating the desire of Congress to have the Cuban crop purchased and granting the power to control its distribution must be expedited.

(e) No member of the committee questioned the reasonableness of the legislation asked, or even intimated that the Sugar Equalization Board should proceed without further legislation, but on the contrary the chairman of the full committee complimented the board for having come to Congress for its legislative approval before proceeding to purchase the crop.

Fifth. That with full knowledge of the whole situation thus given and full responsibility the bill known as the McNary bill, which is the only legislation upon the subject, did not pass the Senate until the 12th day of the following December. It passed the House on the 16th day of December with amendments and became a law after the December recess and after the Cuban crop had, of course, been sold.

Sixth. The entire legislative record of this Congress, which has been in practically continuous session for a year and throughout which time there has been a constant agitation of the sugar question, and advertisement of sugar shortage, and a stimulation of competitive scramble for sugar, with the inevitable enhancement of price, is that it passed a bill expressing congressional assent to purchase the Cuban crop after it had already been sold and was beyond the reach of purchase, and which by the limitations carried in the bill itself told the Sugar Equalization Board and all the other administrative and controlling agencies of the Government that Congress does not indorse the proposition to purchase or control the distribution to the American people of sugar produced during this year. That is the record of this Congress made with full information, complete power, and full responsibility. This bill is the last and only act of Congress touching the purchase and control of sugar prices to the American people, and is the clear expression of its will and judgment that all control over domestic sugar end on June 30, 1920, and over all other sugar on December 31.

Seventh. This Congress adjourns with the record against it, (a) that it refused to give the Sugar Equalization Board legislative sanction to purchase the last Cuban crop and the power to control its distribution until after the crop had already been sold; (b) that it affirmatively denies to the Sugar Equalization Board its sanction to purchase or to have anything to do with the sugar in process of production and which is to supply the needs of the people this winter and next year; (c) that its whole legislative policy and its policy of agitation has been directly to the benefit of those who are interested in charging the American people high prices for sugar.

Eighth. The failure to pass the McNary bill, or some other bill of like import, until the Cuban crop had been sold prevented the purchase of the Cuban crop, put the Sugar Equalization Board out of control over sugar prices, subjected the people to the prices now being paid for sugar, and by the express limitations carried in the bill, limiting to this year the powers and sanction to purchase carried in the bill, cut off the American people from any hope of getting cheaper sugar next year through any purchasing and administrating agency similar to that which the Sugar Equalization Board constitutes.

These statements are made with a full appreciation of the responsibility incident to their making. I do not desire to place myself in the attitude of issuing any challenge with regard to them, but if any of the gentlemen who have manifested so much interest in this matter feel that they would like to take issue with me in their discussion before the people of the country. I see no reason why it may not be arranged to accommodate that desire.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. STRONG,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under the permission granted me by the House, I desire to place in the RECORD a statement of a part of the work performed at the end of the second session by the Sixty-sixth Congress.

Those who for "political purposes" or because some "pet hobby" was not enacted into law engage in the pastime of "knocking Congress" usually propound the question, "What has Congress done?" trusting to a general lack of knowledge as to what Congress has done to enable them to supply their own negative answer. I feel, therefore, that the facts should be presented, as they are the greatest condemnation of those who, perhaps unconsciously, defame that branch of our great Nation directly chosen from and by the people, which is the foundation and basis of the best Government that has ever existed among men.

The real work of Congress is performed by its great committees and not on the floor of the House, as is generally supposed. To these committees are not only referred the thousands of bills which are introduced by the Members but they must also prepare, consider, and approve the great measures that are reported to Congress for passage, which provide for the organization, management, and control of every activity of this great Nation, now grown to be the greatest and richest on earth, and it should be remembered that its business is the largest and most complicated in the world; no other public or private corporation approaches it in the volume, detail, or variety of its business affairs. Positions on these committees are determined by length of service, the new Members beginning at the foot of the committee and become ranking members and chairmen only after years of hard work, during which they become experts on the subject studied. Hence districts and States that retain their Representatives and Senators secure the greatest influence on the legislation of the Nation. Here it is that business and professional experience count most and the lack of them act as a handicap.

The present Republican Congress, which under the Constitution would not have met before December 1, 1919, was called together in special session because of the failure of the Democratic Congress to pass the great appropriation bills necessary to provide the funds for the operation of the Government departments for the ensuing year before its adjournment on March 4. It was not intended that we should have time to do anything more than pass those bills just as they had been prepared by the Democratic House, as the administration requested, and so nearly three months were allowed to pass before we were called together, on May 19, to pass the bills that had to be effective by July 1. However, all the newly-elected Members of Congress had come to Washington at their own expense in February, 1919, the Republican organization was perfected, committee assignments made, and the study of the great supply bills—the work to be done and the condition of the country—was started, so that when we met in May we knew that the wasteful and incompetent expenditure of the funds provided by the people for conducting the war had left an interest-bearing indebtedness of twenty-six thousand million dollars, an empty Treasury, and outstanding debts of three thousand million dollars in excess of the income for the ensuing year; so we were ready for the careful consideration of the needs of the Government with a realization of the necessity for the greatest economy. The members of the important committees worked day and night those first few weeks, and, to the surprise of the administration and the Democratic minority, the eight appropriation bills were reported and passed on time and with a saving to the people of $940,610,598.97 less

than the same bills carried when reported and passed by the Democratic House but three months before.

The general knowledge of the graft of the cost-plus contractors, the aeroplane scandal, the granting and settlement of war contracts forced the appointment of a committee to investigate war expenditures. This committee was composed of both Republicans and Democrats, and their report reveals facts as to the disgraceful waste of public funds which are almost unbelievable. It is possible to refer to only a few of the items set forth by the report of this committee, but it shows

WHAT WE GOT FOR OUR MONEY.

We expended $1,051,511,988 for aviation and aeroplanes, and up to the time of the signing of the armistice not a single fighting plane was at the American front. As a result of our entire aviation program we obtained 213 De Haviland 4 observation planes, all of which were illy designed and constructed and extremely dangerous, and 527 second-hand foreign planes, which we either bought or borrowed from our associates in the war.

We expended $50,000,000 on a spruce-production program, building elaborate railroads, camps, and facilities, and then were forced to buy 92.6 per cent of our spruce lumber from private, independent spruce lumbermen. We spent approximately $10,000,000 on spruce railroads that never hauled a log of lumber.

We spent $20,000,000 for 4,608 Curtiss motors, 1,616 Curtiss type aeroplanes, and 1,100 Standard JN-1 aeroplanes, which we purchased from the Curtiss Aeroplane & Motor Corporation and then sold back to them for $2,720,000.

We spent $6,000,000 for Bristol planes and $17,500,000 on Standard JN planes and got not a single machine that could be used for any purpose.

We spent $206,632,920 for 16 National Army cantonments, built by the cost-plus system. These could have been built for $128,101,399, or $78,531,521 less than they did cost. We expended $1,200,000,000 for the construction of camps and cantonments, largely by the cost-plus system, a system adopted by the War Department. By this system costs were increased, labor demoralized, the completion of the camps was delayed, soldiers called to the colors were subjected to conditions that induced disease and death, and from 40 to 60 per cent of the money was wasted. Twenty-two million dollars was spent for fees to favored contractors on camps and cantonments, most of which would have been saved had this work been let by bids.

We spent $60,100,000 to build a powder plant at Nitro, W. Va. It never produced a pound of powder for the war. After the armistice there was stored at Nitro personal property worth at a fair cash value of $10,000,000. Both plant and property were sold after the armistice for $8,551,000, most of it in deferred payments. We paid the Hercules Powder Co. for operating the Nitro plant $11,293,737.11. They produced no powder that we could use in the war.

We spent $2,900,000 in furnishing electrical machinery and building electric lines for the Virginia Power Co. at Nitro, W. Va., and after we had built them a first-class system, giving them a practical monopoly of the Kanawha Valley, the Government settled with them for $81,000, and, in addition, gave them a long-time contract to furnish electric power for the naval armor plant at Charleston, W. Va.

We spent approximately $90,000,000 in the construction and operation of a powder plant at Nashville, Tenn., called "Old Hickory," and which produced no powder that could be used in the war.

We spent many millions, the exact amount being unknown, for the production of tanks and did not produce a single tank that reached the front before the armistice. To complete our tank program we needed 1,200 tanks, which were to cost $25,000 each. To build these we started an immense steel and concrete factory in France, which was to assemble and turn out 100 of these tanks a day, or the entire supply in 12 days. The British were to furnish the guns and armor and ship them to France for assembly, while we were to furnish the engines and running gear and ship them to France for assembly. The British supplied their part, but we supplied nothing. The factory was unfinished at the armistice and never produced anything.

We spent $116,194,974.37 on nitrate plants at Sheffield, Ala.; Muscle Shoals, Ala.; Toledo, Ohio; and Cincinnati, Ohio. These plants did not produce a pound of nitrates that could be used in the war.

We spent for poison gas $116,000,000. Not a pound of American gas was ever fired in an American shell, and only about 100 tons of American gas loaded in shells ever reached the field dumps.

The Government built three picric-acid plants and seven plants to make phenol and acid required by them. This was to furnish picric acid for the French, who desired it for explosives. None of these plants produced a pound of anything that was used in the war. The plants cost us $35,000,000. The French were to pay the whole bill, but the War Department settled with France for $14,000,000.

We spent $17,116,000 in constructing a port terminal at Charleston, S. C. It was built in an isolated swamp, 10 miles up the Cooper River, where it was necessary to dredge to reach it. There was not a man, a pound of produce, or an animal shipped either out of or into this terminal during the war.

We spent $127,661,000 for port terminals at Boston, Brooklyn, Newark, Philadelphia, Norfolk, Charleston, and New Orleans. Some of them were not finished and none of them were used for anything except storage during the war.

The Ordnance Department spent $3,991,489,570.48 from the beginning of the war until June 1, 1919, or as much as it cost to finance the Civil War. A large part of it was spent in a program of manufacturing artillery and ammunition. Of this immense program of expenditures there reached our troops and were actually used in combat 39 75-millimeter antiaircraft mount trucks, 48 4.7-inch guns of the 1906 model, 48 4.7-inch gun carriages of the same model, 24 8-inch howitzers, and 24 8-inch gun carriages. We furnished our troops for use 6,000 75-millimeter shells, 14,000 4.7 shells, 48 4.7 guns, and 24 8-inch howitzers.

These are the principal things the soldiers need to fight with—aeroplanes, gas, tanks, guns, and shells—and it is hard to understand how so much money could be spent and such small results secured. But the failure was not alone in the essential things, and it is amazing to know of the excessive orders given for the less essential things. A few instances will indicate this:

We ordered 41,100,152 pairs of shoes and received deliveries of 32,227,450 pairs for 3,513,837 men. We bought and received 500,326 double sets of harness and 110,828 single sets. We had, in all, during the period of the war 580,182 horses, of which only 67,948 were shipped overseas, and 96,000 died. We bought 945,000 saddles, and had, in all, 86,418 Cavalry horses. We bought 2,850,853 halters. We bought 585,615 saddlebags. We bought 1,637,199 horse brushes. We bought 2,033,204 nose bags. We bought 1,148,364 horse covers. We bought for our Ordnance officers 712,510 complete sets of spur straps, about 36 sets for each officer. We bought 8,781,516 horseshoes. We bought 195,000 branding irons. We ordered 149,456,611 hard-bread cans and used 31,500,000 during the war.

Nothing can be said in defense of this program of enriching the war contractors. It is astounding, but it is true.

FORCED SALE OF FOOD SUPPLIES.

When the war closed we had on hand and had contracted for food and clothing, which was delivered, sufficient for an army of 5,000,000 for eight months in advance. Every effort was made to bring about the sale of this material, as the Government needed the money and the people needed the food. Yet for six months there was no surplus declared on which the Director of Sales could act. The House reported and passed resolution 212, requesting the Secretary of War to sell to the people the surplus food held by it and valued at approximately $100,000,000. It was found the War Department had entered into a tentative agreement with the packers and canners not to put this food on the market, and were using every method to dispose of it by feeding it to soldiers or otherwise, so that it should not be sold to the people. As a result of this resolution, $57,000,000 of this food has been sold and that much money has gone to the Treasury that would otherwise not have been there.

The House also passed resolution No. 362, requesting the Secretary of War to distribute through the Agricultural Department, among the highway departments of the States, 22,193 motor vehicles and to sell the balance. As the result of this resolution, machines to the value of $67,341,479 have been distributed among the States, and $2,800,000 has been paid into the Treasury for machines sold.

Mr. Hare, Director of Sales of the War Department, when before the committee was asked to state the policy of the War Department in disposing of its surplus foodstuffs, and in reply he said:

> It was the policy of the Director of Sales to dispose of surplus property of the War Department so as to disturb the industrial conditions of the country as little as possible.

In other words, though the people were complaining because of the high prices of foodstuffs, the administration did not want to "break the market," and the evidence disclosed that great stores of meat and foodstuffs were permitted to spoil and were destroyed.

WAR PROFITEERS NOT PROSECUTED.

The report of the investigating committee on war expenditures is filled with instances of graft and wrongdoing, in which

the names of those found guilty or wrongfully taking unjust profits are set forth, but no prosecutions have resulted. Why? Ask the administration. You will remember that ex-Justice Hughes recommended a court-martial for Col. Edward A. Deeds because of his connection with the letting of $50,000,000 worth of contracts to his friends for building aeroplanes, but Secretary Baker interfered. Deeds was whitewashed and retired and was given a great banquet at Washington and was acclaimed one of the heroes of the war. Attorney General Palmer does not prosecute the high-ups. He asked Congress to include clothing and other articles under the statute making it unlawful to profiteer in food products to enable him to reduce the high cost of living, and we promptly did this, but except for his promises we have had nothing else from him. Congress can pass laws to govern and regulate those matters conferred to it by the Constitution and not reserved to the States, but it can not enforce them. That is the duty of the Executive. Congress can make investigation and expose wrongdoing, graft, crime, and profiteering, as it has done, but it can not prosecute. That is the duty of the Department of Justice under the direction of the Executive.

HE KEPT US OUT OF PEACE.

The Senate, after two earnest attempts to present reservations to a premeditatively interwoven peace treaty and League of Nations, which would preserve our national independence and leave us free to decide on any future interference in European affairs, had to abandon the effort, only to find that a resolution passed by both the House and Senate to officially declare peace and take from the President his war powers met opposition and was promptly vetoed.

BILLS PASSED BY CONGRESS.

This Congress, in addition to the great saving made in the appropriation bills which had failed in the Democratic Congress, and in addition to exposing the graft and wasteful expenditure of the war funds, also began a great program of reconstruction, all of which was carried out as far as possible against the opposition of an administration of which—let us say in charity—its head may be both physically and mentally affected.

It passed a bill providing for the return of the railroads to their owners, after months of consideration by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, during which every plan was discussed and 3,669 pages of evidence taken and after weeks of consideration by the conferees of both Houses. This will prove to be a great piece of constructive legislation.

It repealed the so-called daylight-saving law and passed the same over the veto of the President.

It passed the Volstead Act for the enforcement of national prohibition, which was ratified by the States, and also passed the same over the President's veto.

It passed the law returning the telephone and telegraph lines to their owners.

It passed the water-power bill, which is intended to utilize the power of nature to increase production. This bill had been pending for years before Congress.

It passed the coal, oil, and gas leasing bill.

It passed a budget bill, which had been advocated by financial and business experts for years, only to have it vetoed by the President because it sought to take the heads of the system out of politics by making their removal subject to Congress instead of at the pleasure of the President, and when it was amended to comply with the President's command it was defeated by Democrats in the Senate.

It passed the Army reorganization bill, rejecting the demand for a large army and universal compulsory training insisted upon by the administration.

It passed a uniform cold-storage bill.

It liberalized the Federal reserve act and the Federal farm-loan act in the interest of the farmer.

It passed a coastwise shipping protection bill and a bill to establish an American merchant marine.

It passed a bill for the incorporation of the American Legion.

It enacted liberal provisions for vocational training and rehabilitation for our wounded soldiers and sailors and made generous appropriations for the same.

It amended the war-risk insurance act to increase the efficiency of the bureau and liberalize the provisions in the payment of compensation to disabled men who served in the war.

It passed a bill providing for the return of the bodies of our dead heroes from France.

It passed the Fuller bill, providing for the increase of Civil War pensions.

It passed the Sells bill, providing for increased pensions for Spanish War veterans.

It passed the employees' retirement bill, which has been before Congress for many years.

It passed the minimum-wage labor law.

It created a woman's department in the Bureau of Labor.

It raised the wages of all Government employees, including the immense Postal Service System.

It passed the Fess bill, providing for Federal aid and cooperation with the States in the vocational training and rehabilitation of those injured in industry, agriculture, and transportation.

It passed the bill for the completion of the Alaskan Railway, necessary to the development of that great, rich Territory, and many other bills of minor importance.

A SAVING, PORKLESS CONGRESS.

And finally it passed all of the great appropriation bills necessary for carrying on the Government's departments for the next year, and by the exercise of the same careful economy practiced in passing the appropriation bills, which failed in the Democratic Congress, a further saving from the estimates and demands of administration heads to the amount of $1,433,850,218.09 was made, making a total saving to the people in the two sets of appropriation bills, which this Congress was called on to pass, of $2,374,460,817.06.

Much more could have been saved if we had the power to force the discharge of the thousands of useless employees that crowd the Government's departments, but that can only be accomplished by a change in the administration.

This has been a "porkless Congress." No new public buildings have been authorized and no new river and harbor projects have been undertaken. Every measure to make expenditures sometimes referred to as "pork-barrel appropriations" has been rejected.

A SERVING CONGRESS.

It has been a Congress in which the aftermath of the war has brought to every Member thousands of cases for adjustment, through the departments, and which has taxed our ability and experience, to perform and to keep up the large correspondence which necessarily came to every Representative, but it has been a pleasure to serve.

Take it all in all, the Republicans of the country are to be congratulated on the record of achievement made by this Congress in the face of an opposing and domineering Executive, whose position on important matters of state no one could foresee or rely upon, and I believe the people will view with approval the work it has accomplished.

The Maintenance and Improvement of Rivers and Harbors—The Importance of Developing Water Transportation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. SMALL,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Speaker, I feel constrained to comment upon the dereliction of the Republican majority at this session in their attitude toward the annual river and harbor bill.

As a result of the last election in 1918, the Republican Party elected a majority in both the House and Senate, and thereby assumed the responsibility for legislation during this—the Sixty-sixth—Congress. This was the second or regular session of this Congress, during which it was incumbent upon the majority to pass the regular annual river and harbor bill. As is well known, the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, submits an annual report giving the status of every river, canal, or harbor under improvement or maintenance throughout the country, and submits estimates as to the necessary appropriations for the ensuing fiscal year. In his last annual report the Chief of Engineers submitted estimates and recommended appropriations as follows:

Total of estimates for work of maintenance	$9,060,350
Total of estimates for works of improvement and maintenance	3,452,000
Total estimate for works of improvement	30,029,215
Estimate for examinations, surveys, and contingencies of rivers and harbors	300,000
Total of estimates for works of all kinds to be carried in the river and harbor bill for the year ending June 30, 1921	42,841,565

It will be noted that the Chief of Engineers recommended total appropriations of $42,841,865. When the Committee on Rivers and Harbors met in December, 1919, at the beginning of the session, to formulate a river and harbor bill they were advised by the majority leader that the committee should exercise rigid economy and that the estimates submitted by the Chief of Engineers should be reduced. This course met with the unanimous approval of the committee, and the Chief of Engineers was directed to reexamine carefully the status of all the rivers and harbors of the country, with a view to reducing the estimates to the lowest limit compatible with the maintenance of projects already completed and with the further improvement of projects heretofore authorized but not completed. He was directed to limit the appropriations for further improvement to such sums only as were necessary to continue the work and prevent deterioration.

It will be noted from the above summary that the original estimates for maintenance amounted to $9,060,350. This did not include the estimates for maintenance so mingled with work of improvement that they could not be separated. In the interest of economy the committee decided primarily to include in the bill a lump-sum appropriation of $5,000,000 to cover the cost of maintenance, to be allotted by the Chief of Engineers. The committee were not unanimous in recommending the lump sum even for maintenance, but because such action promised to work economy a majority of the committee yielded on this proposition.

As to appropriations for the further improvement of projects not completed, the Chief of Engineers, through his assistant, Col. Harry Taylor, appeared before the committee and recommended reduced appropriations for 49 projects, carrying a total of about $19,500,000. These recommendations represented, in the opinion of the Chief of Engineers, the irreducible minimum which should be appropriated for further improvement of these particular projects. After hearings before the committee, continuing for many days, in which these recommendations of the Chief of Engineers were carefully pruned and considered, but before the committee had taken final action on same, the chairman of the committee stated that the majority party had recommended that the committee report a bill carrying a lump-sum appropriation of $12,000,000 to cover both maintenance and further improvement for the ensuing year. Such a bill was reported and passed the House on January 22, 1920, and passed the Senate on April 26, 1920, with an amendment increasing this lump-sum appropriation to $24,000,000. The bill was considered by the conference committee of the two Houses, whereupon the Senate conferees finally yielded and the bill became a law on June 5, 1920, carrying only this lump-sum appropriation of $12,000,000.

It will be noted that the lump sum of $5,000,000 for maintenance and the reduced recommendation by the Chief of Engineers for further improvement, totaling $19,500,000, would have made an aggregate of only $24,500,000. If to this should be added the sum of $400,000, as recommended, for examinations, surveys, and contingencies, the total amount would have been a little less than $25,000,000. It must be apparent that this last sum represented a total which, in the opinion of the Chief of Engineers, was absolutely essential for the maintenance and further improvement of navigable channels and harbors throughout the country.

I may add further that the committee had concluded not to recommend in the bill the adoption of any new projects. This conclusion was reluctantly reached in the interests of economy.

I respectfully submit that the maintenance and improvement of our interior waterways and harbors is relatively just as important as any other activity of the Government. I also think it is fair to state that the majority, in making appropriations for the other departments and governmental activities for the next fiscal year, did not adopt any such policy as they did toward rivers and harbors. A lump-sum appropriation to be divided among the various activities of any bureau or department constitutes a vicious method of legislation. It is a surrender of the legislative function and unfair to the country. No explanation was given why the sum of $12,000,000 was selected. It might have been more or less without violating any principle or policy, because it was founded on neither. In making allotments of this lump-sum appropriation the Chief of Engineers can not allocate the sum among the several rivers and harbors of the country in proportion to their needs, because the aggregate sum was not arrived at upon the basis of necessity, but represents a mere arbitrary guess and is merely speculative. Such allocation must likewise be arbitrary, and the Chief of Engineers, though he will act with fairness and integrity, will find it impossible to make his allotments fairly or systematically. Is it unfair to state that the majority willfully discriminated against this essential activity of the Government represented by the maintenance and improvement of the rivers and harbors? There seems to be only one conclusion.

It would be profitable to examine into the record of the Democratic Party in their treatment of appropriations for the maintenance of rivers and harbors. The Democrats were in the majority in the House of Representatives in the Sixty-second, Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth, and Sixty-fifth Congresses, having first elected a majority of the House in 1910. The first river and harbor bill passed by the Democratic majority was that approved July 25, 1912, which carried cash appropriations amounting to $31,059,370. The last bill passed by a Democratic majority was the bill approved March 2, 1919. I submit herewith a table summarizing the contents of each of the bills from 1912 to 1919, inclusive:

Table showing some details of annual river and harbor acts from 1912 to 1919, inclusive.

[Page 6997, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 13, 1920.]

Date of approval.	Cash appropriations.	Continuing contracts.		Total appropriations and authorizations.	New projects.			
		Number.	Amount.		Number.	Estimated cost.	Initial appropriation. Cash.	Initial appropriation. Continuing contract.
July 25, 1912	$31,059,370.50	1	$2,200,000.00	$33,259,370.50	78	$37,217,446.00	$7,131,768.00	
Mar. 4, 1913	41,073,094.00	9	6,795,800.00	47,868,894.00	39	13,920,806.00	4,259,276.00	$2,028,800
Oct. 2, 1914	20,000,000.00			20,000,000.00				
Mar. 4, 1915	25,000,000.00			25,000,000.00				
July 27, 1916	40,598,135.00	6	2,287,950.00	42,886,085.00	18	4,992,675.00	2,072,225.00	1,077,950
Aug. 8, 1917	27,726,150.00			27,726,150.00	35	40,458,573.00	7,019,000.00	
July 18, 1918	23,771,900.00	1	82,700.00	23,854,600.00	8	58,638,500.00	4,204,350.00	82,700
Mar. 2, 1919	33,378,364.00			33,378,364.00	81	26,639,051.00	10,651,114.00	

It is interesting to note that the river and harbor acts approved August 8, 1917, and July 18, 1918, were passed when our country was engaged in the Great World War. If at any time Congress would neglect its rivers and harbors, it can be assumed that it would do so during the progress of a great war. It is pleasant to note that any temptation to do so was rejected and that the annual continuity of these bills was maintained. In the river and harbor act of 1917 more than $27,000,000 was appropriated, and in the act of July 18, 1919, more than $23,000,000 was appropriated. It is true that in these acts due economy was exercised and no new projects were adopted except such as were necessarily associated with the prosecution of the war; but the fact remains that river and harbor acts were passed in 1917 and 1918 and that specific appropriations were made for the various projects in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers and that no lump-sum appropriations were adopted.

I repeat again that in the river and harbor bill at this session, while due economy should have been exercised, the interests of the country demanded a river and harbor act in the usual form, making specific appropriations for the maintenance and improvement of the various projects.

Will it be suggested that the maintenance and improvement of rivers and harbors is less necessary than the maintenance of the other activities of the Government? Let us analyze this query briefly. The products of the country, both raw and

manufactured, must be distributed. Our domestic needs and our exports require that these products should be moved between different sections of the country and to our terminal ports. This distribution is comprehended under the term "transportation." It is trite to say that we have three instrumentalities of transportation—the highways, the railways, and the waterways. The country has been awakened to the necessity of improvement of its highways. With Federal cooperation the States and the counties are active in the improvement of interstate or local highways. The motor truck has introduced a substantial aid for the movement of local traffic.

The railroads are confronted with inadequate terminals, with a deficiency of rolling stock, and with an enormous traffic. So far they have been unable to finance the purchase of rolling stock or to make the necessary additions to their tracks and terminals. Every intelligent citizen realizes that the country needs additional methods of transportation.

The waterways are the only remaining instrumentality to which the country can turn for relief. This fact is recognized by all men. Congress recognized this need at the present session in the enactment of the transportation act of 1920, by incorporating certain provisions intended to encourage water transportation. Certain essentials must exist for the more complete utilization of our interior waterways; primarily navigable channels must be provided and maintained, water terminals must be constructed by cities and towns, and there must be an economical and expeditious interchange of traffic between boat lines and the railroads. Such interchange must be predicated upon the same liberal terms and conditions as now prevail in the interchange of traffic between the different lines of railroad. The enlarged use of our interior waterways is absolutely essential to the welfare of the country.

Is it not, then, true that the maintenance and improvement of our waterways are just as important as the maintenance of any of the other activities of the Government? Was it not a serious dereliction of duty to neglect this essential activity? If in answer thereto it may be said that the majority did pass a river and harbor bill, may it not be said in reply that it was an inadequate bill; that it differed from all other appropriation bills in that it carried a lump-sum appropriation and was therefore grossly discriminatory and unfair?

I dislike to introduce the element of partisanship into the discussion of legislation for rivers and harbors. I have been a member of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors for some years. With few exceptions, the committee have formulated river and harbor bills which were free from partisan bias or sectional spirit. The maintenance and improvement of waterways and harbors should be neither partisan nor sectional. Therefore I do respectfully protest against the attitude of the Republican majority in this Congress as exhibited during the recent session in making the river and harbor bill a partisan measure and by unfairly discriminating against this essential activity of the Federal Government.

Hawaiian Rehabilitation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 22, 1920,

On the bill (H. R. 13500) to establish the Hawaiian homes commission, and for other purposes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the Hawaiian rehabilitation bill having passed the House, I feel that as ranking member of the Committee on Territories I may properly say a few words concerning the activities of the Delegate from Hawaii [Mr. KALANIANAOLE] in behalf of this measure. To secure a bill that would take care of the native population, save the lands to the people there, and at the same time not destroy the sugar industry there was not an easy task. The present measure will come as near suiting all of the people of Hawaii as any measure that can be written. No new land law will suit all of them. But the bulk of the people accept this measure, the landowners accept it, the chamber of commerce accepts it, and it spells prosperity and renewed activity for our choicest island possessions, as well as the rehabilitation of that wonderful race of people, the native Hawaiians. The Delegate is to be congratulated.

Rehabilitation of Persons Disabled in Industries.

SPEECH

OF

HON. STUART F. REED,

OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, October 16, 1919.

The House had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4438) to provide for the promotion of vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry or otherwise and their return to civil employment.

Mr. REED of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I am heartily in favor of this legislation which proposes national aid in cooperation with the States in helping those who are so unfortunate as to become permanently disabled in mining, railroading, farming, or other industrial pursuits.

The bill provides that the Federal Government shall pay half and the State that elects to cooperate in this work shall pay half. When the State agrees to appropriate $1,000 the Federal Government will add another thousand dollars to help to save industrial cripples from lives of hopelessness and dependence and fit them to engage in gainful and useful occupations. The amount proposed to be expended for this purpose the first year is $500,000, the second year $750,000, and the third year it reaches the limit of $1,000,000, and it will not be increased after that.

Members to-day are opposing this legislation because of the expense involved. Yet these same men have been voting billions of dollars for the destructive machinery of war. My colleagues, the money provided in this bill is for the splendid work of salvaging men. I favor it not only because it is right and noble and humane, but because it is a sound, economical business proposition. It means the taking of helpless human beings from poorhouses and sanitariums and making them self-supporting instead of remaining during the rest of their lives a burden to themselves, to society, or to their relatives. For every dollar spent in this kind of work it is safe to say that $10 will eventually be saved to the States and to the Nation.

But the opponents of the bill say we must economize, and this is the place to begin. Our honored and beloved ex-Speaker [Mr. CLARK] is greatly alarmed because Republicans have proposed such an extravagant measure as the one under consideration.

Mr. Speaker, I took great pleasure in joining my colleagues recently in a work of real economy. We cut the Army and Navy appropriation bills down $250,000,000 below what the Secretary of War was demanding and all the appropriations about $1,500,000,000 below the estimates of the administration. I gladly join the advocates of economy wherever it is practicable, but I must part company with them when they proposed to begin on the crippled and unfortunate of this rich and generous Republic. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, this bill deals with the economic value of a man. Those who oppose the measure say it is not a national problem. Well, it was a national problem when we called for the manhood of America to defend the old flag. The War Department did not ask the States for their inefficients and their cripples; the demand was for their physically fit youth, the best and the grandest of their manhood, and left the infirm, the aged, and the crippled to do the best they could to feed and equip that magnificent American Army that went overseas and carried our flag to victory. [Applause.]

My friends, it is an economic question. It is said by the Census Bureau that this morning 9,000 little, helpless pink bundles of babyhood opened their wondering eyes for the first time, newcomers to this Republic. A noted economist in one of our eastern colleges says that each one of these babies has an economic value to the State of $90. I do not know his method of reasoning, but he goes further and says that each infant that reaches the age of adolescence, or the threshold of manhood or womanhood, has an average economic value to our country of $4,000. A well-known educator recently stated that a man from the soles of his feet up to his neck is worth as a laborer from $2 to $6 a day. From his neck up he may be worth from $10,000 to $100,000 a year. In one of the New England States a corpse was taken from the medical department of a certain college, and the authorities reported that the school had suffered a loss of $100.

The evidence, therefore, is overwhelming as to the economic value of a human being while living, and the report of the medical school proves that even after life's fitful dream is over man's inanimate tenement of clay has a value ranging from $100

to $150. May I say in passing that we have some men in the country disloyal to our flag that might fittingly be utilized by the medical schools? That would seem to be about their only economic value to America. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Speaker, there are many kinds of cripples in the United States. I notice in the committee's report the statement that some cripples will rehabilitate themselves. A few years ago a man with but one leg came into my office on crutches and asked if I would make a contribution to get him a cork leg. I asked him where he had lived heretofore. He told me. I dispatched a letter to a friend of mine there and asked for his history. He replied:

> That one-legged man has been collecting money to get a cork leg for at least 15 years, but he does not want one. He has been going from town to town for years, and the empty breeches leg and the appeal for a cork leg is the shibboleth of his prosperity, and always will be.

This man was the kind of cripple whom you could not rehabilitate. Even if it were possible for the scientist to construct for that man an artificial limb so true to nature that the heel could become afflicted with stone bruises and the toes be susceptible to real human corns, he could not be made to accept it, because he could use his infirmity and his need to induce the public to supply all his wants. [Laughter and applause.]

I recall another occasion when a well-dressed young man called on me and asked if he could interest me in office equipment. He looked every inch a prosperous business man, and said he had come to the city to place a bid for some filing cases for the county clerk's office. When he entered the room I observed that he limped slightly, but he carried only a slender walking stick. During our conversation I said, "You appear to be a little lame."

"Yes," he replied, "just a little on account of having lost one of my legs in an accident."

Then he arose and, swinging his cane above his head, he skipped gracefully around my desk. I expressed my admiration at his agility. He turned to me and said:

"Mr. REED, if you will promise to say nothing about it publicly, I will tell you the whole truth. Both of my legs have been amputated, but I am in your city competing with other firms for a contract at your courthouse, and I do not desire any advantage to accrue to me through sympathy for my infirmities. I want my case to stand purely on its merits. If one thing more than another disgusts me," he said, "it is a darned cripple running around using the sympathy stunt to earn a living."

Mr. Speaker, the two men to whom I have alluded represent the extremes of unfortunate humanity. One man did not want to be reconstructed and the other did not need it. One preferred the path of the mendicant and the tramp. The other man was the embodiment and incarnation of those God-given forces that triumph over misfortune and lead on to victory and achievement. [Applause.]

There are some unfortunate beings whom this law will not help, and there are others who do not need it. But between the two classes there is a national economic asset that we can not afford to ignore.

Mr. Speaker, it might prove interesting to unroll the scrolls of time and see how many great niches in the temple of history are occupied by men physically imperfect—men who succeeded in spite of handicaps and infirmities. Some came into this world with frail and deformed bodies, while others were injured by accident. It is said that Hannibal had but one eye, Cæsar had fits, Beethoven was deaf, Alexander the Great was deformed. Voltaire was a puny, bloodless creature, Milton was blind, Byron had club feet, and we hear that the Kaiser has a withered arm.

Some of these men made the world better and some of them made it mourn, but who will deny that every one of these defectives and cripples, whether his life counted for good or evil, put himself in human history and made the world acknowledge his power.

To-day there are thousands of men and women in our country who are practically helpless by reason of some bodily injury. It has been demonstrated that most of these can be trained and made efficient for some calling or occupation.

The critics of this legislation, in seeking for some plausible reasons to defeat its passage, say the work of rehabilitating the cripples of the land is one that should be encouraged, but let the States do it. They say it is not right for the Federal Government to enter the States and spend money and engage in this or similar undertakings. Why was not this argument advanced when we made an appropriation of $1,500,000 for the control and eradication of tuberculosis in domestic animals in the States? Where were the economists when we appropriated about half a million to control hog cholera in the States? How about the millions the National Government is spending in the States to improve rivers and harbors, to construct public roads, and protect standing timber?

Defeat this measure, gentlemen, and the policy of the great American Congress will be roads and highways projected, forests and cattle inspected, river channels deepened and deflected, black-leg calves injected, hogs protected, the rehabilitation of the children of men in glorious America neglected. [Applause.]

Federal Aid in Construction of Good Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM D. McKEOWN,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. McKEOWN. Mr. Speaker, propaganda urging a change of the present method of Federal aid in the construction of good roads has made its appearance. It is proposed to establish a national highway system to be wholly constructed and maintained by the National Government. It is doubtful if such a change would ever be advisable, but it is certainly not expedient at this time in view of the condition of the Treasury. It is desirable to have a system of hard surface roads throughout the several States, and this result can be secured under the present system. Highway use is very largely a local matter. The growth and development of a community is greatly increased by the construction of permanent roads in or adjacent thereto. No system should be adopted that would benefit a few at the expense of the many.

For that reason the local communities should contribute their share of the expense of construction.

We are told by competent authority that freight can be transported cheaper on short hauls by motor trucks than by rail, but on long hauls the cost of transportation by truck is prohibitive.

The present plan of Federal aid for good roads is just getting into operation. The Shackleford Act was approved July 11, 1916, and many States were unable to act until their legislative bodies convened and enacted into law the necessary legislation and made the needed appropriations. This did not occur until the winter of 1916 or early spring of 1917.

In April, 1917, the declaration of a state of war was made and all road building almost ceased. All construction work was necessarily restricted by the concentration of all effort to bring the war to a successful and speedy conclusion. All bond issues that had been voted for road construction were held in abeyance and nothing was undertaken until after the signing of the armistice to resume the construction of highways. The war awakened the people to the necessity of permanent road building and demonstrated that it would be necessary in future construction to build roads that would withstand the heavy truck. Roads that were considered among the best before the war were ruined by the heavy trucks during the war.

One of the first things that confronts those who favor permanent roads is the greatly increased cost of labor and material. This fact has retarded many communities in completing their plans to commence or complete road construction. Notwithstanding this drawback, the public has supported a very large building program, as is evidenced by the bond issues voted during the year 1919.

The present system of Federal aid has not had a fair opportunity to demonstrate its merits. It began operation under abnormal conditions, which grew worse. Although we are trying to readjust our affairs since the ceasing of hostilities, yet the shortage of the supply of available railroad cars is threatening all business, but especially road building. The constant demand to allocate all open-top cars to the coal industry retards construction, and the present shortage is causing great financial loss to the contractors and municipalities engaged in road work.

The time may arrive when it will be necessary for the Interstate Commerce Commission to allocate all open-top cars to transport coal to keep the people of America warm. If it becomes necessary, then the commission should make the order, but I enter my solemn protest against any such order for the benefit of manufacturing plants alone. Men who have their all invested in road building and road-building materials during the war stood by the Government, although under the priority shipping rules their business was practically destroyed, while on the other hand many of the manufacturing plants now demanding the open-top cars to convey their fuel were making handsome profits out of war contracts.

Frequent requests from various persons and organizations interested in improved highways for information concerning the present law of Federal aid induces me to call attention to some of the requirements under the present law to obtain Federal aid.

The road to be improved must be a "rural post road," as defined in the law to be "any public road a major portion of which is now used, or can be used, or forms a connecting link not to exceed 10 miles in length of any road or roads now or hereafter used for the transportation of the United States mails, excluding every street and road in a place having a population, as shown by the latest available Federal census, of 2,500 or more, except that portion of any such street or road along which the houses average more than 200 feet apart."

The application for Federal aid must first be presented to and approved by the State highway department before being submitted by such State highway department to the Bureau of Roads for the approval of the Secretary of Agriculture.

To obtain the approval of the Secretary of Agriculture it is necessary that the proposed construction "be substantial in character." After his approval the State highway department must furnish to the Bureau of Roads "the surveys, plans, specifications, and estimates as required."

The share to be paid by the United States "shall not exceed 50 per cent of the total estimated cost thereof," and further provision is made that no payment of Federal aid funds shall be made on any project until the plans, specifications, and estimates have been approved by the Secretary of Agriculture.

The provision limiting the share of the United States to "50 per cent of the estimated cost thereof" should be so amended that in States like Oklahoma, where there are large areas of nontaxable lands, the share of the United States be increased in proportion as the nontaxable area bears to the taxable area of the whole State. If in a State the nontaxable lands are 20 per cent of the entire State, then the share of the United States should be increased 20 per cent. This would increase the share of the United States from 50 per cent to 60 per cent and reduce the share of the State from 50 per cent to 40 per cent.

This would not be unfair to the other States, as it would not increase the proportionment to the State.

There is a further limitation of the pro rata share of the United States to $20,000 per mile "exclusive of the cost of bridges more than 20 feet clear span" for labor and material which has been actually put into the said construction in conformity to the plans and specifications. Under the prevailing prices for labor and material I am of the opinion that the amount should be increased.

In view of the disposition of some to swindle the public in the value of labor and material used in the construction of a road-building project, it should be made a felony to make a false statement relative to the value of labor or material used for the purpose of defrauding the Government in constructing the road. I have introduced a bill to take care of such a situation. The public is entitled to a dollar in value for every dollar spent for good roads.

Under the present law the amount of Federal aid apportioned to Oklahoma for the years 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, and 1921 aggregates $6,838,245.60, and is not sufficient to take care of all the projects requiring Federal aid. What is true of Oklahoma is also true of other States.

The amount appropriated should be increased to meet the demands made upon the Bureau of Roads for aid.

The lack of sufficient appropriation is demoralizing the road-building spirit. Some communities have voted bond issues expecting to receive Federal aid, unaware that the State's apportionment has been exhausted.

The duty and responsibility rests upon the State highway department to distribute the sum allotted to the State for the construction of roads.

Sometimes communities complain of the amount of Federal aid awarded to them by the State highway department and oftentimes demand dollar for dollar out of the Federal aid fund for the entire amount of their project. It must be remembered that the amount apportioned to each State is limited and should be fairly distributed by the highway department.

The Bureau of Roads and the several State highway departments have had many perplexing problems to solve, and in the proper solution of the same have displayed splendid ability and efficiency. They are entitled to the help and encouragement of all those who desire permanent highways throughout the United States.

Before concluding my remarks I desire to express my appreciation for the efficient manner the present Chief of the Bureau of Roads, Mr. MacDonald, is conducting the bureau. He is a worthy successor of the late Director Logan Waller Page, whose life work was given to the study and building of good roads in America. His name should be perpetuated in some magnificent highway bearing the same.

Nothing will turn the tide of humanity from the cities back to the rural community more effectively than the construction of permanent highways. Nothing will encourage the production of food products more than good roads that can be traveled all the year.

Let us encourage the construction of good roads throughout the Republic and establish thereby a permanent foundation for the future prosperity and happiness of all the people.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY D. FLOOD,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 17, 1920.

The House had under consideration the conference report on the bill (H. R. 11960) making appropriations for the Diplomatic and Consular Service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I can see no objection to incorporating these provisions in the Diplomatic and Consular appropriation bill. Every Member of this House knows that we have had infinite trouble with people from our districts trying to get passports because the passport division with its limited force could not do the work that was expected of it in issuing passports. That is because Congress has not thought fit to make large enough appropriations to supply a sufficient force in the bureau. The conferees reached the conclusion that these gentlemen and ladies who desire to travel abroad should pay the expense of this passport provision. [Applause.] And if accidentally it will bring some revenue to the Treasury of the United States, we thought that was a good result. [Applause.]

Mr. SABATH. Is it not a fact that I suggested it originally, that I was the first one that suggested it, in order to help the bureau to charge a passport fee up to $5?

Mr. FLOOD. The first proposition I heard in regard to increasing passport fees came from the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] in the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and his proposition was turned down by the Republican majority of that committee. The next suggestion came from the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] on the floor of this House, and the majority side raised the point of order against it. Like everything good the Republicans do, this suggestion came from Democratic sources. [Applause on the Democratic side.] On this side we thought it was right and fair that the people who had the money to travel abroad and demanded so much time of the passport division should pay for it, and I am glad the Senate agreed with the House Democrats, and the House conferees of the majority accepted in conference a proposition they had turned down in the committee and on this floor. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

I believe people who travel are willing to pay the $10 passport fee, and, whether they are willing or not, they should be made to do so. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. FLOOD. Just for a question. I have only a minute.

Mr. MASON. I am not at variance with you on that question, but on the other.

Mr. FLOOD. I am coming to that.

Mr. MASON. If you please.

Mr. FLOOD. I think when people go abroad protected by this Government, and liable by some action of theirs to involve this Government in trouble, we have a right to say that they must have a passport, and that they must pay to the Government a fee sufficient to cover the trouble and expense of issuing it. I am in favor of exacting passports from people who come into this country. I am proud that I am an American citizen, and I want to make it hard for people in foreign lands who do not appreciate our institutions and do not believe in our form of Government to come here and share with me my American citizenship. [Applause.] I am proud of the position that my country took in the Great War; proud of its great power, and proud of the way it exercised that power; proud of its Army and Navy, and proud of the glorious record that that Army made on the battle fields of France and Belgium, and proud of the achievements of the Navy [applause], and I am willing to put such obstacles in the way of foreigners coming here that it will make them take pride in this land and its glorious institutions. [Applause.]

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. FLOOD. Yes.
Mr. GALLAGHER. Have we not already enacted restrictive legislation covering all the matters you are talking about?
Mr. FLOOD. We have restrictive legislation, and yet people come here who are dangerous to American institutions, and I am in favor of putting further restrictions around immigration to this country. [Applause.]

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD F. McKINIRY,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

Mr. McKINIRY. Mr. Speaker, in the November election of 1918 the people of this country elected a Republican Congress. We are now about to adjourn that Congress after an almost continuous session of one year.

It is needless for the present to analyze the reason for that decision of the people. The then existing Democratic administration was attacked and criticized by the Republican Party—voluble in promises of radical economic reforms if returned to power.

Particularly was a promise made to reform the tax and revenue laws and to reduce the high cost of living, even then a burden and now an intolerable imposition.

The voters showed that they were beguiled by these promises, that they believed these criticisms.

They in some large measure deserted the party which had performed its platform pledges, and had inaugurated the most beneficial economic, financial, and social legislation, and finally had managed and directed America's glorious part in the most stupendous war in history.

Out of the backwash of that bloody and gigantic struggle, which spread ruin and misery over the whole earth, no country escaped. Small comparatively were the evils of our own land and vast was the increase in our wealth and prosperity, saved as we were from inevitable financial panic and economic distress by the operation of a great Democratic reform—the Federal Reserve System. Yet those minor difficulties we did not escape gave the Republican Party its opportunity and it won. It has had a full, fair opportunity to demonstrate the good faith of its criticisms and promises.

And now the reckoning is at hand. Strange to say, so fixed was the habit of blaming existing conditions, really due to nature's own laws, on the Democratic administration, that for some time most people seemed unaware that the most powerful branch of our Government—the Congress—has been Republican for almost two years.

But now in every corner of this land they are beginning to ask the Republican Party the question, "What have you done?" For one solid year this Republican Congress has been in session and an accounting must be made. Both parties have been on trial and each must stand on its own record and not on criticisms of the other.

Two great problems faced the Sixty-sixth Congress—one the high cost of living, and the other the reform of the tax laws. What man is so stupid as not to realize that on both these problems nothing has been accomplished, because they are still with us, as far from solution as ever? All other national problems, such as relations between capital and labor, industrial prosperity and social betterment, the railroad situation, the stimulation of our merchant marine, all these were and still are important and serious; but the very vitals of our national life are affected by profiteering in the necessities of life and by onerous, discouraging, and intricate systems of taxation.

Both these great evils grew out of the enormous cost of the World War and the incident paralysis of normal trade and production.

It was the clear duty of any majority party in control of Congress to undertake manfully a comprehensive legislative program to remedy these evils. While it may be conceded that the high cost of living was a natural growth of war conditions, to be cured in the main by time and nature's laws, there is no such excuse for not simplifying our tax laws.

These laws were framed in an emergency and for an emergency; their imperfections came to the surface.

But being more eager for political advantage, the time and energy of the leading men of the majority of this House—and, by the way, over $2,000,000 of the people's money—were devoted, not to these great propositions but to digging up petty mistakes in war expenditures. Investigation committees have scurried about hunting for prey and scandal, and it is about time to attract public attention to the fact that none of these committees have reported back to Congress, where their reports would be tested for the truth.

I do not wish to predict, but if it should happen that in the coming political campaign accusations based on so-called facts found by these committees will be made, be it remembered that no opportunity for defense has been afforded on the floor of the House of Representatives.

The gallant fighting spirit of the American soldier, sailor, and marine carried our flag to victory; yet the guiding hand, the clear counsel, and patriotic impulse was that of the Democratic administration. Without that guiding hand and directing genius our colossal effort would have been a colossal failure. Slowly but surely the people of this country, generous minded and just at heart, have been taking a broad and fair view of that gigantic task.

They had been at times during and shortly after the Great War irritated and disgusted by the mistakes, by the arrogance, by the stupidity—yes, and by the criminality of a comparative few, hurriedly intrusted with temporary authority; but they know now and will continue to learn with greater certainty that the Democratic Party, through its great Democratic administration throughout the terrible stress, was sound at the core. The war was won. The cost was great; but the war was won. Mistakes were made; but the war was won. Some men failed in the crisis, for human nature is frail; but the war was won.

The great task of reconstruction came, and to these the Republican Party, now in power in House and Senate, should have addressed itself.

Instead it commenced a policy of faultfinding; it gave its greater energies to the undignified occupation described by the poet—

> Great fleas have little fleas
> Upon their backs to bite 'em;
> And little fleas have lesser fleas
> And so ad infinitum.

But the Republican Party did not forget its old policy of taking care of its political friends—the big business interests. They could not avoid tackling the railroad situation. The Cummins-Esch railroad bill will cost the people hundreds of millions in direct expenditures and hundreds of millions indirectly through increased railroad rates for the benefit of the great moneyed interests.

To reduce the high cost of living they offered the people cures by passing bills imposing a high tariff to increase the cost to the American consumer—on magnesite, on tungsten, on pearl buttons, on beans, on dyestuffs. "Make the cost of living higher" is the Republican answer.

They passed a bill to permit the formation of trusts and monopolies in foodstuffs, ostensibly for the benefit of the farmer, but in reality not; but no matter for whose benefit, it certainly was not for the benefit of the people.

No tax or revenue reform laws except a few trivial changes have been passed, although both political parties admit the need of such.

Not even the budget bill, a most essential financial measure, demanded by every class of citizenship, has been put in operation.

The universal demand for an American merchant marine has been used to foist on the country a bill giving to the Shipping Board the dangerous power of selling $2,000,000 worth of American shipping to foreigners and aliens. This bill has just been jammed through in the closing hours of the session, that great and real danger by a proper amendment, without the power to eliminate.

During the past year a great wave of sympathy for the Irish nation, struggling for freedom, has been spread over our land. Americans remembering the gallant aid offered ourselves in the hour of our need in 1776 by the Irish people, and remembering the devoted loyalty to our country of citizens of Irish blood, believed that we should in every way testify, as the mother of republics, our public concern and our active interest and encouragement to the Irish republic, just born and baptized with the blood of Irish patriots. It was hoped by the many who journeyed to attend the hearings in Washington on the bill known as the Mason bill that some congressional action would be taken; but that hope, deferred and wearied with waiting, has been in vain; no action has been taken. The answer to thousands of petitions is silence. Even now in the flying minutes there is yet time to heed those appeals.

And above all, no heed was paid to the country-wide demand for the repeal of the drastic and restrictive war-time legislation,

essential during war time, but absolutely unnecessary once the country came back to a peace basis.

This Congress began its session on May 19, 1919, and despite the continued urgings of the Democratic Members, no action was taken by the Republican majority along these lines until in the very final week of the session, when, in answer to the challenge of a Democratic Member, Mr. CONNALLY, of Texas, a resolution was hurriedly jammed through under rules which prevented any necessary and proper amendment.

This resolution was a belated effort, made after a year of inaction, instead of a prompt and orderly repeal of war legislation.

These are only a few of the misdeeds the Republican Party, which now and for a year past has controlled Congress, must answer in defense of itself. The Republican Party must account.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS L. RUBEY,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 5, 1920.

THE AMERICAN FARMER MUST HAVE A BETTER PERSONAL-CREDIT SYSTEM.

Mr. RUBEY. Mr. Speaker, the United States are far behind most European countries in productive credit facilities for agriculture. The agriculture labor problem is a serious one, and in order to reduce farm production costs the farmer must utilize improved machinery wherever he can do so profitably. And that means more farm credit, better facilities through which he may capitalize his productive credit requirements. Another problem which is menacing us in the West is the cattle-raising problem. Within the past 10 days the cattle raisers of the West had a hearing before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, at which they voiced their protest against the calling of loans by the banks on "cattle-raising" paper. There are two sides to this question, the bankers' side and the cattle raisers' side. The governor of the Federal Reserve Board testified at that hearing that the Federal Reserve Banks of New York and Boston were at that time lending to the banks in the West. So the old cry of "wolf" does not apply in this case.

OUR BANKING SYSTEM DOES NOT MEET CATTLE RAISERS' REQUIREMENTS.

Let us meet this issue fairly and squarely. Deposit banking does not meet the needs of cattle raising. That is a credit which takes from 21 to 30 months to reproduce itself, and the deposit banker who ties up his borrowed money for that length of time will find he has "frozen assets," and he can not meet the demands of his creditors (depositors) with such assets. The deposit banker is the greatest demand-payable debtor in the business world, and in order to meet such obligations he must cover the same with liquid assets representing production. That is the last word in sound deposit banking. The deposit banker may disregard that law while labor is busy at a remunerative wage, and all are saving a portion of their income; but reverse such conditions, let labor be discontented and everybody go on a wild spending rampage, and we find it impossible for the deposit banker to meet the demands of his creditors and producers, too, however much he may hope to do so. Such is the condition which confronts us at the present time. No reasonable person would blame the owner of a fine thoroughbred for refusing to put such a horse to a dray and pull a load far beyond his capacity to draw simply because there was some one needing that class of work done. On the contrary, such an owner would be blamed for doing so foolish a thing. Now, the same principle applies to a credit institution. The deposit banker can not meet many of the necessary needs of agriculture, especially cattle raising, and he should not be blamed for his failure to do so.

SOLUTION OF CATTLE RAISERS' CREDIT PROBLEM.

Europe solved the credit problem now confronting the cattle raisers in this country. They solved it by adopting the oldest system of banking; that is, by creating the machinery through which their farmers could "bank with bills" of exchange. Three bills were introduced in this and the last Congresses which meet this situation. The one introduced in this Congress is H. R. 12678, introduced by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MCFADDEN], and those of the Sixty-fifth Congress are H. R. 11695, introduced in this body by the gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Saunders, and S. 4646, introduced in the upper Chamber by the senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN], while chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. The general principles of all three of those bills are almost identical. It was the purpose of each to adopt the ancient system of "banking with bills" for the farmers of this country.

ANCIENT SYSTEM OF "BANKING WITH BILLS" EXPLAINED.

Credit is a commodity, just like wheat, corn, and cotton are commodities. In order to sell any commodity you must have buyers as well as sellers. If I were to take a load of wheat to an inland city of Cuba, I could not dispose of it for what it was worth, as there would be no buyers there to deal with. Neither would there be an elevator in which to store it nor a mill to grind it. So, likewise, if a man should bring a load of seed cotton to my town, Lebanon, Mo., he would have to sell it at a great sacrifice, as there is no market there for cotton in the seed, and no cotton gin to put it in a merchantable condition. But let him take it to any town in the cotton belt during the season, and the moment he reached the courthouse square or principal street, he would find buyers to sell it to and gins to gin it. The same thing applies to credit, as I have said. If I sought to organize a deposit bank, all I would have to do would be to go to a community and select a few men of wealth who enjoyed the confidence of the prospective depositors in that community. That is an easy thing to do, as that is a local banking system. But if I sought to bank with written credit instruments, call them bills of exchange, grangers, short-time notes, promissory notes, or what not, in which I must inspire the confidence of strangers to me, and those who were to control the bank, it necessarily follows that I must adopt different methods of inspiring confidence in order to raise my borrowed or banking capital. But when I establish confidence on a national basis it naturally follows that my business is on a safer basis than if I enjoyed local confidence only. The three bills referred to propose to do that very thing—to establish national confidence in the credit paper of this farm credit system.

In short, these three bills provide for 1 central bank and 48 branches, 1 branch for each State, and any number of community associations. The whole system is controlled by responsible farmers in the interest of farm production. The community associations create the paper and send it to their respective branches, which in turn indorse the same and send it to the central bank to be placed on the open market to be sold to investors. The principal business of the branches located in strictly agricultural States would be with the farmer creators of that paper, while the branches of the States with such industrial and financial centers as New York, Boston, and Philadelphia would have most to do in supporting the market for such paper. The wage earner who had bought $500 of that paper six months ago might desire to build a home, and to enable him to do so he might wish to cash that paper. Let us suppose that such wage earner lived in Massachusetts. He would send it to the Massachusetts branch of the rural-credit society, located in Boston, which would discount it at a reasonable rate. Now, when the wage earners of Massachusetts learned that they could always obtain the cash on such paper at the Boston branch they would buy it in preference to depositing their surplus wages in their savings banks, especially so when they learn that the security behind it was better than the security behind their savings-bank deposits and every dollar of it represented production. Massachusetts has $1,026,000,000 of savings-bank deposits, on which their wage earners realize a very low rate of interest.

But the wage earner of Massachusetts can not and will not look to the individual farmer living 2,000 miles away in Missouri. He must look to the system through which that paper is created, and the system must be sound and appeal to his judgment. The first step toward inspiring the confidence of the investing classes is to have it established by a government in which the investors have a voice in the legislative body creating it, and that means the Federal Government. The next step is to have a proper investigation of the bill adopted by Congress. I believe that if any one of those three bills were enacted into law it would give us the best personal rural-credit system in the world. But my opinion would carry no weight among investors who never heard of me. No Member of Congress or monetary expert in this country enjoys the confidence of all classes of investors. It is necessary, therefore, to have an investigation on these bills which would inspire the confidence of the investors throughout the country, and that means a judicial investigation of them—an investigation giving all classes the right to select experts to appear before the committee and establish their respective contentions. The wage earners of New England have shown their confidence in the savings banks of that section by the vast sums deposited in them. There is an organization of those institutions, and if its president were given the privilege of selecting an expert to appear before the investigating committee and point out defects in the bills presented, the investors

in the New England savings banks would have more confidence in the paper to be created by the rural credit than if those institutions enjoyed no such privileges before the committee.

BENEFITS TO BE DERIVED FROM A JUDICIAL INVESTIGATION OF BILLS.

The Committee on Agriculture, of which I am a member, at the recent session of Congress created a special rural credit investigating committee to hold hearings during the vacation. There is no need whatever for a committee to investigate the subject of cooperative rural credit, as Congress has already sent several of such bodies to Europe. The Congressional Library contains ample information on the subject, and no one needs a committee to study that or any other subject. But we do need a judicial investigation of bills on the subject; that is, a hearing at which the parties who would be benefited by such legislation should have the right to present bills to the committee and select an expert to establish their merits, and all interests which would be affected should have the right to appear and oppose the same. This method of a judicial investigation of bills on this subject is not a new subject to Congress, for more than six years ago some of the leading farm papers and several thousand farmers petitioned Congress for the same. I therefore urge the newly created rural credit investigating committee to adopt a resolution something similar to the following:

Resolved, That we shall conduct our hearings judicially on personal rural credit bills in the manner hereinafter set forth:

That any Member of Congress or any representative group of farmers or stock raisers, farmers' organization or stock raisers' association, or group of farm papers may prepare and present to the committee on or before September 1, 1920, a bill on such subject, but each of such groups shall select an expert to appear before the committee and establish the merits of the bill presented by his group, organization, or association and point out the defects of any other bill or bills under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the committee.

That at least one leading representative of every interest which would be affected by the bills so presented shall be notified of his privilege on or before October 15, 1920, to prepare and present to the committee a written defense pointing out the defect or defects in any or all the bills so presented, and show why they or neither of them should become a law, and to select an expert to appear before the committee for the purpose of establishing the truth of his defense.

That any Member of Congress presenting a bill to the committee shall not be required to select an expert to appear before the committee, but no action shall be taken by this committee on any such bill unless the Member of Congress presenting the same shall appear before the committee and establish the merits of the same and subject himself to the cross-examination of the experts and the members of this committee.

Many farmers' organizations, including the Missouri Farm Bureau Federation and the National Grange, have petitioned the newly created congressional committee for a judicial investigation of bills in a manner similar to the resolution which I claim the committee should adopt. More than five years ago—during the Sixty-third Congress—four resolutions were introduced in Congress for such a judicial investigation of bills. Eleven speeches were made on those resolutions, among which was the speech of the Hon. Edward W. Saunders, of Virginia, one of the ablest lawyers of this body at the time and who has recently been elevated to a position on the supreme bench of his State. In that speech Justice Saunders said:

JUSTICE SAUNDERS' PLEA FOR A JUDICIAL INVESTIGATION OF RURAL CREDIT BILLS.

The requests contained in these petitions are so fair and so just that I do not see how this body can afford to ignore them. They offer an appropriate solution for this vexed problem. I am in hearty accord with the principle therein announced, that the function of a congressional committee to investigate a purely scientific question like this is judicial, and not legislative, and being judicial in character its machinery should conform to that of other judicial bodies by providing that the interested parties may appear by expert representatives of their own selection before a tribunal of impartial Government officials, and establish the justice of their own contentions.

This method of investigation not only appeals to my judgment as being fair and sound, but I believe in it from a moral standpoint. I have bankers as well as farmers among my constituents, as have many other gentlemen on this floor. These bankers are now engaged in the sale of credit for a profit; they have considerable capital invested in that business; and the farmers claim that in most European countries productive credit is sold by farmers on the cooperative basis—not for a profit, but as an aid to agriculture—and where this credit is so sold interest rates are lower than among the farmers of this country and agriculture is on a more profitable basis than with us. Hence if we create a tribunal before which these two selfish interests may appear and present their respective contentions, we will not be charged with representing any special interest. I maintain therefore that every Member of this body should support these resolutions from a moral standpoint alone.

Section 2 of the Sheppard and Candler-Doolittle-Helgesen resolutions reads as follows:

"SEC. 2. That such subcommittee or investigating body, which is hereinafter referred to as the commission, shall hold its hearings and investigations in such manner that will permit persons who, in the commission's opinion, have sufficient authoritative backing to present bills for a personal rural-credit system in the United States to the commission and appear before them by experts of their own selection to establish the merits of their respective bills and to disprove any provisions contained in bills not presented by themselves. The commission shall notify at least one leading representative of every interest affected by such bills, including the president of the American Bankers' Association, of his privilege to appear before the commission by an expert of his own selection and to advocate or oppose any bill presented, who shall enjoy the same rights and privileges before the commission as the experts of the proponents."

Under that section one group of farmers may appear before that commission by an expert with a personal rural-credit bill embodying the German system; another group with a bill embodying the Belgium system; another the French system; and still another group may appear with a bill embodying a blend of all those systems. Each expert would be specially interested in establishing the merits of his particular proposition and pointing out the defects of the other bills, while the members of the commission would sit as a court to confine the experts to the issues and not permit them to ramble. Each expert would see to it that the evidence introduced by the other experts was authentic and relevant to the issues, and would seek to test the credibility of the witnesses introduced by the opposition. In addition to the farmers' experts, there would be the experts of the bankers and investing classes in the event they sought to avail themselves of the privilege extended by the resolutions. Should the experts of the latter class fail to come before the commission, this would in no wise reduce its power or hinder a full disposition of the subject matter.

In order to fully appreciate the force and effect of this method of investigating a scientific subject, it is well to consider the present prevailing practice in making such investigations. As a rule the chairman selects the witnesses to testify, and becomes their principal interrogator. He is allowed an appropriation so as to enable him to secure the aid and services of an expert, but no opposing view may be presented by an expert, with the right to cross-examine the witnesses introduced by the committee. This system does not admit of the fullest and most dispassionate investigation of a subject matter. Hence the request for such an investigating body as is provided for in the Sheppard resolutions.

One of the first acts of this Congress two years ago was to create a United States commission to study rural credits abroad. A Member of this House, Mr. Moss, and two Members of the Senate [Senators FLETCHER and GORE] were on that commission. They reported a land-mortgage bill, and said that they believed that personal rural credit could "best be enacted by the various State legislatures." Their land-mortgage bill was referred to subcommittees composed of members of the Banking and Currency Committees of the two bodies. After a long investigation they respectively reported bills. These two bills are as wide apart as the poles, and the members of the commission and the two subcommittees are at such loggerheads that it has been impossible for us to secure any legislation on land mortgages from this Congress. I believe the best solution of the land-mortgage subject would be to extend the scope of the Sheppard and Candler-Doolittle-Helgesen resolutions so as to embrace land-mortgage bills and require the authors of the above bills to appear before the proposed commission and submit their bills to the test provided under these resolutions. Another thing which may be said in favor of these resolutions is the small appropriation asked for—only $9,000.

When my constituents began to send me petitions praying Congress to create a special committee to hold hearings on this subject of rural credits, I saw at once from the number and character of the writers that they were much interested along this line. The farmers are not asking anything unreasonable in this matter. They are not asking anything that will be to the prejudice of business or of the commonweal. They are asking for an opportunity for the full development of a system of vital interest to them, and therefore of vital interest to the whole country. They purpose to play their hands upon the table and submit the personal rural-credit plan to the most searching investigation and the most remorseless inquiry. If the plan is unworkable and indefensible, it will break down when subjected to such an inquiry and investigation. But by all means afford the opportunity at least for inquiry into the merits of this plan by the establishment of the commission proposed in the resolution of the Senator from Texas.

No one has ever attempted to answer the convincing argument advanced in that speech of Justice Saunders. With such an investigation the farmers of this country could secure this legislation. And the farmers can secure the investigation by making a united demand on the committee for it, for it is so fair and just that no one can refuse such request.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. McKINLEY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, May 16, 1920.

The House had under consideration the resolutions on the death of Hon. WILLIAM J. BROWNING, late a Representative from the State of New Jersey.

Mr. McKINLEY. Mr. Speaker, in December, 1905, I was first sworn in as a Member of Congress by our deceased friend, WILLIAM J. BROWNING, who then was the Clerk of the House of Representatives. At that time our acquaintance started and later developed into an intimate friendship covering all the years I have been in Congress. Mr. BROWNING and I had a mutual friend in Congressman Harry Loudenslager, the former Representative of the Camden district, and up to the time of his death, secretary to the national Republican congressional committee. When I became connected with the committee in 1906 as treasurer, Mr. BROWNING had full charge of the committee headquarters and continued as the efficient manager of this work during the campaigns until after Mr. Loudenslager's death, when he took Mr. Loudenslager's place as a member of the executive committee. Mr. BROWNING, on account of his intelligence, ability, and willingness to do hard work, was a tower of strength in the congressional committee. He was a true and devoted friend and a stanch Republican. His sudden death leaves a vacancy which it will be hard to fill.

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NAMES AND POST-OFFICE ADDRESSES

OF

SENATORS

IN THE

SECOND SESSION OF THE SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.

THOMAS R. MARSHALL, Vice President, Indianapolis, Ind.
ALBERT B. CUMMINS, President pro tempore, Des Moines, Iowa.

Name.	Home post office.	Name.	Home post office.
Ashurst, Henry F	Prescott, Ariz.	McCumber, Porter J	Wahpeton, N. Dak.
Ball, L. Heisler	Marshallton, Del.	McKellar, Kenneth	Memphis, Tenn.
Bankhead, John H.[1]	Jasper, Ala.	McLean, George P	Simsbury, Conn.
Beckham, J. C. W	Frankfort, Ky.	McNary, Charles L	Salem, Oreg.
Borah, William E	Boise, Idaho.	Moses, George H	Concord, N. H.
Brandegee, Frank B	New London, Conn.	Myers, Henry L	Hamilton, Mont.
Calder, William M	Brooklyn, N. Y.	Nelson, Knute	Alexandria, Minn.
Capper, Arthur	Topeka, Kans.	New, Harry S	Indianapolis, Ind.
Chamberlain, George E	Portland, Oreg.	Newberry, Truman H	Grosse Pointe Farms, Mich.
Colt, LeBaron B	Bristol, R. I.	Norris, George W	McCook, Nebr.
Comer, Braxton B.[2]	Birmingham, Ala.	Nugent, John F	Boise, Idaho.
Culberson, Charles A	Dallas, Tex.	Overman, Lee S	Salisbury, N. C.
Cummins, Albert B	Des Moines, Iowa.	Owen, Robert L	Muskogee, Okla.
Curtis, Charles	Topeka, Kans.	Page, Carroll S	Hyde Park, Vt.
Dial, Nathaniel B	Laurens, S. C.	Penrose, Boies	Philadelphia, Pa.
Dillingham, William P	Montpelier, Vt.	Phelan, James D	San Francisco, Calif.
Edge, Walter E	Atlantic City, N. J.	Phipps, Lawrence C	Denver, Colo.
Elkins, Davis	Morgantown, W. Va.	Pittman, Key	Tonopah, Nev.
Fall, Albert B	Three Rivers, N. Mex.	Poindexter, Miles	Spokane, Wash.
Fernald, Bert M	West Poland, Me.	Pomerene, Atlee	Canton, Ohio.
Fletcher, Duncan U	Jacksonville, Fla.	Ransdell, Joseph E	Lake Providence, La.
France, Joseph I	Port Deposit, Md.	Reed, James A	Kansas City, Mo.
Frelinghuysen, Joseph S	Raritan, N. J.	Robinson, Joseph T	Little Rock, Ark.
Gay, Edward J	Plaquemine, La.	Sheppard, Morris	Texarkana, Tex.
Gerry, Peter G	Warwick, R. I.	Sherman, Lawrence Y	Springfield, Ill.
Glass, Carter[3]	Lynchburg, Va.	Shields, John K	Knoxville, Tenn.
Gore, Thomas P	Lawton, Okla.	Simmons, Furnifold M	Newbern, N. C.
Gronna, Asle J	Lakota, N. Dak.	Smith, Ellison D	Florence, S. C.
Hale, Frederick	Portland, Me.	Smith, Hoke	Atlanta, Ga.
Harding, Warren G	Marion, Ohio.	Smith, John Walter	Snow Hill, Md.
Harris, William J	Cedartown, Ga.	Smith, Marcus A	Tucson, Ariz.
Harrison, Pat	Gulfport, Miss.	Smoot, Reed	Provo, Utah.
Henderson, Charles B	Elko, Nev.	Spencer, Selden P	St. Louis, Mo.
Hitchcock, Gilbert M	Omaha, Nebr.	Stanley, A. Owsley	Henderson, Ky.
Johnson, Edwin S	Yankton, S. Dak.	Sterling, Thomas	Vermilion, S. Dak.
Johnson, Hiram W	San Francisco, Calif.	Sutherland, Howard	Elkins, W. Va.
Jones, Andrieus A	East Las Vegas, N. Mex.	Swanson, Claude A	Chatham, Va.
Jones, Wesley L	Seattle, Wash.	Thomas, Charles S	Denver, Colo.
Kellogg, Frank B	St. Paul, Minn.	Townsend, Charles E	Jackson, Mich.
Kendrick, John B	Sheridan, Wyo.	Trammell, Park	Lakeland, Fla.
Kenyon, William S	Fort Dodge, Iowa.	Underwood, Oscar W	Birmingham, Ala.
Keyes, Henry W	Haverhill, N. H.	Wadsworth, James W., jr	Groveland, N. Y.
King, William H	Salt Lake City, Utah.	Walsh, David I	Fitchburg, Mass.
Kirby, William F	Little Rock, Ark.	Walsh, Thomas J	Helena, Mont.
Knox, Philander C	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Warren, Francis E	Cheyenne, Wyo.
La Follette, Robert M	Madison, Wis.	Watson, James E	Rushville, Ind.
Lenroot, Irvine L	Superior, Wis.	Williams, John Sharp	Yazoo City (star route), Miss.
Lodge, Henry Cabot	Nahant, Mass.	Wolcott, Josiah O	Dover, Del.
McCormick, Medill	Chicago, Ill.		

[1] Died March 1, 1920.
[2] Appointed in place of John H. Bankhead, deceased.
[3] Appointed in place of Thomas S. Martin, deceased.

NAMES AND POST-OFFICE ADDRESSES

OF

REPRESENTATIVES AND DELEGATES

IN THE

SECOND SESSION OF THE SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.

FREDERICK H. GILLETT, Speaker, Springfield, Mass.

Name.	Home post office.
Ackerman, Ernest R	Plainfield, N. J.
Alexander, Joshua W.[1]	Gallatin, Mo.
Almon, Edward B	Tuscumbia, Ala.
Anderson, Sydney	Lanesboro, Minn.
Andrews, William E	Hastings, Nebr.
Andrews, William N	Cambridge, Md.
Anthony, Daniel R	Leavenworth, Kans.
Ashbrook, William A	Johnstown, Ohio.
Aswell, James B	Natchitoches, La.
Ayres, William A	Wichita, Kans.
Babka, John J	Cleveland, Ohio.
Bacharach, Isaac	Atlantic City, N. J.
Baer, John M	Fargo, N. Dak.
Bankhead, William B	Jasper, Ala.
Barbour, Henry E	Fresno, Calif.
Barkley, Alben W	Paducah, Ky.
Bee, Carlos	Clarksville, Tex.
Begg, James T	Sandusky, Ohio.
Bell, Thomas M	Gainesville, Ga.
Benham, John S	Benham, Ind.
Benson, Carville D	Halethorp, Md.
Black, Eugene	Clarksville, Tex.
Blackmon, Fred L	Anniston, Ala.
Bland, Oscar E	Linton, Ind.
Bland, Schuyler O	Newport News, Va.
Bland, William T	Kansas City, Mo.
Blanton, Thomas L	Abilene, Tex.
Boies, William D	Sheldon, Iowa.
Booher, Charles F	Savannah, Mo.
Bowers, George M	Martinsburg, W. Va.
Box, John C	Jacksonville, Tex.
Brand, Charles H	Athens, Ga.
Briggs, Clay Stone	Galveston, Tex.
Brinson, Samuel M	Newbern, N. C.
Britten, Fred A	Chicago, Ill.
Brooks, Edward S	York, Pa.
Brooks, Edwin B	Newton, Ill.
Browne, Edward E	Waupaca, Wis.
Browning, William J.[2]	Camden, N. J.
Brumbaugh, Clement	Columbus, Ohio.
Buchanan, James P	Brenham, Tex.
Burdick, Clark	Newport, R. I.
Burke, William J	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Burroughs, Sherman E	Manchester, N. H.
Butler, Thomas S	West Chester, Pa.
Byrnes, James F	Aiken, S. C.
Byrns, Joseph W	Nashville, Tenn.
Caldwell, Chas. Pope	Forest Hills, N. Y.
Campbell, Guy E	Crafton, Pa.
Campbell, Philip P	Pittsburg, Kans.
Candler, Ezekiel S	Corinth, Miss.
Cannon, Joseph G	Danville, Ill.
Cantrill, James C	Georgetown, Ky.
Caraway, Thaddeus H	Jonesboro, Ark.
Carew, John F	New York City.
Carss, William L	Proctor, Minn.
Carter, Charles D	Ardmore, Okla.
Casey, John J	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Chindblom, Carl R	Chicago, Ill.
Christopherson, Charles A	Sioux Falls, S. Dak.
Clark, Champ	Bowling Green, Mo.
Clark, Frank	Gainesville, Fla.
Classon, David G	Oconto, Wis.
Cleary, William E	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Coady, Charles P	Baltimore, Md.
Cole, R. Clint	Findlay, Ohio.
Collier, James W	Vicksburg, Miss.
Connally, Tom	Marlin, Tex.
Cooper, John G	Youngstown, Ohio.
Copley, Ira C	Aurora, Ill.
Costello, Peter E	Philadelphia, Pa.
Crago, Thomas S	Waynesburg, Pa.
Cramton, Louis C	Lapeer, Mich.
Crisp, Charles R	Americus, Ga.
Crowther, Frank	Schenectady, N. Y.
Cullen, Thomas H	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Currie, Gilbert A	Midland, Mich.
Curry, Charles F	Sacramento, Calif.
Dale, Porter H	Island Pond, Vt.
Dallinger, Frederick W	Cambridge, Mass.
Darrow, George P	Philadelphia, Pa.
Davey, Martin L	Kent, Ohio.
Davis, Charles R	St. Peter, Minn.
Davis, Ewin L	Tullahoma, Tenn.
Dempsey, S. Wallace	Lockport, N. Y.
Denison, Edward E	Marion, Ill.
Dent, S. Hubert, jr	Montgomery, Ala.
Dewalt, Arthur G	Allentown, Pa.
Dickinson, Clement C	Clinton, Mo.
Dickinson, L. J	Algona, Iowa.
Dominick, Fred H	Newberry, S. C.
Donovan, Jerome F	New York City.
Dooling, Peter J	New York City.
Doremus, Frank E	Detroit, Mich.
Doughton, Robert L	Laurel Springs, N. C.
Dowell, Cassius C	Des Moines, Iowa.
Drane, Herbert J	Lakeland, Fla.
Drewry, Patrick H.[3]	Petersburg, Va.

[1] Resigned December 15, 1919.
[2] Died March 24, 1920.
[3] Elected in place of Walter A. Watson, deceased.

Names and post-office addresses of Members and Delegates of the House of Representatives—Continued.

Name.	Home post office.
Dunbar, James W	New Albany, Ind.
Dunn, Thomas B	Rochester, N. Y.
Dupré, H. Garland	New Orleans, La.
Dyer, Leonidas C	St. Louis, Mo.
Eagan, John J	Weehawken, N. J.
Eagle, Joe H	Houston, Tex.
Echols, Leonard S	Charleston, W. Va.
Edmonds, George W	Philadelphia, Pa.
Elliott, Richard N	Connersville, Ind.
Ellsworth, Franklin F	Mankato, Minn.
Elston, John A	Berkeley, Calif.
Emerson, Henry I	Cleveland, Ohio.
Esch, John J	La Crosse, Wis.
Evans, Charles R	Goldfield, Nev.
Evans, John M	Missoula, Mont.
Evans, Robert E	Dakota City, Nebr.
Fairfield, Louis W	Angola, Ind.
Ferris, Scott	Lawton, Okla.
Fess, Simeon D	Yellow Springs, Ohio.
Fields, William J	Olive Hill, Ky.
Fisher, Hubert F	Memphis, Tenn.
Flood, Henry D	Appomattox, Va.
Focht, Benjamin K	Lewisburg, Pa.
Fordney, Joseph W	Saginaw W. S., Mich.
Foster, Israel M	Athens, Ohio.
Frear, James A	Hudson, Wis.
Freeman, Richard P	New London, Conn.
French, Burton L	Moscow, Idaho.
Fuller, Alvan T	Malden, Mass.
Fuller, Charles E	Belvidere, Ill.
Gallagher, Thomas	Chicago, Ill.
Gallivan, James A	Boston, Mass.
Gandy, Harry L	Rapid City, S. Dak.
Ganly, James V	New York City.
Gard, Warren	Hamilton, Ohio.
Garland, Mahlon M	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Garner, John N	Uvalde, Tex.
Garrett, Finis J	Dresden, Tenn.
Gillett, Frederick H	Springfield, Mass.
Glynn, James P	Winsted, Conn.
Godwin, Hannibal L	Dunn, N. C.
Goldfogle, Henry M	New York City.
Good, James W	Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Goodall, Louis B	Sanford, Me.
Goodwin, William S	Warren, Ark.
Goodykoontz, Wells	Williamson, W. Va.
Gould, Norman J	Seneca Falls, N. Y.
Graham, George S	Philadelphia, Pa.
Graham, William J	Aledo, Ill.
Green, William R	Council Bluffs, Iowa.
Greene, Frank L	St. Albans, Vt.
Greene, William S	Fall River, Mass.
Griest, W. W	Lancaster, Pa.
Griffin, Anthony J	New York City.
Hadley, Lindley H	Bellingham, Wash.
Hamill, James A	Jersey City, N. J.
Hamilton, Edward L	Niles, Mich.
Hardy, Guy U	Canon City, Colo.
Hardy, Rufus	Corsicana, Tex.
Harreld, John W	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Harrison, Thomas W	Winchester, Va.
Haskell, Reuben L.[1]	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Hastings, William W	Tahlequah, Okla.
Haugen, Gilbert N	Northwood, Iowa.
Hawley, Willis C	Salem, Oreg.
Hayden, Carl	Phoenix, Ariz.
Hays, Edw. D	Cape Girardeau, Mo.
Heflin, J. Thomas	Lafayette, Ala.
Hernandez, Benigno C	Tierra Amarilla, N. Mex.
Hersey, Ira G	Houlton, Me.
Hersman, Hugh S	Gilroy, Calif.
Hickey, Andrew J	Laporte, Ind.
Hicks, Frederick C	Port Washington, N. Y.
Hill, William H	Johnson City, N. Y.
Hoch, Homer	Marion, Kans.
Hoey, Clyde R.[2]	Shelby, N. C.
Holland, Edward E	Suffolk, Va.
Houghton, Alanson B	Corning, N. Y.
Howard, Everette B	Tulsa, Okla.
Huddleston, George	Birmingham, Ala.
Hudspeth, C. B	El Paso, Tex.
Hulings, Willis J	Oil City, Pa.
Hull, Cordell	Carthage, Tenn.
Hull, Harry E	Williamsburg, Iowa.
Humphreys, Benjamin G	Greenville, Miss.
Husted, James W	Peekskill, N. Y.
Hutchinson, Elijah C	Trenton, N. J.
Igoe, William L	St. Louis, Mo.
Ireland, Clifford	Peoria, Ill.
Jacoway, H. M	Dardanelle, Ark.
James, W. Frank	Hancock, Mich.
Jefferis, Albert W	Omaha, Nebr.
Johnson, Albert	Hoquiam, Wash.
Johnson, Ben	Bardstown, Ky.
Johnson, Paul B	Hattiesburg, Miss.
Johnson, Royal C	Aberdeen, S. Dak.
Johnston, John B	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Jones, Evan J	Bradford, Pa.
Jones, Marvin	Amarillo, Tex.
Juul, Niels	Chicago, Ill.
Kahn, Julius	San Francisco, Calif.
Kearns, Charles C	Batavia, Ohio.
Keller, Oscar E	St. Paul, Minn.
Kelley, Patrick H	Lansing, Mich.
Kelly, M. Clyde	Braddock, Pa.
Kendall, Samuel A	Meyersdale, Pa.
Kennedy, Ambrose	Woonsocket, R. I.
Kennedy, Charles A	Montrose, Iowa.
Kettner, William	San Diego, Calif.
Kiess, Edgar R	Williamsport, Pa.
Kincheloe, David H	Madisonville, Ky.
King, Edward J	Galesburg, Ill.
Kinkaid, Moses P	O'Neill, Nebr.
Kitchin, Claude	Scotland Neck, N. C.
Kleczka, John C	Milwaukee, Wis.
Knutson, Harold	St. Cloud, Minn.
Kraus, Milton	Peru, Ind.
Kreider, Aaron S	Annville, Pa.
LaGuardia, Fiorello H.[3]	New York City.
Lampert, Florian	Oshkosh, Wis.
Langley, John W	Pikeville, Ky.
Lanham, Fritz G	Fort Worth, Tex.
Lankford, William C	Douglas, Ga.
Larsen, William W	Dublin, Ga.
Layton, Caleb R	Georgetown, Del.
Lazaro, Ladislas	Washington, La.
Lea, Clarence F	Santa Rosa, Calif.
Lee, Gordon	Chickamauga, Ga.
Lehlbach, Frederick R	Newark, N. J.
Lesher, John V	Sunbury, Pa.
Linthicum, J. Charles	Baltimore, Md.
Little, Edward C	Kansas City, Kans.
Lonergan, Augustine	Hartford, Conn.
Longworth, Nicholas	Cincinnati, Ohio.
Luce, Robert	Waltham, Mass.
Lufkin, Willfred W	Essex, Mass.
Luhring, Oscar R	Evansville, Ind.
McAndrews, James	Chicago, Ill.
McArthur, Clifton N	Portland, Oreg.
McClintic, James V	Snyder, Okla.
McCulloch, Roscoe C	Canton, Ohio.
McDuffie, John	Monroeville, Ala.
McFadden, Louis T	Canton, Pa.
McGlennon, Cornelius A	East Newark, N. J.
McKenzie, John C	Elizabeth, Ill.
McKeown, Tom D	Ada, Okla.

[1] Resigned December 31, 1919.
[2] Elected in place of Edwin Y. Webb, resigned.
[3] Resigned December 31, 1919.

Names and post-office addresses of Members and Delegates of the House of Representatives—Continued.

Name.	Home post office.
McKiniry, Richard F	New York City.
McKinley, William B	Champaign, Ill.
McLane, Patrick	Scranton, Pa.
McLaughlin, James C	Muskegon, Mich.
McLaughlin, Melvin O	York, Nebr.
McPherson, Isaac V	Aurora, Mo.
MacCrate, John	Brooklyn, N. Y.
MacGregor, Clarence	Buffalo, N. Y.
Madden, Martin B	Chicago, Ill.
Magee, Walter W	Syracuse, N. Y.
Maher, James P	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Major, Samuel C	Fayette, Mo.
Mann, Edward C	St. Matthews, S. C.
Mann, James R	Chicago, Ill.
Mansfield, Joseph J	Columbus, Tex.
Mapes, Carl E	Grand Rapids, Mich.
Martin, Whitmell P	Thibodaux, La.
Mason, William E	Chicago, Ill.
Mays, James H	Salt Lake City, Utah.
Mead, James M	Buffalo, N. Y.
Merritt, Schuyler	Stamford, Conn.
Michener, Earl C	Adrian, Mich.
Miller, John F	Seattle, Wash.
Milligan, J. L.[1]	Richmond, Mo.
Minahan, Daniel F	Orange, N. J.
Monahan, James G	Darlington, Wis.
Mondell, Frank W	Newcastle, Wyo.
Montague, Andrew J	Richmond, Va.
Moon, John A	Chattanooga, Tenn.
Mooney, Charles A	Cleveland, Ohio.
Moore, C. Ellis	Cambridge, Ohio.
Moore, J. Hampton[2]	Philadelphia, Pa.
Moore, R. Walton	Fairfax, Va.
Moores, Merrill	Indianapolis, Ind.
Morgan, Dick T	Woodward, Okla.
Morin, John M.	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mott, Luther W	Oswego, N. Y.
Mudd, Sydney E	La Plata, Md.
Murphy, Frank	Steubenville, Ohio.
Neely, M. M	Fairmont, W. Va.
Nelson, Adolphus P	Grantsburg, Wis.
Nelson, William L	Columbia, Mo.
Newton, Cleveland A	St. Louis, Mo.
Newton, Walter H	Minneapolis, Minn.
Nicholls, Samuel J	Spartanburg, S. C.
Nichols, Charles A	Detroit, Mich.
Nolan, John I	San Francisco, Calif.
O'Connell, David J	Brooklyn, N. Y.
O'Connor, James	New Orleans, La.
Ogden, Charles F	Louisville, Ky.
Oldfield, William A	Batesville, Ark.
Oliver, William B	Tuscaloosa, Ala.
Olney, Richard	Dedham, Mass.
Osborne, Henry Z	Los Angeles, Calif.
Overstreet, James W	Sylvania, Ga.
Padgett, Lemuel P	Columbia, Tenn.
Paige, Calvin D	Southbridge, Mass.
Park, Frank	Sylvester, Ga.
Parker, James S	Salem, N. Y.
Parrish, Lucian W	Henrietta, Tex.
Pell, Herbert C., jr	New York City.
Peters, John A	Ellsworth, Me.
Phelan, Michael F	Lynn, Mass.
Platt, Edmund[3]	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Porter, Stephen G	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Pou, Edward W	Smithfield, N. C.
Purnell, Fred S	Attica, Ind.
Quin, Percy E	McComb, Miss.
Radcliffe, Amos H	Paterson, N. J.
Rainey, Henry T	Carrollton, Ill.
Rainey, John W	Chicago, Ill.
Rainey, Lilius B	Gadsden, Ala.
Raker, John E	Alturas, Calif.
Ramsey, John R	Hackensack, N. J.
Ramseyer, C. William	Bloomfield, Iowa.
Randall, Charles H	Los Angeles, Calif.
Randall, Clifford E	Kenosha, Wis.
Rayburn, Sam	Bonham, Tex.
Reavis, C. Frank	Falls City, Nebr.
Reber, John	Pottsville, Pa.
Reed, Daniel A	Dunkirk, N. Y.
Reed, Stuart F	Clarksburg, W. Va.
Rhodes, Marion E	Potosi, Mo.
Ricketts, Edwin D	Logan, Ohio.
Riddick, Carl W	Lewistown, Mont.
Riordan, Daniel J	New York City.
Robinson, Leonidas D	Wadesboro, N. C.
Robsion, John M	Barbourville, Ky.
Rodenberg, William A	East St. Louis, Ill.
Rogers, John Jacob	Lowell, Mass.
Romjue, Milton A	Macon, Mo.
Rose, John M	Johnstown, Pa.
Rouse, A. B	Burlington, Ky.
Rowan, Joseph	New York City.
Rowe, Frederick W	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rubey, Thomas L	Lebanon, Mo.
Rucker, William W	Keytesville, Mo.
Sabath, Adolph J	Chicago, Ill.
Sanders, Archie D	Stafford, N. Y.
Sanders, Everett	Terre Haute, Ind.
Sanders, Jared Y	Bogalusa, La.
Sanford, Rollin B	Albany, N. Y.
Saunders, Edward W.[4]	Rockymount, Va.
Schall, Thomas D	Minneapolis, Minn.
Scott, Frank D	Alpena, Mich.
Scully, Thomas J	South Amboy, N. J.
Sears, William J	Kissimmee, Fla.
Sells, Sam R	Johnson City, Tenn.
Sherwood, Isaac R	Toledo, Ohio.
Shreve, Milton W	Erie, Pa.
Siegel, Isaac	New York City.
Sims, Thetus W	Linden, Tenn.
Sinclair, James H	Kenmare, N. Dak.
Sinnott, Nicholas J	The Dalles, Oreg.
Sisson, Thomas U	Winona, Miss.
Slemp, C. Bascom	Big Stone Gap, Va.
Small, John H	Washington, N. C.
Smith, Addison T	Twin Falls, Idaho.
Smith, Frank L	Dwight, Ill.
Smith, J. M. C	Charlotte, Mich.
Smith, Thomas F	New York City.
Smithwick, John H	Pensacola, Fla.
Snell, Bertrand H	Potsdam, N. Y.
Snyder, Homer P	Little Falls, N. Y.
Steagall, Henry B	Ozark, Ala.
Stedman, Charles M	Greensboro, N. C.
Steele, Henry J	Easton, Pa.
Steenerson, Halvor	Crookston, Minn.
Stephens, A. E. B	North Bend, Ohio.
Stephens, Hubert D	New Albany, Miss.
Stevenson, William F	Cheraw, S. C.
Stiness, Walter R	Cowesett, R. I.
Stoll, Philip H	Kingstree, S. C.
Strong, James G	Blue Rapids, Kans.
Strong, Nathan L	Brookville, Pa.
Sullivan, Christopher D	New York City.
Summers, John W	Walla Walla, Wash.
Sumners, Hatton W	Dallas, Tex.
Sweet, Burton E	Waverly, Iowa.
Swope, King	Danville, Ky.
Tague, Peter F	Boston, Mass.
Taylor, Edward T	Glenwood Springs, Colo.
Taylor, J. Will	Lafollette, Tenn.
Taylor, Samuel M	Pine Bluff, Ark.
Temple, Henry W	Washington, Pa.
Thomas, Robert Y., jr	Central City, Ky.

[1] Elected in place of Joshua W. Alexander, resigned.
[2] Resigned January 4, 1920.
[3] Resigned June 7, 1920.
[4] Resigned February 29, 1920.

Names and post-office addresses of Members and Delegates of the House of Representatives—Continued.

Name.	Home post office.	Name.	Home post office.
Thompson, Charles J	Defiance, Ohio.	Weaver, Zebulon	Asheville, N. C.
Tillman, John N	Fayetteville, Ark.	Webster, J. Stanley	Spokane, Wash.
Tilson, John Q	New Haven, Conn.	Welling, Milton H	Fielding, Utah.
Timberlake, Charles B	Sterling, Colo.	Welty, Benjamin F	Lima, Ohio.
Tincher, J. N	Medicine Lodge, Kans.	Whaley, Richard S	Charleston, S. C.
Tinkham, George Holden	Boston, Mass.	Wheeler, Loren E	Springfield, Ill.
Towner, Horace M	Corning, Iowa.	White, Hays B	Mankato, Kans.
Treadway, Allen T	Stockbridge, Mass.	White, Wallace H., jr	Lewiston, Me.
Upshaw, William D	Atlanta, Ga.	Williams, Thomas S	Louisville, Ill.
Vaile, William N	Denver, Colo.	Wilson, John H	Butler, Pa.
Vare, William S	Philadelphia, Pa.	Wilson, Riley J	Harrisonburg, La.
Venable, William W	Meridian, Miss.	Wilson, William W	Chicago, Ill.
Vestal, Albert H	Anderson, Ind.	Wingo, Otis	De Queen, Ark.
Vinson, Carl	Milledgeville, Ga.	Winslow, Samuel E	Worcester, Mass.
Voigt, Edward	Sheboygan, Wis.	Wise, James W	Fayetteville, Ga.
Volstead, Andrew J	Granite Falls, Minn.	Wood, William R	La Fayette, Ind.
Walsh, Joseph	New Bedford, Mass.	Woods, James P	Roanoke, Va.
Walters, Anderson H	Johnstown, Pa.	Woodyard, Harry C	Spencer, W. Va.
Ward, Charles B	Debruce, N. Y.	Wright, William C	Newnan, Ga.
Wason, Edward H	Nashua, N. H.	Yates, Richard	Springfield, Ill.
Watkins, John T	Minden, La.	Young, George M	Valley City, N. Dak.
Watson, Henry W	Langhorne, Pa.	Young, James	Kaufman, Tex.
Watson, Walter A.[1]	Jennings Ordinary, Va.	Zihlman, Frederick N	Cumberland, Md.

DELEGATES.

Grigsby, George B	Juneau, Alaska.	Kalanianaole, J. Kuhio	Waikiki, Hawaii.

RESIDENT COMMISSIONERS.

Davila, Felix Cordova	Manati, P. R.	Yangco, Teodoro R	Zambales, P. I.
De Veyra, Jaime C	Manila, P. I.		

[1] Died December 24, 1919.

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——— bill for fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, making (see bill H. R. 13587*).
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COMMITTEE ON DISPOSITION OF USELESS EXECUTIVE PAPERS (*House*).
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COMMITTEE ON DISPOSITION OF USELESS PAPERS IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS (*Senate*).
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COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE (*House*).
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COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE (*House*).
Mr. Tague appointed, 150.

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT (*Senate*).
Mr. Glass appointed, 2899.

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE NAVY DEPARTMENT (*House*).
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COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT (*House*).
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EVANS, CHARLES R. (*a Representative from Nevada*).
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EVANS, JOHN M. (*a Representative from Montana*).
Bills and joint resolutions introduced by
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EVANS, JOSEPH, increase pension (see bills H. R. 3187, 11310*).

EVANS, LILLIAN M., pension (see bills H. R. 7689, 12530*).

EVANS, MINNIE M., pension (see bill H. R. 14448).

EVANS, ROBERT E. (*a Representative from Nebraska*).
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Remarks by, on
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EVASHANKS, BILLIE H., relief (see bill S. 2962*).

EVELAND, DANIEL W., increase pension (see bill H. R. 14455).

EVELETH, MINN., erect public building at (see bill H. R. 12129).

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To be major generals; nominated, 183, 5291; confirmed, 1050, 6224.
To be brigadier generals; nominated, 183, 2446, 5291; confirmed, 1050, 3078, 6224.
To be captain; confirmed, 1053.
To be chaplains; nominated, 190, 6077, 6503; confirmed, 7421.
To be Chief of Engineers; nominated, 1537.
To be professor; confirmed, 5197.
Cavalry:
To be colonels; nominated, 2302, 3808, 4068; confirmed, 3078, 4177, 4694.
To be lieutenant colonels; nominated, 187, 2302, 2303, 3808, 4068, 5614, 6223, 6816; confirmed, 1051, 2760, 3078, 4177, 4694, 6224, 7421.
To be majors; nominated, 2303, 4068, 5008, 5614, 6077, 6223, 6816; confirmed, 3078, 4694, 5197, 6224, 7421.
To be captains; nominated, 7227, 7228, 8204, 8205; confirmed, 1051, 7421, 7422, 8546.
To be first lieutenants; nominated, 184, 828, 1712, 1950, 3808, 4068, 7228, 8205; confirmed, 1051, 1053, 2761, 4177, 4694, 7422, 8546.
To be second lieutenants; nominated, 828, 1109, 5008; confirmed, 1277, 2761, 5197.
Coast Artillery:
To be colonels; nominated, 184, 188, 407, 3808; confirmed, 1051, 1053, 4178.
To be lieutenant colonels; nominated, 3078, 3808, 6503; confirmed, 4177, 4178, 7422.
To be majors; nominated, 6504; confirmed, 7422.
To be captains; nominated, 184, 188, 3078, 8206, 8207; confirmed, 1051, 4177, 8547.
To be first lieutenants; nominated, 185, 187, 188, 4068, 4069, 5196, 6816, 8207; confirmed, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1054, 4694, 6224, 7422, 8547.
To be second lieutenants; nominated, 187, 1109; confirmed, 1052, 1277.
Dental Corps:
To be first lieutenants; nominated, 184; confirmed, 1053.
Engineers:
To be colonels; nominated, 187, 3078, 6503, 6816, 7227, 8204; confirmed, 1050, 4177, 7421, 8545.
To be lieutenant colonels; nominated, 187, 3078, 6503, 6816, 7227, 8204; confirmed, 1050, 4177, 7421, 8545.
To be majors; nominated, 187, 4692, 6503, 6816, 7227, 8204; confirmed, 1050, 5196, 7421, 8545.
To be captains; nominated, 5008, 5196, 5613, 6077, 6223, 6503, 8204; confirmed, 5196, 6224, 7421, 8545.
To be first lieutenants; nominated, 5008, 5614, 6077, 6503; confirmed, 5196, 6224, 7421.
To be Chief of Engineers; confirmed, 2446.
Field Artillery:
To be colonels; nominated, 187, 3808, 6223; confirmed, 1051, 4178, 7422.
To be lieutenant colonels; nominated, 188, 1712, 3808, 6223; confirmed, 1051, 2760, 4178, 7422.
To be majors; nominated, 188, 2446, 3808, 6223; confirmed, 1051, 3078, 4178, 7422.
To be captains; nominated, 188, 407, 4068, 5196, 8205; confirmed, 1051, 1054, 4694, 6224, 8546.
To be first lieutenants; nominated, 188, 4068, 4692, 5008, 8205, 8206; confirmed, 1051, 4694, 5197, 8546.
Infantry:
To be colonels; nominated, 188, 1835, 2160, 4069, 4692, 5008, 5614, 6077, 8207; confirmed, 1052, 1053, 2062, 2760, 4694, 5197, 6224, 7422, 8547.
To be lieutenant colonels; nominated, 188, 1277, 1835, 2160, 3808, 4069, 4692, 5008, 5614, 6077, 8207; confirmed, 1052, 1053, 2062, 2160, 2760, 4178, 4694, 5197, 6224, 7422, 8547.
To be majors; nominated, 188, 1277, 1712, 1835, 2160, 3808, 4069, 4693, 5614, 6077, 6224, 7228, 8207; confirmed, 1052, 1053, 2062, 2161, 2760, 4178, 4694, 5197, 6224, 7422, 8547; withdrawn, 1731.
To be captains; nominated, 189, 1835, 2160, 6077, 6224, 7228, 8207, 8208, 8379; confirmed, 1052, 2063, 2760, 7422, 8547; withdrawn, 8380.
To be first lieutenants; nominated, 185, 186, 187, 189, 190, 3808, 4069, 5008, 6077, 8208, 8209; confirmed, 1052, 1053, 4178, 4694, 5197, 7422, 8547, 8548, 8549; withdrawn, 1054.
To be second lieutenants; nominated, 187; confirmed, 1053.
Medical Corps:
To be majors; nominated, 4692, 5613, 8204; confirmed 5196, 5197, 6224, 8545.
To be first lieutenants; nominated, 183, 184; confirmed, 1053; withdrawn, 829.
Ordnance Department:
To be colonels; nominated, 3808; confirmed, 4177.
Quartermaster Corps:
To be colonels; nominated, 828, 8204; confirmed, 2760, 8545.
Signal Corps:
To be colonels; nominated, 190; confirmed, 1053.
To be lieutenant colonels; nominated, 190, 828; confirmed, 1053, 2761.
Coast and Geodetic Survey:
To be hydrographic and geodetic engineers; nominated, 183, 1835, 2062, 3184, 3626, 4745, 5613; confirmed, 829, 2760, 3628, 4694, 5100, 5614, 6283.
To be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineers; nominated, 183, 1835, 2062, 3626, 4285, 4745; confirmed, 829, 2760, 3407, 3628, 3808, 4745, 6283.

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Coast and Geodetic Survey—Continued.
To be aids; nominated, 2062, 4285, 5613; confirmed, 2760, 3628, 5292.
Coast Guard appointments and promotions:
To be commodore and brigadier general; nominated, 183; confirmed, 829.
To be captain and colonel; nominated, 183; confirmed, 829, 2446.
To be captains; nominated, 5196; confirmed, 6817.
To be senior captains; nominated, 183, 7227; confirmed, 829, 8230.
To be captain of engineers; nominated, 2446; confirmed, 3753.
To be first lieutenants; nominated, 183; confirmed, 829.
To be second lieutenants; nominated, 183, 1277; confirmed, 829, 2446.
To be district superintendents; nominated, 2908; confirmed, 3753.
To be engineer in chief; nominated, 183, 1277; confirmed, 408.
Marine Corps appointments and promotions:
To be brigadier generals; nominated, 6078, 6816; confirmed, 6225, 6995.
To be major generals; nominated, 6078; confirmed, 6225.
To be colonels; nominated, 191, 997, 1050, 7228; confirmed, 7804.
To be lieutenant colonels; nominated, 191, 1050, 1277, 3406, 4694, 6224; confirmed, 977, 4178, 5408, 6641, 7804.
To be majors; nominated, 191, 1050, 1277, 3406, 4694, 6224, 7228, 7802; confirmed, 977, 4178, 5408, 6641, 7804, 8380.
To be major; withdrawn, 7804.
To be captains; nominated, 191, 1277, 7228; confirmed, 977.
To be first lieutenants; nominated, 191, 1277, 7228; confirmed, 977.
To be second lieutenants; nominated, 191, 1277, 6641; confirmed, 977, 7804.
To be adjutant and inspector; confirmed, 3079.
To be assistant paymaster; nominated, 3406; confirmed, 4178.
Navy appointments and promotions:
To be rear admirals; nominated, 190, 1950, 3627, 4693, 6077; confirmed, 975, 3078, 4178, 5407, 6224.
to be captains; nominated, 1050, 1950, 1951, 3627, 4693, 7228; confirmed, 1730, 3078, 4178, 5407, 7802, 8379.
To be commanders; nominated, 1050, 1950, 1951, 3627, 4693, 5614, 6639, 7801; confirmed, 1731, 3078, 4178, 5407, 6224, 6995, 8379.
To be lieutenant commanders; nominated, 190, 407, 974, 1049, 1050, 1951, 3627, 4693, 4694, 5614, 6077, 6224, 6504, 6639, 7421, 7801, 8379; confirmed, 975, 976, 1109, 1730, 3078, 4178, 4693, 4694, 5407, 6224, 6641, 6995, 7802, 8380, 8549.
To be lieutenant commanders (retired); confirmed, 1730.
To be lieutenants; nominated, 190, 407, 828, 975, 1049, 1951, 3627, 4693, 5614, 6078, 6504, 6639, 7801, 7802; confirmed, 975, 976, 977, 1109, 1730, 3078, 4178, 5407, 6224, 6225, 6641, 8380, 8549.
To be lieutenants (junior grade); nominated, 190, 191, 407, 975, 1049, 1951, 3627, 4693, 4694, 5614, 6077, 6639, 7801, 7802, 8379; confirmed, 975, 976, 1109, 1730, 3078, 4178, 5407, 6224, 8380, 8549.
To be ensigns; nominated, 407, 6639, 6640, 6641; confirmed, 976, 7802, 7803, 7804.
To be assistant civil engineers; nominated, 4693, 6639; confirmed, 5407, 6995.
To be assistant dental surgeons; nominated, 1050, 5008, 5614, 8379; confirmed, 1731, 8549.
To be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 5008; confirmed, 5408.
To be assistant paymasters; nominated, 407, 1050; confirmed, 1731.
To be assistant surgeons; nominated, 1049, 1050, 1951, 3626, 3627, 5008, 5671, 6639, 6869; confirmed, 1109, 1731, 3078, 4178, 5407, 5408, 6224, 6995.
To be chaplains; nominated, 5614, 6639; confirmed, 6995.
To be chief boatswains; nominated, 407, 1050, 1950, 3627, 5614, 7802, 8379; confirmed, 976, 3079, 4178, 6224, 8380.
To be chief carpenters; nominated, 407, 8543; confirmed, 976.
To be chief gunners; nominated, 190, 407, 5614, 6077, 8379; confirmed, 976, 6225, 8549.
To be chief machinists; nominated, 407, 828, 3627, 4693, 5614, 6077; confirmed, 976, 977, 4178, 5407, 6225.
To be chief pay clerks; nominated, 190, 407, 1050, 5614, 6078, 6639, 8379; confirmed, 976, 1730, 6225, 6995.
To be chief pharmacists; nominated, 407, confirmed, 976.
To be chief engineers; nominated, 5614.
To be medical directors; nominated, 190, 407, 3627, 5614; confirmed, 975, 976, 4178.
To be medical inspectors; nominated, 190, 828, 3626, 3627, 5614; confirmed, 975, 976, 4178.
To be naval constructors; nominated, 3626, 3627, 4693, 4694, 5614, 6639, 7802, 8379; confirmed, 4178, 5407, 6224, 6995, 8380.
To be passed assistant dental surgeons; nominated, 1951, 4693; confirmed, 3078, 5407, 8380.
To be passed assistant paymasters; nominated, 6639.
To be passed assistant surgeons; nominated, 1951, 4693, 6077, 6639, 7802; confirmed, 3078, 5407, 6225, 8380; withdrawn, 6078.
To be pay directors; nominated, 4694, 6078; confirmed, 6225.
To be pay inspectors; nominated, 3626, 4694, 6639, 6869; confirmed, 4178, 5407, 6995.
To be paymasters; nominated, 6078; confirmed, 6225, 6995.
To be professors; nominated, 3627; confirmed, 3078, 4178.
To be surgeons; nominated, 8379; confirmed, 8380.
Postmasters:
Alabama; nominated, 1712, 1713, 2758, 3627, 5291, 8210, 8543; confirmed, 2446, 2761, 3753, 5197, 6225, 7804, 8549, 8644.
Alabama; rejected, 8552.
Alaska; nominated, 2758, 8210; confirmed, 3184, 8549.
Arizona; nominated, 1713, 2759, 5008, 5291, 6281, 8210, 8543; confirmed, 2761, 3808, 6817, 8644; withdrawn, 6283.
Arkansas; nominated, 1713, 2759, 3627, 6281, 8210, 8211; confirmed, 1951, 2446, 2908, 3753, 8549, 8644.
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Postmasters—Continued.
California; nominated, 1713, 2759, 5009, 5291, 6281, 8211, 8543; confirmed, 2761, 3808, 5659, 6817, 8549.
Colorado; nominated, 1714, 5009, 6281, 8211, 8543; confirmed, 3079, 3753, 5197, 6078, 6869, 7422, 8549; withdrawn, 6283, 8230.
Connecticut; nominated, 1714, 2759, 5009, 5291, 6281, 8211, 8212, 8543; confirmed, 1835, 2446, 2447, 5408, 5614, 6283, 6869, 8644.
Delaware; nominated, 1714, 8543; confirmed, 2447, 3753.
District of Columbia; nominated, 1714; confirmed, 1951.
Florida; nominated, 1715, 2759, 3627, 5009, 5291, 6281, 8212; confirmed, 2908, 3184, 3808, 4069, 5197, 6225, 8549.
Georgia; nominated, 1715, 2759, 5009, 5291, 6281, 8212, 8543; confirmed, 2447, 2761, 3184, 3753, 5408, 6641, 8549, 8644.
Hawaii; nominated, 1715, 5291, 8212; confirmed, 2908, 5408, 8550.
Idaho; nominated, 1715, 5291, 8212; confirmed, 2447, 3753, 6078, 6817, 8644; withdrawn, 8230.
Illinois; nominated, 1715, 1716, 2759, 5009, 5291, 6281, 8212, 8213, 8543; confirmed, 4069, 5408, 7804, 8230, 8549, 8644; withdrawn, 6284.
Indiana; nominated, 1716, 5291, 6281, 8213, 8214, 8543; confirmed, 1951, 5659, 6641, 8644, 8645.
Iowa; nominated, 1716, 1717, 2759, 5009, 5292, 6281, 6282, 8214, 8215, 8543; confirmed, 4069, 4694, 4695, 5659, 6225, 8549, 8550, 8645; withdrawn, 6284.
Kansas; nominated, 1717, 1718, 2759, 5009, 5292, 6282, 8215, 8216; confirmed, 1951, 1952, 3628, 5100, 5197, 5614, 6641, 8550.
Kentucky; nominated, 1718, 2759, 5009, 6282, 8216; confirmed, 3184, 2447, 2761, 2908, 5100, 7804, 8550; withdrawn, 6284; rejected, 2447.
Louisiana; nominated, 1718, 1719, 2759, 5009, 5292, 6282, 8216; confirmed, 1952, 2761, 2908, 3407, 3753, 5197, 5292, 5408, 6641, 8190, 8230, 8345, 8380, 8550; withdrawn, 6284.
Maine; nominated, 1719, 6282, 8216, 8543; confirmed, 2761, 7229, 8645.
Maryland; nominated, 1719, 3627, 5009, 8216; confirmed, 3407, 6078, 8550.
Massachusetts; nominated, 1719, 2759, 5009, 6282, 8216, 8271, 8543; confirmed, 2447, 4069, 4695, 7804, 8550, 8645.
Michigan; nominated, 1719, 3627, 5009, 5292, 6282, 8217, 8218, 8543, 8544; confirmed, 2062, 3808, 5197, 5614, 6641, 8550, 8645; withdrawn, 3628.
Minnesota; nominated, 1720, 2446, 2759, 5009, 6282, 8218, 8219; confirmed, 3079, 3628, 3753, 5292, 7804, 8550, 8645.
Mississippi; nominated, 1720, 2759, 5009, 6282, 8219, 8544; confirmed, 2160, 2161, 2447, 3079, 6641, 8230, 8550, 8551, 8645; withdrawn 6284.
Missouri; nominated 1720, 1721, 2759, 5009, 5292, 6282, 8219, 8220; confirmed, 1952, 2447, 3185, 4069, 5197, 8551, 8646; withdrawn, 5293.
Montana; nominated, 1721, 2759, 6282, 5009, 8220; confirmed, 3185, 4178, 6817, 7804, 8551; withdrawn, 6284.
Nebraska; nominated, 1721, 1722, 2759, 3627, 5292, 6282, 8220, 8221; confirmed, 5408, 6870, 7422, 8551; withdrawn, 6284; rejected, 8230.
Nevada; nominated, 1722, 6282, 8221, 8544; confirmed, 1835, 4069, 6641, 8551, 8646; withdrawn, 6284.
New Hampshire; nominated, 1722, 8221, 8544; confirmed, 3079, 3185, 8646.
New Jersey; nominated, 1722, 2759, 3627, 5009, 6282, 8551, 8646; confirmed, 2161, 3753, 5292, 5687, 6817, 6870, 8551, 8646.
New Mexico; nominated, 1722, 6282, 8222; confirmed, 2303, 2447, 6641.
New York; nominated, 1722, 1723, 1724, 1759, 3628, 5009, 5292, 6282, 8223, 8544; confirmed, 1952, 2303, 2447, 2761, 2908, 3079, 3185, 3753, 3808, 3809, 4178, 4695, 4745, 5659, 6078, 6283, 6641, 7229, 7804, 8551.
North Carolina; nominated, 1724, 2759, 6282, 8223, 8544; confirmed, 2062, 3079, 3185, 5010, 6641, 8551, 8646; withdrawn, 6284.
North Dakota; nominated, 1724, 1725, 3628, 5009, 6282, 8223, 8224; confirmed, 1952, 5010, 5100, 6078, 7804.
Ohio; nominated, 1725, 2760, 3406, 3628, 5009, 5292, 6282, 8224, 8544; confirmed, 3407, 3753, 4695, 5614, 6817, 8230, 8551, 8646; withdrawn, 6284, 8230.
Oklahoma; nominated, 1725, 1726, 2760, 3628, 5009, 5292, 6282, 6283, 8224, 8225, 8544; confirmed, 2161, 4745, 5197, 6283, 7229, 7804.
Oregon; nominated, 1726, 2760, 5009, 5292, 6283, 8225, 8544; confirmed, 2761, 3809, 5408, 5659, 6641, 8551, 8552, 8646.
Pennsylvania; nominated, 1726, 1727, 2760, 3628, 5009, 5292, 6283, 8225, 8226, 8544; confirmed, 2447, 2761, 2762, 2908, 3079, 3407, 3753, 4695, 5100, 5614, 6078, 6225, 6870, 7229, 7804, 8552, 8646; withdrawn, 8230.
Porto Rico; nominated, 1727, 5292, 6283, 8226; confirmed, 2447, 7804, 8552.
Rhode Island; nominated, 2760, 5010, 8226; confirmed, 6283, 8552.
South Carolina; nominated, 1727, 2760, 5010, 5292, 6283, 8226; confirmed, 1835, 3185, 5292, 5659, 6504, 6641, 8552.
South Dakota; nominated, 1727, 5010, 5292, 6283, 8226, 8544; confirmed, 1952, 5614, 5659, 7804, 8552.
Tennessee; nominated, 1727, 1728, 8227, 8544; confirmed, 1952, 2762, 3753, 3809, 4069, 6225, 7804, 8380, 8552.
Texas; nominated, 1728, 2760, 3628, 5010, 5292, 6283, 8227; confirmed, 1952, 2303, 3407, 3809, 5197, 5408, 6641, 8552; withdrawn, 6284.
Utah; nominated, 1728, 3628, 5010, 6283, 8227; confirmed, 5408, 6504, 8552.
Vermont; nominated, 1729, 2760, 5010, 6283, 8227, 8228; confirmed, 2908, 3809, 6225, 8552, 8646, 8647.
Virginia; nominated, 1729, 5010, 6283, 8228; confirmed, 2908, 2909, 4178, 5614, 6817, 8230, 8552.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Postmasters—Continued.
Washington; nominated, 1729, 2760, 3628, 5292, 6283, 8228; confirmed, 2762, 3809, 4178, 5659, 8647, 7229.
West Virginia; nominated, 1729, 3628, 5010, 6283, 8228, 8544; confirmed, 2762, 4745, 5293, 8552, 8647.
Wisconsin; nominated, 1729, 1730, 5010, 6283, 8228, 8229, 8544; confirmed, 4695, 7804, 8552, 8647.
Wyoming; nominated, 1730, 2760, 3628, 6283, 8229; confirmed, 1952, 3185, 4745, 6504, 8647.
Public Health Service:
To be Surgeon General; confirmed, 3406.
To be assistant surgeon general; nominated, 4177.
To be assistant surgeon general at large; nominated, 5008, 5100; confirmed, 5292, 6869; withdrawn, 5100.
To be surgeons; nominated, 183, 6503; confirmed, 8229.
To be assistant surgeon; nominated, 1712, 6076; confirmed, 3407, 8229.
To be passed assistant surgeon; nominated, 1712, 5196; confirmed, 3406, 6869.
To be senior surgeon; nominated, 5196; confirmed, 6869.
Abbott, Hubbard H., to be register of land office, Del Norte, Colo.; nominated, 7801; confirmed, 8644.
Abbott, Wainwright, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 5007; confirmed, 5292.
Adams, Annette Abbott, to be Assistant Attorney General; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8379.
Adams, Newton, to be consul, class 7; nominated, 8202; confirmed, 8545.
Albrecht, Charles N., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Albright, Edward, to be United States marshal, middle district Tennessee; nominated, 291; confirmed, 975.
Alexander, Joshua Willis, to be Secretary of Commerce; nominated, 182; confirmed, 408.
Allen, Charles E., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Allen, Guy F., to be Assistant Treasurer of United States; nominated, 1537; confirmed, 1835.
Alvord, Julius B., to be receiver of public moneys at Susanville, Calif.; nominated, 407; confirmed, 1730.
Asbridge, Joseph L., to be United States marshal, district of Montana; nominated, 3753; confirmed, 4177.
Ashbury, Charles E., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Aydlett, E. F., to be United States attorney, eastern district North Carolina; nominated, 1835; confirmed, 2062.
Baker, Horace, to be member Railroad Labor Board; nominated, 5613; confirmed, 5687.
Balch, Henry H., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Barton, R. M., to be member Railroad Labor Board; nominated, 5613; confirmed, 5687.
Bean, Cecil N., to be supervising inspector, tenth district, Steamboat-Inspection Service; nominated, 183; confirmed, 829.
Beatty, E. C. Obert, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 5007; confirmed, 5292.
Beggs, Sydney S., to be receiver of public moneys, Waterville, Wash.; nominated, 6223; confirmed, 7229.
Belin F. Lammot, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Benson, Rear Admiral William S., to be member international telegraph and telephone conference; nominated, 3626; confirmed, 7228.
——— to be member of Shipping Board; nominated, 3808; confirmed, 4286.
Beyreis, Kurt A., to be receiver of public moneys, Wausau, Wis.; nominated, 6223; confirmed, 7229.
Blocker, William P., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 5196.
Blohm, Lee R., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 182; confirmed, 828.
Boal, Pierre de L., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Bodine, Joseph L., to be United States district judge, New Jersey; nominated, 7801; confirmed, 8229.
Bohr, Frank, to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Bond, Claude, to be United States marshal, northern district Georgia; nominated, 406; confirmed, 3407.
Bonds, Archibald, to be United States attorney, eastern district of Oklahoma; nominated, 974; confirmed, 975.
Boswell, Nathan H., to be United States marshal, southern district, Florida; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 5407.
Bowman, Thomas D., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Boyle, Walter F., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Bradley, John R., to be consul, class 8; nominated, 5008; confirmed, 5407.
Brett, Homer, to be consul, class 7; nominated, 6223; confirmed, 7228.
Briscoe, Ira J., to be register of the land office at Tucumcari, N. Mex.; nominated, 974; confirmed, 975.
Brown, W. Duval, to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Brulay, Maurice, to be consul, class 7; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 5196.
Bryan, Nathan P., to be United States circuit judge, fifth circuit; nominated, 6076; confirmed, 6078.
Bullard, Gilman, to be surveyor general of Montana; nominated, 1049; confirmed, 1537.
Bunnell, Charles E., to be United States district judge, District of Alaska, division No. 4; nominated, 291.
Burgess, Lieut. Col. Harry, to be member Mississippi River Commission; nominated, 3406; confirmed, 3628.
Burleson, Albert S., to be member International Communication Commission; nominated, 3626; confirmed, 7228.
Burnell, Albro L., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Burns, William F., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 8202; confirmed, 8545.
Burton, Theodore E., to be member United States Tariff Commission; nominated, 5613; withdrawn, 6225.
Busser, Ralph C., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Byerly, William E., to be collector of internal revenue, district of North Dakota; nominated, 291; confirmed, 6078.
Byington, Frank D., to be Deputy Commissioner of Pensions; nominated, 4068; confirmed, 4177.
Byington, Homer M., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Cable, Philander L., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 3; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Caffery, Jefferson, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 1; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Caldwell, John K., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8544.
Callahan, James Y., to be register of land office, Guthrie, Okla.; nominated, 2446; confirmed, 3184.
Campbell, Harry, to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Canon, William H., to be register of land office, Roseburg, Oreg.; nominated, 6223; confirmed, 6641.
Carman, Robert R., to be United States attorney, district of Maryland; nominated, 7227; confirmed, 7534.
Carrigan, Clarence, to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Carroll, James E., to be United States attorney, eastern district, Missouri; nominated, 7801; confirmed, 8229.
Carroll, Joseph W., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 3; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Carter, James G., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Chamberlin, George E., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Chase, Benjamin F., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Claiborne, Hamilton C., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Clark, Edgar E., to be member of Interstate Commerce Commission; nominated, 183; confirmed, 829.
Clark, James K., to be receiver of public money, Lemmon, S. Dak.; nominated, 183; confirmed, 1537.
Clark, James R., to be United States attorney, southern district, Ohio; nominated, 5008; confirmed, 5196.
Clum, Harold D., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Coffin, William; to be consul general, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8544.
Colby, Bainbridge, to be Secretary of State; nominated, 3626; confirmed, 4694.
Collier, Estelle V., to be collector of customs, district No. 48, Salt Lake City, Utah; nominated, 3626; confirmed, 6504.
Cooksey, George R., to be a director of War Finance Corporation; nominated, 1950, 6995; confirmed, 2303, 7228.
Cooper, Frank, to be United States district judge, northern district, New York; nominated, 6281; confirmed, 8379.
Carrigan, John, jr., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 8202; confirmed, 8545.
Cottrell, Frederick G., to be Director Bureau of Mines; nominated, 6639; confirmed, 8229.
Cowan, James H., to be collector of customs, district No. 15, Wilmington, Del.; nominated, 1537; confirmed, 1730.
Cozad, Victor G., to be register of land office, Burns, Oreg.; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 6641.
Craddock, Daniel W., to be receiver of public moneys, Seattle, Wash.; nominated, 183; confirmed, 6816.
Crane, Charles R., to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to China; nominated, 4068; confirmed, 4694.
Crosby, George J., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Cross, Cecil M. P., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 8229.
Culver, Henry S., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Cumming, Hugh S., to be Surgeon General of the Public Health Service; nominated, 2160.
Cunningham, Charles H., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 5196.
Cunningham, Edwin S., to be consul general, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8544.
Cutcheon, Franklin W. M., to be director, War Finance Corporation; nominated, 2302; confirmed, 2760.
Dahlman, James C., to be United States marshal, district of Nebraska; nominated, 8379; confirmed, 8379.
Dameron, George M., to be register of land office at Pueblo, Colo.; nominated, 1049; confirmed, 1730.
Damm, Henry C. A., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Davis, Chester W., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 8202; confirmed, 8545.
Davis, John K., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Davis, J. Warren, to be United States Circuit Judge, third circuit; nominated, 7801; confirmed, 8229.
Davis, Leslie A., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Davis, Monnett M., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 8202; confirmed, 8545.
Dawson, Claude I., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Dawson, William, to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Deakyne, Lieut. Col. Herbert, to be member of Mississippi River Commission; nominated, 3406; confirmed, 3628.
Deichman, Carl F., to be consul general, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8544.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Dennison, E. Haldeman, to be consul, class 3; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 5614.
de Olivares, José, to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
de Soto, Hernando, to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Dick, Hasell H., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Dickson, Samuel S., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 3; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Dickson, William B., to be registar of land office, Dickinson, N. Dak.; nominated, 2446; confirmed, 3184.
Diggs, W. Mitchell, to be naval officer of customs, district No. 13, Baltimore, Md.; nominated, 828; confirmed, 975.
Dockweiler, Henry I., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 3; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Dolbeare, Frederic R., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 406; confirmed, 975.
Donegan, Alfred W., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Dorsey, W. Roderick, to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Dow, Edward A., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Dreyfus, Louis G., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Drumheller, Roscoe M., to be collector of customs, District No. 30; nominated, 5008; confirmed, 5407.
Dumont, Frederick T. F., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Duncan, James, to be member Interstate Commerce Commission; nominated, 6503.
Dye, John W., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Elliott, John B., to be collector of customs, District No. 27; nominated, 5008; confirmed, 5100.
Elliot, J. H., to be member Railroad Labor Board; nominated, 5613; confirmed, 5687.
Erhardt, John G., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 6283.
Espy, Arthur, to be Assistant Treasurer of the United States at Cincinnati, Ohio; nominated, 1834; confirmed, 2062.
Estes, W. Lee, to be United States district judge, eastern district of Texas; nominated, 2908; confirmed, 3078.
Evans, Isaac Blair, to be United States Attorney, District of Utah; nominated, 406; confirmed, 829.
Evans, John Brooke, to be Assistant Treasurer of the United States, at Philadelphia, Pa.; nominated, 2160; confirmed, 2760.
Farry, Martin F., to be United States marshall, district of Delaware; nominated, 6816.
Ferris, Cornelius, to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Filer, Herbert A., to be chief examiner, civil service commission; nominated, 6995; confirmed, 7421.
Flack, Joseph, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 5007; confirmed, 5292.
Flynn, Thomas J., to be United States marshal, district of Nebraska; nominated, 1049; confirmed, 2446.
Ford, Henry Jones, to be member Interstate Commerce Commission; nominated, 6503.
Forrester, James J., to be member Railroad Labor Board; nominated, 5613; confirmed, 5687.
Foss, Harold R., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 5292.
Foster, Andrew J., to be receiver of public moneys, Lakeview, Oreg.; nominated, 4177; confirmed, 6641.
Franklin, Alfred, to be collector of internal revenue, district of Arizona; nominated, 828; confirmed, 975.
Freeman, Charles M., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Frierson, William L., to be solicitor general; nominated, 8084; confirmed, 8051, 8084.
Frost, Arthur C., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Frost, Wesley, to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8544.
Gallagher, John J., to be appraiser of merchandise, customs collection district No. 12, Pittsburgh, Pa.; nominated, 1712.
Gamon, John A., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Gardener, Helen H., to be civil-service commisisoner; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 5292.
Garvin, Francis P., to be assistant attorney general; nominated, 1049; confirmed, 5614.
Gary, Hampson, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Switzerland; nominated, 5100.
Gaskill, Nelson B., to be member Federal Trade Commission; nominated, 183; confirmed, 828.
Gaulin, Alphone, to be consul general, class 2; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 8229.
Gauss, Clarence E., to be consul class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Geran, Elmer H., to be United States attorney, New Jersey; nominated, 7801; confirmed, 8229.
Gillen, Martin J., to be member of United States Shipping Board; nominated, 5613.
Glazebrook, Otis A., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Gongwer, W. Burr, to be collector of customs, district No. 41, Cleveland, Ohio; nominated, 4068; confirmed, 5687.
Gordon, George A., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 2446; confirmed, 3078.
Gracey, Wilbur T., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Gray, Ben R., to be register of land office at Hailey, Idaho; nominated, 183; confirmed, 1730.
Greene, Elbridge Gerry, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Grew, Joseph C., to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Denmark; nominated, 5007.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Griffith, Sanford, to be consul, class 7; nominated, 8202; confirmed, 8545.
Gunther, Franklin Mott, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 1; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Guyant, Claude E., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Haeberle, Arminius T., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8544.
Hanger, G. Wallace W., to be member Railroad Labor Board; nominated, 5613; confirmed, 5687.
Harris, Heaton W., to be consul general, class 3; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 5614.
Haskell, Lewis W., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Hatch, Carl A., to be collector of internal revenue, district of New Mexico; nominated, 1109; confirmed, 1277.
Hathaway, Charles M., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Haven, Joseph E., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Haynes, Thornwell, to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Hazeltine, Ross, to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Heffernan, John L., to be register of land office, Marquette, Mich; nominated, 6223; confirmed, 7229.
Heingartner, Robert W., to be consul, class 6; nominated, 6223; confirmed, 8545.
Heizer, Oscar, to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Herring, Charles E., to be Second Assistant Director, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce; nominated, 5613; confirmed, 6641.
——— to be First Assistant Director, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce; nominated, 7801; confirmed, 8190, 8229.
Hildreth, Melvin A., to be United States attorney, district of North Dakota; nominated, 183; confirmed, 2446.
Hilton, Robert G., to be Assistant Treasurer of the United States at Baltimore, Md.; nominated, 1834; confirmed, 2602.
Hitch, Calvin Milton, to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Holland, Philip, to be consul, class 4; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 5292.
——— to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8544.
Honey, Robertson, to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Hoover, Charles L., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 6224.
Hope, Leighton, to be consul, class 7; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Hopkins, Oliver Paul, to be Second Assistant Director, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce; nominated, 7801; confirmed, 8229.
Houston, David F., to be Secretary of Treasury; nominated, 2160; confirmed, 2303.
Howell, Williamson S. jr., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 3; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Huddle, J. Klahr, to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Hughes, James H., to be United States attorney, district of Delaware; nominated, 6816; confirmed, 7228.
Hughes, James L., to be commissioner of immigration, Philadelphia, Pa.; nominated, 6076; confirmed, 8190, 8229.
Hunt, George W. P., to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Siam; nominated, 3626; confirmed, 7228.
Hunt, Henry, to be member Railroad Labor Board; nominated, 5613; confirmed, 5687.
Hunt, William W., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Hurley, John P., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 182; confirmed, 828.
Hurst, Carlton Bailey, to be consul general, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8544.
Hutchinson, Myron W., to be register of land office, Havre, Mont.; nominated, 1049; confirmed, 1537.
Ives, Ernest L., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Jackson, Jesse B., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Jaeckel, Theodore, to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Jay, Peter Augustus, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Salvador; nominated, 6223; confirmed, 6504.
Jenkins, Douglas, to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Johnson, Hallett, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Johnson, Nelson T., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8544.
Johnson, Robert Underwood, to be ambassador to Italy; nominated, 2908; confirmed, 3078.
Johnson, Stewart, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Johnson, Wayne, to be Solicitor of Internal Revenue; nominated, 2908; confirmed, 3628.
Jones, Robert W.; to be consul, class 7; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Jordan, Curtis C., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Joyce, John Thomas, to be register of land office, Durango, Colo.; nominated, 8543; confirmed, 8644.
Joyce, William H., to be member Federal Farm Loan Board; nominated, 4177; confirmed, 4694.
Kehl, John E., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8544.
Kelley, Robert F., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Kelly, William A., to be collector of internal revenue, district of Nevada; nominated, 3078; confirmed, 3628.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Kelly, William A., to be member California Débris Commission; nominated, 3077; confirmed, 4694.
Kemp, Edwin Carl, to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Kemper, Graham H., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Kent, William P., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8544.
King, Alexander C., to be United States circuit judge, fifth circuit; nominated, 6281; confirmed, 7534.
Kinnane, John E., to be United States attorney, eastern district of Michigan; nominated, 8543; confirmed, 8544.
Kinyon, Frank B., to be receiver of public moneys, Boise, Idaho; nominated, 1835; confirmed, 3184.
Kirk, Alexander C., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 406.
Klebinger, Wilbur, to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Kluttz, Whitehead, to be assistant commissioner of mediation and conciliation; nominated, 6076; confirmed, 6504.
Latimer, Robert E., to be collector of customs, district No. 21; nominated, 5008; confirmed, 5407.
Lawton, Ezra M., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Lay, Tracy, to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Layton, Thomas B. L., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Lee, Frank C., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Lee, Frederic E., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8202; confirmed, 8545.
Lockwood, Stephen T., to be United States attorney, western district, New York; nominated, 6077; confirmed, 7534.
Lucey, Dennis B., to be United States attorney, northern district, New York; nominated, 6077; confirmed, 6816.
Lund, Harry A., to be collector of customs, district 35; nominated, 5008; confirmed, 5687.
Lupton, Stuart K., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Lynch, William A., to be surveyor general of South Dakota; nominated, 2908; confirmed, 3078.
Lynn, John D., to be United States marshal, western district of New York; nominated, 3626; confirmed, 4286.
Lyon, C. J., to be United States marshal, western district, South Carolina; nominated, 1835; confirmed, 2303.
McAvoy, Charles D., to be United States attorney, eastern district of Pennsylvania; nominated, 2908; confirmed, 3628.
McBride, Harry A., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
McCall, Samuel W., to be member United States Tariff Commission; nominated, 6639.
McCarthy, Frederick, to be Solicitor of Department of Commerce; nominated, 2160; confirmed, 3078.
McCune, Charles W., to be collector of customs, district 46, Omaha, Nebr.; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 8229.
MacElwee, Roy S., to be Director Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce; nominated, 6869; confirmed, 6995.
McGrath, Stephen W., to be collector of internal revenue for first district of Ohio; nominated, 183; confirmed, 975.
McMurry, William E., to be receiver of public moneys, Missoula, Mont; nominated, 183; confirmed, 1537.
McNiece, Renwick S., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 8202; confirmed, 8545.
Maddox, Robert L., to be purchasing agent, Post Office Department; nominated, 4068; confirmed, 4286.
Mager, Harry W., to be collector of internal revenue, first district, Illinois; nominated, 1712; confirmed, 2446.
Mapa, Victorino, to be chief justice, Supreme Court, Philippine Islands; nominated, 5196; confirmed, 6078.
Marriner, J. Theodore, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 3; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Marsh, O. Gaylord, to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Marshall, Charles E., to be register of land office, Phoenix, Ariz.; nominated, 2446; confirmed, 3184.
Martin, Chester W., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 5292.
——— to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8544.
Martin, John F., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Martin, Miles M., to be United States attorney, district of Porto Rico; nominated, 1049; confirmed, 2446.
Mason, Guy, to be member of Rent Commission of District of Columbia; nominated, 1109; confirmed, 1537.
Massie, Carl H., to be register of land office, Newcastle, Wyo.; nominated, 2908; confirmed, 3184.
Masterson, William W., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Mattingly, Robert E., to be judge of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia; nominated, 2062; confirmed, 2908.
Maynard, Lester, to be consul, class 3; nominated, 4692.
Mee, J. Walter, to be collector of internal revenue, Aberdeen, S. Dak.; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 5010.
Meredith, Edwin T., to be Secretary of Agriculture; nominated, 2160; confirmed, 2303.
Merrill, Keith, to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Messersmith, George S., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Mestre, Salvador, to be attorney general for Porto Rico; nominated, 4745; confirmed, 5292.
Miller, Paul G., to be commissioner of education for Porto Rico; nominated, 1834; confirmed, 6078.
Millmore, Oscar L., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Mitchell, John J., to be collector of internal revenue, third district Massachusetts; nominated, 1049; confirmed, 4069.
Mitchell, Mason, to be consul, class 5, nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Mitchell, W. M. Parker, to be consul, class 7; nominated, 8202; confirmed, 8545.
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Moorhead, Maxwell K., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Morgenthau, Henry, to be ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Mexico; nominated, 4745.
Morrow, John C., to be receiver of public moneys at Alliance, Nebr.; nominated, 183; confirmed, 1835.
Munro, Dana G., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8202; confirmed, 8545.
Murray, Wallace S., to be secretary of embassay or legation, class 4; nominated, 4285; confirmed, 4694.
Muse, Benjamin, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 5007; confirmed, 5292.
Myers, David J. D., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Myers, George W., to be register of land office, Miles City, Mont.; nominated, 183; confirmed, 1537.
Nathan, Edward I., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Neeley, John L., to be United States attorney, northern district Florida; nominated, 2908; confirmed, 5407.
Neill, George G. E., to be receiver of public moneys, Helena, Mont.; nominated, 7801; confirmed, 8544.
Neville, Edwin L., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Newlin, Albert W., to be naval officer of customs, customs district No. 20, New Orleans, La.; nominated, 4068; confirmed, 4069.
Norton, Edward J., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
O'Hara, James J., to be assistant solicitor of Department of Commerce; nominated, 2160; confirmed, 2760.
O'Keefe, Thomas J., to be register of land office at Alliance, Nebr.; nominated, 183; confirmed, 1835.
Oker, Joseph, to be register of land office, Helena, Mont.; nominated, 6816; confirmed, 7229.
Oman, Joseph W., to be governor of Virgin Islands; nominated, 8543.
Orr, George, to be consul, class 7; nominated, 8202; confirmed, 8545.
Oyster, James F., to be member of Rent Commission of District of Columbia; nominated, 1109; confirmed, 1537.
Pallace, John, to be collector of customs, district No. 8, Rochester, N. Y.; nominated, 406; confirmed, 829.
Palmer, Ely E., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Park, William L., to be member Railroad Labor Board; nominated, 5613; confirmed, 5687.
Parmelee, Maurice, to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8202; confirmed, 8545.
Patton, Kenneth S., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Payne, John Barton, to be Secretary of the Interior; nominated, 2908; confirmed, 3628.
Peck, Herbert M., to be United States attorney, western district of Oklahoma; nominated, 3078; confirmed, 3753.
Peck, Willys R., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 4692.
Pennoyer, Richard E., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Perkins, Mahlon Fay, to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Phillips, Albert, to be member Railroad Labor Board; nominated 5613; confirmed, 5687.
Phillips, William, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Netherlands; nominated, 3406; confirmed, 3808.
Pickerell, George H., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8544.
Pike, William J., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 8229.
Pinkerton, Lowell C., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Platt, Edmund, to be member Federal Reserve Board; nominated, 6816; confirmed, 7802.
Pollard, John Garland, to be member of Federal Trade Commission; nominated, 3077; confirmed, 3753.
Poole, De Witt C., jr., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8544.
Porter, Henry Alexander, to be register of land office, Vancouver, Wash.; nominated, 6816; confirmed, 7229.
Potter, Col. Charles L., to be member of Mississippi River Commission; nominated, 3406; confirmed, 3628.
Potter, Mark W., to be member of Interstate Commerce Commission; nominated, 6639.
Putnam, John R., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8546.
Quinn, Clement K., to be circuit judge, fourth circuit, Hawaii; nominated, 6503.
Randolph, John, to be consul, class 7; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 6283.
Randolph, Samuel W., to be United States marshal, eastern district, Wisconsin; nominated, 6077; confirmed, 6283.
Rasmusen, Bertie M., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Ray, John E. R., to be Auditor for Interior Department; nominated, 2446; confirmed, 3078.
Reed, Leslie E., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Reed, Scott, to be collector internal revenue, second district, Texas; nominated, 5008; confirmed, 5196.
Rees, Thomas H., to be member California Débris Commission; nominated, 4068; confirmed, 4694.
Reid, William, to be register of the land office at Cheyenne, Wyo.; nominated, 183; confirmed, 1730.
Richardson, Norval, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 1; nominated, 2908; confirmed, 3078.
Riggs, Benjamin Reath, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Rippeto, Hugh T., to be assayer, Salt Lake City; nominated, 5196; confirmed, 5407.
Robbins, Harry W., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.

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Robbins, Warren D., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 1; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Robertson, Randolph, to be consul, class 7; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 5196.
Rochester, George A. C., to be register of land office, Seattle, Wash.; nominated, 6223; confirmed, 7229.
Rogers, Walter S., to be member International Communication Commission; nominated, 3626; confirmed, 7228.
Ross, Perry H., to be receiver of public moneys, Marquette, Mich.; nominated, 6223; confirmed, 7229.
Roth, Rinehart F., to be United States attorney, division 4, Alaska; nominated, 1049.
Ruddock, Albert B., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Sabath, Morris, to be appraiser of merchandise in customs district No. 39, Chicago, Ill.; nominated, 1835; confirmed, 2062.
Sartorius, Herman U., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Sauer, Emil, to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Savage, John M., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Sawyer, H. A., to be United States attorney, eastern district of Wisconsin; nominated, 2908; confirmed, 4177.
Sawyer, Leroy R., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 5614.
Schmidt, Hilmar, to be register of land office, Wausau, Wis.; nominated, 7801; confirmed, 8544.
Schoenfeld, H. F. Arthur, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Scott, Thomas A., to be a member of United States Shipping Board; nominated, 1277; confirmed, 2446.
Scott, Winthrop R., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 8202; confirmed, 8545.
Sharp, James R., to be register of land office, Rapid City, S. Dak.; nominated, 2908; confirmed, 3184.
Shaw, G. Howland, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 3; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Shea, William, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Shepard, Donald D., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Shoecraft, Eugene C., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 406; confirmed, 975.
Simpich, Frederick, to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Sinclair, A. Leftwich, to be member of Rent Commission of District of Columbia; nominated, 1109; confirmed, 1537.
Skeffington, Henry J., to be commissioner of immigration, Boston, Mass.; nominated, 4285; confirmed, 7228.
Sleeper, Charles M., to be collector of customs, collection district No. 1, Portland, Me.; nominated, 5008; confirmed, 6283.
Slocum, Frederick V., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Smith, Edward L., to be United States attorney, district of Connecticut; nominated, 828; confirmed, 975.
Smith, E. J., to be United States attorney, eastern district of Texas; nominated, 3184; confirmed, 3407.
Soule, Edgar C., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 8202; confirmed, 8545.
Southard, Addison E., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Southworth, William B., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 5007; confirmed, 5292.
Sparks, Woodbury W., to be receiver of public money, Timber Lake, S. Dak.; nominated, 183; confirmed, 1537.
Spear, Benjamin, to be register of land office, Waterville, Wash.; nominated, 7801.
Sprigg, Carroll, to be agent and consul general at Cairo, Egypt; nominated, 6281; confirmed, 6869.
Sprigg, Clarence D., to be collector of customs, district No. 25, San Diego, Calif.; nominated, 2908; confirmed, 3753.
Squire, Paul C., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 5614.
Starrett, Henry P., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Steele, Guy W., to be surveyor of customs, district No. 13, Baltimore, Md.; nominated, 828; confirmed, 975.
Sterling, Frederick A., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 1; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Stewart, Nathaniel B., to be consul general, class 3; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 6283.
Stoner, John C., to be register of the land office at Lemmon, S. Dak.; nominated, 1277; confirmed, 1730.
Strobach, Richard, to be register of land office, Yakima, Wash.; nominated, 6223; confirmed, 7229.
Stuart, Henry C., to be member of Interstate Commerce Commission; nominated, 2758; withdrawn, 3407.
Stump, Bertram N., to be commissioner of immigration, Baltimore, Md.; nominated, 4285; confirmed, 6504.
Sullivan, Lucien N., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Sycks, Dana C., to be consul, class 6; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Taggart, G. Russell, to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Taylor, Clara Sears, to be member Rent Commission, District of Columbia; nominated, 6639; confirmed, 7802.
Taylor, R. E., to be United States attorney, northern district of Texas; nominated, 2908; confirmed, 3078.
Thompkins, William H., to be receiver of public moneys at Rapid City, S. Dak.; nominated, 1277; confirmed, 1730.
Thompson, Alfred R., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Thurmond, J. William., to be United States attorney, western district, South Carolina; nominated, 2160.
Titus, Louis, to be member of United States Shipping Board; nominated, 2758; withdrawn, 4178.
Tredwell, Roger Culver, to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8544.
Treichler, William Henry, to be receiver of public moneys, Sacramento, Calif.; nominated, 4285; confirmed, 5010.
Trott, Frank P., to be surveyor general of Arizona; nominated, 1049; confirmed, 1730.
Van Nuys, Frederick, to be United States attorney, district of Indiana; nominated, 974; confirmed, 975.
Van Schaick, John, jr., to be Commissioner of District of Columbia; nominated, 828; rejected, 7804.
Villamor, Ignacio, to be associate justice, Supreme Court, Philippine Islands; nominated, 6076; confirmed, 6504.
Von Struve, Henry C., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Wallis, Frederick A., to be commissioner of immigration, Ellis Island, N. Y.; nominated, 6281; confirmed, 7421.
Walsh, Frank J., to be naval officer of customs, district No. 39; nominated, 1049; confirmed, 1730.
Walsh, James A., to be collector of internal revenue, district of Montana; nominated, 974; confirmed, 975.
Warren, Avra M., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 8202; confirmed, 8545.
Warrington, Mack C., to be register of land office, Broken Bow, Nebr.; nominated, 6223; confirmed, 7229.
Waterman, Henry S., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 5407.
Watson, John J. C., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Welles, Sumner, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Wesson, Philip D., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Westcott, Charles D., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8202; confirmed, 8545.
Wharton, A. O., to be member Railroad Labor Board; nominated, 5613; confirmed, 5687.
Wheeler, Clayton L., to be United States marshal, northern district, New York; nominated, 5008; confirmed, 5407.
White, Edward, to be commissioner of immigration, San Francisco, Calif.; nominated, 4285; confirmed, 5196.
White, Hayden M., to be register of land office, Buffalo, Wyo.; nominated, 2160; confirmed, 3184.
White, Henry M., to be commissioner of immigration, Seattle, Wash.; nominated, 4285; confirmed, 5010.
White, John Campbell, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
White, William A., to be receiver of public moneys, Walla Walla, Wash.; nominated, 7801; confirmed, 8544.
Wilber, David F., to be consul general, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8544.
Wiley, John L., to be register of land office, Spokane, Wash.; nominated, 6223; confirmed, 7229.
Williams, Curtis C., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 3; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Williams, Herbert O., to be consul, class 7; nominated, 8202; confirmed, 8545.
Williams, John Skelton, to be Comptroller of the Currency; nominated, 974.
Williams, William Martin, to be commissioner of Internal Revenue; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 4745.
Willis, Frank G., to be receiver of public moneys, Independence, Calif.; nominated, 4692; confirmed, 5010.
Wilson, Edwin C., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 5008; confirmed, 5292.
Wilson, Hugh R., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 1; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Wilson, Orme, jr., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 5008; confirmed, 5292.
Winans, Charles S., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8544.
Winship, North, to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Winslow, L. Lanier, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
Wise, John Douglas, to be consul, class 7; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Wolcott, Henry M., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Wood, John I., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Wythe, George, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 182; confirmed, 291.
y Banca, Felipe Sanchez, to be receiver of public moneys at Tucumcari, N. Mex.; nominated, 974; confirmed, 975.
Yeoman, Charles R., to be receiver of public moneys, Newcastle, Wyo.; nominated, 2908; confirmed, 3184.
Yerby, William J., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Yost, Bartley F., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8204; confirmed, 8545.
Young, Arthur N., to be consul, class 3; nominated, 8202; confirmed, 8545.
Young, Evan E., to be consul general, class 3; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8544.
Young, James B., to be consul, class 5; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.
Young, Wallace J., to be consul, class 4; nominated, 8203; confirmed, 8545.

EXPLOSIVES, amend act to codify, revise, and amend penal laws of United States relating to (see bill H. R. 12161*).
Bill to repeal act to prohibit manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession in time of war of (see bill H. R. 13422).
Letter from President transmitting letter of Secretary of Interior recommending amendment to act relative to, 59.

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FACKLER, SUSAN, pension (see bills H. R. 12073, 13944*).

FAGER, EDWIN S., pension (see bill H. R. 14307).

FAIRBANKS, MORSE & CO., relief (see bills S. 4262; H. R. 13882).

FAIRFIELD, LOUIS W. (*a Representative from Indiana*).
Appointed conferee, 6458.
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Deems, Warren J., and Anna Leppo: for relief (see bill H. R. 12517), 2881.
Monetary gold reserve: for protection of (see bill H. R. 14099), 7188.
Partridge, Clara B.: to pension (see bill H. R. 12716), 3376.
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Vice President: expressing sympathy, on death of adopted son, with Mrs. Marshall and (see H. Res. 474), 3543.
Remarks by, on
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Army appropriation bill, 5665, 5699, 5708, 5709, 5746, 5747.
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Civil-service retirement, 6310, 6359.
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District of Columbia appropriation bill, 4885, 4887.
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Porto Rico: civil government for, 4350.
Print paper, 4343, 4344, 5021, 5022.
Printing paper—amending revenue act, 5021, 5022.
Pugh, John C.: extra pay for expert services, 4970.
Seeds: distribution of, 2663.
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Sundry civil appropriation bill, 6422, 6423, 6541, 6542.
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FAIRLESS, HUGH T., increase pension (see bill H. R. 13378).
FALL, ALBERT B. (*a Senator from New Mexico*).
Appointed conferee, 1574, 6977.
Bills and joint resolutions introduced by
Bond, Henry L.: to pension (see bill S. 3528), 437.
Duckworth, Samuel L.: to pension (see bill S. 3529), 437.
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Mexico: to sever diplomatic relations with, 73.
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FALL, ELLA M., pension (see bill H. R. 14237).
FALLER, PETER P., increase pension (see bills H. R. 11034, 12530*).
FALLS, ANNA M., pension (see bill S. 3905).
FARGO, N. DAK., erect public building at (see bill H. R. 14098).
Resolutions of citizens favoring additional bonus for soldiers, sailors, and marines, 1016.
FARGO TRADES AND LABOR ASSEMBLY, FARGO, N. DAK., resolutions relative to political prisoners in American prisons, from, 6118, 6119.
FARIES, ALEXANDER, increase pension (see bill S. 3967).
FARISS, GEORGE W., increase pension (see bills H. R. 11406, 14063*).
FARLER, ALLEN, increase pension (see bill H. R. 12966).
FARLOW, CLARA, pension (see bills S. 2263; H. R. 12530*).
FARM LAND BANKS. *See* BANKS AND BANKING.
FARM LOAN ACT, article by W. G. McAdoo relative to, 8970.
Bill amending (see bill H. R. 13702).
Bill to amend section 1 (see bill S. 2377*).
Bill to amend sections 3, 8, 10, 12, 20, and 21 of (see bill H. R. 9065*).
Bill to amend section 4 of act extending its provisions to Porto Rico (see bill H. R. 8038*).
Bill to amend sections 9 and 15 of (see bill H. R. 14421).
Bill to amend section 12 of (see bill S. 4503).
Bill to amend section 15 of (see bill H. R. 12791).
Bill to amend section 16, relating to joint-stock land banks, of (see bill H. R. 13908*).
Bill to amend sections 16 and 26 of act known as (see bill S. 3897*).
Bill to amend section 26 of (see bill S. 3109*).
Bill to extend to Porto Rico (see bill H. R. 8038*).
Conference report in House on bill (H. R. 9065) to amend sections 3, 8, 10, 12, 20, and 21 of, 3759, 5621.
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Joint resolution extending provisions relating to farm loan bonds of act amending (see S. J. Res. 196*).
Letter from Federal Farm Loan Board relative to amendment to bill (H. R. 9065) to amend, 5622.
Remarks in House on conference report on bill (H. R. 9065) to amend sections 3, 8, 10, 12, 20, and 21 of, 5621, 5622.
Remarks in House relative to, 9155.
FARM LOAN BOARD, letter relative to earnings of joint-stock land banks, from, 8969.
Memorandum relative to earnings of joint-stock land banks, from secretary of, 9158.
FARM LOAN BONDS, authorize purchase of Federal (see bills S. 4362; H. R. 13850, 13981).
FARM SETTLEMENTS, provide members of military and naval forces with capital for (see bill H. R. 8820*).
FARMER, C. L., pension (see bill H. R. 12740).
FARMERS, appropriate $4,000,000 for purchase of seed for spring planting in drought stricken sections for loans to (see bills S. 3667; H. R. 11312*).
Bill to deposit in certain banks of North Dakota $10,000,000 for loans to (see bill H. R. 11852).
Bill to provide short-term credit for (see bill H. R. 14367).
Remarks in House on subject of legislation for, 3105.
FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA, OKLAHOMA DIVISION, letter relative to compulsory military training from, 2233.
Letter relative to Senator Gore's attitude toward certain bills, from, 2234.
FARMERS' GRAIN DEALERS ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH DAKOTA, telegram relative to termination of grain control, from, 2736.
FARMERS' NATIONAL BANK, WILKINSON, IND., relief (see bill H. R. 1761*).
FARMERS' NATIONAL COUNCIL, letter relative to bill (S. 3288) to amend act relative to Federal control of railroads, from, 674.
Letter relative to bill (H. R. 10453) for termination of Federal control of railroads, from, 3286.
Letter relative to propaganda for legislation terminating Federal control of railroads, from, 530.
FARNSWORTH, CLARA H., pension (see bills H. R. 13413, 13944*).
FARQUHAR, A. B., letter relative to commercial attachés, from, 8880.
FARR, GEORGE W., relief (see bills S. 3953, 4501*).
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FARRAR, MARY L., pension (see bills H. R. 12285, 13944*).
FARRAR, ROBERT W., amendment in Senate to sundry civil bill (H. R. 13870) for appropriation to pay for services of, 7558.
FARRELL, ARABELLA J., increase pension (see bill H. R. 13462).
FARROW, EDWARD S., relief (see bill S. 2259*).
FAUGHT, S. ELIZA, pension (see bill H. R. 14110).
FAUST, ELLA I. B., pension (see bill H. R. 10812).
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FAWBUSH, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, increase pension (see bills H. R. 8914, 11310*).
FAYETTEVILLE, ARK., pave streets around public building in (see bill H. R. 13109).
FEATHERSTON, JESSE B., pension (see bill H. R. 14440).
FEDERAL AID ROAD ACT. *See* PUBLIC ROADS.
FEDERAL BOARD FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION.
Bill for benefit of disabled former members of military and naval forces training under direction of (see bill H. R. 11444).
Bill to amend act to provide for vocational rehabilitation and return to civil employment of disabled persons discharged from military or naval forces (see bills S. 3849; H. R. 12266*).
Bill to amend act to provide for vocational rehabilitation (see bill H. R. 12266*).
Bill to provide medical, surgical, and hospital services and supplies for patients of (see bill H. R. 14315*).
Bill to require and empower boards of examining surgeons under the Commissioner of Pensions to make examinations for (see bill H. R. 10972).
Bill to transfer vocational rehibiltation of disabled persons of military or naval forces to Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, from (see bills H. R. 13407, 11448).
Bills to transfer buildings, tools, machines, and equipment from War Department to (see bills H. R. 11848, 12604).
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Letter from chairman transmitting itemized account of certain expenditures of, 175.
Letter from Secretary of Treasury transmitting supplemental estimate of appropriation for (H. Doc. 631), 1980.
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Resolution for Director to transmit certain facts to House (see H. Res. 478, 498).
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FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA, resolutions favoring League of Nations from, 2036.
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FEDERAL EMPLOYEES' UNION, resolutions relative to joint resolution (S. J. Res. 160) authorizing Civil Service Commission to take over records of Reclassification Commission from, 6395.
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FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACT. *See* FARM LOAN ACT.
FEDERAL FARM LOAN BOARD.
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Letter from from Secretary of Treasury transmitting alternate estimate of appropriation for (H. Doc. 632), 1980.
Letter to Mr. Brooks, explaining amendment to bill (H. R. 9065) to amend farm loan act from, 5622.
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District of Columbia: to provide for closing Cedar Road between Quincy Street and Shepherd Street NW., in (see bill H. R. 13847), 6327.
——— to regulate motor-vehicle traffic in (see bill H. R. 12267), 2422.
——— to regulate practice of undertaking and embalming in (see bill H. R. 13846), 6327.
Government Printing Office: increasing pay of bookbinders and bookbinder machine operators employed in (see bill H. R. 13700), 5925.
Hann, William C.: for relief (see bill H. R. 11979), 1861.
Norris, Edgar A.: to pension (see bill H. R. 14057), 6971.
Remsberg, Charles K.: for relief (see bill H. R. 12296), 2422.
Schwartzenberger, Anthony: for relief (see bill H. R. 12236), 2384.
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Motions and resolutions offered by
Committee on Expenditures in Post Office Department: to appoint a clerk for (see H. Res. 414), 353.
ZIHLMAN, FREDERICK N.—Continued.
Petitions and papers presented by, from
Societies and associations, 8049.
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Committee on the District of Columbia:
Probation system for District of Columbia (H. Rept. 858), 5925.
Votes of. See YEA-AND-NAY VOTES.
ZIMMERMAN, IDA M., increase pension (see bill H. R. 13124).
ZIMMERMAN, JOHN, issue patent to certain lands in Colorado National Forest to (see bill H. R. 1024*).
ZINC ORES. *See* MINES AND MINING.
ZINK, ROBERT, correct military record (see bills H. R. 11625, 12364).
Bill to increase pension (see bill H. R. 10822).
ZIMMERER, FERDINAND, increase pension (see bill H. R. 11969).
ZINN, GEORGE W., increase pension (see bill H. R. 11063).
ZINN, WILLIAM A., pension (see bills H. R. 4721, 11554*).
ZION NATIONAL PARK, UTAH. *See* NATIONAL PARKS.
ZITTLE, JOSEPH, pension (see bill S. 3973).
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HISTORY
OF
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HISTORY

OF

BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

SENATE BILLS.

S. 1—Authorizing the cutting of timber for mining purposes by corporations organized in one State and conducting mining operations in another.
Mr. Pittman; reported back (S. Rept. 256) and passed Senate, 6542.—Referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 6626.—Reported back (H. Rept. 908), 6386.

S. 20—To provide for the payment for certain lands within the former Flathead Indian Reservation, in the State of Montana.
Mr. Myers; reported back (S. Rept. 365), 1312.—Passed Senate, 2346.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 2420.

S. 25—For the relief of Benjamin O. Kerlee.
Mr. Myers; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 348), 1017.—As amended passed Senate, 1017.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 1109.—Reported back (H. Rept. 549), 1643.—Debated, 4836, 6102, 6103.

S. 46—For the protection of the water supply of the town of Sunnyside, Utah.
Mr. King; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 923), 6553.

S. 64—To establish military justice.
Mr. Chamberlain; reported with amendment, 5712.—Debated, 5842.—Stricken from the calendar, 8539.

S. 132—For the relief of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co.; the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha Railway Co.; and the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railway Co.
Mr. McCumber; reported back (S. Rept. 450), 3435.—Debated and passed Senate, 5181.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 5253.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1091), 8303.

S. 157—Authorizing the Indian tribes and individual Indians, or any of them, residing in the State of Washington and west of the summit of the Cascade Mountains to submit to the Court of Claims certain claims growing out of treaties and otherwise.
Mr. Jones of Washington; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 609, 2618.—Debated, 2969–2973, 4345–4347, 5209.

S. 175—For the relief of Kny-Scheerer Corporation.
Mr. Calder; reported back (S. Rept. 397), 2137.—Passed Senate, 4681.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 4771.

S. 176—For the relief of John M. Francis.
Mr. Calder; passed House, 938.—Examined and signed, 974, 1011.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 10], 1031.

S. 183—Providing additional time for the payment of purchase money under homestead entries of lands within the former Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Mont.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; debated and passed House, 6–13.—Examined and signed, 177, 213.—Approved [Public, No. 97], 394.

S. 192—Authorizing the Crow Tribe of Indians, residing in the State of Montana, to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 540), 5967.—Amended and passed Senate, 6456.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 6552.

S. 248—For the relief of Henry P. Grant, of Phillips County, Ark.
Mr. Robinson; passed House, 927.—Examined and signed, 974, 1011.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 11], 1031.

S. 302—For the relief of Thomas Simmons.
Mr. Sutherland; reported with amendment, 2935.—Amended and passed Senate, 5176.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 5253.

S. 310—For the relief of John Murphy.
Mr. Sutherland; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 378), 1928.—Debated, 6447.

S. 358—Carrying into effect the findings of the Court of Claims in the matter of the claim of T. L. Love, surviving partner of Robert Love & Son.
Mr. Overman; reported back (H. Rept. 736), 4259.

S. 390—For the relief of Peter McKay.
Mr. Poindexter; reported back (H. Rept. 615), 2675.—Debated, 5105, 5106.

S. 411—To confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to certify certain findings of fact, and for other purposes.
Mr. Underwood; debated and passed Senate, 1707, 1708.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 1980.—Reported back (H. Rept. 933), 6669.

S. 412—To transfer Frederick W. Cobb from the list of chief machinists, United States Navy, temporary lieutenant, United States Navy, to the list of chief pay clerks, United States Navy, temporary lieutenant, Pay Corps, United States Navy.
Mr. Underwood; reported back (H. Rept. 954), 6842.

S. 413.—For the relief of Canadian Car & Foundry Co., Ltd.
Mr. Warren; passed Senate, 1035.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 1109.

S. 425—To establish the Zion National Park in the State of Utah.
Mr. Smoot; approved by the President [Public, No. 83], 46.

S. 428—For the relief of Thomas Sevy.
Mr. Smoot; passed House, 924.—Examined and signed, 974, 1011.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 12], 1031.

S. 429.—To authorize an exchange of lands with Henry Blackburn.
Mr. Smoot; reported back (H. Rept. 869), 6143.

S. 430—To authorize the exchange of certain lands within the Fishlake National Forest, Utah.
Mr. Smoot; reported back (H. Rept. 870), 6143.

S. 447—To amend section 2 of an act entitled "An act to pension the survivors of certain Indian wars from Jan. 1, 1859, to January, 1891, inclusive, and for other purposes," approved Mar. 4, 1917.
Mr. Smoot; reported back, 5227.—Passed Senate, 5238.—Referred to House Committee on Pensions, 5307.

S. 495—For the relief of Walston H. Brown, sole surviving partner of the firm of Brown, Howard & Co., and of the Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Co.
Mr. Moses; reported back (H. Rept. 654), 3158.

S. 515.—To correct the military record of Charles K. Bond, alias Kimball W. Rollins.
Mr. McLean; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 557), 6144.

S. 547—Authorizing the enlistment of non-English speaking citizens and aliens.
Mr. Chamberlain; reported back (S. Rept. 364), 1312.—Passed Senate, 2635.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2716.—Committee on Military Affairs discharged, 8429.—Passed House, 8429–8432, 9541.—Examined and signed, 8486, 8585.

S. 552—To reimburse W. B. Graham, late postmaster at Ely, Nev., for money expended for clerical assistance.
Mr. Henderson; debated, 925, 926.—Passed House, 926.—Examined and signed, 974, 1011.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 13], 1031.

S. 557—For the relief of Oscar C. Guessaz.
Mr. Sheppard; reported back (S. Rept. 406), 2300.—Passed Senate, 6448.—Referred to House Committee on War Claims, 6552.

S. 577—For the relief of the Southern States Lumber Co.
Mr. Fletcher; passed House, 920.—Examined and signed, 974, 1011.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 18], 1031.

S. 578—Providing for the survey of public lands remaining unsurveyed in the State of Florida, with a view of satisfying the grant in aid of schools made to said State under the act of Mar. 3, 1845, and other acts amendatory thereof.
Mr. Fletcher; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 934), 6669.

S. 604—For the relief of Delilah Siebenaler.
Mr. Myers; reported back, 1312.—Debated and passed Senate, 2346, 2347.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 2420.

S. 620—Authorizing the issuance of patent to the Pioneer Educational Society and its successors for certain lands in the diminished Colville Indian Reservation, State of Washington.
Mr. Jones of Washington; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 344), 1017.—Passed Senate, 2343.—Referred to House Committee on Indians Affairs, 2420.

S. 643—To provide for the equitable distribution of captured war devices and trophies to the States and Territories of the United States and to the District of Columbia.
Mr. Wadsworth; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 979), 7028.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 8564–8569.

S. 676—For the relief of Reuben R. Hunter.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 657), 8464.

S. 681—To amend an act approved Mar. 4, 1913, entitled "An act to increase the limit of cost of certain public buildings, to authorize the enlargement, extension, remodeling, or improvement of certain public buildings, to authorize the erection and completion of public buildings, to authorize the purchase of sites for public buildings, and for other purposes."
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; approved by the President [Public, No. 84], 46.

S. 696—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Frank S. Bowker.
Mr. Hale; reported back (S. Rept. 491), 498.—Passed House, 4833.—Examined and signed, 4943, 4989.—Approved by the President [Private law No. 35], 5131.

S. 728—For the relief of the Buffalo River Zinc Mining Co.
Mr. Spencer; debated and passed House, 933, 934.—Examined and signed, 974, 1010.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 14], 1031.

S. 729—To amend section 217 of the act of Congress entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved Mar. 4, 1909.
Mr. King; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 795), 5273.

S. 730—To amend chapter 559 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, approved Mar. 3, 1891.
Mr. King; reported back (S. Rept. 356), 1208.—Passed Senate, 2344.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 2420.—Reported back (H. Rept. 922), 6552.

S. 767—For the relief of the heirs of W. H. Sneed, deceased.
Mr. Williams; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 714) and laid on table, 3934.

S. 793—Authorizing the issuance of patent to the Milk River Valley Gun Club.
Mr. Myers; reported with amendment(H. Rept. 914), 6441.

S. 795—To provide for the disposition of public lands withdrawn and improved under the provisions of the reclamation laws, and which are no longer needed in connection with said laws.
Mr. Myers; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 367), 1312.—Amended and passed Senate, 2347.—Referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 2482.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 903), 6327.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 6481, 6482.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 6740.—Examined and signed, 6940, 6979.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 212], 7328.

S. 796—For furnishing water supply for miscellaneous purposes in connection with reclamation projects.
Mr. Myers; debated, amended, and passed House, 2980–2984.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 3040.—Examined and signed, 3135, 3159.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 147], 3500.

S. 804—Authorizing the Ponca Tribe of Indians residing in the States of Oklahoma and Nebraska to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Owen; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 541), 5967.—Amended and passed Senate, 7790.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 7920.

S. 806—Conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in claims of the Iowa Tribe of Indians against the United States.
Mr. Owen; passed Senate, 276.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 351.—Reported back (H. Rept. 581), 1980.—Debated, 5213, 5214.—Passed House, 5854.—Examined and signed, 5983, 6015.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 189], 6202.

S. 822—For the relief of James W. Cross.
Mr. Knox; passed House, 932.—Examined and signed, 974, 1010.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 8], 1031.

S. 848—To reimburse Isaiah Stephens, postmaster at McMechen, Marshall County, W. Va., for money and postage stamps stolen.
Mr. Sutherland; debated, 2634.

S. 849—To reimburse S. S. Buzzerd, postmaster at Berkeley Springs, Morgan County, W. Va., for cash stolen.
Mr. Sutherland; debated and passed Senate, 1706.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 1810.

S. 866—Providing for the issuance to Herman L. Karpeles of a duplicate of an original medal of honor awarded to his father, Leopold Karpeles.
Mr. Calder; reported back (S. Rept. 315), 178.—Passed Senate, 1706.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 1810.

S. 907—For the relief of John B. H. Waring.
Mr. Swanson; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 373), 1698.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2348.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2421.

S. 1003—For the relief of Jesse L. Clay.
Mr. Sheppard; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 396), 2137.—Amended and passed Senate, 6447, 6448.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 6552.

S. 1004—For the relief of the owner of the steam lighter Cornelia.
Mr. Walsh of Massachusetts; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 605), 2618.—Debated, 5103.

S. 1005—For the relief of the owner of the steamship Matoa.
Mr. Walsh of Massachusetts; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 606), 2618.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5103.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 5590.—Examined and signed, 8620, 8663.

S. 1006—For the relief of the owners of the schooner Horatio G. Foss.
Mr. Walsh of Massachusetts; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 607), 2618.—Debated, 5103, 5104.

S. 1023—For the relief of certain nations or tribes of Indians in Montana.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 542), 5967.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 7153, 7154.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 7230.

S. 1222—For the relief of the owners of the schooner Henry O. Barrett.
Mr. Walsh of Massachusetts; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 608), 2618.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5104, 5105.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 5590.—Examined and signed, 8620, 8662.

S. 1223—For the relief of the owner of the steamer Mayflower and for the relief of passengers on board said steamer.
Mr. Walsh of Massachusetts; amended and passed Senate, 7515.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 7625.

S. 1255—Authorizing the Texas Co. to bring suit against the United States.
Mr. Sheppard; considered and referred to the Committee on Judiciary, 1034, 1035.—Reported back, 7510.—Amended and passed Senate, 7798.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 7920.

S. 1257—To amend an act approved June 22, 1910, entitled "An act to provide for agricultural entries on coal lands."
Mr. Myers; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 451), 3435.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5181.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 5253.

S. 1280—For the relief of J. G. Seupelt.
Mr. Jones of Washington; reported back (S. Rept. 499), 5155.—Passed Senate, 5234.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 5307.

S. 1300—To authorize the sale of certain lands at or near Minidoka, Idaho, for railroad purposes.
Mr. Borah; reported back, 191.—Passed House, 192.—Examined and signed, 311, 389.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 7], 723.

S. 1302—For the relief of John H. Rheinlander.
Mr. Spencer; debated, 1034.

S. 1313—For the relief of Francis Nicholson.
Mr. Phelan; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 618), 7396.—Debated, 7796.

S. 1329—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to acquire certain Indian lands necessary for reservoir purposes in connection with the Blackfeet Indian reclamation project.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; reported back (H. Rept. 591), 2283.—Passed House, 4841, 4842.—Examined and signed, 4943, 4990.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 168], 5131.

S. 1330—For the relief of V. E. Schermerhorn, E. C. Caley, G. W. Campbell, and Philip Hudspeth.
Mr. Curtis; reported back (H. Rept. 592), 2283.—Debated, 4842.

S. 1353—For the relief of the McClintic-Marshall Construction Co.
Mr. Knox; reported back (S. Rept. 472), 4375.—Debated, 5230, 5883.—Passed Senate, 5884.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 8664.

S. 1373—To amend the Articles of War.
Mr. Wadsworth; approved by the President [Public, No. 85], 46.

S. 1374—For the relief of Stephen A. Winchell.
Mr. Hale; passed Senate, 2633.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2716.

S. 1375—For the relief of Catherine Grace.
Mr. Sherman; passed House, 929.—Examined and signed, 974, 1011.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 9], 1031.

S. 1391—To add certain lands to the Sequoia National Park, Calif., and to change the name of said park to Roosevelt National Park.
Mr. Phelan; reported back (S. Rept. 452), 3435.

S. 1447—To correct the naval record of Fred C. Konrad.
Mr. Penrose; reported back (H. Rept. 955), 6842.

S. 1453—For the relief of Adolph F. Hitchler.
Mr. Penrose; reported back (S. Rept. 322), 267.

S. 1454—For the relief of John F. Kelly.
Mr. Penrose; reported back (S. Rept. 323), 267.—Passed Senate, 1707.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 1810.

S. 1455—For the relief of John L. O'Mara.
Mr. Penrose; reported back (S. Rept. 319), 267.

S. 1457—For the relief of Joseph W. Skill.
Mr. Penrose; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 454), 3553.—Amended and passed Senate, 5182.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 5253.

S. 1519—Making appropriations for expenses incurred under the treaty of Washington.
Mr. Moses; reported back (S. Rept. 545), 6015.

S. 1521—Authorizing the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians, residing in the State of Washington, to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Jones of Washington; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 532), 5967.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 6454.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 6552.

S. 1533—For the relief of Anna M. Tobin, independent executrix of the estate of Frank R. Tobin, deceased.
Mr. Sheppard; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 407), 2300.—Amended and passed Senate, 4682.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 4771.

S. 1546—For the relief of Katie Norvall.
Mr. Phelan; reported back (H. Rept. 550), 1643.—Debated, 4837.

S. 1551—To amend an act approved Mar. 3, 1891, incorporating the National Conservatory of Music of America.
Mr. Wadsworth; reported back (S. Rept. 484), 4675, 4676.—Debated, passed Senate, 4676.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 4772.

S. 1661—For the relief of Maj. Ellis B. Miller.
Mr. Kenyon; reported back (S. Rept. 311), 35.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 6445, 6446.—Referred to House Committee on Naval Affairs, 6552.

S. 1670—For the relief of the Arundel Sand and Gravel Co.
Mr. Swanson; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 478), 174.—Passed House, 918.—Examined and signed, 974, 1011.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 20], 1031.

S. 1694—Providing for the refund of taxes collected for stamp tax on certain policies under the emergency tax act of Oct. 22, 1914, under the proviso to which act such policies were exempt.
Mr. Pomerene; debated and passed House, 928, 929.—Examined and signed, 974, 1010.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 19], 1031.

S. 1695—Validating certain homestead entries.
Mr. Myers; reported back (S. Rept. 591), 7144.—Passed Senate, 7163.—Referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 7321.

S. 1699—For the retirement of employees in the classified civil service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sterling; debated, 2442, 2446, 2498–2508, 2547–2558, 2636, 2653, 2692–2699, 2701, 2752, 2755–2758, 2845–2848, 2881, 2900, 2903, 2904, 3390–3406, 3445, 3457, 4169, 4177, 4682, 4691, 4723, 4730, 4915, 5099, 5100, 5131–5153, 5163–5172, 8896–8901.—Amended and passed Senate, 5172.—Referred to House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 5198.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 813), 5383.—Debated, 6284–6326, 6357–6381, 9044.—Amended and passed House, 6381.—Senate disagrees to House amendments, and asks for conference, 6389.—House insists upon its amendments, and agrees to conference, 6458.—Conferees appointed, 6389, 6458.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 942), 6765.—Conference report submitted in Senate (S. Rept. 270), 6740.—Debated, 6848–6851, 7108, 7113.—Agreed to, 7153.—Conference report agreed to in House, 6766, 6767.—Examined and signed, 7267, 7269.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 215], 7533.

S. 1726—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy and of wars other than the Civil War, and to certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. McCumber; reported back (H. Rept. 488), 387.—Amended and passed House, 1298.—Senate disagrees to House amendments and requests conference, 1358.—Conferees appointed, 1358, 1466.—House insists on its amendments, agrees to conference, 1466.—Senate agrees to House amendments, 8345.—Examined and signed, 8486, 8585.

S. 1743—For the relief of Matthew McDonald.
Mr. Curtis; reported back (H. Rept. 956), 6842.

S. 2085—Relating to the maintenance of actions for death on the high seas and other navigable waters.
Reported back (H. Rept. 674), 3484.—Debated, 4482–4486.—Amended and passed House, 4487.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 4674.—Examined and signed, 4906, 4919.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 165], 4992.

S. 2128—For the relief of Albert N. Collins.
Mr. Smoot; passed House, 921.—Examined and signed, 974, 1011.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 15], 1031.

S. 2129—To amend an act approved Mar. 26, 1908, entitled "An act to provide for the repayment of certain commissions, excess payments, and purchase moneys paid under the public-land laws."
Mr. Smoot; debated, 22, 23.—Passed House, 23.—Examined and signed, 177, 213.—Approved [Public, No. 98], 394.

S. 2188—To amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1902, and for other purposes," approved Mar. 3, 1901 (31 Stat. L., p. 1133).
Mr. Smoot; reported from Committee on Public Lands with amendment (H. Rept. 978), 7028.—Reported back from Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands (H. Rept. 1028), 7505.

S. 2189—To provide for agricultural entries on coal lands in Alaska.
Mr. Smoot; passed Senate, 1035.—Referred to House Committee on the Territories, 1109.

S. 2199—To stimulate the production, sale, and distribution of live stock and live-stock products, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kendrick; report submitted, S. Rept. 429 (see S. 3944), 3161.

S. 2202—To stimulate the production, sale, and distribution of live stock and live-stock products, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kenyon; report submitted, S. Rept. No. 429 (see S. 3944), 3161.

S. 2207—Admitting civilian employees of the United States Government stricken with tuberculosis to Army and Navy and Public Health Service hospitals.
Mr. Sheppard; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 1033.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 1109.

S. 2220—Granting to the Lincoln Highway Association, incorporated under the laws of the State of Michigan, a right of way through certain public lands of the United States.
Mr. Smoot; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 975), 7028.

S. 2257—For the relief of George B. Hughes.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; debated and passed House, 4825.—Examined and signed, 4943, 4990.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 36], 5131.

S. 2259—For the relief of Edward S. Farrow.
Reported back (H. Rept. 587), 2089.

S. 2274—For the relief of the owners of the schooner Charlotte W. Miller.
Mr. Gerry; reported back (S. Rept. 385), 2092.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 6447.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 6552.

S. 2278—For the relief of John Healy.
Mr. Colt; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 470), 4261.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5229.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 5307.—Reported back (H. Rept. 889), 6200.

S. 2279—To authorize the addition of certain lands to the Humboldt National Forest.
Mr. Henderson; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 585), 6843.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 7962.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 8042.

S. 2292—For the relief of the William Gordon Corporation.
Mr. Warren; reported back (S. Rept. 398), 2137.

S. 2298—For the relief of the Flathead Nation of Indians.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 543), 5967.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 7154.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 7230.

S. 2300—For the relief of the estate of Henry A. V. Post.
Mr. McCumber; reported back (H. Rept. 655), 3158.

S. 2343—For the relief of Capt. Frederick B. Shaw.
Mr. McCumber; reported back (H. Rept. 551), 1643.—Passed House, 4837.—Examined and signed, 4943, 4990.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 38], 5530.

S. 2371—For the relief of Katheryn Walker.
Mr. Fall; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 419), 2625.—Amended and passed Senate, 5174.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 5253.—Reported back (H. Rept. 867), 6104.

S. 2377—To amend section 1 of the act approved July 17, 1916, known as the Federal farm loan act, so as to provide for the payment of the expenses of the Federal Farm Loan Board and employees by the Federal land banks and joint-stock land banks.
Mr. Smoot; passed Senate, 274.—Referred to House Committee on Banking and Currency, 351.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 579), 1925.

S. 2378—To authorize the issuance of patent to John Albert Thompson, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smoot; debated and passed House, 921.—Examined and signed, 974, 1011.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 16], 1031.

S. 2379—To provide for the disposition of certain public lands withdrawn and improved under the provisions of the act of Congress approved June 25, 1910 (38 Stat. L., p. 847), as amended by the act of Aug. 24, 1912 (37 Stat. L., p. 497), and which are no longer needed.
Mr. Smoot; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 927), 6615.

S. 2440—For the relief of the estate of John M. Lea, deceased.
Mr. Warren; debated and passed House, 4827.—Examined and signed, 4943, 4990.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 37], 5530.

S. 2442—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to convey to the trustees of the Yankton Agency Presbyterian Church, by patent in fee, certain land within the Yankton Indian Reservation.
Mr. Sterling; reported back (S. Rept. 358), 1208.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 2421.—Reported back (H. Rept. 818), 5584.—Passed House, 5866.—Examined and signed, 5983, 6015.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 55], 6259.

S. 2448—For the relief of certain officers of the United States Army, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wadsworth; debated, 4824, 6097–6101.—Amended and passed House, 6101.—Senate disagrees to the amendments of House and asks for conference, 6147.—Conferees appointed, 6147, 6385.—House agrees to conference, 6385.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 924), 6568, 6870.—Agreed to, 6870.—Conference report submitted in Senate, and agreed to, 6844.—Examined and signed, 7030, 7081.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 213], 7533.

S. 2452—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of the Commercial Pacific Cable Co.
Mr. Wadsworth; reported back (S. Rept. 386), 2092.—Passed Senate, 4679.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 4771.

S. 2454—For the relief of certain members of the Flathead Nation of Indians, and for other purposes.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 545), 1601.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2963–2966.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 3040.—Examined and signed, 3135, 3159.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 148], 3500.

S. 2457—To provide for a library information service in the Bureau of Education.
Mr. McLean; debated, 7515.

S. 2472—To amend the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act.
Mr. Edge; conference report read in House, 48.—Debated, 48–52.—Agreed to, 52.—Conference reported submitted in Senate (S. Doc. 161), 111.—Debated, 272–274, 621–640.—And agreed to, 640.—Examined and signed, 959, 1008.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 106], 1031.

S. 2476—To amend the act establishing the eastern district of Kentucky.
Mr. Stanley; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 501), 611.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 1735–1737.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 1765.—Examined and signed, 1860, 1862.—Approved [Public, No. 127], 2429.

S. 2494—To transfer the tract of land known as the Lighthouse Reservation, at North Point, Md., from the jurisdiction of the Department of Commerce to the jurisdiction of the War Department.
Mr. Wadsworth; approved by the President [Public, No. 86], 46.

S. 2495—Transferring the tract of land known as Craney Island from the jurisdiction of the War Department to the jurisdiction of the Treasury Department and transferring the tract of land known as Fishermans Island from the jurisdiction of the Treasury Department to the jurisdiction of the War Department.
Mr. Wadsworth; approved by the President [Public, No. 87], 46.

S. 2497—To provide for the payment of six months' pay to the widow, children, or other designated dependent relative of any officer or enlisted man of the Regular Army whose death results from wounds or disease not the result of his own misconduct.
Mr. Wadsworth; debated, 76–99, 149, 150.—Amended and passed House, 150.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 252.—Examined and signed, 386, 389.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 99], 723.

S. 2528—To grant certain lands to the city of Pocatello, State of Idaho, for conserving and protecting the source of its water supply and as a municipal park site.
Mr. Nugent; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 420), 2625.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5006, 5007.—Referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 5078.—Reported back (H. Rept. 825), 5642.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 6465. Senate concurs in House amendments, 6502.—Examined and signed, 6668, 6670.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 202], 6895.

S. 2537—To revive with amendments an act entitled "An act to incorporate the Medical Society of the District of Columbia."
Mr. France; Committee on District of Columbia discharged, 7084.—Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, 7084.

S. 2554—For the relief of J. B. Waterman.
Mr. Harding; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 337), 807.—Debated, 2343, 2634.—Amended and passed Senate, 6446.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 6552.

S. 2600—For the relief of John Lyons.
Mr. Sutherland; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 471), 4261.—Amended and passed Senate, 5230.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 5307.

S. 2614—For the relief of Francis M. Atherton.
Mr. Walsh of Massachusetts; passed Senate, 2633.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2716.

S. 2665—For the relief of Prof. William H. H. Hart, principal of the Hart Farm School and Junior Republic for Dependent Children, to establish Hart University, and to provide for its maintenance and support.
Mr. Smoot; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 646), 7960.

S. 2675—To compensate George B. Gates for the infringement of his letters patent by the United States.
Mr. Spencer; reference changed to Committee on Claims, 178.

S. 2690—Authorizing the appointment of a minister to Finland.
Mr. Lodge; reported with amendments, 357.—Amended and passed Senate, 2342.—Referred to House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2420.

S. 2692—To amend section 24 of the act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Overman; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2633.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 2818.

S. 2707—For the relief of Ellen M. Willey, widow of Owen S. Willey.
Mr. Penrose; passed Senate, 8513.—Referred to House Committee on Naval Affairs, 8664.

S. 2709—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent to School District No. 8, Sheridan County, Mont., for block 1, in Wakea town site, Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Mont., and to set aside one block in each township on said reservation for school purposes.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; passed House, 4824, 4825.—Examined and signed, 4943, 4989.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 169], 5131.

S. 2716—To relieve the estate of Thomas H. Hall, deceased, late postmaster at Panacea, Fla., and the bondsmen of said Thomas H. Hall, of the payment of money alleged to have been misappropriated by a clerk in said office.
Mr. Trammell; passed House, 938.—Examined and signed, 974, 1011.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 17], 1031.

S. 2719—For the relief of Edward W. Owens and others.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota (see S. Res. 334), 4566.

S. 2728—For the relief of settlers and entrymen on Baca Float No. 3, in the State of Arizona.
Mr. Smith of Arizona; reported back (S. Rept. 498), 5130.—Passed Senate, 5234.—Referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 5307.

S. 2734—To authorize the transportation of civilians across the Atlantic Ocean upon Army transports under such rules and regulations and at such rates as the Secretary of War may prescribe.
Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 528), 1012.

S. 2756—To prescribe the method of capital punishment in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Dial; debated and amended, 250.—Passed Senate, 251.—Referred to House Committee on the District of Columbia, 292.

S. 2773—For the relief of Ethel Proctor.
Mr. Newberry; amended and passed Senate, 2663.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 2633.

S. 2775—To promote the mining of coal, phosphate, oil, gas, and sodium on the public domain.
Mr. Smoot; conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 600), 2558.—Agreed to, 2702–2714.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 2737–2742.—Agreed to, 2742.—Examined and signed, 2818–2820.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 146], 3500.

S. 2782—For the purchase of the embassy building and grounds of the United States at Santiago, Chile.
Mr. Lodge; debated and passed Senate, 1704, 1705.—Referred to House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1810.

S. 2786—Authorizing the sale of lands in Gregory County, S. Dak.
Mr. Sterling; reported back (S. Rept. 359), 1208.—Passed Senate, 2345.—Referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 2421.—Reported back (H. Rept. 734), 4206.—Passed House, 5208.—Examined and signed, 5336, 5385.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 171], 5714.

S. 2789—For the consolidation of forest lands in the Sierra National Forest, Calif., and for other purposes.
Reference changed to Committee on Public Lands, 914.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 6467–6470.—Senate disagrees to the amendments of the House, asks for conference, 6977.—Conferees appointed, 6977, 7534.—House insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference, 7534.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 1092), 8280, 8417.—Agreed to, 8417.—Conference report submitted in Senate and agreed to, 8363.—Examined and signed, 8486, 8572.

S. 2791—To provide for the leasing of public lands in Alaska for grazing purposes.
Mr. McNary; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 612), 7326.—Amended and passed Senate, 7795.—Referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 7920.

S. 2792—To enlarge the boundaries of the Oregon National Forest.
Mr. McNary; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 495), 5031.—Amended and passed Senate, 5233.—Referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 5307.—Reported back (H. Rept. 865), 6013.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 6474.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 2556.—Examined and signed, 6737, 6739.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 211], 7328.

S. 2797—To add certain lands to the Crater Lake National Park, Oreg.
Mr. McNary; reported back (S. Rept. 413), 2424.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5177, 5178.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 5253.

S. 2800—Authorizing the Coos Bay, Umpqua, and Siuslaw Tribes of Indians in the State of Oregon to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. McNary; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 544), 5967.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 7154.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 7230.

S. 2807—To correct the military record of Edward Sigerfoos.
Mr. Capper; reported back (H. Rept. 630), 2880.—Examined and signed, 5110, 5111.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 39], 5530.

S. 2811—For the relief of the York County Savings Bank, of Biddeford, Me.
Mr. Hale; reported back (H. Rept. 697), 3783.—Passed House, 5128.—Examined and signed, 5272, 5274.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 41], 5714.

S. 2822—Making available additional moneys for the reclamation fund, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones of Washington; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 335), 723.

S. 2861—For the relief of the Davis Construction Co.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; reported back (S. Rept. 343), 961.—Debated and passed Senate, 2635.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 2716.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 935), 6669.

S. 2867—To authorize the President, when Maj. Gen. Crowder retires, to place him on the retired list of the Army as a lieutenant general.
Mr. Knox; debated, 6097.

S. 2868—For the relief of Julia Dezera Stewart.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota (see S. Res. 334), 4566.

S. 2883—Authorizing the Meridian Highway Bridge Co., a corporation, to construct and maintain a bridge or bridges and approaches thereto across the Missouri River between Yankton County, S. Dak., and Cedar County, Nebr.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; becomes a law without President's approval [Public, No. 81], 46.

S. 2890—To provide for the allotment of lands of the Crow Tribe, for the distribution of tribal funds, and for other purposes.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; rereferred to Committee on Indian Affairs, 5117.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 789), 5223.—Debated, 5991–6001, 6006–6012.—Amended and passed House, 6012.—Senate disagrees to the amendments of the House and requests a conference, 6568.—Conferees appointed, 6568, 6668.—House insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference, 6668.—Conference report submitted in House (H. R. 1043), 7708, 7844.—Agreed to, 7844–7846.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 7874.—Agreed to, 7874.—Examined and signed, 8156, 8160.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 239], 8620.

S. 2902—To amend section 5182, Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Simmons; debated, 251.—Passed Senate, 251.—Referred to House Committee on Banking and Currency, 292.—Reported back (H. Rept. 489), 434.—Debated and passed House, 1075, 1076.—Examined and signed, 1204, 1206.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 110], 1521.

S. 2903—To provide that robbery of a Federal reserve bank or member bank shall constitute a felony, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gore; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 570), 6494.

S. 2921—For the relief of the Milwaukee Bridge Co.
Mr. La Follette; reported back (S. Rept. 435), 3387.—Passed Senate, 5177.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 5253.

S. 2926—For the relief of Capt. Frank B. Watson, United States Army.
Mr. McCumber; reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 7459.

S. 2927—For the relief of Capt. James Ronayne, United States Army.
Mr. McCumber; reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 7459.

S. 2928—For the relief of Capt. Frederick G. Lawton, United States Army.
Mr. McCumber; reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 7459.

S. 2929—For the relief of Capt. Edward T. Hartmann, United States Army.
Mr. McCumber; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 621), 7459.—Amended and passed Senate, 7797, 7798.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 7920.

S. 2934—For the relief of Leavenworth Bridge Co., of Leavenworth, Kans.
Mr. Curtis; reported back (S. Rept. 443), 3387.—Debated and passed Senate, 5179, 5180.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 8664.

S. 2954—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Albert F. Smith, deceased.
Mr. Colt; reported back (S. Rept. 320), 267.

S. 2956—To amend sections 4874 and 4875 of the Revised Statutes, and to provide a compensation for superintendents of national cemeteries.
Mr. Spencer; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 371), 1361.—Amended and passed Senate, 2348.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2420.

S. 2961—Authorizing the county of Accomac, Va., to construct certain bridges to connect Chincoteague Island and the mainland.
Mr. Swanson; examined and signed, 23, 32.—Approved [Public, No. 95], 394.

S. 2962—For the relief of Nick Sitch and Billie H. Evashanks.
Mr. Myers; reported back (S. Rept. 366), 1312.—Passed Senate, 2346.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 2420.—Reported back (H. Rept. 971), 6970.

S. 2964—Providing additional time for the payment of purchase money under homestead entries of lands within the former Fort Assinniboine Military Reservation, in Montana.
Mr. Myers; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 938), 6737.

S. 2977—To amend section 8 of an act to provide for the sale of desert lands in certain States and Territories, approved Mar. 3, 1877, as amended by an act to repeal timber culture laws, and for other purposes, approved Mar. 3, 1891.
Mr. Pittman; reported back (S. Rept. 555), 6146.—Passed Senate, 6146.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 6326.—Reported back (H. Rept. 951), 6792.

S. 2978—To establish additional fish-cultural subsidiary stations in the State of Michigan.
Mr. Newberry; passed Senate, 2633.—Referred to House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2716.

S. 2989—For the relief of Walter I. Whitty.
Mr. Robinson; reported back (S. Rept. 503), 5155.—Debated, 6450.

S. 2999—To amend section 97 of the act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Wadsworth; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 485), 352.—Debated and passed House, 1071–1073.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 1083, 1084.—Examined and signed, 1670, 1697.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 121], 2429.

S. 3016—To authorize the disposition of certain grazing lands in the State of Utah, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smoot; recommitted to Committee on Public Lands, 914.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 901), 6256.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 6482.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 6502.—Examined and signed, 6669, 6670.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 207], 7085.

S. 3031—To appropriate $1,189.35 for the relief of Southern Iron & Metal Co., Jacksonville, Fla., for salvage material consisting of submarine cable purchased from the War Department.
Mr. Fletcher; reported back (S. Rept. 625), 7510.

S. 3037—To authorize the Secretary of War to transfer free of charge certain surplus motor-propelled vehicles and motor equipment to the Department of Agriculture, Post Office Department, Navy Department, and the Treasury Department for the use of the Public Health Service, and certain other surplus property to the Department of Agriculture, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wadsworth; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 593), 2333.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2973–2980.—Senate disagrees to House amendments, asks for conference, 3389.—Conferees appointed, 3389, 3582.—House insists upon its amendments, agrees to conference, 3582.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. No. 702), 3782.—Debated, and agreed to, 3810, 3811.—Conference report submitted, and agreed to in Senate, 3894, 3895.—Examined and signed, 4106, 4108.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 159], 4317.

S. 3066—To provide for the incorporation of cooperative associations in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Capper; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 310), 35.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 6445.

S. 3076—Authorizing suits against the United States in admiralty, suits for salvage services, and providing for the release of merchant vessels belonging to the United States from arrest and attachment in foreign jurisdictions, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones of Washington; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 497), 498.—Debated, 1678–1693.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 1750–1759.—Senate disagrees to House amendment, asks for conference, 1765.—Conferees appointed, 1765, 1860.—House insists upon its amendments, and agrees to conference, 1860.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 3350.—And agreed to, 3690, 3691.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 669), 3629.—And agreed to, 3631.—Examined and signed, 3864, 3883.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 156], 4068.

S. 3102—For the relief of Katherine Macdonald.
Mr. Myers; reported back (S. Rept. 496, 5080.—Passed Senate, 5234.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 5307.

S. 3109—To amend section 26 of the act approved July 17, 1916, known as the Federal farm loan act.
Mr. Smoot; reported back (S. Rept. 317), 267.

S. 3119—For the relief of Con Murphy.
Mr. Warren; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 455), 3553.—Amended and passed Senate, 3690.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 3754.—Reported back (H. Rept. 844), 5762.

S. 3138—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to sell and convey to the Great Northern Railway Co. certain lands for stockyards, and for other purposes, at Browning Station, in the State of Montana.
Mr. Myers; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 368), 1312.—Amended and passed Senate, 2347.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 2420.

S. 3139—For the purchase of land adjoining Fort Bliss, Tex.
Mr. Sheppard; reported back (S. Rept. 506), 5172.

S. 3152—For the relief of George W. Mellinger.
Mr. Chamberlain; reported back (S. Rept. 321), 267.

S. 3159—Granting the consent of Congress to the State road department of the State of Florida to construct and maintain a bridge across the Choctawhatchee River, near Caryville, Fla., approximately 170 feet south of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad bridge.
Mr. Fletcher; approved by the President [Public, No. 88], 46.

S. 3164—Authorizing the Northern Arapahoe Tribe and the Northern Cheyenne Tribe of Indians to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Kendrick; reported back (S. Rept. 534), 5967.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 6455.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 6552.

S. 3176—To authorize the President of the United States to appoint Marion C. Raysor an officer of the Army.
Mr. Dial; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 324), 267.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 1707.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 1810.

S. 3187—To dispose of a certain strip of public land in Waterville, Me.
Mr. Hale; passed Senate, 358.—Referred to House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 434.—Reported back (H. Rept. 642), 3038.—Passed House, 5119.—Examined and signed, 5272, 5274.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 42], 5714.

S. 3203—Granting leave of absence to officers of the Coast Guard, and for other purposes.
Mr. Calder; reported back (H. Rept. 588), 2134.—Debated, 2370, 2962, 2963.—Passed House, 2963.—Examined and signed, 3105, 3110.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 149], 3560.

S. 3205—For the relief of the widow of Rudolph H. von Ezdorf, deceased.
Mr. Owen; reported back (S. Rept. 436), 3387.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5177.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 5253.

S. 3210—For the consolidation of lands within the Jefferson National Forest.
Mr. Myers; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 575), 6554.—Amended and passed Senate, 7160.—Referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 7230.

S. 3218—For the relief of Martina Sena, Luis E. Armijo, and Maria Baca de Romero.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; reference changed to Committee on Public Lands, 2688.—Reported back (S. Rept. 563), 6259.—Amended and passed Senate, 6259.—Taken from Speaker's table and referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 6386.—Reported back (H. Rept. 930), 6669.

S. 3223—Authorizing the Federal Trade Commission to accept and administer for the benefit of the public and the encouragement of industry, inventions, patents, and patent rights, and for other purposes.
Mr. Norris; reported with amedments (S. Rept. 405), 2300.—Debated, 2430.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 4682.—Referred to House Committee on Patents, 4771.—Reported back (H. Rept. 970), 6970.

S. 3224—Relating to the creation in the Army of the United States of the grade of lieutenant general.
Mr. Wadsworth; debated, 1038.

S. 3225—For the relief of bona fide settlers who intermarry after having complied with the homestead law for one year.
Mr. Kendrick; reported back, 5031.—Passed Senate, 5234.—Referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 5307.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1050), 7767.

S. 3238—Relating to detached service of officers of the Regular Army.
Mr. Wadsworth; referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 5880.

S. 3239—To amend the Army appropriation act for 1920 so as to authorize travel allowances to persons discharged from disciplinary barracks and other places of confinement other than honorably, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wadsworth; referred to House Commitee on Military Affairs, 6459.

S. 3244—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent to R. L. Credille, mayor of the village of Bonita, La., in trust, for certain purposes.
Mr. Ransdell; reported back (S. Rept. 579), 6671.—Passed Senate, 7160.—Taken from the Speaker's table and passed House, 8569.—Examined and signed, 8620, 8663.

S. 3245—To regulate the marriage of persons in the military and naval forces of the United States in foreign countries, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wadsworth; debated, 1428.—Passed Senate, 1702.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 1810.

S. 3251—Granting longevity pay from and including Aug. 5, 1917, to certain officers and enlisted men.
Mr. Sheppard; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 547), 6119.

S. 3259—For the public protection of maternity and infancy and providing a method of cooperation between the Government of the United States and the several States.
Mr. Sheppard; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 650), 8161.

S. 3263—To authorize the construction of flood control and improvement works in Minnesota River and Big Stone Lake between the States of Minnesota and South Dakota.
Mr. Nelson; reported back (H. Rept. 770), 4905.—Passed House, 5218.—Examined and signed, 5336, 5385.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 172], 5714.

S. 3270—Authorizing the Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, subject to the approval of the Secretary of Commerce, to consider, ascertain, adjust, and determine claims for damages occasioned by acts for which said survey is responsible in certain cases.
Mr. Jones of Washington; debated and passed Senate, 2429, 2430.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2532.—Reported back (H. Rept. 907), 6386.—Passed House, 8583.—Examined and signed, 8620, 8662.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 267].

S. 3284—To provide for the national welfare by continuing the United States Sugar Equalization Board until December 31, 1920, and for other purposes.
Mr. McNary; debated, 358–364, 396–406, 440–447, 787–792, 943–950, 8690.—Passed Senate, 447.—Referred to House Committee on Agriculture, 497.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 506), 721.—Debated, 708–719.—Amended and passed House, 719.—Senate concurs in House amendment with an amendment, 950.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 978.—Examined and signed, 974, 1008.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 109], 1031.

S. 3288—Further to regulate commerce among the States and with foreign nations and to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as amended.
Mr. Cummins; debated, 47, 74, 117–147, 175, 178–182, 216–240, 277–291, 316–324, 364, 394–397, 456–468, 500, 501–531, 544–548, 562–596, 641–688, 723–734, 739–761, 792–806, 807–828, 862–876, 879–912, 950–852, 8746–8760, 8829.—Conferees appointed in Senate, 952.—(See H. R. 10453).

S. 3293—For the relief of the owner of the derrick Capitol.
Mr. Calder; reported back (S. Rept. 387), 2092.—Passed Senate, 4679.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 4771.

S. 3294—For the relief of the owner of the derrick Concord.
Mr. Calder; reported back (S. Rept. 388), 2092.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5713.—Reconsidered, 5731.—Indefinitely postponed, 5731.

S. 3307—Authorizing the Ottawa and Chippewa Tribes of Indians of Michigan to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Townsend; reported back (S. Rept. 535), 5967.—Passed Senate, 6455.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 6552.

S. 3315—To promote Americanization by providing for cooperation with the several States in the education of non-English-speaking persons and the assimilation of foreign-born residents, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kenyon; debated, 1574, 1617, 1649–1670, 1708–1710, 1768, 1777–1780, 1823, 1824, 1833, 1873–1888, 1939–1950, 1983–1996, 2050–2059.—Amended and passed Senate, 2059.—Referred to House Committee on Education, 2283.

S. 3317—To prohibit and punish certain seditious acts against the Government of the United States and to prohibit the use of the mails for the purpose of promoting such acts.
Mr. Sterling; debated, 46, 112–117, 447–454, 1160–1171, 1217, 1252–1272, 1319–1338, 1769–1777.—Passed Senate, 1338.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 1467.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 542), 1560.

S. 3318—For the relief of Willis B. Cross.
Mr. Sutherland; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 554), 6144.

S. 3319—To provide for the reimbursement of the United States for motive power, cars, and other equipment ordered for railroads and systems of transportation under Federal control, and for other purposes.
Mr. Cummins; approved by the President [Public, No. 89], 46.

S. 3327—Granting certain rights of way and exchanges of the same across the Fort Douglas Military Reservation in the State of Utah.
Mr. Smoot; reported back (S. Rept. 341), 961.—Passed Senate, 961.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, ——.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 578), 1925.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2369.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 2429.—Examined and signed, 2594, 2623.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 138], 2824.

S. 3331—Granting the consent of Congress to the Interstate Construction Corporation to construct a bridge across the Columbia River, between the States of Oregon and Washington, at or within two miles westerly from Cascade Locks, in the State of Oregon, and granting a license to construct and maintain the approach to said bridge over property belonging to the Government of the United States.
Mr. Jones of Washington; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 342), 961.—Passed Senate, 961.—Taken from the table and passed House, 1997.—Examined and signed, 2137, 2179.—Approved [Public, No. 130], 2429.

S. 3332—Granting the consent of Congress to the board of county commissioners of the county of Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, to construct a bridge across the Connecticut River, between Windsor Locks and East Windsor, at Warehouse Point, in said county and State.
Mr. McLean; approved by the President [Public, No. 90], 46.

S. 3348—To create a Department of Air, defining the powers and duties of the director thereof, providing for the organization, disposition, and administration of a United States air force, creating the United States air reserve force, and providing for the development of civil and commercial aviation.
Mr. New; reported back (S. Rept. 325), 267.—Debated, 2151, 2152–2160, 2185–2198, 2241–2249.—Recommitted to the Committee on Military Affairs, 2301, 2302.

S. 3371—Authorizing Gordon N. Peay, jr., his heirs and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a toll bridge and approaches thereto across the White River.
Mr. Kirby; reported back (S. Rept. 334), 616.—Passed Senate, 616.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 784.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 553), 1643.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 1747, 1748.—Senate disagrees to the amendments of the House and requests a conference, 1818.—Conferees appointed, 1818, 2361.—House insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference, 2360.—Senate recedes from its disagreement to the amendments of the House and agrees to same, 2742.—Examined and signed, 2818, 2820.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 143], 3165.

S. 3372—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent to Jennie Dunphy Meyer for certain lands in the State of Nevada.
Mr. Henderson; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 588), 7034.—Amended and passed Senate, 7161.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 7230.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1048), 7767.

S. 3381—For the relief of Gertrude Lustig.
Mr. Wadsworth; reported back (S. Rept. 399), 2137.—Debated and passed Senate, 2497, 2498.—Referred to House Committee on War Claims, 2594.—Reported back (H. Rept. 957), 6893.

S. 3383—To increase the efficiency of the commissioned and enlisted personnel of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and Public Health Service.
Mr. Wadsworth; reported back (S. Rept. 318), 271.—Debated, 2096–2109, 2149, 2192, 2249–2254, 2350, 2386–2392, 4161, 4162.—Amended and passed Senate, 2392.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2482.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 617), 2733.—Laid on the table, 7489.

S. 3384—To provide for burial and expenses of transportation of remains of certain officers and enlisted men of the reserve forces of the United States.
Mr. Wadsworth; debated and passed Senate, 1424.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 1497.

S. 3385—To authorize the War Department to restore the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Park to its condition prior to use for military purposes during the war with Germany, and to appropriate the necessary funds therefor.
Mr. Wadsworth; debated and passed Senate, 1425.—Referred to House Committee on Appropriations, 1560.

S. 3386—To provide for the assistance of civilian aviators in distress by authorizing the Secretary of War to sell at cost price at aviation posts or stations gasoline, oil, and aircraft supplies to persons in charge of civilian aircraft landing upon or near said posts.
Mr. Wadsworth; debated and passed Senate, 1425.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 1497.

S. 3387—For the relief of dependents of Lieuts. Jean Jagou and Fernand Herbert, French Military Mission to the United States.
Mr. Wadsworth; debated and passed Senate, 1425.—Referred to House Committee on War Claims, 1497.—Reported back adversely (H. Rept. 800) and laid on table, 5273.

S. 3390—To provide further for the national defense; to establish a self-sustaining Federal agency for the manufacture, production, and development of the products of atmospheric nitrogen for military, experimental, and other purposes; to provide research laboratories and experimental plants for the development of fixed-nitrogen production; and for other purposes.
Mr. Wadsworth; reported with amendment, 8074.

S. 3391—To amend an act entitled "An act providing for the sale of the coal and asphalt deposits in the segregated mineral land in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, Okla.," approved Feb. 8, 1918 (40 Stat. L., p. 433).
Mr. Curtis; reported back (S. Rept. 346), 1017.—Debated and passed Senate, 5229.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 5307.

S. 3395—To discontinue the improvement to provide a channel extending from the sea to the Charleston Navy Yard.
Mr. Kenyon; reported back, 1764.

S. 3396—To discontinue the construction of a dry dock at the navy yard, Charleston, S. C.
Mr. Calder; reported back, 1764.

S. 3406—For the purchase of buildings and grounds for the embassy of the United States at Brussels, Belgium.
Mr. Lodge; reported back, 1520.—Passed Senate, 2348.—Referred to House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2421.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 909), 6386.

S. 3418—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the lading or unlading of vessels at night, the preliminary entry of vessels, and for other purposes," approved Feb. 13, 1911.
Mr. Calder; debated, 640.—Passed Senate, 640.—Referred to House Committee on Ways and Means, 784.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 567), 1810.—Debated, 2171–2173, 2176–2178.—Amended and passed House, 2178.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 2185.—Examined and signed, 2332, 2385.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 131], 2627.

S. 3421—For the relief of Mabel L. Noble.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; reported back, 5227.—Passed Senate, 6451.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 6552.

S. 3422—Authorizing the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to refund any amount imposed as a penalty for failure to pay income tax within a specified time.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; reference changed to Committee on Finance, 615.

S. 3427—To establish a commission to report to Congress on the practicability, feasibility, and place, and to devise plans for the construction of a public bridge over the Niagara River from some point in the city of Buffalo, N. Y., to some point in the Dominion of Canada, and for other purposes.
Mr. Calder; reported with amendment, 64.—Passed Senate, 65.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 213.—Reported back (H. Rept. 492), 497.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 1748–1750.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 1765.—Examined and signed, 1860, 1862.—Approved [Public, No. 128], 2429.

S. 3430—Fixing the salaries of certain United States attorneys and United States marshals.
Mr. Nelson; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 422), 2688.—Debated, 5175.

S. 3451—Authorizing the United States Shipping Board to adjust the equitable claims of wooden-ship builders arising out of the prosecution of the war.
Mr. Jones of Washington; reported with amendments, 1815.—Debated, 1865, 1867–1875, 1931–1939.—Amended and passed Senate, 1939.—Referred to House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2089.—Reported back (H. Rept. 660), 3158.—Debated, 7677–7708.—Recommitted to Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 7708.

S. 3452—Granting the consent of Congress to the city of Detroit, Mich., a municipal corporation, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the American channel of the Detroit River to Belle Isle.
Mr. Newberry; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 312), 35.—Passed Senate, 35.—Reported back (H. Rept. 554), 1643.—Passed House, 2362.—Examined and signed, 2484.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 139], 2824.

S. 3458—To make gold certificates of the United States payable to bearer on demand legal tender.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Banking and Currency, 37.—Reported back (S. Rept. 316), 216.—Debated, 37, 38, 247, 249, 250.—Passed Senate, 250.—Referred to House Committee on Banking and Currency, 292.—Reported back (H. Rept. 486), 352.—Debated and passed House, 916.—Examined and signed, 974, 1011.—Approved by the President [Public No. 103], 1031.

S. 3459—For the relief of Peter S. Kelly.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Military Affairs, 36.

S. 3460—To punish conspiracy against organized government.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on the Judiciary, 360.

S. 3461—To provide for the exchange of Government lands for privately owned lands in the Territory of Hawaii.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 36.—Reported back (S. Rept. 424), 2824.—Debated and passed Senate, 7517.—Referred to House Committee on the Territories, 7625.

S. 3462—For the relief of Levi L. Conright.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Military Affairs, 36.

S. 3463—To reimburse officers, soldiers, and civilian employees of the Army and their families and dependents, and military organizations, for losses sustained as a result of the hurricane which occurred in Texas on Aug. 16, 17, and 18, 1915.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Claims, 36.

S. 3464—Granting a pension to John Walden.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 36.

S. 3465—to permit transportation of limited numbers of passengers on cargo vessels.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Commerce, 36.

S. 3466—Permitting the master of a ship to assert his claim against the vessel for wages and disbursements under certain circumstances.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Commerce, 36.

S. 3467—Regulating the issuance of checks, drafts, and orders for the payment of money within the District of Columbia.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on the District of Columbia, 36.

S. 3468—Granting an increase of pension to Giles A. Woolsey.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 36.

S. 3469—To transfer to the Attorney General of the United States the power and duty to deport certain aliens, and for other purposes.
Mr. King; Committee on Immigration, 37.

S. 3470—Granting an increase of pension to Wesley H. Dick.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 37.

S. 3471—Granting an increase of pension to Ann Lenora Sayre.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 37.

S. 3472—For the relief of the New Jersey Shipbuilding & Dredging Co., of Bayonne, N. J.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 37.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 384), 2092.—Debated and passed Senate, 2496, 2497.—Taken from Speaker's table, debated, amended, and passed House, 4833, 4834.—Examined and signed, 4906, 4919.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 30], 4944.

S. 3473—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Miller.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 37.

S. 3474—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Brannon.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 37.

S. 3475—Granting a pension to Adah E. Allen.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 37.

S. 3476—To provide for the establishment of a national budget system, and for other purposes.
Mr. McCormick; Committee on Consideration of a National Budget System, 37.

S. 3477—To increase, without expenditure of Federal funds, the opportunities of the people to acquire rural homes, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 74.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 355), 1209.—Debated, 2061, 2537–2544, 4166–4169, 5228.—Amended and passed Senate, 5228.—Referred to House Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 5307.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 915), 6441.—Debated, 8673.

S. 3478—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Cleveland.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 66.

S. 3479—Granting an increase of pension to Scott M. Miller.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 66.

S. 3480—Granting an increase of pension to Edmund W. Hunt.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 66.

S. 3481—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Edward W. Larrabee, administrator of Stephen Larrabee, deceased, and Charles H. Greenleaf, administrator of Amos L. Allen, deceased, against the United States.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Claims, 66.

S. 3482—For the relief of the Delaware Transportation Co., of Wilmington, Del.
Mr. Wolcott; Committee on Claims, 66.

S. 3483—For the relief of George T. Hamilton.
Mr. Wolcott; Committee on Claims, 66.—Reported back, 8306.

S. 3484—Authorizing certain railroad companies, or their successors in interest, to convey for public road or park purposes certain parts of their rights of way.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Public Lands, 66.—Reported back (S. Rept. 427), 3041.—Passed Senate, 3042.—Referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 3135.

S. 3485—To provide for building and furnishing a building at Custer Battle Field National Cemetery for use as an office for the custodian and for the convenience and comfort of the public.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; Committee on Military Affairs, 66.—Committee on Military Affairs discharged; referred to Committee on Indian Affairs, 2300.

S. 3486—To provide compensation in lieu of taxes to the several States with respect to certain public lands within their borders.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 110.

S. 3487—For the relief of Clarence L. Reames.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Claims, 110.

S. 3488—To provide for a site and public building at Fort Myers, Fla.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 110.

S. 3489—Granting a pension to Ellen M. Willey.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 178.

S. 3490—Granting an increase of pension to Green B. Acord.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 178.

S. 3491—Granting a pension to Samantha Hitchcock.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Pensions, 178.

S. 3492—Granting a pension to Arthur A. Rock.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 216.

S. 3493—Granting an increase of pension to Mary F. Mitchell.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 216.

S. 3494—Granting a pension to George Seward.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 216.

S. 3495—Granting a pension to James H. Seward.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 216.

S. 3496—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties, and for other purposes," approved Sept. 7, 1916.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Education and Labor, 216.

S. 3497—To amend section 858 of the Revised Statutes relating to the exclusion of witnesses in the courts of the United States.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on the Judiciary, 271.

S. 3498—For the relief of Thomas J. Hunt, surviving partner of Mosby & Hunt.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Claims, 271.

S. 3499—To retain in military service partially disabled men and officers able to perform certain classes of work.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 271.

S. 3500—Granting a pension to Joel F. Hampton.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 272.

S. 3501—To correct the military record of Second Lieut. Van Buren S. Reber.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Military Affairs, 272.

S. 3502—Defining certain offenses committed by drivers of and persons in control of motor vehicles in the District of Columbia, and providing for the punishment of such offenses, and for other purposes.
Mr. Capper; Committee on the District of Columbia, 272.

S. 3503—Granting a pension to Susetta Noyes.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 272.

S. 3504—Granting an increase of pension to George W. James.
Mr. Elkins; Committee on Pensions, 272.

S. 3505—For the relief of Charles E. Reyburn.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 272.

S. 3506—Granting an increase of pension to Albert B. Lawrence.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Pensions, 316.

S. 3507—To limit the size of newspapers and periodicals entitled to the privileges of the second-class mail rate.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 316.

S. 3508—To purchase a site for a United States post-office building in the West Kansas addition to the city of Kansas City, Mo.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 316.

S. 3509—Granting the consent of Congress to Marion County, State of Mississippi, to construct a bridge across the Pearl River, in Marion County, State of Mississippi.
Mr. Harrison; Committee on Commerce, 358.

S. 3510—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Amory, Miss., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Harrison; Committee on Military Affairs, 358.

S. 3511—Granting a pension to Charles M. Woodworth.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 358.

S. 3512—Granting a pension to Flora A. Winchester.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 358.

S. 3513—For the relief of Emma Kiener.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Claims, 389.

S. 3514—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Opp.
Mr. Phipps; Committee on Pensions, 389.

S. 3515—Granting a pension to Peter L. Jaquett.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 389.

S. 3516—To authorize the Secretary of War, in his discretion, to furnish quarters at Langley Field, Va., to the civilian employees of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 389.—Reported back (S. Rept. 417), 2535.—Passed Senate, 5174.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 5253.

S. 3517—Authorizing special allowances by way of additional compensation to officers, warrant officers, members of the Nurse Corps (female), civilian employees, and enlisted men of the Army serving in China.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 389.

S. 3518—For the relief of the owner of the steamship Urubambra.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Claims, 389.—Reported back (S. Rept. 389), 2092.—Passed Senate, 4679, 4680.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 4771.

S. 3519—To reclassify the salaries of employees above the clerical grades in post offices of the first and second class.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 389.

S. 3520—To increase the postal rates on certain classes of second-class matter.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 438.—Debated, 438.

S. 3521—To construct a public building for a post office at the city of Sandersville, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 437.

S. 3522—To provide for the erection of a public building at the city of Toccoa, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 437.

S. 3523—To construct a suitable building for the use of the United States court at Gainesville, Ga., and for other purposes.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 437.

S. 3524—To increase the appropriation for the purchase of site and erection of a building for a post office at Dawson, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 437.

S. 3525—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Eastman, Dodge County, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 437.

S. 3526—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Fort Valley, Houston County, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 437.

S. 3527—Granting an increase of pension to Martha A. Dunbar.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 3528—Granting a pension to Henry L. Bond.
Mr. Fall; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 3529—Granting a pension to Samuel L. Duckworth.
Mr. Fall; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 3530—For the relief of Sarah Shelton.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Claims, 437.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 447), 3435.—Amended and passed Senate, 5180.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 5253.

S. 3531—Granting an increase of pension to William L. Sapp.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 3532—Granting a pension to James H. Johns.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 3533—To provide that certain enlisted men of the Regular Army and the National Guard shall be eligible to appointment to the United States Military Academy.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Military Affairs, 501.

S. 3534—Authorizing the erection of a post-office building at Lawrenceville, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 501.

S. 3535—Authorizing appropriation for purchasing site and erecting post-office building at East Point, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 501.

S. 3536—To construct a public building for a post office at the city of Thomson, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 501.

S. 3537—Authorizing appropriation for purchasing site and erecting post-office building at Decatur, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 501.

S. 3538—Authorizing the erection of a post-office building at Rossville, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 501.

S. 3539—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Hawkinsville, Pulaski County, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 501.

S. 3540—To provide for the erection of a public building at the city of Canton, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 501.

S. 3541—For the erection of a public building at Nashville, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 501.

S. 3542—To authorize any person who was wounded while in the military or naval service of the United States during the war with Germany to wear the uniform of the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, and for other purposes.
Mr. Walsh of Massachusetts; Committee on Military Affairs, 501.

S. 3543—To encourage bank deposits by nonresident foreign corporations and nonresident alien individuals, and for other purposes.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Finance, 501.

S. 3544—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Hurricane, W. Va.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 501.

S. 3545—To revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, to certain widows, former widows, dependent parents and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses; granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases; and reducing the minimum length of service from 90 to 75 days.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 501.

S. 3546—Granting an increase of pension to Jordan McCormick.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 501.

S. 3547—Granting a pension to Sarah M. Willison.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 501.

S. 3548—Granting an increase of pension to Harriet L. Stone.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 501.

S. 3549—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel McAtee.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 501.

S. 3550—Granting a pension to James B. Webster.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 561.

S. 3551—Granting a pension to Harriet A. Erb.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Pensions, 561.

S. 3552—Granting a pension to Joseph B. Doan.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Pensions, 561.

S. 3553—Making provision for the irrigation of Indian lands within the limits of the Curlew irrigation district in the State of Washington.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Indian Affairs, 561.

S. 3554—To regulate interstate commerce, to incorporate the Federal Railroad Co., and for other purposes.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 561.

S. 3555—Authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to make a survey of pulp woods on the public domain and to prepare a plan for the reforestation of pulp-wood lands, and appropriating the sum of $1,000,000 for these purposes.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 561.

S. 3556—For the relief of Frank Schoble, jr.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Military Affairs, 616.

S. 3557—Granting a pension to Charles B. Crawford.
Mr. Harrison; Committee on Pensions, 616.

S. 3558—To authorize the establishment and maintenance of a forest experiment station at Asheville, N. C.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 616.

S. 3559—For erecting a suitable memorial to Sir Walter Raleigh.
Mr. Overman; Committee on the Library, 616.

S. 3560—Granting a pension to Russell S. Beckwith.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 616.

S. 3561—Granting an increase of pension to John D. Halbert.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Pensions, 616.

S. 3562—Granting an increase of pension to Harry Coyan.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Pensions, 616.

S. 3563—Extending the period of limitations for the commencement of actions for the punishment of violators of the draft act approved May 18, 1917, and amendments thereto.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on the Judiciary, 616.

S. 3564—Granting an increase of pension to William S. Wilmoth.
Mr. Elkins; Committee on Pensions, 807.

S. 3565—To amend section 190 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Calder; Committee on the Judiciary, 807.

S. 3566—To amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to regulate the immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States," approved Feb. 5, 1917.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Immigration, 807.—Reported back, 1362.—Passed Senate, 1362.—Referred to House Committee on Immigration, 1497.—Reported back (H. Rept. 575), 1925.—Passed House, 8454.—Examined and signed, 8486, 8585.

S. 3567—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Fuller.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Pensions, 807.

S. 3568—For the construction of a complete hospital plant in the city of Memphis, Tenn.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 807.

S. 3569—Granting a pension to Claude H. Johnson.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Pensions, 807.

S. 3570—Granting an increase of pension to Augustus E. Dodds.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Pensions, 807.

S. 3571—To establish a national bulletin.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Printing, 807.

S. 3572—To provide for the establishment and maintenance of a national highway system, to create a Federal Highway Commission, and for other purposes.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 807.—Debated, 8945.

S. 3573—To provide for a memorial in commemoration of the death of Joseph W. Guyton, the first member of the United States Army killed on German soil.
Mr. Newberry; Committee on Military Affairs, 807.

S. 3574—To provide for the sale by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia of certain land in the District of Columbia acquired for a school site, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 807.

S. 3575—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes," approved July 11, 1919 (Public, No. 5, 66th Cong.).
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 807.

S. 3576—To authorize the acquisition of a site and the erection of a Federal building at Ozark, Christian County, Mo.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 912.

S. 3577—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell the present marine hospital site in the city of St. Louis, and to acquire a suitable and sufficient tract of land in or adjacent to the city of St. Louis for the construction of a complete hospital plant for the treatment of beneficiaries of the war-risk insurance and the Public Health Service.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 912.

S. 3578—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to transfer Roxy Ann Mountain to the city of Medford, Oreg., to be used as a public park.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Public Lands, 961.

S. 3579—To provide for the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a Federal building at Klamath Falls, Oreg.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 961.

S. 3580—Making an appropriation for the relief of the Oceanic Shipbuilding Co., of Portland, Oreg.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Claims, 961.

S. 3581—Granting a pension to Mary A. Welshan.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Pensions, 961.

S. 3582—For the relief of Lawrence S. Vandall.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Claims, 961.—See S. Res. 334, 4566.

S. 3583—To authorize the establishment of a Coast Guard station on the coast of Florida, at or in the vicinity of the Government cut, Miami Beach, Dade County.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 961.

S. 3584—For the relief of Emma LaMee.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Claims, 962.

S. 3585—To provide for representation of the people of the District of Columbia in Congress, for the election of Delegates for such purpose, and for other purposes.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on the District of Columbia, 962.

S. 3586—For the relief of parties who lost war-savings stamps, which were in the possession of the Ansted National Bank, of Ansted, W. Va.
Mr. Elkins; Committee on Claims, 962.

S. 3587—To authorize the issuance of a warrant for the arrest and removal of persons under indictment for offenses against the United States.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on the Judiciary, 962.

S. 3588—To advance Maj. Charles C. Pierce, United States Army, retired, to rank of colonel on the retired list of the Army.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Military Affairs, 962.

S. 3589—To provide for the reimbursement to the emigrant Cherokees by blood for lands allotted to the negro freedmen (Cherokees) from the lands granted to the emigrant Cherokees by blood under treaty of 1835.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Indian Affairs, 962.

S. 3590—Granting a pension to Mary M. Buck.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 962.

S. 3591—Granting a pension to Sarah G. Bloxom.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 962.

S. 3592—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make donation of captured German cannon and cannon balls to the University of Washington, of Seattle, Wash.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 962.

S. 3593—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make donation of a captured German trophy to the city of Oaksdale, Wash.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 962.

S. 3594—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make donation of a captured German cannon and cannon balls to the Pullman State College, of Pullman, Wash.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 962.

S. 3595—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make donation of a captured German cannon and cannon balls to the State Normal School, of Cheney, Wash.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 962.

S. 3596—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make donation of a captured German cannon and cannon balls to the State Normal School of Ellensburg, Wash.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 962.

S. 3597—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make donation of a captured German cannon and cannon balls to the State Normal School of Bellingham, Wash.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 962.

S. 3598—Granting a pension to Elias J. Quick.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 962.

S. 3599—Granting an increase of pension to W. H. H. Hursh.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 962.

S. 3600—For the relief of Jesse Dotts.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Military Affairs, 962.

S. 3601—Granting a pension to Florence E. Thornburgh.
Mr. Moses; Committee on Pensions, 962.

S. 3602—Granting an increase of pension to Pleasant H. Ripley.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Pensions, 962.

S. 3603—Providing for the removal of the remains of certain soldiers, sailors, and marines to the United States.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Military Affairs, 1018.

S. 3604—To carry into effect the findings of the Court of Claims in matter of the claim of the Overton Hotel Co.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Claims, 1018.

S. 3605—Granting an increase of pension to Andred Tanner.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3606—For the relief of the next of kin of Herman Okerman.
Mr. Henderson; Committee on Claims, 1018.

S. 3607—Authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to lease San Miguel Island, Calif., and for other purposes.
Mr. Henderson; Committee on Public Lands, 1018.

S. 3608—To amend an act entitled "An act to prevent the importation of impure and unwholesome tea," as amended by the act approved May 16, 1908 (35 Stat. L., p. 163), entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to prevent the importation of impure and unwholesome tea,' approved Mar. 2, 1897."
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1018.

S. 3609—To amend the act of Congress approved Apr. 27, 1914.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 1018.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 445), 3387.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5180.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 5253.

S. 3610—For the relief of William S. Britton, formerly second lieutenant of Infantry, who has been erroneously dropped from the rolls of the United States Army.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 1018.—Reported back (S. Rept. 370), 1312.—Passed Senate, 2347, 2348.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2420.—Reported back (H. Rept. 629), 2880.—Debated and passed House, 5109, 5110.—Examined and signed, 5272, 5274.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 40], 5530.

S. 3611—To obtain revenue and to promote and encourage the production of chrome and chromium ores and manufactures thereof in the United States and its possessions.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Finance, 1018.

S. 3612—To authorize the United States Bureau of Efficiency to provide for the promotion, transfer, and discharge of certain employees in the executive departments, bureaus, boards, commissions, and agencies, and for other purposes.
Mr. King; Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, 1018.—Reference changed to the Special Committee to Devise a Plan for a National Budget System, 2487.

S. 3613—For the relief of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Arkansas.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 1018.

S. 3614—Granting a pension to Henry J. Schlosser.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3615—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of George T. Sampson, survivor of the firm of George T. & Augustus Sampson, v. The United States.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Claims, 1018.

S. 3616—Granting a pension to Flora H. Whitney.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3617—To amend section 800 of the revenue act of 1918, relating to the tax on season or subscription tickets.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Finance, 1018.

S. 3618—Granting an increase of pension to Catherine Parsons.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3619—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Yocum.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3620—Granting a pension to Silas D. Huckleberry.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3621—Granting an increase of pension to Emma Jennings.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3622—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Barber.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S.3623—Granting a pension to Frederica Carll.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3624—Granting an increase of pension to Allen W. Banks.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3625—Granting a pension to James G. Weyant.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3626—Granting a pension to Leota M. Jones.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3627—Granting an increase of pension to John Christian Hohman.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3628—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis C. Clemons.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3629—For the relief of Berdie Olson.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Claims, 1018.

S. 3630—Granting a pension to Solomon F. Kimball.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3631—Granting a pension to William Derby Johnson.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3632—Granting a pension to Mary C. Sorensen.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3633—Granting an increase of pension to Julia I. Gritzmacher.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3634—Granting a pension to John B. McWilliams.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3635—Granting a pension to John Sherman Henry.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3636—Granting a pension to Robert Samuel Harris.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3637—Granting a pension to James Buford.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3638—Granting an increase of pension to Robert B. McCumber.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 1018.

S. 3639—Making an appropriation for the further reclamation of arid lands, and for other purposes.
Mr. King; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 1018.

S. 3640—To provide for the establishment and maintenance of a forest experiment station in the State of Minnesota.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1082.

S. 3641—Making an appropriation for the construction of drainage facilities in connection with the Newlands reclamation project in the State of Nevada.
Mr. Henderson; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 1082.

S. 3642—To provide for the return of the dead bodies of soldiers of the American Expeditionary Forces buried in France.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Military Affairs, 1082.

S. 3643—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a post-office building at the city of Monticello, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1082.

S. 3644—Providing for a site and public building for a post office at Sparta, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1082.

S. 3645—For the purchase of a site for and the erection of a post-office building at Cairo, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1082.

S. 3646—To increase the appropriation for the purchase of a site and erection of a building for a post office at Douglas, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1082.

S. 3647—For the erection of a public building at Jesup, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1082.

S. 3648—For the purchase of a site for and the erection of a post-office building at Camilla, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1083.

S. 3649—For the erection of a public building at Blackshear, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1083.

S. 3650—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Vidalia, Toombs County, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1083.

S. 3651—To provide for the commission of Kerwin C. Lubs as a first lieutenant in the United States Army and an honorable discharge therefrom.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Military Affairs, 1083.

S. 3652—Granting a pension to Edgar E. Rich.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 1083.

S. 3653—For the relief of John P. Chesley.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Military Affairs, 1083.

S. 3654—Granting a pension to Eva Fifield.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 1083.

S. 3655—To increase the cost of the public building at Prescott, Ark.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1083.

S. 3656—To provide for the promotion and maintenance of the American merchant marine, to repeal certain emergency legislation, and provide for the disposition, regulation, and use of property acquired thereunder, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Commerce, 1083.

S. 3657—To abolish the Bureau of War Risk Insurance and to confer the jurisdiction of allotments and family allowances, of compensation for death or disability, and of war-risk insurance upon other establishments, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Finance, 1089.—Debated, 1089–1095.

S. 3658—For the relief of the next of kin of Edgar C. Bryon.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 1083.

S. 3659—Providing for the reconstruction of certain public roads in Fairfield district, Henrico County, Va.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Military Affairs, 1157.

S. 3660—Authorizing the Secretary of War to loan to States, when so requested, 5-ton and 10-ton Artillery tractors for use in highway construction.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Military Affairs, 1157.

S. 3661—For the relief of the Lloyd Mediterraneo Societa Italiana di Navigazione, owners of the Italian steamer Titania.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Claims, 1157.

S. 3662—For the relief of Th. Brovig, as owner of the bark Bennestvet.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Claims, 1157.—Reported back (S. Rept. 473), 4375.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5230.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 5336.

S. 3663—For the relief of Gaetano Davide Olivari fu Fortunato, as managing owner of the Italian bark Doris.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Claims, 1157.—Reported back (S. Rept. 474), 4375.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5231.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 5336.

S. 3664—For the relief of the Link-Belt Co., of Philadelphia, Pa.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Claims, 1157.—Reported back (S. Rept. 475), 4375.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5231, 5232.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 5336.

S. 3665—For the relief of Stanley Mitchell.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1157.

S. 3666—Granting an increase of pension to Minnie Lord Henderson.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 3667—To appropriate $4,000,000 for loans to farmers in drought-stricken sections of the United States for the purchase of seed for 1920 spring planting.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1157.

S. 3668—Requiring compliance with agreements to furnish heat in living quarters in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1157.

S. 3669—Granting an increase of pension to John Kenney.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 3670—To save daylight in the first zone so as to encourage the establishment of home gardening, and for other purposes.
Mr. Edge; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 1157.

S. 3671—Granting a pension to Edna C. Wilson.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 3672—Granting an increase of pension to Herman Binderwald.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 3673—Granting an increase of pension to Miranda Green.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 3674—Prohibiting the bringing into the United States and the carrying and transporting therein from one State, Territory, or District to another State, Territory, or District of pictures, films, moving-picture film or films purporting to show or to simulate the acts and conduct of ex-convicts, desperadoes, bandits, train robbers, bank robbers, or outlaws in the commission or attempted commission of crime or acts of violence; and to prohibit the use of the mails in carrying communications relating to the same, and providing punishment therefor.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 1157.

S. 3675—Granting an increase of pension to Edmund W. Bache.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 3676—Granting a pension to Harriet L. Stone.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 3677—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Loughery.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 3678—Granting an increase of pension to Absalom Virden.
Mr. Sutherland—Committee on Pensions, 1158.

S. 3679—Granting a pension to Chloe T. Hutchison.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 1158.

S. 3680—To provide for the purchase and redemption of Liberty bonds in the denominations of $50 and $100.
Mr. King; Committee on Finance, 1213.

S. 3681—To amend section 848, chapter 16, Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to witness fees.
Mr. Hitchcock; Committee on the Judiciary, 1212.—Reported back, 1361.—Passed Senate, 1361.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 1496.

S. 3682—To regulate the filling of vacancies in the Corps of Cadets at the United States Military Academy not otherwise provided for by existing law, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 1212.—Reported back, 1247.—Debated and passed Senate, 2345, 2346.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2421.

S. 3683.—To amend section 2 of the act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes."
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 1212.—Reported back (S. Rept. 362), 1312.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2346.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2421.

S. 3684—For the repair, alteration, etc., of the Federal building at Boston, Mass.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1212.

S. 3685—For the relief of Bessie Reese.
Mr. Elkins; Committee on Claims, 1212.

S. 3686—To prevent deceit and profiteering that result from the unrevealed presence of substitutes for virgin wool in woven fabrics purporting to contain wool and in garments or articles of apparel made therefrom, manufactured in any State or Territory of the United States or the District of Columbia or transported or intended to be transported in interstate or foreign commerce, and providing penalties for the violation of the provisions of this act, and for other purposes.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 1212.

S. 3687—Providing for an appropriation of $25,000, to be used by the Department of Agriculture for the development of the peanut industry.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1213.

S. 3688—To reorganize and increase the efficiency of the United States Army, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 1248.

S. 3689—Granting a pension to Mary S. Woolman.
Mr. Newberry; Committee on Pensions, 1248.

S. 3690—Conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to try, adjudicate, and determine the claim of Clayton G. Landis, administrator of David B. Landis, deceased.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Claims, 1248.

S. 3691—To prohibit certain persons from accepting compensation for prosecuting claims against the United States or for performing services in relation to a matter in which the United States is interested or a party, and for other purposes.
Mr. Calder; Committee on the Judiciary, 1248.

S. 3692—Granting an increase of pension to Versa E. Conn.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Pensions, 1248.

S. 3693—Granting a pension to Gertrude A. Robinson.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Pensions, 1312.

S. 3694—Granting an increase of pension to Helen D. Longstreet.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 1312.

S. 3695—For the relief of the Stevens Institute of Technology, of Hoboken, N. J.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Claims, 1312.

S. 3696—To change the time for holding court in Laurinburg, eastern district of North Carolina.
Mr. Overman; Committee on the Judiciary, 1312.—Reported back, 1361.—Passed Senate, 1362.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 1497.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 688), 3650.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3990, 3991.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 3999.—Examined and signed, 4157, 4159.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 160], 4435.

S. 3697—For the relief of Archie B. and Gladys B. Darling.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Claims, 1362.

S. 3698—Conferring jurisdiction upon certain courts of the United States to hear and determine the claim of the owners of the derrick Century against the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 1362.

S. 3699—To amend section 177 of the Judicial Code.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on the Judiciary, 1362.

S. 3700—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of State to examine and settle the claim of the Wales Island Packing Co.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Claims, 1362.

S. 3701—Granting an increase of pension to Minerva C. McMillan.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 1362.

S. 3702—To regulate the issuance of stock by corporations engaged in interstate commerce.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 1362.

S. 3703—Granting an increase of pension to Edward S. Stimpson.
Mr. Gerry; Committee on Pensions, 1362.

S. 3704—Granting a pension to Amanda M. Chase.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 1362.

S. 3705—For the relief of George W. Stinebaker.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Military Affairs, 1362.

S. 3706—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make settlement with the lessees who erected buildings on a five-year lease on the zone at Camp Funston, Kans., and for other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 1470.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 485), 4672.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 4672.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 4771.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 797), 5273.—Debated, 5862.

S. 3707—For the relief of Burdett O'Connor.
Mr. Newberry; Committee on Military Affairs, 1470.

S. 3708—To punish violation of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution by American citizens in certain foreign countries.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Foreign Relations, 1470.

S. 3709—For the relief of Capt. James G. Oakley.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Military Affairs, 1470.

S. 3710—For the erection of a public building at Ocilla, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1470.

S. 3711—To provide for the erection of a public building at the city of Buford, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1470.

S. 3712—Authorizing the erection of a post-office building at Commerce, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1470.

S. 3713—For the erection of a public building at Baxley, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1470.

S. 3714—To provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Montrose, Colo.
Mr. Phipps; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1470.

S. 3715—For the relief of James Rundle.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Claims, 1520.

S. 3716—Conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to determine and report upon the interest, title, ownership, and right of possession of the Yankton Tribe of Indians, South Dakota, to the Red Pipestone Quarries, Minn.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1520.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 533), 5967.—Amended and passed Senate, 6454.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 6552.

S. 3717—To purchase a painting of Abraham Lincoln.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the Library, 1520.

S. 3718—To exclude certain foreign publications from second-class mailing privileges, to increase second-class postal rates, and for other purposes.
Mr. King; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 1520.

S. 3719—For the relief of Elizabeth R. Nicholls and Joanna L. Nicholls, heirs of Joshua Nicholls.
Mr. Dial; Committee on Claims, 1520.

S. 3720—To amend section 10 of the act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 15, 1914, as amended.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 1563.

S. 3721—Granting a pension to Olive R. Grow.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 1563.

S. 3722—To grant the consent of Congress to the Alfords Bridge Co. to construct a bridge across the Savannah River.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on Commerce, 1563.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 381), 2039.—Amended and passed Senate, 2039.—Reconsidered, 2039.—Amended and passed Senate, 2039.—Taken from the Speaker's table, debated, and passed House, 2558.—Examined and signed, 3105, 3110.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 145], 3389.

S. 3723—To repeal the act prohibiting increased pay under lump-sum appropriations to employees transferred within one year.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, 1563.

S. 3724—Granting an increase of pension to Ludwig N. Anderson.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 1563.

S. 3725—Authorizing the Court of Claims to adjudicate the claim of Capt. David McD. Shearer for compensation for the adoption and use and acquisition by the United States Government of his patented inventions.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Claims, 1563.—Reported back (S. Rept. 448), 3435.—Debated, 5180.

S. 3726—To provide for the acquiring of a site and the erection of a United States hospital in the city of St. Louis, Mo.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1563.

S. 3727—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Hayes.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1563.

S. 3728—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Morgan.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1563.

S. 3729—Granting an increase of pension to William G. Pellow.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1563.

S. 3730—Granting a pension to John H. Isiley.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1563.

S. 3731—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Commons.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1563.

S. 3732—Granting a pension to Thomas Burke.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1563.

S. 3733—Granting a pension to Nannie Martin.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1563.

S. 3734—To create and establish a Government store in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1606.—Debated, 1605, 1606.

S. 3735—Granting an increase of pension to James A. Lucas.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Pensions, 1605.

S. 3736—Making appropriation for the construction and completion of an addition to the central post-office building at St. Louis, Mo.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1605.

S. 3737—To carry out the provisions of an act approved July 1, 1902, known as the act entitled "An act to accept, ratify, and confirm a proposed agreement submitted by the Kansas or Kaw Indians of Oklahoma, and for other purposes," and to provide for a settlement to Addie May Auld and Archie William Auld, who were enrolled as members of the said tribe after the lands and money of said tribe had been divided.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1605.

S. 3738—Abolishing the United States Housing Corporation and other agencies and authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell or otherwise dispose of property acquired or constructed pursuant to the power and authority granted by the act of Congress entitled "An act to authorize the President to provide housing for war needs," approved May 16, 1918, and other acts and parts of acts amendatory thereof, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1648.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 402), 2182.—Debated, 2445, 2643–2653.—Amended and passed Senate, 2653.—Referred to House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2716.

S. 3739—To correct the military record of Joseph B. Forbes.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Military Affairs, 1648.

S. 3740—To authorize the extension and widening of Fourteenth Street from Montague Street to its southern terminus south of Dahlia Street, Nicholson Street from Thirteenth Street to Sixteenth Street, Colorado Avenue from Montague Street to Thirteenth Street, Concord Avenue from Sixteenth Street to its western terminus west of Eighth Street west, Thirteenth Street from Nicholson Street to Piney Branch Road, and Piney Branch Road from Thirteenth Street to Blair Road, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1648.

S. 3741—To provide for the establishment and maintenance of a forest experiment station in cooperation with the University of California.
Mr. Johnson of California; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1648.

S. 3742—Permitting the acceptance of first-class matter for transmission in the mails, without postage stamps affixed, under certain conditions.
Mr. McCormick; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 1648.

S. 3743—For the relief of W. R. Grace & Co.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 1699.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 611), 7270.—Amended and passed Senate, 7795.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 7920.

S. 3744—For the relief of Alfred Clark.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Military Affairs, 1699.

S. 3745—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to provide medical, surgical, and hospital service and supplies for discharged soldiers, sailors, marines, Army and Navy nurses (male and female), and for other purposes.
Mr. France; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1699.

S. 3746—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. McCumber, from the Committee on Pensions (S. Rept. 374), as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 1762.—Indefinitely postponed (see H. R. 12530), 8196.

S. 3747—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy and of wars other than the Civil War, and to certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. McCumber, from the Committee on Pensions (S. Rept. 375), as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 1763.—Debated, 8503, 8504.—Amended and passed Senate, 8510, 8511.—Referred to House Committee on Pensions, 8653.

S. 3748—To provide additional compensation for the dependent relatives of members of the Metropolitan police or fire department of the District of Columbia killed in line of duty.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1764.

S. 3749—Granting an increase of pension to Emma M. Wainwright.
Mr. Ball; Committee on Pensions, 1764.

S. 3750—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the settlement of claims of officers and enlisted men of the Army for the loss of private property destroyed in the military service of the United States," approved Mar. 3, 1885, as amended by the act of July 9, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 1764.—Reported back (S. Rept. 380), 1928.—Debated and passed Senate, 2349, 2350.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2421.—Reported back (H. Rept. 611), 2618.

S. 3751—Granting a pension to Faithie P. Nolan.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1764.

S. 3752—Granting a pension to Patrick H. Mullighan.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1764.

S. 3753—Granting an increase of pension to Electious J. Jenkins.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1764.

S. 3754—Granting an increase of pension to John Wesley Knapp.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1764.

S. 3755—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham T. Woodruff.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1764.

S. 3756—To carry out the decree of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania in the case of the United States of America, owner of the steam dredge Delaware against the steamship A. A. Raven, American Transportation Co., claimant, and to pay the amount decreed to be due said company.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 1764.

S. 3757—For the relief of A. S. Rosenthal Co.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 1764.

S. 3758—To authorize advances to the reclamation fund and for the issue and disposal of bonds in reimbursement therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 1764.

S. 3759—Granting an increase of pension to Mattie M. Trussell.
Mr. Elkins; Committee on Pensions, 1764.

S. 3760—Granting an increase of pension of Elizabeth H. Peggs.
Mr. Elkins; Committee on Pensions, 1764.

S. 3761—Granting a pension to Ida May Hollister.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Pensions, 1764.

S. 3762—Granting an increase of pension to Josephine M. Higgins.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 1764.

S. 3763—Regulating the disposition of lands formerly embraced in the grants of the Oregon & California Railroad Co. and Coos Bay Wagon Road Co.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 1815.—Reported back (S. Rept. 516), 5529.—Passed Senate, 7518.—Referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 7625.—(H. R. 9392 substituted.)

S. 3764—Granting an increase of pension to Milton A. Anderson.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Pensions, 1815.

S. 3765—For the relief of Rhodilla Silvers.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Military Affairs, 1815.

S. 3766—Granting a pension to Corbit J. Hopkins and Granville P. Hopkins.
Mr. Beckham; Committee on Pensions, 1815.

S. 3767—Granting a pension to Hollie Britton.
Mr. Beckham; Committee on Pensions, 1815.

S. 3768—Granting an increase of pension to Sherman E. Jackson.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 1815.

S. 3769—Granting a pension to George W. Willey.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Pensions, 1815.

S. 3770—To amend the Federal reserve act as amended prohibiting a rate of interest in excess of 6 per cent per annum on loans secured by stocks or bonds as collateral.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Banking and Currency, 1815.

S. 3771—To correct the military record of Joseph B. Forbes.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Military Affairs, 1863.

S. 3772—To authorize national banking associations to establish and maintain branches.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Banking and Currency, 1863.

S. 3773—To provide for the payment of interest on reserve balances in Federal reserve banks.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Banking and Currency, 1863.

S. 3774—To authorize the coinage of a Roosevelt 2-cent coin.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Banking and Currency, 1863.—Reported back, 5227.—Debated and passed Senate, 6451, 6452.—Referred to House Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 6552.

S. 3775—To reimburse the heirs of Chief Heavy Runner on account of his death and for property taken from him at the time of the Baker massacre.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; Committee on Claims, 1863.

S. 3776—Granting an increase of pension to Henrietta Magee.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 1863.

S. 3777—Granting a pension to Hattie Kindred.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 1863.

S. 3778—For the relief of Frank Carpenter.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Claims, 1863.

S. 3779—To authorize the Ozark Forest road improvement district of Baxter County, Ark., to construct and maintain a bridge across the White River, near Norfolk, Ark.
Mr. Kirby; Committee on Commerce, 1928.—Reported back (S. Rept. 403), 2231.—Passed Senate, 2231.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2332.—Reported back (H. Rept. 647), 3106.—Passed House, 5218.—Examined and signed, 5336, 5385.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 173], 5714.

S. 3780—Further to regulate public utilities in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1928.

S. 3781—To create the offices of third assistant probation officer and stenographer and typist for the probation office of the police court of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1928.

S. 3782—To authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to close streets, roads, or highways in the District of Columbia rendered useless or unnecessary by reason of the opening, extension, widening, or straightening of other streets, roads, or highways, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1929.

S. 3783—Providing for the allotment of lands within the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation, Mont., and for other purposes.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1929.

S. 3784—Granting an increase of pension to Hamilton K. Williams.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 1929.

S. 3785—To amend the penal code.
Mr. Calder; Committee on the Judiciary, 1929.

S. 3786—Granting a pension to August L. S. Becker.
Mr. Johnson of California; Committee on Pensions, 1929.

S. 3787—Granting a pension to Edgar B. Stuart.
Mr. Johnson of California; Committee on Pensions, 1929.

S. 3788—Granting an increase of pension to Elias B. Lesh.
Mr. Johnson of California; Committee on Pensions, 1929.

S. 3789—Granting an increase of pension to Sophrona J. Spencer, alias Owen.
Mr. Johnson of California; Committee on Pensions, 1929.

S. 3790—Granting a pension to Carrie McFadden.
Mr. Johnson of California; Committee on Pensions, 1929.

S. 3791—Granting an increase of pension to George P. Thompson.
Mr. Elkins; Committee on Pensions, 1929.

S. 3792—To reorganize and increase the efficiency of the United States Army, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 1929.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 400), 2137.—Minority report submitted (S. Rept. 400, Part II), 2300.—Debated, 2637–2643, 2753, 2837–4842, 5182–5196, 5238–5251, 5275–5291, 5318–5335, 5386–5407, 5535, 5536–5551, 5598–5613, 5646, 5653, 5659–5665, 5714–5731, 5775, 5788, 5824–5851, 5884, 5887, 9321.—Indefinitely postponed (see H. R. 12775), 5898.

S. 3793—Granting a pension to Leon H. Coombs.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 1929.

S. 3794—Granting an increase of pension to John Colby.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 1996.

S. 3795—Granting a pension to Ann Carman.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 1996.

S. 3796—Granting an increase of pension to Eli F. Holland.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Pensions, 1996.

S. 3797—To prevent the nullification of State antigambling laws by international or interstate transmission of bets and betting odds on horse races and other contests.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on the Judiciary, 2039.

S. 3798—For the reinstatement of Henry Cronan in the United States Army.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Military Affairs, 2039.

S. 3799—For the relief of N. Thomas.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Claims, 2039.

S. 3800—For the relief of Charles Hurst.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Claims, 2039.

S. 3801—To repeal such portion of the act approved Apr. 21, 1904 (33 Stat., p. 211), as relates to the exchange of certain lands.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2039.

S. 3802—Granting an increase of pension to William E. Cornwell.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 2039.

S. 3803—For the relief of certain landowners of New Castle County, in the State of Delaware.
Mr. Ball; Committee on Claims, 2092.

S. 3804—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to purchase a tract of land, with sufficient water right attached, for the use and occupancy of the Temoak Band of homeless Indians, located at Ruby Valley, Nev.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2092.

S. 3805—To provide and adjust penalties for violation of various navigation laws, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Commerce, 2092.

S. 3806—For the relief of Jonathan D. Long.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Military Affairs, 2092.

S. 3807—Granting an increase of pension to Lilla May Pavy.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Pensions, 2092.

S. 3808—For the relief of Constance Davies Lathrop.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2092.

S. 3809—To provide for the purchase of a site for, and the construction of, a public building at South St. Paul, Minn.
Mr. Kellogg; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2137.

S. 3810—To provide for the purchase of a site for, and the construction of, a public building at Montevideo, Minn.
Mr. Kellogg; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2137.

S. 3811—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Williams.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 2137.

S. 3812—Granting an increase of pension to John B. DuRoy.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 2137.

S. 3813—To authorize the construction of a bridge across Lake Champlain, between the towns of Shoreham, Vt., and Ticonderoga, N. Y.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Commerce, 2182.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 418), 2535.—Amended and passed Senate, 2535.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2598.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 648), 3106.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5201.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 5275.—Examined and signed, 5481.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 174], 5714.

S. 3814—Granting a pension to Mary Sawyer-Fleak.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2182.

S. 3815—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse Holt.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2182.

S. 3816—For the relief of Gil Irwin Wilson.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Finance, 2182.

S. 3817—To amend an act entitled "An act to diminish the expense of proceedings on appeal and writ of error or of certiorari," approved Feb. 13, 1911.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on the Judiciary, 2232.

S. 3818—Granting additional lands from the Fort Douglas Military Reservation to the University of Utah.
Mr. King; Committee on Military Affairs, 2232.

S. 3819—For the relief of A. Purdee.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 2232.

S. 3820—Granting a pension to Charles V. Harris.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 2232.

S. 3821—To amend the act entitled "An act to establish a code of law for the District of Columbia, approved March 3, 1901," and the acts amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; Committee on the Judiciary, 2301.

S. 3822—For the establishment and maintenance of a forest experiment station on the White Mountain National Forest, in the State of New Hampshire.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2301.

S. 3823—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Pierce.
Mr. Keyes; Committee on Pensions, 2301.

S. 3824—Granting an increase of pension to Alma L. Bruce.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 2301.

S. 3825—To authorize the construction of the Lincoln and Lee memorial bridge over the Potomac River.
Mr. King; Committee on the Library, 2301.

S. 3826—Authorizing and requiring the Capital Traction Co. to operate its cars through G Street NW., in the District of Columbia.
Mr. King; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2301.

S. 3827—Granting an increase of pension to Ezra J. Osborn.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 2301.

S. 3828—To amend the act approved Feb. 7, 1916, entitled "An act providing for the maintenance of the United States section of the International High Commission."
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on the Judiicary, 2339.

S. 3829—Making an appropriation for the investigation of underground currents, particularly shallow underground waters, and artesian wells in eastern Colorado.
Mr. Phipps; Committee on Public Lands, 2339.

S. 3830—For the relief of John H. Fesenmeyer, alias John Wills.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Military Affairs, 2339.

S. 3831—For the purchase of a site and the erection of a post-office building at New Rockford, N. Dak.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2339.

S. 3832—Granting a pension to Knute Westerheim.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2339.

S. 3833—To authorize the President of the United States to appoint John H. A. Day an officer of the United States Marine Corps.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2339.

S. 3834—Granting an increase of pension to Ira W. Arnold.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 2339.

S. 3835—Providing for the appointment of an additional circuit judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit.
Mr. King; Committee on the Judiciary, 2339.

S. 3836—For the relief of the owners of the French auxiliary bark Quevilly.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 2339.

S. 3837—For the relief of the estate of Catherine Locke, deceased.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 2339.

S. 3838—Granting an increase of pension to Mike A. Langeneck.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 2339.

S. 3839—Granting a pension to Joseph Stevens.
Mr. Elkins; Committee on Pensions, 2339.

S. 3840—Granting an increase of pension to Lilla May Pavy.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Pensions, 2339.

S. 3841—To provide for the segregation and proper care of the men of the United States Army and Navy afflicted with mental and nervous maladies.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Military Affairs, 2339.

S. 3842—Granting a pension to Anna Mansfield Sherman.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Pensions, 2339.

S. 3843—To regulate the employment of minors within the District of Columbia.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2386.

S. 3844—To provide for discontinuing the purchase and sale of grain by the Government, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2386.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 414), 2486.—Debated, 2883–2898.

S. 3845—To provide for increasing the number of cadets at the United States Military Academy.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Military Affairs, 2386.

S. 3846—Authorizing the adjustment of the boundaries of the Olympic National Forest, in the State of Washington, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2386.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 2487.

S. 3847—Granting an increase of pension to John Howard.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 2386.

S. 3848—Authorizing the Pitt River and the Apwaraki Tribes or Bands of Indians of California to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2386.

S. 3849—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the vocational rehabilitation and return to civil employment of disabled persons discharged from the military or naval forces of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 27, 1918.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Education and Labor, 2428.

S. 3850—Providing for the adoption of a municipal flag and floral emblem for the government of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2428.

S. 3851—To prohibit the payment of gratuities to the masters of vessels, or other persons, for the purpose of inducing or securing contracts for repairing vessels or furnishing vessels with supplies or other necessaries.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Commerce, 2428.

S. 3852—For the relief of the Garden City (Kansas) Water Users' Association, and for other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 2428.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 613), 7396.—Amended and passed Senate, 7396.—Taken from Speaker's table, 8570.—Passed House, 8572.—Examined and signed, 8620, 8662.

S. 3853—Granting a pension to Alphonso Penley.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 2428.

S. 3854—Granting a pension to Hallie N. Day.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Pensions, 2428.

S. 3855—For the relief of Mamie Millender.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Claims, 2428.

S. 3856—For the relief of Francis L. Flanders.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Claims, 2428.

S. 3857—Granting a pension to Oliver H. P. Harvey.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Pensions, 2428.

S. 3858—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Howell.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Pensions, 2428.

S. 3859—Granting an increase of pension to James T. Piggott.
Mr. Elkins; Committee on Pensions, 2428.

S. 3860—For the relief of James Kernan.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Military Affairs, 2428.

S. 3861—Granting a pension to Alois Menzel.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Pensions, 2428.

S. 3862—Granting a pension to James McManus.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Pensions, 2428.

S. 3863—Granting a pension to Martha E. Hawes.
Mr. Beckham; Committee on Pensions, 2428.

S. 3864—To amend the naturalization laws to provide for the Americanization of aliens, and for other purposes.
Mr. King; Committee on Immigration, 2428.

S. 3865—Providing for the men and officers in the Russian Railway Service Corps the status of enlisted men and officers of the United States Army when discharged.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 2495.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 637), 7783.—Amended and passed Senate, 8075.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 8281.

S. 3866—To provide for the control of the floods of the Atchafalaya, Red, and Black Rivers, La., and to protect their basins from the flood waters of the Mississippi River, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Commerce, 2495.

S. 3867—Authorizing the State of New Mexico to apply the proceeds of the grant to said State of 1,000,000 acres of land made by section 7 of the enabling act, June 20, 1910, for the reimbursement of Grant County, Luna County, Santa Fe County, and the town of Silver City, N. Mex.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Public Lands, 2495.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 480), 4375.—Amended and passed Senate, 4691.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 4771.—Reported back (H. Rept. 842), 5762.—Debated, 6464, 8045.—Passed House, 8046.—Examined and signed, 8281, 8305.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 247], 8620.

S. 3868—To prevent hoarding and deterioration of, and deception with respect to, cold-storage foods; to regulate shipments of cold-storage foods in interstate and foreign commerce, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2495.

S. 3869—To incorporate the International Association of Rotary Clubs, and for other purposes.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on the Judiciary, 2495.

S. 3870—For the relief of the estate of Matthew C. Butler, jr., deceased.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Claims, 2495.

S. 3871—To amend section 4 of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and for other purposes," approved July 2, 1918.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 2495.

S. 3872—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander Wilson.
Mr. Nugent; Committee on Pensions, 2495.

S. 3873—Granting a pension to A. J. Henderson.
Mr. Nugent; Committee on Pensions, 2495.

S. 3874—Granting an increase of pension to Martha Griggs.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Pensions, 2495.

S. 3875—To amend sections 5549 and 5550 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on the Judiciary, 2535.—Reported back (S. Rept. 423), 2688.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5175.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 5253.

S. 3876—To amend an act entitled "An act to promote the welfare of American seamen in the merchant marine of the United States; to abolish arrest and imprisonment as a penalty for desertion and to secure the abrogation of treaty provisions in relation thereto; and to promote safety at sea," approved Mar. 4, 1915.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Commerce, 2535.

S. 3877—To correct and amend the service and military record of Herbert Langley, United States Marine Corps.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Military Affairs, 2535.

S. 3878—To amend the revenue act of 1918 with respect to credits allowed for dependents.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Finance, 2536.

S. 3879—To further amend section 10 of the act entitled "An act making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Military Affairs, 2536.

S. 3880—For the relief of Mrs. Anne C. Shymer.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 2536.

S. 3881—For the relief of Martha E. Conklin.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 2536.

S. 3882—Providing for the recording of mortgages on vessels and notation thereof on certificates of registry or enrollment and license; creating jurisdiction in the district courts of the United States for the foreclosure of mortgages so recorded and noted, and providing procedure in connection therewith; also providing for maritime liens upon vessels for necessaries, etc., and their enforcement and subordinating the same to the liens of mortgages; repealing all conflicting acts; and for other such purposes.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Commerce, 2536.

S. 3883—For the relief of the King Coal Co., of San Francisco, Calif.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Claims, 2536.—Reported back (S. Rept. 476), 4375.—Indefinitely postponed (see H. R. 6077), 5232.

S. 3884—To amend the Federal reserve act and to enlarge the powers of Federal reserve banks and member banks.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2625.

S. 3885—Authorizing the adjustment of the boundaries of the Ochoco National Forest, in the State of Oregon, and for other purposes.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2625.

S. 3886—For the relief of the heirs of Henry Sturm, deceased.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Claims, 2625.

S. 3887—For the relief of Stephen Olop.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Claims, 2625.

S. 3888—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Shoemaker.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 2625.

S. 3889—Granting a pension to Watson D. Smith.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 2625.

S. 3890—Authorizing the acquisition of a site for the United States Department of State.
Mr. Wolcott; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2625.

S. 3891—Granting a pension to Anna J. Atlee.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2688.

S. 3892—For the relief of Alfred B. Andrews.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Claims, 2688.

S. 3893—Granting a pension to Joseph W. Songer.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2688.

S. 3894—Granting a pension to Ada N. Gahm.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2688.

S. 3895—Authorizing the granting of certain irrigation easements in the Yellowstone National Park, and for other purposes.
Mr. Nugent; Committee on Public Lands, 2688.—Reported back (S. Rept. 500), 5155.—Passed Senate, 5234, 5235.—Referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 5880.

S. 3896—For the retirement of Frank Schoble, jr., and Raymond D. Day, first lieutenants in the United States Army.
Mr. France; Committee on Military Affairs, 2688.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 505), 5155.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5236.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 5307.

S. 3897—To amend section 16 of the act of Congress approved July 17, 1916, known as the Federal farm-loan act.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2688.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 574), 6494.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 6618, 6619.—Taken from the Speaker's table, 7489.—Debated and passed House, 7489, 7490.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 232], 8051.

S. 3898—Authorizing the Klamath Tribe of Indians to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2742.

S. 3899—To appropriate $5,000,000 for the purchase of seed grain and feed for live stock, to be supplied to farmers and stockmen in the drought-stricken areas of the United States; said amount to be expended under rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2742.

S. 3900—Authorizing the adjustment of the boundaries of the Ochoco National Forest, in the State of Oregon, and for other purposes.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Public Lands, 2742.

S. 3901—For the allotment of lands on the Klamath Indian Reservation, in the State of Oregon, among the members of the allied tribes occupying the said reservation, and composed of the Klamath and Modoc Tribes and the Yahooskin Bands of Piute Indians, and for other purposes.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2742.

S. 3902—Granting a pension to Joseph R. Owens.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Pensions, 2742.

S. 3903—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide revenue, and for other purposes," approved Feb. 24, 1919.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Finance, 2742.

S. 3904—To amend the revenue act of 1918 with respect to yachts and pleasure boats.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Finance, 2824.

S. 3905—Granting a pension to Anna M. Falls.
Mr. Phipps; Committee on Pensions, 2824.

S. 3906—Granting a pension to Margaret I. Paulsen.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 2824.

S. 3907—Granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Fuller.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 2824.

S. 3908—To amend section 1 of the act entitled "An act permitting any person who has served in the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps in the present war to retain his uniform and personal equipment, and to wear the same under certain conditions," approved Feb. 28, 1919.
Mr. New; Committee on Military Affairs, 2824.—Reported with amndment (S. Rept. 508), 5227.—Amended and passed Senate, 5238.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 5307.

S. 3909—To amend section 6 of the Federal aid road act.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 2824.

S. 3910—To investigate the claims of and to enroll certain persons, if entitled, with the Omaha Tribe of Indians.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2899.

S. 3911—To repeal section 7 of an act entitled "An act making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 6, 1917 (40 Stats., p. 383).
Mr. Nelson; Committee on the Judiciary, 2899.—Committee on the Judiciary discharged and referred to Committee on Appropriations, 3387.

S. 3912—Granting a pension to William A. Walsh.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 2899.

S. 3913—For the relief of the estate of George W. Clayton.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Claims, 2935.

S. 3914—Granting an increase of pension to Walter F. Davidson.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 2935.

S. 3915—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Pfaff.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 2935.

S. 3916—Granting a pension to William J. Cecil.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 2935.

S. 3917—Granting a pension to Maria C. Vance.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Pensions, 2935.

S. 3918—Granting a pension to Hannah J. Grove.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Pensions, 2935.

S. 3919—To correct the military record of William B. Johns.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Military Affairs, 2935.

S. 3920—Granting a pension to Nathan L. Smith.
Mr. Beckham; Committee on Pensions, 2935.

S. 3921—Granting a pension to Mary E. Reynolds.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Pensions, 2935.

S. 3922—For the relief of Glidden & Hobbs, contractors.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 2935.

S. 3923—Granting an increase of pension to William West.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2935.

S. 3924—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Ogden.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2935.

S. 3925—Granting a pension to Emma Braunlich.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2935.

S. 3926—Granting a pension to Mary Frankenberger.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2935.

S. 3927—Granting an increase of pension to Peter Vandyke.
Mr. Elkins; Committee on Pensions, 2935.

S. 3928—Relating to the ships acquired from Germany, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Commerce, 2986.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 430), 3224.

S. 3929—Permitting all members of the Officers' Reserve Corps of the Army, Regular Army Reserve, Naval Reserve Force, and United States Marine Reserve Corps to purchase supplies from the commissary stores of the Army and Navy.
Mr. Nugent; Committee on Military Affairs, 2986.

S. 3930—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Fulton, Callaway County, Mo., a captured German supergun.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Military Affairs, 2986.

S. 3931—Granting an increase of pension to Frank G. Vallereux.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 3042.

S. 3932—Granting a pension to Rose Mercer.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 3042.

S. 3933—To amend paragraph 10 of section 9 of the Federal reserve act approved Dec. 23, 1913.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3043.

S. 3934—To amend paragraph 10 of section 9 of the Federal reserve act approved Dec. 23, 1913.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3043.

S. 3935—For the relief of certain estates.
Mr. Gay; Committee on Claims, 3042.

S. 3936—Granting an increase of pension to James A. Keefer.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 3042.

S. 3937—For the enforcement of the national prohibition act by establishing and maintaining Government warehouses, and for other purposes.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Finance, 3108, 3109.

S. 3938—For the relief of Annie H. Martin.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Claims, 3110.

S. 3939—For the relief of Milton B. Hofman.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 3110.

S. 3940—Granting a pension to Anna W. Udell.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 3110.

S. 3941—For the relief of the owners of the dredge Maryland.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Claims, 3110.—Reported back (S. Rept. 477), 4375.—Amended and passed Senate, 5232.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 5307.

S. 3942—To encourage the development of the agricultural resources of the United States through Federal and State cooperation, giving preference in the matter of employment and the establishment of rural homes to those who have served with the military and naval forces.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3110.—Committee on Banking and Currency discharged and bill referred to Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 3937.

S. 3943—To establish the standard and decimal divisions of the weights, measures, and coins of the United States.
Mr. King; Committee on Standards, Weights, and Measures, 3161.

S. 3944—To create a Federal Live Stock Commission, to define its powers and duties, and to stimulate the production, sale, and distribution of live stock and live-stock products, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gronna, from the Committee on Agriculture (S. Rept. 429), 3161.—Debated, 7398–7407, 7408, 7459–7466, 7781–7783, 8633, 8634.

S. 3945—Relating to married women intermarried with aliens.
Mr. Knox; Committee on the Judiciary, 3227.

S. 3946—To establish and maintain a forest experiment station in the State of Florida.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 3227.

S. 3947—Legalizing conveyances made by the Southern Pacific Railroad Co.
Mr. Johnson of California; Committee on the Judiciary, 3227.

S. 3948—For the relief of the estate of John Scowcroft.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Claims, 3227.

S. 3949—For the relief of the estates of Helen P. Carson, deceased, and Elizabeth Campbell, deceased.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Claims, 3227.

S. 3950—To provide for the promotion of physical education in the United States through cooperation with the States in the preparation and payment of supervisors and teachers of physical education, including medical examiners and school nurses, to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure, and for other purposes.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Education and Labor, 3326.

S. 3951—Granting a pension to Mary S. Wilkins.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 3326.

S. 3952—To provide for the erection of a public building at Charleston, in the State of Missouri.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3326.

S. 3953—For the relief of certain estates.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Claims, 3326.

S. 3954—Providing for the refund of duties collected on flax-preparatory machines, parts, and accessories imported subsequently to Aug. 5, 1909, and prior to Jan. 1, 1911.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Finance, 3326.

S. 3955—For the relief of certain estates.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Claims, 3388.

S. 3956—To facilitate commerce by prescribing overtime rates to be paid by transportation lines for inspection of arriving passengers and crews.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Commerce, 3388.

S. 3957—To amend the proviso in paragraph 10 of section 9 of the act of June 21, 1917, amending the Federal reserve act.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3388.

S. 3958—To amend section 14 of the Federal reserve act.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3388.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 457), 3610.—Debated, 4723, 4993.—Indefinitely postponed (see H. R. 12711), 5159–5162.

S. 3959—To incorporate the National Board of Medical Examiners of the United States of America.
Mr. Kellogg; Committee on the Judiciary, 3388.

S. 3960—For the relief of Ellen Clifford.
Mr. Trammell; Committee on Claims, 3388.

S. 3961—Granting an increase of pension to W. H. Coulter.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 3388.

S. 3962—Granting an increase of pension to Lucius C. Runion.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 3388.

S. 3963—Granting an increase of pension to O. A. Rose.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 3388.

S. 3964—Granting a pension to Alois Menzel.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 3388.

S. 3965—To authorize advances to the reclamation fund and for the issue and disposal of certificates of indebtedness in reimbursement therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 3436.

S. 3966—For the relief of the estate of Jay A. Hubbell.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Claims, 3436.

S. 3967—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander Faries.
Mr. Wolcott; Committee on Pensions, 3436.

S. 3968—Authorizing the Commissioner of Navigation to cause the foreign-built steamers Hawk and Port Saunders to be documented as vessels of the United States for certain purposes.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Commerce, 3436.

S. 3969—To authorize the Secretary of the Navy to waive the age limit for admission to the United States Naval Academy.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3436.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 608), 7269.—Amended and passed Senate, 7794.—Referred to House Committee on Naval Affairs, 7920.

S. 3970—Prohibiting the transfer of ships of the United States to foreign registry, and for other purposes.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Commerce, 3487.

S. 3971—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii," approved Apr. 30, 1900, as amended by an act approved Mar. 3, 1905, and as further amended by an act approved Apr. 2, 1908, and as further amended by an act approved Mar. 3, 1909, and as further amended by an act approved May 27, 1910, by amending sections 26, 55, 66, 73, 80, 86, and 92 thereof and by adding two new sections thereto, to be known as sections 73a and 103a.
Mr. New; Committee on the Territories, 3487.

S. 3972—To authorize the temporary exchange of certain public lands for experiments in sheep growing, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 3487.

S. 3973—Granting a pension to Joseph Zittle.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 3487.

S. 3974—Granting an increase of pension to Harvey Day.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 3487.

S. 3975—Granting an increase of pension to John B. Ellis.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 3487.

S. 3976—Granting a pension to Samuel J. Houser.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 3487.

S. 3977—Granting a pension to Sarah Burford.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 3487.

S. 3978—Granting an increase of pension to Harriet V. M. Cavenaugh.
Mr. Ball; Committee on Pensions, 3553.

S. 3979—To reimburse Lieut. George D. Graham, dental surgeon, United States Army, for rent of quarters at Honolulu, Hawaii.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Claims, 3553.

S. 3980—Granting a pension to Walter A. Fleming.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 3553.

S. 3981—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Ellis.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 3553.

S. 3982—To appropriate additional sums for Federal aid in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 3553.

S. 3983—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Reilly.
Mr. Wolcott; Committee on Pensions, 3553.

S. 3984—For the relief of Hans Weideman.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Claims, 3553.

S. 3985—For the relief of Mary Frances Landry.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Claims, 3554.

S. 3986—To provide for the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Henryetta, Okla.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3554.

S. 3987—To authorize the acquisition of a site and the repairing and enlargement of a Federal building thereon at Okmulgee, Okla.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3554.

S. 3988—For the relief of the estate of I. G. Wickersham.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Claims, 3554.

S. 3989—Granting a pension to Anna Honeycutt.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 3554.

S. 3990—Placing Lieut. Col. Charles C. Teare, of the Judge Advocate General's Department, on the retired list and to retire him with the rank and pay of a lieutenant colonel on the retired list.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Military Affairs, 3610.

S. 3991—For the relief of Fred E. Jackson.
Mr. Henderson; Committee on Claims, 3610.

S. 3992—Authorizing the exchange of certain lands in the State of Nevada.
Mr. Henderson; Committee on Public Lands, 3610.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 589), 7084.—Amended and passed Senate, 7161.—Referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 7230.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1047), 7767.

S. 3993—For the relief of the heirs at law of Jacques Clamorgan.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Claims, 3610.

S. 3994—Validating certain applications for and entries of public lands, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 3610.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 504), 5155.—Amended and passed Senate, 5235, 5236.—Referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 5307.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1075), 8157.

S. 3995—Providing for the relinquishment of certain described property by the United States to the city and county of San Francisco, State of California.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3610.—Reported back (S. Rept. 468), 4210.—Passed Senate, 6449.—Referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 6552.—Reference changed to Public Buildings and Grounds, 7592.

S. 3996—To authorize the sale or lease of real estate or any interest therein acquired for the use of the Army since Apr. 6, 1917, and no longer needed therefor.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 3665.

S. 3997—For the relief of D. Beatrice Arline.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on Claims, 3665.

S. 3998—Authorizing any tribes or bands of Indians of California to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3665.—Reported back (S. Rept. 549), 6144.—Passed Senate, 7155, 7156.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 8664.

S. 3999—For the relief of certain estates.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Claims, 3732.

S. 4000—For the relief of certain estates.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Claims, 3732.

S. 4001—To provide for the election of the members of the board of education of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Education and Labor, 3732.—Committee on Education and Labor discharged, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, 5685.

S. 4002—To establish in the Department of Labor a bureau to be known as the Women's Bureau.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Education and Labor, 3732.—Reported with amendments, 5685.—Indefinitely postponed (see H. R. 13229), 6494.

S. 4003—Granting an increase of pension to James Dewey.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 3732.

S. 4004—To correct the military record of Joseph B. Forbes.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Military Affairs, 3732.

S. 4005—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of the Fore River Shipbuilding Co.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Claims, 3786.—Reported back (S. Rept. 658), 8464.

S. 4006—For the relief of certain estates.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Claims, 3786.

S. 4007—Authorizing the Secretary of War to enter into a contract with the borough of Tenafly, county of Bergen, and State of New Jersey, to share with that municipality the cost of grading and paving a portion of Hickory Avenue in said borough.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Military Affairs, 3786.

S. 4008—For the relief of certain estates.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Claims, 3787.

S. 4009—To incorporate the Roosevelt Memorial Association.
Mr. Kellogg; Committee on the Judiciary, 3787.

S. 4010—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to increase or decrease the compensation of certain officers and employees in the Customs Service as he may think advisable.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Commerce, 3787.

S. 4011—Authorizing the appointment of Paymaster T. De F. Harris as a pay inspector in the Navy.
Mr. Newberry; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3787.

S. 4012—To provide for the improvement of transportation by water to and from and within the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Commerce, 3787.

S. 4013—To amend the land-leasing act of Feb. 25, 1920.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Public Lands, 3865.

S. 4014—Authorizing the adjustment of the boundaries of the Olympic National Forest, in the State of Washington, and for other purposes.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 3865.

S. 4015—Authorizing the Secretary of War to grant to Lloyd E. Gandy, of Spokane, Wash., his heirs and assigns, the right to overflow certain lands on the Fort George Wright Military Reservation, at Spokane, Wash., on such terms and conditions with respect to improvements to be made on the present target range as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War, or in lieu of such improvements to be made on the present target range the Secretary of War may accept a conveyance to the United States of such other lands to be designated by the Secretary of War as may be deemed suitable for a target range in exchange for such overflow lands; that to facilitate the acquisition of the necessary additional lands the Secretary of War is authorized to condemn land necessary and suitable for target-range purposes, such condemnation to be at the expense of said Lloyd E. Gandy, grantee, his heirs and assigns.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 3865.

S. 4016—To establish a stationery office in the Department of the Treasury.
Mr. King; Committee on Appropriations, 3865.

S. 4017—To extend the powers of the Comptroller of the Treasury to create the office of accounts in the Department of the Treasury, and to provide for an annual budget of estimates and report of the fiscal operations of the Treasury.
Mr. King; Special Committee to Devise a Plan for a Budget System, 3865.

S. 4018—For the relief of Joseph P. Groux.
Mr. Gay; Committee on Commerce, 3906.

S. 4019—For the relief of certain estates.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Claims, 3906.

S. 4020—Granting an increase of pension to Susan W. Allison.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Pensions, 3937.

S. 4021—To provide for the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Cordell, Okla.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3937.

S. 4022—To provide for the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Elk City, Okla.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3937.

S. 4023—To provide for the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Clinton, Okla.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3937.

S. 4024—To provide for the reimbursement of actual expenses to officers of the Army, contract surgeons, and dental surgeons when traveling on duty without troops within the Territory of Alaska.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 3937.

S. 4025—For the relief of disbursing officers of the United States Army.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 3937.

S. 4026—Granting an increase of pension to James M. Millirons.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Pensions, 3937.

S. 4027—To enable the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to simplify the regulations under which exported property is exempt from the transportation tax, and to prevent discrimination against agricultural and other commodities transported to a port or place of export to supply foreign requirements.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Finance, 3937.

S. 4028—To amend section 10 of the act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved October 15, 1914, as amended.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 4000.

S. 4029—For releasing and quitclaiming all claims of the United States to the west 144 feet of arpent lot 79, old city of Pensacola, Escambia County, Fla.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Public Lands, 4000.

S. 4030—For releasing and quitclaiming all claims of the United States to lot 319 in the old city of Pensacola, situated on the south side of Garden Street, between Alcaniz and Tarragona Streets.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Public Lands, 4000.

S. 4031—To regulate interstate shipments of cotton and for other purposes.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 4000.

S. 4032—To amend section 4 of the act entitled "An act to provide for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States and establishing the Bureau of Naturalization," approved June 29, 1906, as amended, and section 2 of the act entitled "An act to amend the naturalization laws and to repeal certain sections of the Revised Statutes of the United States and other laws relating to naturalization, and for other purposes," approved May 9, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. King; Committee on Immigration, 4000.

S. 4033—To amend subdivision 15, schedule A, of Title XI of the revenue act of 1918.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Finance, 4000.

S. 4034—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Manwell.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 4000.

S. 4035—Regulating the practice of chiropractic in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on the District of Columbia, 4000.

S. 4036—Granting a pension to Mary E. Carter.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Pensions, 4000.

S. 4037—Granting an increase of pension to William L. Ronner.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Pensions, 4000.

S. 4038—To regulate the operation of and to foster the development of radio communications in the United States.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Naval Affairs (see S. Doc. 248), 4001.

S. 4039—To amend section 3 of the act of Congress of June 28, 1906, entitled "An act for the division of the lands and funds of the Osage Indians in Oklahoma, and for other purposes."
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4000.

S. 4040—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Merritt.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 4068.

S. 4041—Granting a pension to George Polleti.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Pensions, 4068.

S. 4042—Granting an increase of pension to Grant H. Hill.
Mr. Elkins; Committee on Pensions, 4068.

S. 4043—Granting an increase of pension to Otto H. Michaelson.
Mr. Elkins; Committee on Pensions, 4068.

S. 4044—To retire officers of the Regular Army who served with credit during the war with Germany at highest rank held by them.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Military Affairs, 4068.

S. 4045—Granting an increase of pension to Ada Johnston Cowles.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4112.

S. 4046—To cancel an allotment made to Mary Crane, deceased, embracing lands on the Winnebago Reservation in Nebraska.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4112.—Reported back (S. Rept. 536), 5967.—Passed Senate, 6455.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 6552.

S. 4047—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to make an allotment to Pessa, a member of the Comanche Tribe of Indians in Oklahoma.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4112.—Reported back (S. Rept. 537), 5967.—Passed Senate, 6455.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 6552.

S. 4048—To authorize allotments of lands to Indians of the Menominee Reservation in Wisconsin, and for other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4112.

S. 4049—For the relief of Marshall M. Grabosch.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 4112.

S. 4050—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Huckins.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 4112.

S. 4051—Granting a pension to George R. Carver.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 4112.

S. 4052—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921," approved Feb. 14, 1920.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4160.

S. 4053—Restricting the sale of tickets and number of admissions to theaters, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 4160.

S. 4054—For the relief of certain tribes and nations of Indians in the State of Montana.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4160.

S. 4055—To amend an act entitled "An act to parole United States prisoners, and for other purposes," approved June 25, 1910, as amended by an act approved Jan. 23, 1913.
Mr. Owen; Committee on the Judiciary, 4160.

S. 4056—For the relief of the Pacific Commissary Co.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Claims, 4160.

S. 4057—To authorize the Secretary of the Navy to remove the charge of desertion under certain conditions from the records of former members of the naval service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Page; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4160.—Reported back (S. Rept. 653), 8305.

S. 4058—For the relief of Emil Schneider.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Claims, 4160.

S. 4059—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph J. Waldron.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Pensions, 4160.

S. 4060—For the relief of J. B. McGhee.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Claims, 4160.

S. 4061—Granting an increase of pension to Edgar W. Lauck.
Mr. Elkins; Committee on Pensions, 4160.

S. 4062—Granting a pension to Tide Owens.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 4160.

S. 4063—Granting an increase of pension to John Ferriter.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 4210.

S. 4064—For the relief of the estate of C. C. Spiller, deceased.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Claims, 4210.

S. 4065—Granting an increase of pension to Ruth A. Day.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Pensions, 4210.

S. 4066—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah McIntire.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 4210.

S. 4067—Granting increase of pension to survivors of the War with Mexico, now on the pension roll, and granting increase of pension to widows of those who served in the War with Mexico, now on the pension roll.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Pensions, 4210.

S. 4068—Granting increase of pension to widows of those who served in the War with Great Britain of 1812 now on the pension roll.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Pensions, 4210.

S. 4069—For the relief of the owner of the steamship Urubambra.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Claims, 4210.

S. 4070—To establish and maintain the American School Army and to organize and equip the American Reserve Army.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Military Affairs, 4210.

S. 4071—To amend section 304 of the revenue act of 1918, approved February 24, 1919.
Mr. Henderson; Committee on Finance, 4261.

S. 4072—For the relief of George W. Willcox.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4261.

S. 4073—To authorize the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River near Kansas City.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Commerce, 4262.—Reported back (S. Rept. 518), 5587.—Passed Senate, 5587.—Taken from the Speaker's table and passed House, 5799.—Examined and signed, 5925, 5926.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 186], 6107.

S. 4074—To incorporate the American Women's Legion.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on the Judiciary, 4262.

S. 4075—Making appropriation to pay the R. S. Howard Co., of New York City, N. Y., its loss and damage incurred and suffered by it in complying with United States Navy commandeer order No. N–3255, dated June 18, 1918.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 4262.

S. 4076—To amend section 4404 of the Revised Statutes of the United States as amended by the act approved July 2, 1918, providing that the supervising inspectors of the Steamboat-Inspection Service be included under the classified civil service.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Commerce, 4375.—Reported back (S. Rept. 566), 6328.—Debated, 7157.

S. 4077—To amend the act entitled "An act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes," approved July 11, 1916.
Mr. Phipps; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 4375.

S. 4078—Granting an increase of pension to Jane M. Cowan.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 4375.

S. 4079—To correct the naval record of Poul Albert Jensen.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4376.

S. 4080—Granting an increase of pension to Henry H. Hurd.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 4376.

S. 4081—For the relief of certain estates.
Mr. France; Committee on Claims, 4376.

S. 4082—To amend section 4878 of the Revised Statutes as amended by the act of Mar. 3, 1897.
Mr. Beckham; Committee on the Judiciary, 4376.—Committee on the Judiciary discharged, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, 4722, 4723.—Reported back, 4845.—Passed Senate, 4845.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 4919.—Reported back (H. Rept. 794), 5273.—Debated and passed House, 5293, 5294.—Examined and signed, 5935, 5481.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 175], 5714.

S. 4083—Providing for the allotment of lands within the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation, Mont., and for other purposes.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4435.

S. 4084—To reimburse J. B. Glanville and others for losses and damages sustained by them through the negligent dipping of tick-infested cattle by the Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 4435.

S. 4085—For the relief of G. T. and W. B. Hastings, partners, trading as Hastings Bros.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Claims, 4435.

S. 4086—To amend section 304 of the revenue act of 1918, approved Feb. 24, 1919.
Mr. Henderson; Committee on Finance, 4435.

S. 4087—To further amend the interstate-commerce act as amended.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 4439.—Debated, 4435–4439.

S. 4088—To terminate Federal control of the coal and coke industry, and for other purposes.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 4439.—Debated, 4435–4439.

S. 4089—To provide for the appointment of a Federal coal commissioner, to define his powers and duties, and for other purposes.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 4439.—Debated, 4435–4439.

S. 4090—Repealing certain powers of the President in respect to fuel.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 4435.

S. 4091—For the relief of the estate of Alfred Ray.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Claims, 4435.

S. 4092—For the relief of the estate of Isabelle Thomson.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Claims, 4567.

S. 4093—For the relief of Fannie E. Turner.
Mr. Henderson; Committee on Claims, 4567.

S. 4094—Granting a pension to Lacy Ladd.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 4567.

S. 4095—Granting an increase of pension to Mahala P. Berry.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 4567.

S. 4096—For the relief of the Vindal Co. (Inc.).
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 4567.

S. 4097—Granting a pension to Deborah J. Harris.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Pensions, 4567.

S. 4098—Granting a pension to Anton Merk.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Pensions, 4567.

S. 4099—Granting an increase of pension to Milo D. Heath.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Pensions, 4567.

S. 4100—Granting an increase of pension to Anne Gertrude Robinson.
Mr. Glass; Committee on Pensions, 4567.

S. 4101—To pension survivors of certain Indian wars, disturbances, and campaigns from Jan. 1, 1859, to Jan. 1, 1891.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Pensions, 4567.

S. 4102—Granting an increase of pension to Peter Noblet.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Pensions, 4567.

S. 4103—Granting a pension to Frank Dixon.
Mr. Johnson of California; Committee on Pensions, 4567.

S. 4104—Granting a pension to Angeline M. Preston.
Mr. Johnson of California; Committee on Pensions, 4567.

S. 4105—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Allison.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 4567.

S. 4106—To provide for the classification of civilian positions within the District of Columbia and the standardization of compensation therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Appropriations, 4676.

S. 4107—To authorize interstate cooperative associations.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 4673.

S. 4108—Enabling members of Naval Reserve Force to secure honorable discharges.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4673.

S. 4109—For the appointment of William Edward Tidwell as first lieutenant in the United States Army.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4673.

S. 4110—To provide for the award of a medal of merit to the personnel of the merchant marine of the United States of America.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Commerce, 4674.

S. 4111—To reimburse the State of Wisconsin for expenses incurred in mobilizing, recruiting, mustering, and subsistence of troops in the war against Germany.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Military Affairs, 4673.

S. 4112—To provide for the development of traffic for the Government railroad in Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. New; Committee on Territories, 4673.

S. 4113—To provide for the administration of national property and interests in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. New; Committee on Territories, 4673.

S. 4114—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Wilkinson.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 4673.

S. 4115—Granting an increase of pension to Charles M. Gregory.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 4673.

S. 4116—For the relief of Elizabeth R. Nicholls and Joanna L. Nicholls, heirs of Joshua Nicholls, deceased.
Mr. Dial; Committee on Claims, 4673.

S. 4117—Referring the claim of the State of Rhode Island for expenses during the War with Spain to the Court of Claims for adjudication.
Mr. Colt; Committee on Claims, 4673.

S. 4118—To amend further the New Judicial Code.
Mr. Colt; Committee on the Judiciary, 4673.

S. 4119—To authorize an issue of bonds in exchange for bonds of the first, second, third, and fourth Liberty loan issues.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Finance, 4674.

S. 4120—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to grant further extension of time within which to make proof on desert-land entries.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 4674.

S. 4121—Relating to the relinquishment by and an allotment of land to Raymond T. Bonnin, a Yankton Sioux Indian.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4723.

S. 4122—For the relief of Ella M. Guedry.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Claims, 4723.

S. 4123—For the relief of Jesse C. Dennis and William Rhett Eleazer.
Mr. Smith of South Carolina; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 4776.

S. 4124—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Gray, jr.
Mr. Smith of South Carolina; Committee on Pensions, 4776.

S. 4125—For the relief of a certain estate.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 4776.

S. 4126—For the relief of Edward C. Roser.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 4776.

S. 4127—For the relief of certain estates.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Claims, 4776.

S. 4128—Granting a pension to John F. Flaherty.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Pensions, 4776.

S. 4129—To add certain lands to the Boise National Forest, Idaho.
Mr. Nugent; Committee on Public Lands, 4802.

S. 4130—For the relief of Lyn Lundquist.
Mr. Nugent; Committee on Public Lands, 4802.

S. 4131—To appropriate funds for the purchase of Zion National Park stamp-canceling dies.
Mr. King; Committee on Appropriations, 4802.

S. 4132—Granting an increase of pension to Richard Burnside.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 4802.

S. 4133—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the promotion of vocational education; to provide for cooperation with the States in the promotion of such education in agriculture and the trades and industries; to provide for cooperation with the States in the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects; and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure," approved Feb. 23, 1917.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Education and Labor, 4802.

S. 4134—To provide for publicity of contributions made for the purpose of influencing the election of delegates to national conventions at which candidates for President are to be selected.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Privileges and Elections, 4853.—Debated, 4853–4859.

S. 4135—To revise, amend, and codify the laws relating to publicity of contributions and expenditures made for the purpose of influencing the nomination and election of candidates for the offices of Senator and Representative in the Congress of the United States, extending the same to candidates for nomination and election to the offices of President and Vice President of the United States, limiting the amount which may be expended, providing for the publicity of campaign expenses, and for other purposes.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Privileges and Elections, 4859.

S. 4136—For the relief of certain estates.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Claims, 4845.

S. 4137—For the relief of Leonora M. Sorsby.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Foreign Relations, 4907.

S. 4138—For the relief of Mrs. William A. Erskine.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Claims, 4943.

S. 4139—Granting a pension to Harriet A. Savage.
Mr. Moses; Committee on Pensions, 4943.

S. 4140—To provide for the world-wide extension of education by the cooperation of national governments.
Mr. Keyes; Committee on Education and Labor, 4943.

S. 4141—To amend section 13 of article 8 of section 1624 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relative to the receipt on board a vessel of the Navy of goods, merchandise, or treasure for freight or safe-keeping.
Mr. Page; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4943.

S. 4142—Increasing the limit of cost for a Federal building at Shawnee, Okla.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 4943.

S. 4143—For the relief of Jessie M. White.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Claims, 4992.

S. 4144—Granting an increase of pension to James F. Smyers.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Pensions, 4992.

S. 4145—Granting an increase of pension to Ida M. Jackson.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 4992.

S. 4146—Granting a pension to John L. Miller.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 4992.

S. 4147—Granting a pension to Nels P. Nelson.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 4992.

S. 4148—Granting a pension to Michael Emmett Ureil, alias Charles Welsh.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 4992.

S. 4149—For the relief of Manda Smith, widow of Thomas Smith.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 4992.—Reference changed to Committee on Military Affairs, 5155.

S. 4150—Granting a pension to Fannie Howard.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 4992.

S. 4151—Granting a pension to Theodore Q. Whitted.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 4992.

S. 4152—Granting a pension to Maude McDonald.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 4992.

S. 4153—Granting a pension to George W. Stephens.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 4992.

S. 4154—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Vollmar.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 4992.

S. 4155—Granting an increase of pension to Ashley R. Williams.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 4992.

S. 4156—To amend section 10 of the act of Mar. 2, 1919, making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.
Mr. Stanley; Committee on Commerce, 4993.

S. 4157—To consolidate certain forest lands within the Humboldt National Forest, in the State of Nevada, and to add certain lands thereto, and for other purposes.
Mr. Henderson; Committee on Public Lands, 5031.

S. 4158—To provide for additions and extensions to the United States post office at Reno, Nev.
Mr. Henderson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5031.

S. 4159—For the relief of dispossessed allotted Indians of the Nisqually Reservation, Wash.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Indian Affairs, 5031.

S. 4160—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph W. Gay.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 5031.

S. 4161—Granting an increase of pension to Annie Van Ogle.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 5031.

S. 4162—Granting a pension to Ettie Serven.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Pensions, 5031.

S. 4163—To incorporate the Roosevelt Memorial Association.
Mr. Kellogg; Committee on the Judiciary, 5031.—Reported back, 5822.—Passed Senate, 5822.—Referred to House Committee on the District of Columbia, 5925.—Reported back, 7550.—Debated and passed House, 7550–7552.—Examined and signed, 7739, 7780.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 233], 8051.

S. 4164—Granting a pension to Florence G. Tuttle.
Mr. Kellogg; Committee on Pensions, 5031.

S. 4165—Granting an increase of pension to Philo S. Bartow.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 5031.

S. 4166—To provide for election contests in the Senate of the United States.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Privileges and Elections, 5080.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 515), 5385.

S. 4167—To extend the time for the completion of the municipal bridge approaches and extensions or additions thereto by the city of St. Louis within the States of Illinois and Missouri.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Commerce, 5080.—Reported back (S. Rept. 519), 5587.—Passed Senate, 5587.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5683.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1068), 8048.—Passed House, 8580, 8581.—Examined and signed, 8620, 8662.

S. 4168—To quiet title to certain tracts of land in the city of Walters, State of Oklahoma.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Public Lands, 5080.

S. 4169—To donate to the city of Glenside, Pa., two captured cannons or fieldpieces, carriages, and a suitable number of shells.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Military Affairs, 5080.

S. 4170—For the relief of certain estates.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Claims, 5080.

S. 4171—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Sibley McKibbin.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Pensions, 5080.

S. 4172—Granting a pension to Matilda A. Swift.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Pensions, 5080.

S. 4173—To amend section 69 of the act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1918.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 5080.—Reported back (S. Rept. 501), 5155.—Debated and passed Senate, 5155.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 5198.

S. 4174—Directing the remission of customs duties on certain War Department property.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Finance, 5080.

S. 4175—For the relief of Regina Schorr.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Claims, 5080.

S. 4176—For the relief of James W. Thompson.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Claims, 5080.

S. 4177—Granting an increase of pension to Dollie Cosens.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 5080.

S. 4178—Granting an increase of pension to Woodville G. Staubly.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 5080.

S. 4179—For the relief of Elizabeth A. Sites.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Military Affairs, 5130.

S. 4180—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Schoolfield, county of Pittsylvania, Va., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Military Affairs, 5130.

S. 4181—For the relief of George T. Larkin.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Claims, 5130.

S. 4182—For the relief of George T. Larkin.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Claims, 5130.

S. 4183—Granting a pension to John W. Jeffries.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 5130.

S. 4184—Granting an increase of pension to Calvin I. Newman.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 5130.

S. 4185—To permit the acquisition of land at the Leon Springs Military Reservation, Tex.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 5155.

S. 4186—To authorize the Broadwater Irrigation District, a Montana corporation, to construct a dam across the Missouri River.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; Committee on Commerce, 5155.

S. 4187—Providing for the transfer of the hull and boiler inspectors of the Willamette, Oreg., collection district from the fourth to the third class.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Commerce, 5155.

S. 4188—Granting a pension to Earle H. Philbrick.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 5172.

S. 4189—For the relief of the Gadsden Contracting Co.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Claims, 5172.

S. 4190—To acquire a site for a public building at Parsons, W. Va.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5173.

S. 4191—Granting a pension to James Wiley.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 5173.

S. 4192—Granting an increase of pension to Gilliam L. Craven.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 5227.

S. 4193—Granting a pension to Thomas C. Kessler.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 5227.

S. 4194—For the payment of certain soldiers' claims for back pay growing out of service in the Army of the United States, as reported by the Court of Claims.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Claims, 5227.

S. 4195—For the relief of George A. Bihler.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Military Affairs, 5274.

S. 4196—To provide relief to persons who owned wheat of the crop of 1917 before the announcement of the Food Administration price-fixing policy with respect thereto, and who sold such wheat after Aug. 11, 1917.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 5274.

S. 4197—To provide for loans to enable veterans of the war with Germany to attend educational institutions, and for other purposes.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Military Affairs. 5317.

S. 4198—For the relief of certain estates.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Claims, 5317.

S. 4199—For the relief of certain estates.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Claims, 5317.

S. 4200—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Winchester, Mass., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Military Affairs, 5317.

S. 4201—Granting a pension to Affie M. Crockett.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 5317.

S. 4202—Granting a pension to John H. Vogt.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 5317.

S. 4203—For the relief of the Cornwell Co.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Claims, 5317.

S. 4204—To prohibit interference with commerce.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 5529.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 644), 7873.

S. 4205—To amend section 4, chapter 1 of Title I of an act entitled "An act making further provision for a civil government for Alaska, and for other purposes," approved June 6, 1900, as heretofore amended by section 2 of an act entitled "An act to amend section 86 of an act to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii, to provide for additional judges, and for other judicial purposes," approved Mar. 3, 1909, and for other purposes.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on the Judiciary, 5529.—Reported with amendment (S. Rpt. 531), 5927.—Passed Senate, 6454.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 6552.—Reported back (H. Rept. 968), 6970.

S. 4206—To encourage the building of homes by providing for exemption from taxation of the income on mortgages on real estate.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Finance, 5529.

S. 4207—Granting an increase of pension to Michael A. Murphy.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 5529.

S. 4208—Granting a pension to Agnes G. Young.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 5529.

S. 4209—To grant the consent of Congress to the Elmer Red River Bridge Co. to construct a bridge across the Red River.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Commerce, 5529.

S. 4210—To prevent nterference with the operation of the instrumentalities of interstate or foreign commerce.
Mr. Edge; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 5592.

S. 4211—To fix compensation of officers of the National Army who incurred disability while in the service.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 5590.

S. 4212—To authorize the Central Railroad Co. of New Jersey to construct a bridge across the waters of the Delaware River, between the city of Easton, in the State of Pennsylvania, and the city of Phillipsburg, in the State of New Jersey.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Commerce, 5590.—Reported back (S. Rept. 578), 6618.—Passed Senate, 6618.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6737.—Reported back (H. Rept. 981), 7081.—Passed House, 4441.—Examined and signed, 8486, 8585.

S. 4213—Granting a pension to Leroy C. White.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 5590.

S. 4214—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent in fee simple to the University of Arizona, State of Arizona, of Tuscon, Ariz., for a certain described tract of land.
Mr. Smith of Arizona; Committee on Public Lands, 5590.

S. 4215—To provide for the punishment of certain persons who interfere with interstate railroad transportation.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 5590.

S. 4216—For the relief of Ferdinand A. Roy.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Military Affairs, 5645.

S. 4217—Granting a pension to John T. Clark.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 5645.

S. 4218—Granting a pension to Rhoda Button.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 5645.

S. 4219—Granting a pension to Raliegh H. Hamilton.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 5645.

S. 4220—Granting an increase of pension to Edward A. Ward.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 5645.

S. 4221—Granting an increase of pension to George Morrison.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 5645.

S. 4222—Granting a pension to Emilie Deetz.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 5645.

S. 4223—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Jacob Stewart.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Pensions, 5645.

S. 4224—For the relief of Sophie K. Stephens.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 5645.

S. 4225—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Streit.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 5685.

S. 4226—To authorize national banking associations to establish and maintain branches.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Banking and Currency, 5685.

S. 4227—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Hanes.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Pensions, 5685.

S. 4228—For the relief of Stanley Mitchell.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5685.

S. 4229—Granting an increase of pension to Kate M. Smith.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Pensions, 5713.

S. 4230—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Tanco, jr.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Pensions, 5713.

S. 4231—For the relief of certain estates.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Claims, 5713.

S. 4232—Granting a pension to Neil J. Devlin.
Mr. Walsh of Massachusetts; Committee on Pensions, 5713.

S. 4233—Granting a pension to Mary C. F. Warren.
Mr. Walsh of Massachusetts; Committee on Pensions, 5713.

S. 4234—Granting a pension to Gustav A. Schlott.
Mr. Walsh of Massachusetts; Committee on Pensions, 5713.

S. 4235—Granting a pension to Joshua H. Thomas.
Mr. Colt; Committee on Pensions, 5713.

S. 4236—Granting a pension to Charles Layton.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Pensions, 5713.

S. 4237—Providing for the coinage of a 7-cent piece and an 8-cent piece.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Banking and Currency, 5713.

S. 4238—Relating to street car fares in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on the District of Columbia, 5764.

S. 4239—Providing for the reclassification of the hull and boiler inspectors of the collection district comprising Portland, Oreg.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Commerce, 5764.

S. 4240—Granting an increase of pension to Byron Cuppernull.
Mr. Nugent; Committee on Pensions, 5764.

S. 4241—Granting a pension to Thomas B. Beall.
Mr. Nugent; Committee on Pensions, 5764.

S. 4242—Granting a pension to Delphine Chapin.
Mr. Nugent; Committee on Pensions, 5764.

S. 4243—To extend the provisions of the retirement law for the Lighthouse Service to include Joseph P. Groux, former keeper of Chefuncte River Range Light Station, La.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Commerce, 5764.

S. 4244—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to sell and patent to J. D. Calhoun, of Lincoln Parish, La., certain lands.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Public Lands, 5764.

S. 4245—Granting an increase of pension to James S. Pendergast.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 5764.

S. 4246—Granting a pension to William B. Lewis.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 5764.

S. 4247—Granting a pension to Edgar L. Thompson.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 5764.

S. 4248—For the purchase of land occupied by experiment vineyards near Fresno and Oakville, Calif.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 5822.

S. 4249—For the relief of Patrick McNamee.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5822.

S. 4250—For the relief of John B. Elliott.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Claims, 5822.—Reported back (S. Rept. 619), 7396.—Debated and passed Senate, 7796.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 7920.

S. 4251—To correct the military record of Samuel C. Rowe.
Mr. Moses; Committee on Military Affairs, 5822.

S. 4252—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Elliott.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 5822.

S. 4253—Granting a pension to Amelia Xandry.
Mr. Wolcott; Committee on Pensions, 5822.

S. 4254—To amend section 5 of the act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved Feb. 4, 1887, as amended.
Mr. Kellogg; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 5883.

S. 4255—Establishing the liability of hotel proprietors and innkeepers in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Calder; Committee on the District of Columbia, 5883.

S. 4256—To amend sections 3 and 6 of the act of July 11, 1916, entitled "An act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes," as amended by sections 5 and 6 of the act of Feb. 28, 1919, entitled "An act making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and for other purposes."
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 5883.

S. 4257—Granting a pension to Leonora Forney.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Pensions, 5883.

S. 4258—Granting a pension to James Black.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 5927.

S. 4259—To provide further for the relief of war minerals producers, and to amend an act entitled "An act to provide relief in cases of contracts connected with the prosecution of the war, and for other purposes," approved Feb. 2, 1919.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Mines and Mining, 5927.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 639), 7769.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 7963.—Referred to House Committee on Mines and Mining, 8042.

S. 4260—For the relief of the Acme Die Casting Corporation, of New York City, N. Y.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 5927.

S. 4261—For the relief of the Sirio Match Co., of New York City, N. Y.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 5927.

S. 4262—For the relief of Fairbanks, Morse & Co., of New York City, N. Y.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 5927.

S. 4263—For the relief of the Thermal Syndicate (Ltd.), of New York City, N. Y.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 5927.

S. 4264—For the relief of the Drapery Hardware Co., of New York City, N. Y.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 5927.

S. 4265—For the relief of Charles B. Chrystal.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 5927.

S. 4266—For the relief of the William Wrigley, jr., Co. (Inc.), of New York City, N. Y.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 5927.

S. 4267—Creating a commission on the racial question.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on the Judiciary, 5927.—Debated, 7481.

S. 4268—Granting a pension to Theodosia Benner.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Pensions, 5927.

S. 4269—For the relief of Orlando O. Allen.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Military Affairs, 5927.

S. 4270—For the relief of J. H. Orr.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Claims, 5927.

S. 4271—To reimburse D. H. Carpenter, postmaster at Seddon, Ala., for money and stamps stolen from said post office at Seddon, Ala., and repaid by him to the Post Office Department.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Claims, 5927.

S. 4272—To confirm the right, title, and interest of the Peoples Investment Co. (Inc.), of the State of Louisiana, in certain lands.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Public Lands, 5927.

S. 4273—To amend an act entitled "An act to amend section 1, chapter 209, of the United States Statutes at Large, volume 27, entitled 'An act providing when plaintiff may sue as a poor person and when counsel shall be assigned by the court,' and to provide for the prosecution of writs of error and appeals in forma pauperis, and for other purposes," approved June 25, 1919 (36 Stats., p. 866).
Mr. Nelson; Committee on the Judiciary, 5968.—Reported back (S. Rept. 546), 6119.—Debated and passed Senate, 7154, 7155.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 7230.

S. 4274—To provide for the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a Federal building at Ely, Nev.
Mr. Henderson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5968.

S. 4275—To protect certain wild animals in Humboldt National Forest in Nevada.
Mr. Henderson; Committee on Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game, 5968.

S. 4276—For the relief of Poul Albert Jensen.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5968.

S. 4277—For the relief of the Wisconsin Band of Pottawatomie Indians, and for other purposes.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Indian Affairs, 5968.

S. 4278—To further amend the interstate commerce act, as amended.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 5968.

S. 4279—To regulate grazing conditions on national forests.
Mr. King; Committee on Public Lands, 5968.

S. 4280—For the relief of Adela White.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Military Affairs, 6056.

S. 4281—Granting a pension to William G. Webber.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 6056.

S. 4282—To increase the pensions of certain persons who were disabled in the line of duty, and for other purposes.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Pensions, 6056.

S. 4283—Granting a pension to Mary C. Reeves.
Mr. Kirby; Committee on Pensions, 6056.

S. 4284—To correct the military record of Alfred Clark.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Military Affairs, 6056.

S. 4285—Requiring the branding of the manufacturer's selling price on shoes transported in interstate commerce, and for other purposes.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Manufactures, 6106.

S. 4286—To amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the incorporated town of Petersburg, Alaska, to issue bonds in any sum not exceeding $75,000 for the purpose of constructing and installing a municipal electric light and power plant and for the construction of a public-school building," approved Sept. 29, 1919.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Territories, 6106.—Reported without amendment, 6443.—Passed Senate, 6502, 6503.—Referred to House Committee on the Territories, 6615.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1013), 7384.—Passed House, 8458.—Examined and signed, 8486, 8585.

S. 4287—For the relief of James M. Kelly.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 6119.

S. 4288—Granting an increase of pension to Elevse Fightner.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 6119.

S. 4289—Granting a pension to Thomas George Maginnis.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 6119.

S. 4290—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph E. Burkhart.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 6119.

S. 4291—Granting an increase of pension to Abram Robinson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 6119.

S. 4292—Granting a pension to Clint T. Littlefield.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 6119.

S. 4293—Granting a pension to Margaret Howell Butler.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 6119.

S. 4294—Granting an increase of pension to Robert O. Dunn.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 6119.

S. 4295—Granting an increase of pension to Delia B. Zell.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 6119.

S. 4296—To confer upon the Territorial courts of the Territory of Hawaii jurisdiction concurrent with the United States courts of that district of all offenses under the act of Oct. 28, 1919, known as the national prohibition enforcement act.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on the Judiciary, 6147.—Reported back (S. Rept. 640), 7789.—Passed Senate, 7790.—Referred to House Committee on the Territories, 7921.

S. 4297—Granting a pension to Lydia Roach.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Pensions, 6147.

S. 4298—Granting a pension to John Thomas Snodgrass.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 6147.

S. 4299—Granting a pension to Alice M. Petrie.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 6147.

S. 4300—For the relief of P. Delany & Co.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 6147.

S. 4301—To prevent the unauthorized landing of submarine cables in the United States.
Mr. Kellogg; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 6203.—Debated, 6203.

S. 4302—To extend the provisions of the act of Feb. 8, 1887, as amended, to lands purchased for Indians.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Indian Affairs, 6202.

S. 4303—To provide for the storage of certain grain under Federal custody, the issue of receipts therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 6202.

S. 4304—For the relief of W. H. Overocker.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 6202.

S. 4305—To increase the pensions of widows of soldiers of the various Indian wars.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Pensions, 6202.

S. 4306—For the relief of the Wisconsin Ice & Coal Co., a Wisconsin corporation, for losses sustained by it through the erroneous rulings of the Federal Fuel Administrator.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Claims, 6202.

S. 4307—To release and remove the lien in favor of the United States, and of any officer or official thereof, on any distillery, still, vessel, fixture, and tool contained in any distillery, and the lot or tract of land on which any distillery may be situate, and any building thereon.
Mr. France; Committee on Finance, 6202.

S. 4308—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Edge.
Mr. France; Committee on Pensions, 6202.

S. 4309—Granting an increase of pension to Ellen M. Leary.
Mr. France; Committee on Pensions, 6202.

S. 4310—To amend an act entitled "The New Mexico enabling act."
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on the Judiciary, 6259.—Reported back (S. Rept. 630), 7510.—Passed Senate, 7798.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 7920.

S. 4311—To amend sections 216 and 223 of chapter 18 of the United States Statutes at Large, being the revenue act of 1918, approved Feb. 24, 1919.
Mr. Trammell; Committee on Finance, 6259.

S. 4312—Granting a pension to Ingwald Rugg.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 6259.

S. 4313—For the relief of Philip A. Hertz.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Pensions, 6259.

S. 4314—For the relief of the Gauley Mountain Coal Co.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Claims, 6259.

S. 4315—Providing for the termination of certain war legislation.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on the Judiciary, 6388.

S. 4316—To amend act of Congress approved June 30, 1913.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 6388.

S. 4317—Granting an increase of pension to Ralph S. Jordan.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 6389.

S. 4318—To extend the period for construction of Eagle Rock Reservoir under the act of Mar. 3, 1891.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Public Lands, 6389.

S. 4319—To further amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved Feb. 4, 1887, as amended.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 6389.

S. 4320—For the relief of Joseph D. McGarraugh.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Military Affairs, 6389.

S. 4321—Granting a pension to Millie S. Jones.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 6443.

S. 4322—For the relief of Philip A. Hertz.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Military Affairs, 6443.—Reported back, 8306.

S. 4323—To enforce the provisions of the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States with respect to the elective franchise.
Mr. Watson; Committee on the Judiciary, 6494.

S. 4324—For the relief of William C. Brown.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Military Affairs, 6494.—Reported back, 7557.—Passed Senate, 7799.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 7920.

S. 4325—Granting a pension to Henrietta M. Reeves.
Mr. Ball; Committee on Pensions, 6494.

S. 4326—For the relief of George F. Ramsey.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Claims, 6494.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 614), 7396.—Amended and passed Senate, 7795.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 7920.

S. 4327—For the relief of H. B. Banks.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Claims, 6494.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 615), 7396.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 7796.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 7920.

S. 4328—For the relief of Roach, Stansell, Lowrance Bros. & Co.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Claims, 6494.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 616), 7396.—Amended and passed Senate, 7796.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 7920.

S. 4329—Granting an increase of pension to Herbert S. Coheley.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Pensions, 6494.

S. 4330—To prohibit for the purpose of canning and export from Alaska fishing of salmon in the Yukon River, Alaska, its tributaries, and adjacent waters.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Territories, 6550.

S. 4331—For the relief of Robert F. Caudill.
Mr. Henderson; Committee on Claims, 6554.

S. 4332—To exchange the present Federal building and site at Gastonia, N. C., for a new site and building.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6555.—Reported back (S. Rept. 581), 6794.—Passed Senate, 7161.—Referred to House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7230.—Senate requests the House to return bill to Senate, 7270.—The Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds is discharged from further consideration of the request, and the request is concurred in, 7383.—Returned to House, and referred to Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7557, 7625.

S. 4333—For the relief of Moore L. Henry.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 6555.

S. 4334—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse R. Oastler.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 6555.

S. 4335—Granting a pension to Josephine Nickerson.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 6618.

S. 4336—To amend the interstate commerce act as amended.
Mr. Harrison; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 6618.

S. 4337—Providing for the deportation of aliens upon a second conviction for illegal traffic in narcotics.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Immigration, 6618.

S. 4338—For the retirement of Clarence Cappel.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Naval Affairs, 6618.

S. 4339—For the relief of Percy de Marets Betts.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Military Affairs, 6618.

S. 4340—Granting a pension to William G. Schwarz.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Pensions, 6618.

S. 4341—To amend the War Finance Corporation act.
Mr. France; Committee on Finance, 6618.

S. 4342—Fixing the compensation of the United States customs guards and night inspectors.
Mr. France; Committee on Commerce, 6618.

S. 4343—Making an appropriation for the purchase of property adjoining the Federal building at Salt Lake City, Utah.
Mr. King; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6618.

S. 4344—To authorize association of producers of agricultural products.
Mr. Capper; Committee on the Judiciary, 6671.

S. 4345—Granting a pension to Effie D. Hunter.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 6671.

S. 4346—Granting a pension to Arthur G. Reed.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 6671.

S. 4347—Granting a pension to Sue C. Tozier.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 6671.

S. 4348—Granting a pension to Elizabeth M. Englehardt.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 6671.

S. 4349—Granting a pension to James R. H. Daniels.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 6671.

S. 4350—Granting an increase of pension to Mattie B. Wintrode.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 6671.

S. 4351—Granting an increase of pension to Alva R. Blackmore.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 6671.

S. 4352—Authorizing the Indians residing on or belonging to the Turtle Mountain Reservation, N. Dak., to submit claims to the Court of Claims, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Indian Affairs, 6739.

S. 4353—To authorize the President to appoint Henry S. Kiersted a major in the Medical Corps of the Army of the United States on the retired list.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Military Affairs, 6739.

S. 4354—For the relief of Roach, Stansell, Lowrance Bros. & Co., of Memphis, Tenn.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Claims, 6739.

S. 4355—To provide for the acquisition of a site and the erection of a United States hospital in the State of Colorado.
Mr. Phipps; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6795.

S. 4356—Granting an increase of pension to Phoebe A. Rawles.
Mr. Ball; Committee on Pensions, 6795.

S. 4357—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to provide medical, surgical, and hospital services and supplies for discharged soldiers, sailors, marines, Army and Navy nurses (female and female), and for other purposes.
Mr. France; Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, 6795.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 651), 8161.

S. 4358—To provide allowances for mothers with children under 16 years of age dependent upon them for support in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on the District of Columbia, 6795.

S. 4359—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Princeton, in the State of West Virginia.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6795.

S. 4360—Granting a pension to Abraham Steward.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 6795.

S. 4361—To provide for the relief of certain officers of the Naval Reserve Force, and for other purposes.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 6844.—Reported back (S. Rept. 609), 7260.—Passed Senate, 7794.—Referred to House Committee on Naval Affairs, 7920.

S. 4362—To authorize the purchase of Federal farm loan bonds by the Secretary of the Treasury.
Mr. Harrison; Committee on Banking and Currency, 6844.

S. 4363—Repealing war-time legislation.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on the Judiciary, 6844.

S. 4364—Granting a pension to Oscar Miller.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Pensions, 6844.

S. 4365—For the relief of the Great Lakes Engineering Works.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 6844.

S. 4366—For the relief of Charles G. Griffa.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Military Affairs, 6844.

S. 4367—For the relief of Mrs. K. C. Higginbotham.
Mr. Trammell; Committee on Claims, 6895.

S. 4368—For the relief of Barry County, Mo.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Claims, 6895.

S. 4369—To create a division of mines and geology in the Department of the Interior.
Mr. Henderson; Committee on Mines and Mining, 6895.

S. 4370—Granting to Henry Cronin a commission as first lieutenant in the Army.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Military Affairs, 6895.

S. 4371—Granting a pension to William Bushey.
Mr. Newberry; Committee on Pensions, 6895.

S. 4372—To encourage the establishment of farms and suburban homes by veterans of the World War.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Public Lands, 6895.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 659), 8464.

S. 4373—To amend sections 207 and 210 of the transportation act, 1920.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 6979.—Reported without amendment, 6979.—Debated, 7162.—Passed Senate, 7791.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7920.

S. 4374—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Hargis.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Pensions, 6979.

S. 4375—For the relief of the Pawnee Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Claims, 6979.

S. 4376—Providing for the distribution of photographs of cemeteries in Europe in which American soldiers, sailors, and marines are buried to the next of kin of such persons.
Mr. Harrison; Committee on Military Affairs, 6979.

S. 4377—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Sandy Point Civic League, of Tettington, Va., one cannon or field-piece.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Military Affairs, 7030.

S. 4378—Conferring jurisdiction upon the United States Court for the Southern District of New York to hear and determine the claim of the owner of the French auxiliary bark Quevilly against the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 7030.

S. 4379—Granting a pension to Margaret L. Burns.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Pensions, 7030.

S. 4380—For the relief of Capt. C. Newton, jr.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Claims, 7030.

S. 4381—For the relief of certain officers in the Army of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 7030.

S. 4382—Granting an increase of pension to Cecilia McCullough.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 7030.

S. 4383—Granting an increase of pension to John P. Wright.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Pensions, 7030.

S. 4384—For the relief of William Casey.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Claims, 7030.

S. 4385—To amend the act entitled "An act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies," approved July 2, 1890.
Mr. King; Committee on the Judiciary, 7030.

S. 4386—To amend section 9 of the "Trading with the enemy act," approved Oct. 6, 1917, as amended.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on the Judiciary, 7085.

S. 4387—For the relief of Philias Cauchon and Zelia Cauchon.
Mr. Gerry; Committee on Claims, 7085.

S. 4388—To repeal certain war-time legislation, and for other purposes.
Mr. Reed; Committee on the Judiciary, 7085.

S. 4389—To repeal certain war-time legislation.
Mr. Reed; Committee on the Judiciary, 7085.

S. 4390—Repealing the act of May 20, 1918.
Mr. King; Committee on the Judiciary, 7103.

S. 4391—To repeal the act of Oct. 6, 1917.
Mr. King; Committee on the Judiciary, 7103.

S. 4392—To repeal the act of Oct. 6, 1917, relative to trading with the enemy.
Mr. King; Committee on the Judiciary, 7103.

S. 4393—Relating to fees to be allowed registers and receivers of United States land offices, providing for the abolishment of the office of receiver of public moneys of such land offices, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Public Lands, 7144.

S. 4394—Granting an increase of pension to William Genovar.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Pensions, 7144.

S. 4395—Granting an increase of pension to Josiah Roberts.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Pensions, 7144.

S. 4396—Authorizing the incorporation of the United States Oil Corporation.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Public Lands, 7144.

S. 4397—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. George Robinson.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Pensions, 7144.

S. 4398—For the relief of a certain estate.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Claims, 7144.

S. 4399—To authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to close certain streets, roads, or highways in the District of Columbia rendered useless or unnecessary by reason of the opening, extension, widening, or straightening of other streets, roads, or highways in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 7144.

S. 4400—To amend an act entitled "An act to incorporate the Masonic Mutual Relief Association of the District of Columbia," approved Mar. 3, 1869, as amended.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 7144.—Committee on the District of Columbia discharged, 7396.—Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, 7396.—Reported back (S. Rept. 631), 7510.—Passed Senate, 7798, 7799.—Referred to House Committee on the District of Columbia, 7921.

S. 4401—To authorize the widening of First Street NE., and for other purposes.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 7144.

S. 4402—Authorizing Troup County, Ga., to construct a bridge across the Chattahoochee River near West Point, Ga.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Commerce, 7190.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 626), 7511.—Amended and passed Senate, 7511.—Taken from Speaker's table, passed House, 8441.—Examined and signed, 8486, 8585.

S. 4403—To authorize the sale of a portion of the Copper Harbor Range Lighthouse Reservation, Michigan, to Houghton and Keweenaw Counties, Mich.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Commerce, 7190.

S. 4404—To provide for free tolls for American ships through the Panama Canal.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Interoceanic Canals, 7190.

S. 4405—To amend an act entitled "An act to create a juvenile court in and for the District of Columbia."
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 7190.

S. 4406—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the support and maintenance of bastards in the District of Columbia."
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 7190.

S. 4407—To amend an act entitled "An act making it a misdemeanor in the District of Columbia to abandon or willfully neglect to provide for the support and maintenance by any person of his wife or of his or her minor children in destitute or necessitous circumstances."
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 7190.

S. 4408—Granting a pension to Henry Hardy.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 7190.

S. 4409—Granting a pension to William G. Phelps.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 7190.

S. 4410—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the termination of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation; to provide for the settlement of disputes between carriers and their employees; to further amend an act entitled 'An act to regulate commerce,' approved Feb. 4, 1887, as amended, and for other purposes."
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 7190.

S. 4411—Granting the consent of Congress to the counties of Pembina, N. Dak., and Kittson, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Red River of the North, at or near the city of Pembina, N. Dak.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Commerce, 7270.—Reported back (S. Rept. 627), 7511.—Passed Senate, 7511.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7739.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1051), 7767.—Passed House, 7941, 7942.—Examined and signed, 8156, 8160.—Approved by the President (Public, No. 248), 8620.

S. 4412—Granting an increase of pension to William Walker.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 7270.

S. 4413—Granting an increase of pension to Otto N. Burge.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 7270.

S. 4414—Granting a pension to Georgia E. McKimmey.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pension, 7327.

S. 4415—To amend subdivision 3 of section 5 of the United States cotton-futures act, approved Aug. 11, 1916.
Mr. Comer; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 7327.

S. 4416—To amend paragraph 1, section 3, of an act entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 3, 1913.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Finance, 7327.

S. 4417—For the relief of the P. L. Andrews Corporation.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 7327.

S. 4418—Granting a pension to Walter B. Chase.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Pensions, 7327.

S. 4419—Providing for the extension of time for the reclamation of certain lands in the State of Oregon under the Carey Act.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Public Lands, 7327.

S. 4420—To prohibit the exportation of sugar, and for other purposes.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 7327.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 642), 7873.—Debated, 8491, 8492, 8629–8631.

S. 4421—Securing rights of way and easements over public land in connection with Federal irrigation projects.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 7327.

S. 4422—Granting an increase of pension to Durbin L. Badley.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Pensions, 7327.

S. 4423—Granting a pension to Ruben B. Hyder.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Pensions, 7327.

S. 4424—To prevent the devastation of forest lands, to perpetuate the forest resources of the United States, to avert the destruction of the lumber and wood using industries, and for other purposes.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 7327.

S. 4425—Remising, releasing, and quitclaiming to Thomas R. Burnham and Phillippa D. Burnham, husband and wife, all right, title, interest, or claim of the United States in and to the east half of the west half of arpent lot No. 81, in Pensacola, Fla.
Mr. Trammell; Committee on Public Lands, 7396.

S. 4426—For the relief of Henry W. Reddick.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Claims, 7396.

S. 4427—Granting the consent of Congress to the city of Columbus, in the State of Georgia, to construct a bridge across the Chattahoochee River.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Commerce, 7396.—Reported back (S. Rept. 628), 7510.—Passed Senate, 7511.—Taken from Speaker's table and passed House, 8441.—Examined and signed, 8486, 8585.

S. 4428—Authorizing the appointment of Ira Franklin Sproule as captain in the United States Army.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Military Affairs, 7396.

S. 4429—To legalize and ratify taxes imposed by the Philippine Legislature in section 1614 of the act No. 2657, approved Feb. 24, 1916.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Finance, 7396.

S. 4430—To amend section 115a of an act entitled "An act to establish a code of law for the District of Columbia," as amended.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 7396.

S. 4431—To authorize the construction of a bridge across the Rock River, in Lee County, State of Illinois, at or near the city of Dixon, in said county.
Mr. McCormick; Committee on Commerce, 7396.—Reported back (S. Rept. 629), 7510.—Passed Senate, 7510.—Taken from Speaker's table and passed House, 8016.—Examined and signed, 8160.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 249], 8620.

S. 4432—To provide for awarding decorations, devices, or insignia to the next of kin of deceased persons who would have been entitled to receive the same, and making it unlawful for anyone other than the person authorized to do so to wear such decoration, device, or insignia.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Military Affairs, 7397.—Reported back, 7960.

S. 4433—Granting certain lands to the State of Alabama for the use of the Insane Hospital for the Colored.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Public Lands, 7397.

S. 4434—For the relief of contributors of the Ellen M. Stone ransom fund.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Foreign Relations, 7459.—Reported without amendment and passed Senate, 8318.

S. 4435—To authorize officers of the naval service to accept offices with compensation and emoluments from Governments of the Republics of South America.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Naval Affairs, 7459.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 643), 7873.—Amended and passed Senate, 7963.—Referred to House Committee on Naval Affairs, 8042.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1082), 8157.—Passed House, 8580.—Examined and signed, 8620, 8662.

S. 4436—To amend the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Banking and Currency, 7459.—Reported back (S. Rept. 632), 7557.—Passed Senate, 7799.—Referred to House Committee on Banking and Currency, 7921.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1095), 8459.

S. 4437—For the relief of Max B. Baldenburg.
Mr. King; Committee on Military Affairs, 7511.

S. 4438—For the relief of Fred A. Davey.
Mr. King; Committee on Naval Affairs, 7511.

S. 4439—To regulate the sale of bonds, stocks, and other evidences of interest in or indebtedness of corporations or associations in interstate commerce, and to amend an act approved Oct. 15, 1914, entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes."
Mr. Capper; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 7511.

S. 4440—Providing for the allotment of lands within the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation, Mont., and for other purposes.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; Committee on Indian Affairs, 7558.

S. 4441—To authorize the purchase of site, preparation of plans and specifications, and the construction of building for use as a foreign branch station for the post office at New York, N. Y.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7558.

S. 4442—For the relief of Perley Morse & Co.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 7558.

S. 4443—For the relief of Morgan Miller.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Claims, 7558.

S. 4444—For the relief of Claude L. Seiler.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Claims, 7558.

S. 4445—To provide for the transfer of the steamship Martha Washington to Cosulich Societa Triestina di Navigazione, an Italian corporation of Trieste, and directing the United States Shipping Board to make delivery of the said steamship and to determine, award, and pay just compensation for use of the said steamship.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Foreign Relations, 7558.

S. 4446—Granting a pension to Alberta O. Mullen.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 7660.

S. 4447—Granting a pension to William R. Potter.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 7660.

S. 4448—Granting a pension to William H. Van Name.
Mr. Edge; Committee on Pensions, 7660.

S. 4449—To provide for the transfer of the Bureau of Fisheries from the Department of Commerce to the Department of Agriculture.
Mr. King; Committee on Commerce, 7660.

S. 4450—For the relief of Lewis W. Flaunlacher.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 7713.

S. 4451—For the relief of the estate of David Clark.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 7713.

S. 4452—To provide for the establishment of a probation system in the United States courts, except in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Calder; Committee on the Judiciary, 7713.

S. 4453—To abolish the returns office.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Finance, 7770.

S. 4454—Granting a pension to George T. Cooney.
Mr. Stanley; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 4455—Granting a pension to Charles C. Watson.
Mr. Stanley; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 4456—To create a commission on lynching.
Mr. McCormick; Committee on the Judiciary, 7770.

S. 4457—Providing for the adoption of the Montgomery Safety Dial on timepieces throughout the United States.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 7874.

S. 4458—Granting a pension to Lou Alice Clay.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 7874.

S. 4459—Granting a pension to Benjamin E. Reeder.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 7874.

S. 4460—Granting a pension to Sarah E. Sprague.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 7874.

S. 4461—Granting a pension to Miles C. Gilliland.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 7874.

S. 4462—Granting a pension to Daniel Boon Martin.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 7874.

S. 4463—Granting a pension to Lillian Bramun.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 7874.

S. 4464—Granting a pension to Lilly Ann Newberry.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 7874.

S. 4465—Granting a pension to James W. Murphy.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 7874.

S. 4466—Granting a pension to Cordelia Hazen.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 7874.

S. 4467—Granting a pension to Anthony Early.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 7874.

S. 4468—Granting a pension to Hannah E. Gron.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 7874.

S. 4469—To amend section 110 of an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916, and to establish military justice.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Military Affairs, 7874.

S. 4470—To regulate air navigation within the United States and its dependencies, and between the United States or any of its dependencies and any foreign country or its dependencies.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Commerce, 7874.

S. 4471—Granting a pension to Sarah Scrivens.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 7874.

S. 4472—To authorize loans on silver bullion, to regulate interstate shipments of ore containing silver, and for other purposes.
Mr. Henderson; Committee on Finance, 7960.

S. 4473—To revise and equalize rates of pension to the survivors of certain Indian wars, and for other purposes.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Pensions, 7960.

S. 4474—Granting an increase of pension to Delia Chagnon.
Mr. Walsh of Massachusetts; Committee on Pensions, 7960.

S. 4475—To reclassify postmasters and employees of the Postal Service and readjust their salaries and compensation on an equitable basis.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 7974.—Reported with amendments (see H. Rept. 1072; S. Doc. 284), 8194.—Debated, 8355.—House (see H. R. 14338), 8355.

S. 4476—To consolidate certain forest lands within the Fishlake National Forest, in the State of Utah, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 8074.

S. 4477—To incorporate Armenian relief.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Foreign Relations, 8074.

S. 4478—To create a bureau of aeronautics in the Department of the Navy.
Mr. Keyes; Committee on Naval Affairs, 8084.

S. 4479—Authorizing the Postmaster General to cancel or readjust the screen-wagon contract of Thomas A., Henry P., and Joseph F. Eagan, and the parcel post and collection wagon contract of the estate of Thomas Eagan.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 8161.

S. 4480—Granting a pension to Sadie Judith Tharp.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on Pensions, 8161.

S. 4481—To establish in the District of Columbia a Government bureau of supply, and for other purposes.
Mr. Frelinghuysne; Committee on Appropriations, 8162.

S. 4482—To provide for the addition of certain public lands to the Lewis and Clark National Forest in Montana.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 8162.

S. 4483—For the relief of the Lambert Transportation Co. (Inc.).
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Claims, 8162.

S. 4484—Granting an increase of pension to Mary B. Graham.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 8162.

S. 4485—To enlarge the area of lands authorized to be taken for the reclamation of the Anacostia River Flats.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on the Library, 8162.

S. 4486—For the adjudication by the Court of Claims of the claims of George Chorpenning under contracts with the United States for carrying the mails.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Claims, 8306.

S. 4487—To amend section 1 of the act entitled "An act to require apparatus and operators for radio communication on certain ocean steamers," approved June 24, 1910, as amended.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Commerce, 8306.

S. 4488—To promote the public health by providing for one day of rest in seven for employees in certain employments.
Mr. Calder; Committee on the District of Columbia, 8306.

S. 4489—To provide for the payment of taxes on certain property acquired by the United States by or under the provisions of war legislation, and for other purposes.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Commerce, 8306.

S. 4490—To provide for the payment of taxes on certain property acquired by the United States during the war with Germany, and for other purposes.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Commerce, 8306.

S. 4491—To provide for the payment of taxes to the city of Hoboken, N. J., on certain property acquired by the President, and for other purposes.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Commerce, 8306.

S. 4492—To authorize an issue of bonds to refund the national war debt.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Finance, 8306.

S. 4493—Granting an increase of pension to Anna O. D. Mickley.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 8306.

S. 4494—Extending the time in which appropriations to aid the States in the construction of rural post roads are available without reapportionment.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 8306.

S. 4495—Authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to use funds appropriated for the Bureau of Public Roads for employment or expenses of members and experts of engineering and scientific organizations.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 8306.

S. 4496—Establishing a commission to investigate conditions in foreign countries relative to the creation, expansion, or development of markets for products of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of South Carolina; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 8306.

S. 4497—To decrease the annual compensation of the President of the United States, and to grant him an annuity.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on Appropriations, 8306.

S. 4498—For the relief of Hannah Roberts.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Claims, 8306.

S. 4499—For the relief of Burt EauClaire.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Claims, 8306.

S. 4500—Granting a pension to Adelia Lusk.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 8306.

S. 4501—For the relief of certain estates.
Mr. Spencer; from Committee on Claims (S. 656), 8345.

S. 4502—Creating the District of Columbia insurance fund for the benefit of employees injured and the dependents of employees killed in hazardous employments, providing for the administration of such fund by the United States Employees' Compensation Commission, and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on the District of Columbia, 8464.

S. 4503—To amend section 12 of the Federal farm loan act.
Mr. Nugent; Committee on Banking and Currency, 8464.

S. 4504—To authorize an issue of bonds to refund the national war debt.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Finance, 8464.

S. 4505—For the relief of the heirs of James Taylor, deceased.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Claims, 8464.

S. 4506—For the relief of Mose Matos.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 8625.

S. 4507—For the relief of Jose Salazar.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 8625.

S. 4508—For the relief of Simon Florez Cruz.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 8625.

S. 4509—For the relief of Joseph Lago.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 8625.

S. 4510—To amend section 1180 of the Code of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Capper; Committee on the Judiciary, 8625.

S. 4511—Authorizing the Secretary of War to grant a right of way over certain Government lands to the State of Oregon for the Columbia River Highway.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Public Lands, 8625.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTIONS. 19–130

S. J. Res. 19—Authorizing the appointment of an international monetary exchange commission.
Mr. Thomas; debated, 2678–2687.—Committee on Foreign Relations discharged and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, 2824.

S. J. Res. 30—To permit of the disposition of certain lands in Montana ceded by the Crow Indians.
Mr. Myers; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 369), 1312.—Amended and passed Senate, 2347.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 2420.—Reported back (H. Rept. 787), 5129.

S. J. Res. 46—Extending until July 1, 1920, the effective date of section 10 of the act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 15, 1914.
Reference changed to Committee on the Judiciary, 858.

S. J. Res. 69—Appointing a commission to report on conditions in the Virgin Islands.
Reference changed to Committee on Rules, 1278.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 539), 1467.—Report submitted, 1509.—Amended and passed House, 1511.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 1521.—Reconsidered (see H. Con. Res. 46), 1559, 1563.

S. J. Res. 72—Authorizing the erection on public grounds in the city of Washington, D. C., of a memorial to employees of the United States Department of Agriculture who died in the war with Germany.
Mr. Fernald; reference changed to Committee on the Library, 2361.

S. J. Res. 76—For the investigation of influenza and allied diseases in order to determine their cause and methods of prevention.
Mr. Harding; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2042–2049.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2283.

S. J. Res. 98—To authorize the Secretary of War to grant revocable licenses for the removal of sand from the Fort Douglas Military Reservation for industrial purposes.
Mr. King; reported back with an amendment (S. Rept. 412), 2339.—Amended and passed Senate, 5174.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 5253.

S. J. Res. 102—To equalize the pay and allowances of commissioned officers, warrant officers, and enlisted men of the Coast Guard with those of the Navy.
Mr. Nelson; debated, 274.—Passed Senate, 1420, 1421.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1497.

S. J. Res. 124—Granting a bonus to enlisted men of the Philippine Scouts who have accepted or may accept their discharge in order to reenlist in said Philippine Scouts.
Mr. Wadsworth; reported back (S. Rept. 463), 3906.—Debated and passed Senate, 5182.—Referred to House Committee on Ways and Means, 5253.

S. J. Res. 128—Relating to schools and libraries at Army posts.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 37.—Reported back (S. Rept. 410), 2339.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5182.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 5253.

S. J. Res. 129—To provide for an inquiry into the laws governing elections in the several States of the Union.
Mr. Moses; Committee on the Judiciary, 37.

S. J. Res. 130—Proposing a plan for the adjustment of claims made by citizens of the United States for indemnification for losses suffered in Mexico not otherwise redressed.
Mr. King; Committee on Foreign Relations, 111.

S. J. Res. 131—Making immediately available the appropriation for the expenses of regulating further the entry of aliens into the United States.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Foreign Relations, 272.—Reported back, 357.—Debated and passed Senate, 357.—Debated, 837–839.—Amended and passed House, 839.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 861.—Examined and signed, 959, 1008.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 27], 1031.

S. J. Res. 132—Authorizing the President of the United States to employ the armed forces of the United States in conjunction with the forces of the allied and associated powers for the enforcement of the terms of peace accepted by Germany.
Mr. King; Committee on Foreign Relations, 272.

S. J. Res. 133—Creating a commission to report on the practicability of bringing to the United States the remains of American soldiers buried in France, and to mark and care for the graves of those whose remains it is not practicable to remove.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Military Affairs, 389.

S. J. Res. 134—To readmit Augusta Louise de Haven-Alten to the status and privileges of a citizen of the United States.
Mr. McCormick; Committee on Immigration, 438.—Reported back, 1361.—Debated and passed Senate, 1818.—Referred to House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 1925.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 619), 2790.—Debated, amended and passed House, 5106–5111.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 501.—Examined and signed, 5172, 5198.—Approved by the President [Private resolution No. 2], 5530.

S. J. Res. 135—Extending the time for filing final report of the Joint Commission on Reclassification of Salaries, created by section 9, public No. 314, Sixty-fifth Congress, approved Mar. 1, 1919, to a date not later than Mar. 12, 1920.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Appropriations, 438.—Reported back, 913.—Debated, 1095–1099.—Indefinitely postponed (see H. J. Res. 263), 1099.

S. J. Res. 136.—Declaring that a state of peace exists between the United States and Germany.
Mr. Knox; ordered to lie on the table, 544.—(See S. J. Res. 139.)

S. J. Res. 137—Authorizing the Secretary of War to construct a pontoon bridge across the Chattahoochee River at West Point, Ga., and for other purposes.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Military Affairs, 561.—Reported back, 561.—Passed Senate, 561.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 688.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 510), 859.—Passed House, 939.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 970.—Examined and signed, 974, 1011.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 25], 1031.

S. J. Res. 138—Authorizing the Secretary of War to furnish material, forces, and help for the construction of a pontoon bridge for temporary use across the Chattahoochee River at West Point, Ga.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on Military Affairs, 561.

S. J. Res. 139—Repealing the joint resolution of Apr. 6, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the United States and Germany.
Mr. Knox, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, 960.

S. J. Res. 140—Amending the Constitution of the United States so as to make citizenship a qualification to vote for Members of Congress.
Mr. Gore; Committee on the Judiciary, 1018.

S. J. Res. 141—To enable the Public Health Service to cooperate with States in the investigation and control of malaria in the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, 1158.

S. J. Res. 142—To authorize the construction of Army ordnance supply depots.
Mr. King; Committee on Appropriations, 1158.

S. J. Res. 143—Requiring the several departments of the Government to pay for advertising their business matters.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Military Affairs, 1312.

S. J. Res. 144—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on the Judiciary, 1815.—Debated, 1815.

S. J. Res. 145—Creating a joint commission of Congress to investigate respecting the health, compensation, and employment; and the advisability of legislation to promote the welfare of former soldiers, sailors, and marines in the service of the United States during the war with Germany.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Military Affairs, 1815.

S. J. Res. 146—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish the Senate certain detailed information secured from income and profits tax returns of taxable year 1918.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Finance, 1863.—Debated, 7397, 8539–8542, 8620–8624, 8632–8637.—Senate discharged the Committee on Finance from further consideration of the joint resolution, 8624.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 8637.—Referred to House Committee on Ways and Means, 8678.

S. J. Res. 147—To amend the Army appropriation act approved July 11, 1919.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Military Affairs, 1929.—Reported back, 1929.—Debated, 1983.—Passed Senate, 2301.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2361.

S. J. Res. 148—Authorizing the Department of Commerce to participate in the National Marine Exposition to be held in New York in April, 1920.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Commerce, 1929.—Reported back (S. Rept. 431), 3224.—Passed Senate, 3225.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3375.—Reported back (H. Rept. 771), 4905.—Debated and passed House, 5019, 5020.—Examined and signed, 5198, 5172.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 36], 5530.

S. J. Res. 149—Authorizing the erection in Potomac Park, in the city of Washington, D. C., of a memorial to those from the District of Columbia who served their country in the armed services of the United States in the Great War.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on the Library, 2039.

S. J. Res. 150—Making Feb. 12, Lincoln's birthday, a national holiday.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the Judiciary, 2182.

S. J. Res. 151—To permit the payment for certain lands whereon Army supply bases are situated.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Military Affairs, 2232.—Reported back (S. Rept. 408), 2300.

S. J. Res. 152—Authorizing the appointment of a commisison to confer with the Dominion Government or the Provincial Governments of Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick relative to the claims of the American interests now holding leases of Crown lands acquired prior to the passage of restrictive orders in council of the said Provinces.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Rules, 2341.—Reported back, 3436.—Debated, 3436–3438, 3560–3564, 9190.—Amended and passed Senate, 3564.—Referred to House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3709.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1039), 7711.—Amended and passed House, 8438–8440.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 8364.—Examined and signed, 8487, 8585.

S. J. Res. 153—Authorizing the Secretary of War to cause a preliminary examination and survey to be made of the Tualatin River.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Commerce, 2495.

S. J. Res. 154—Authorizing the Secretary of War, in his discretion, to turn over to the State of Kansas emergency hospital equipment to be used temporarily in emergency hospitals to be established in that State, and for other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 2536.—Reported without amendment, considered, and passed, 2536.—Taken from the Speaker's table, debated, and passed House, 2595–2598.—Examined and signed, 2789, 2820.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 30], 3043.

S. J. Res. 155—Directing the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation to sell no vessels belonging to the United States except at public sale.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Commerce, 2827.—Debated, 2827–2834, 2835, 2836, 2843, 2844.

S. J. Res. 156—Authorizing the Secretary of War to bring back on Army transports from Danzig, Poland, residents of the United States of Polish origin who were engaged in the war on the side of the allied and associated powers.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 2835.—Reported without amendment, considered, and passed, 2835.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2909.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 687), 3650.—Debated, 3822, 3823, 8885, 8887.—Passed House, 3823.—Examined and signed, 3907, 3936.—Approved by the President [Public resolution 31], 4161.

S. J. Res. 157—Prescribing the method by which the war-profits and excess-profits taxes imposed by title 3 of the act entitled "An act to provide revenue, and for other purposes," approved Feb. 24, 1919, shall be computed for the calendar year 1919.
Mr. King; Committee on Finance, 2824.

S. J. Res. 158—Requesting the United States Shipping Board to defer the sale of all vesels owned by the United States.
Mr. Owen, and ordered to lie on the table, 2935.

S. J. Res. 159—Providing for the reestablishment of peace and the calling of an international conference to formulate plans for international cooperation.
Mr. France; Committee on Foreign Relations, 3161.

S. J. Res. 160—To provide for the preservation and maintenance of the records of the Joint Commission on Reclassification of Salaries.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, 3388.—Reported with amendment, 4000.—Debated, 4119, 6395, 6396.—Debated and pased Senate, 6802.—Referred to House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 6893.—Reported back (H. Rept. 987), 7126.

S. J. Res. 161—To exempt the New York State Barge Canal from the provisions of section 201 of H. R. 10453.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 3388.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 567), 6329.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 6803, 6804.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6893.

S. J. Res. 162—To cede the Point Peter Military Reservation to the State of Georgia.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on Military Affairs, 3487.

S. J. Res. 163—Providing for the reestablishment of peace and the calling of an international conference to institute a concert of nations to advise concerning international cooperation as a substitute for the League of Nations, and for a national referendum.
Mr. France; Committee on Foreign Relations, 3500.

S. J. Res. 164—Providing for the establishment of more friendly relations with Russia, for the lifting of the embargo against shipments to that country, for the extension of trade and commerce with the Russian people, for the arrangement of credits, for the withdrawal of all troops of this country which may still be on Russian soil, for any needed explanation and reparations which may be due from this country for our invasion of Russian territory, for the expression of our gratitude to the Russian people for their heroic part in the defense of civilization, our felicitations to them for having overthrown a despotic government, and assurances of the desire of the American people to cooperate with them and to assist them in every proper and possible way in their efforts to establish institutions which will insure to them an ordered liberty.
Mr. France; Committee on Foreign Relations, 3554.

S. J. Res. 165—Authorizing an appropriation for the participation of the United States in the observance of the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Provincetown and Plymouth, Mass.
Mr. Harding; Committee on the Library (see H. Con. Res. 14), 3610.

S. J. Res. 166—To permit the payment of certain money for the acquisition of land for the United States Army General Hospital No. 19, Azalea, N. C.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 3665.

S. J. Res. 167—Providing for the filling of a vacancy in the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, of the class other than Members of Congress.
Mr. Lodge; passed, 3787.—Taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on the Library, 4129.—Reported back (H. Rept. 742), 4372.—Passed House, 5215.—Examined and signed, 5336, 5385.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 37], 5530.

S. J. Res. 168—To provide for the sale to private interests of ships owned by the Government through the United States Shipping Board, and for the ownership and operation of such ships under the American flag.
Mr. Edge; Committee on Commerce, 3787.—Debated, 3787, 3788.

S. J. Res. 169—Authorizing the President of the United States to manage and operate Cape Cod Canal, in the State of Massachusetts.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Commerce, 3787.

S. J. Res. 170—To authorize and direct the Secretary of the Navy to open certain naval radio stations for the use of the general public.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3865.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 466), 4112.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 4112–4117.—Referred to House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 4258.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1003), 7324.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7709–7711.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 7874, 7875.—Examined and signed, 8156, 8160.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 48], 8620.

S. J. Res. 171—Providing for the recommendation of amnesty and pardon for political prisoners in the United States.
Mr. France; Committee on the Judiciary, 4112.

S. J. Res. 172—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to sell a certain parcel of land known as Fort Jackson, at New Deptford, on the Savannah River, Ga.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on Military Affairs, 4435.

S. J. Res. 173—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of Federal judges by direct vote.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on the Judiciary, 4567.

S. J. Res. 174—Authorizing the completion of the Liberty Theater at Camp Knox, Ky.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 4567.—Reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 6144.

S. J. Res. 175—To repeal the so-called Lever Act, approved Aug. 10, 1917.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 4674.

S. J. Res. 176—To amend Article V of the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Owen; Committee on the Judiciary, 4674.

S. J. Res. 177—To amend the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on the Judiciary, 4845.

S. J. Res. 178—In relation to a monument to commemorate the services and sacrifices of the women of the District of Columbia in the World War.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on the District of Columbia, 4993.

S. J. Res. 179—Authorizing use of Army transports by teams, individuals, and their equipment representing the United States in Olympic games and international competitions.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 4993.—Reported back (S. Rept. 502), 5155.—Passed Senate, 5235.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 5307.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 977), 7028.—Debated, 7456, 7490–7494.—Amended and agreed to, 7494.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 7511.—Examined and signed, 7711, 7713.—Approved by the President [Public resolution, No. 47], 8308.

S. J. Res. 180—Authorizing the Secretary of War to turn over to agricultural fertilizer distributors or users a supply of nitrate of soda.
Mr. Smith of South Carolina: referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 5031.—Reported back, 5031.—Debated and passed Senate, 5031, 5032.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 5078.—Reported back (H. Rept. 808), 5314.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5494–5497.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 5712.—Examined and signed, 5821, 5880.—Approved by the President [Public resolution, No. 39], 6076.

S. J. Res. 181—To admit Constance F. Hansen to the character and privileges of a citizen of the United States.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Immigration, 5031.

S. J. Res. 182—To repeal the act approved Aug. 10, 1917, known as the Lever Act, and certain sections of the act amendatory thereof, approved Oct. 22, 1919.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 5031.

S. J. Res. 183—Authorizing the appointment of a committee to cooperate with committees designated by the various States to recommend means for commemorating the discovery of irrigation in America.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 5080.

S. J. Res. 184—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to loan tents to cities during the summer months of 1920 to relieve the housing situation.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Military Affairs, 5080.

S. J. Res. 185—To provide for suitable memorials for persons who lost their lives while in the military or naval forces of the United States during the war with Germany.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Military Affairs, 5130.

S. J. Res. 186—To extend the authority of the county of Luzerne, State of Pennsylvania, to construct a bridge across the north branch of the Susquehanna River from the city of Wilkes-Barre, county of Luzerne, Pa., to the borough of Dorranceton, county of Luzerne, Pa.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Commerce, 5155.—Reported back (S. Rept. 520), 5588.—Passed Senate, 5588.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5683.

S. J. Res. 187—To correct the records of certain naval and marine officers who joined the Confederate forces.
Mr. Harrison; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5162.

S. J. Res. 188—Authorizing a joint committee of both Houses to investigate the Harriman Geographic Code System, now in use by the War Department, with a view to ascertaining the adaptability and application of said system in the several executive departments and administrative branches of the Government, and to rendering a just compensation to the owner thereof.
Mr. Moses; Committee on Appropriations, 5227.

S. J. Res. 189—Authorizing and directing the accounting officers of the Treasury to allow credit to the disbursing clerk of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance in certain cases.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Finance, 5227.—Reported back, debated, passed Senate, 5316.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5408.—Reported back, 7383.—Passed House, 7383.—Examined and signed, 7504, 7507.—Approved by the President [Public resolution, No. 44], 7770.

S. J. Res. 190—For the relief of Elizabeth R. Nicholls and Joanna L. Nicholls, heirs of Joshua Nicholls.
Mr. Dial; Committee on Claims, 5590.

S. J. Res. 191—To create a joint committee on the reorganization of the administrative branch of the Government.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Appropriations, 5712.—Reported with amendment, 6794.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 6794.—Taken from Speaker's table, 8433.—Debated, 8433–8438.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 8664.

S. J. Res. 192—Providing for the recommendation of amnesty and pardon for political prisoners in the United States.
Mr. France; Committee on the Judiciary, 6202.

S. J. Res. 193—Authorizing the Secretary of War to loan tents to the State Normal School for Women, East Radford, Va., for the use of its summer normal school.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Military Affairs, 6259.

S. J. Res. 194—To include the names of southern military leaders in the inscriptions on the Amphitheater at Arlington.
Mr. Overman; Committee on the Library, 6739.

S. J. Res. 195—To suspend the requirements of annual assessment work on mining claims in the Territory of Alaska during the year 1920.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Mines and Mining, 6895.

S. J. Res. 196—Extending the provisions of an act amending section 32 of the Federal farm loan act, approved July 17, 1916, to June 30, 1921.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Banking and Currency, 6979.—Reported back (S. Rept. 593), 7189.—Indefinitely postponed (see H. J. Res. 351), 7292.

S. J. Res. 197—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to extend the time for the payment of annual installments on the purchase price for land in the Cheyenne River and Standing Rock Indian Reservations.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Public Lands, 7030.

S. J. Res. 198—Authorizing the Secretary of War to sell to the city of Pittsburgh, Pa., a certain tract of land within the Allegheny Arsenal reservation.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Military Affairs, 7144.

S. J. Res. 199—Providing for monthly payment of pensions.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 7271.

S. J. Res. 200—To grant authority to continue the use of the temporary buildings of the American Red Cross headquarters in the city of Washington, D. C.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7327.—Reported without amendment, considered, and passed Senate, 8163.—Referred to House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 8381.

S. J. Res. 201—Looking to the granting of amnesty and pardon to certain persons now serving sentences or who are confined in Federal prisons.
Mr. Owen; Committee on the Judiciary, 7327.

S. J. Res. 202—Providing for the manufacture and sale at cost of fertilizer for agricultural purposes.
Mr. Harris; Committee on Military Affairs, 7327.

S. J. Res. 203—Authorizing the Secretary of War, in his discretion, to turn over to the county commissioners of Dickinson County, Kans., suitable pontoon equipment for temporary use across the Smoky Hill River at Chapman, Kans.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 7511.—Reported with amendment, 8464.

S. J. Res. 204—To appropriate out of the funds of the Flathead Tribe of Indians the sum of $10,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to bring test suits in the United States court, district of Montana, to determine the right of the Government to issue patents in fee to members of the Flathead Tribe, and for other purposes.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; Committee on Indian Affairs, 7558.

S. J. Res. 205—To appropriate out of the funds of the Blackfeet Tribe of Indians the sum of $10,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to bring test suits in the United States court, district of Montana, to determine the right of the Government to issue patents in fee to members of the Blackfeet Tribe, and for other purposes.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; Committee on Indian Affairs, 7558.

S. J. Res. 206—Authorizing the erection on public grounds in the city of Washington, D. C., of a memorial to Jeanne d'Arc.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on the Library, 7713.

S. J. Res. 207—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to deposit funds in the Federal reserve banks for rediscounting cattle paper to encourage the production of food.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Banking and Currency, 7874.

S. J. Res. 208—Requesting the President of the United States to consider the advisability to proceed to suppress domestic violence and prevent the outbreak of organized armed civil conflict in West Virginia.
Mr. France; ordered to lie on the table, 8074.

S. J. Res. 209—Proposing an amendment to the first paragraph of section 1 of Article II of the Constitution of the United States, so as to provide for a single six-year term for the President of the United States.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on the Judiciary, 8306.

S. J. Res. 210—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of Agriculture to confer with the governors and highway commissioners of the various States and report to Congress the best methods for cooperation between the Federal Government and the several States for good road construction.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 8306.

10–30 SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS.

S. Con. Res. 10—Authorizing the printing of extra copies of the National Banking Act as amended to date.
Mr. McLean; reported back, 2424.—Considered and agreed to, 2424.—Referred to House Committee on Printing, 2674.

S. Con. Res. 14—Creating a joint committee to make a survey of and to report on the activities of governmental departments, bureaus, and agencies which relate to public health.
Mr. France; debated, amended, 640, 641.—As amended was agreed to, 641.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 830.—Reference changed to Committee on Rules, 1670, 1671.

S. Con. Res. 18—Proposing to the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States an article relative to eligibility of citizenship of children born of aliens.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on the Judiciary, 40.

S. Con. Res. 19—Authorizing the printing of 12,000,000 copies of that part of S. Doc. No. 61, Sixty-sixth Congress, first session, relating to "Bolshevism."
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Printing, 39.

S. Con. Res. 20—Directing the Secretary of War to employ the military forces of the United States in protecting the lives of American citizens adjacent to the Mexican border.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Military Affairs, 72.—Reference changed to Committee on Foreign Relations, 437.

S. Con. Res. 21—Approving the action taken by the State Department concerning the controversy with Mexico and severing diplomatic relations with that country.
Mr. Fall; Committee on Foreign Relations, 73.—Debated, 73.

S. Con. Res. 22—Directing the Secretary of the Senate to enroll S. 2472 to amend the "Federal reserve act," by making sundry changes in said bill.
Mr. McLane; Considered and agreed to, 787.—House concurs, 837.

S. Con. Res. 23—That when the two House complete the business of this day (calendar day of Saturday, Dec. 20, 1919), they shall stand adjourned until 12 o'clock m., Monday, Jan. 5, 1920.
Mr. Lodge; considered and agreed to, 952.—House concurs, 1010.

S. Con. Res. 24—Providing for the creation of a Labor Adjustment Board and a National Industrial Congress.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Education and Labor, 1863.—Debated, 1864.

S. Con. Res. 25—Authorizing the Secretary of the Senate to make a verbal correction in the enrolled copy of Senate bill 2085, maintenance of actions for death on the high seas and other navigable waters.
Mr. Dillingham; considered and agreed to, 4802.—Agreed to in House, 4829.

S. Con. Res. 26—Requesting the Speaker of the House of Representatives to cancel his signature to S. 1005 and S. 1222, and directing the Secretary to reenroll, etc.
Mr. Smoot; considered and agreed to, 5775.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 6552.—Reported back, amended, and agreed to, 8553.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 8528.

S. Con. Res. 27—Declining to grant to the Executive the power to accept a mandate over Armenia.
Mr. Lodge, from Committee on Foreign Relations (S. Rept. No. 281), 7714.—Debated, 7875–7890, 7914–7920, 7960–7962, 7964, 8051–8073.—Passed Senate, 8073.—Referred to House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 8156.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1101), 8459.—Minority report filed (H. Rept. 1101, part 2), 8579.

S. Con. Res. 28—Authorizing the Clerk in the enrollment of the bill H. R. 3184 to add a new section and correct the title.
Mr. Jones of Washington; considered and agreed to, 7789.—Adopted in House, 7848.

S. Con. Res. 29—Authorizing the President to make arrangements to cooperate with the allied powers for the proper protection of Armenia.
Mr. King; ordered to lie on the table and be printed, 8074.

S. Con. Res. 30—Directing the clerk to number in consecutive order the sections in the enrollment of the bill H. R. 10378.
Mr. Jones of Washington; considered and agreed to, 8471.—Agreed to in House, 8614.

11–240 SENATE RESOLUTIONS.

S. Res. 11—Authorizing investigation of alleged unlawful practices in the election of a Senator from the State of Michigan.
Mr. Pomerene; reported back, 65.—As amended was agreed to, 65.

S. Res. 56—Seeking a convention between the United States and certain Central American countries for the protection of migratory birds.
Mr. Bankhead; reported back, 1520.—Considered and agreed to, 2635.

S. Res. 104—Amending Rule XX of the Standing Rules of the Senate.
Mr. Harrison; reported back, 2487.—Debated, 2536, 2537, 2698.—Recommitted to the Committee on Rules, 2825.

S. Res. 106—Directing the Committee on Foreign Relations to investigate the matter of outrages on citizens of the United States in Mexico.
Mr. King; report submitted (S. Rept. 645), 7962.—(See S. Doc. No. 285.)

S. Res. 150—Directing the Committee on the District of Columbia to make investigation of prices, rents, and related subjects in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Sherman; report submitted (S. Rept. 327), 316.

S. Res. 164—Authorizing the Committee on Manufactures to investigate the news print paper industry.
Mr. Reed; report submitted (S. Rept. 662), 8043.

S. Res. 203—Calling for information from various departments and branches of the Government as to the work being done by them, respectively, which may have a bearing on the promotion of the foreign commerce of the United States.
Mr. Harris (see S. Res. 290), 2301.

S. Res. 210—Directing the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds to investigate and report to the Senate concerning the cost of construction and maintenance of public buildings of the Government, their location, and the plan of the Government as to their future disposition.
Mr. Fernald submitted report (No. 336), 807.

S. Res. 217—Directing the Committee on Interstate Commerce to inquire into the truthfulness of the charge that a number of employees of the Federal Trade Commission have been and are engaged in socialistic propaganda.
Mr. Watson; reported back, 66.—Debated, 66–72, 3222–3224.—Amended and agreed to, 72.

S. Res. 232—Authorizing the Committee on the Library to hold hearings and employ a stenographer, etc.
Mr. Brandegee; reported back and agreed to, 1605.

S. Res. 235—Appointing a committee to join a committee of the House of Representatives to notify the President that a quorum of each house is assembled and ready to receive communications.
Mr. Lodge; considered and agreed to, 3.

S. Res. 236—Informing the House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is assembled.
Mr. Lodge; considered and agreed to, 3.

S. Res. 237—Fixing the hour of daily meeting of the Senate.
Mr. Lodge; considered and agreed to, 3.

S. Res. 238—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to inform the Senate of the data in his possession showing the percentage and amount of earnings of operators of bituminous coal properties in the United States for years 1916, 1917, and 1918, as disclosed by the income-tax returns.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; ordered to lie over under the rule, 36.

S. Res. 239—Authorizing the Sergeant at Arms to employ five additional pages during the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress.
Mr. Lodge; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 39.—Reported back and agreed to, 65.

S. Res. 240—Directing the Secretary of the Senate to pay to Fanny McFall, widow of John McFall, late a policeman in the employ of the United States Senate, a sum equal to six months' compensation.
Mr. McKellar; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 39.

S. Res. 241—Directing the Secretary of State to transmit certain information to the United States Senate.
Mr. Jones of Washington; considered and agreed to, 39.

S. Res. 242—Requesting the President of the United States to furnish the Senate with certain information concerning correspondence, if any, between the United States and foreign nations with regard to reservations to the treaty of peace with Germany.
Mr. Cummins; ordered to lie over under the rule, 40.

S. Res. 243—Directing the Director General of Railroads to inform the Senate concerning the payment for coal diverted in transit from original consignees.
Mr. Sutherland; considered and agreed to, 73.—Report submitted in Senate, 252.

S. Res. 244—Directing the Secretary of the Interior to transmit to the Senate certain information concerning terms and conditions of leases entered into between the Government and citizens to lands within the Uintah Indian Reservation.
Mr. King; considered and agreed to, 74.

S. Res. 245—Proposing to amend Rule XIX of the Standing Rules of the Senate relative to closing debate on calendar bills.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Rules, 112.

S. Res. 246—Proposing to amend Rule XIX of the Standing Rules of the Senate by closing debate after consideration on three calendar days or six consecutive hours.
Mr. Kellogg; Committee on Rules, 112.

S. Res. 247—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish the Senate certain detailed information secured from income and profits tax returns of taxable year 1918 as to relative incomes of all corporations engaged in mining bituminous coal and lignite coal.
Mr. Harris; ordered to lie on the table, 216.—Debated, 1613–1617, 1818.

S. Res. 248—Requesting the President to send to the Senate a copy of all the correspondence between the Government of Great Britain and the United States relative to the Persian treaty.
Mr. Borah; considered and agreed to, 272.

S. Res. 249—Directing the Director of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance to inform the Senate whether the claims for compensation are promptly acted on and as to the rules determining amounts due claimants.
Mr. Poindexter; considered and agreed to, 272.

S. Res. 250—Expressing it as the sense of the Senate that the gross amount of appropriations for fiscal year 1920 be limited to not more than $3,000,000,000.
Mr. King; ordered to lie on the table and to be printed, 272.

S. Res. 251—Expressing it as the sense of the Senate that the executive departments in Washington dispense with the services of at least 40,000 employees presently on the rolls.
Mr. King; ordered to lie on the table and to be printed, 272.

S. Res. 252—Directing the Secretaries of the executive departments and the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution to report to the Senate the names of employees in their several departments superintending other employees who are affiliated with any labor union affiliated with the so-called American Federation of Labor or organizations independent thereof.
Mr. King; ordered to lie on the table and to be printed, 272.

S. Res. 253—Amending S. Res. 97, June 30, 1919, so as to empower the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds to sit at such times and places as it may deem necessary.
Mr. Fernald; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 316.—Reported back favorably without amendment and agreed to, 357.

S. Res. 254—Proposing to recommit the bill S. 3288 to the Committee on Interstate Commerce with certain instructions.
Mr. McKellar; ordered to lie on the table, 364.

S. Res. 255—Declaring it the sense of the Senate that the Committee on the District of Columbia report a bill providing more rigorous penalties in cases of negligent driving of motor vehicles.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 389.

S. Res. 256—Requesting the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to transmit to the Senate a statement showing the name, rank, and compensation of officers in their respective departments who at the time when they were commissioned were employed by a civil branch of the Government and their compensation, etc.
Mr. Smoot; considered and agreed to (see S. Doc. 173; 173, pt. 2; 173, pt. 3), 390.

S. Res. 257—Requesting the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish the Senate with a statement showing dividends paid by corporations engaged in the mining and production of bituminous coal within the United States for 1917 and 1918.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; ordered to lie on the table and to be printed, 390.

S. Res. 258—Expressing it as the sense of the Senate that the Secretary of War modify Circular No. 345 as to the discharge of disabled patient soldiers in Government hospitals.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Military Affairs, 439.

S. Res. 259—Requesting the State Department to furnish information relative to the massacre of Jews in Ukraine.
Mr. Spencer; Committee on Foreign Relations, 440.—Reported with amendments, 961.—As amended passed Senate, 961.

S. Res. 260—Amending paragraph 2, Rule XXXIV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, so as to embrace the Senate Office Building.
Mr. Knox; considered and agreed to, 500.

S. Res. 261—Instructing the Committee on Interstate Commerce to ascertain by investigation the extent of the propaganda organized particularly by the Association of Railway Executives to influence Congress in the passage of the railroad-control bill.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 531.—Debated, 529–531.

S. Res. 262—Referring to the Court of Claims the bill (S. 2675) to compensate George B. Gates for the infringement of his letters patent by the United States.
Mr. Spencer, from Committee on Claims, 615.—Considered and agreed to, 2634.

S. Res. 263—Directing the Foreign Relations Committee to investigate status and activities of one Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, claiming to be a representative of the Russian Socialistic Soviet Republic.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 616.—Reported back favorably (S. Rept. 526), 952.—Debated, 952–956.—Amended and agreed to, 956.

S. Res. 264—To reprint and extend to date Senate Document No. 22 (1889), "A History of the Navy Yard, Washington, D. C."
Mr. Stanley; Committee on Printing, 616.

S. Res. 265—Providing for the appointment of a committee of 10 Senators to consider and report to the Senate a resolution of ratification of the treaty of peace with Germany.
Mr. Underwood; ordered to lie over under the rule, 956.—Debated, 956–958.

S. Res. 266—Directing the Secretary of Agriculture to report to the Senate the names of persons found to have charged extortionate prices for food under the so-called food-control act.
Mr. Norris; considered and agreed to, 1019.

S. Res. 267—Directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to report on living conditions of trainmen compelled to lie over between trips at terminals of railroads.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; ordered to lie over under the rule, 1019.—Referred to Committee on Interstate Commerce, 1019.—The Committee on Interstate Commerce discharged, 1613.—And agreed to, 1613.

S. Res. 268—Extending until Apr. 1, 1920, the time for the submission of the report of the special committee to devise a plan for a budget system.
Mr. McCormick; considered and agreed to, 1083.

S. Res. 269—Requesting certain information concerning commissioned officers in the War and Navy Departments assigned to duty in other than line organizations.
Mr. Smoot; considered and agreed to, 1158.

S. Res. 270—Directing the Bureau of Efficiency to report on the desirability of establishing training schools for Federal employees.
Mr. Smoot; considered and agreed to, 1158.

S. Res. 271—Directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to report to the Senate to what extent part or all of proceeds of sales of securities by interstate railroads have been used for purposes other than legitimate purposes, etc.
Mr. Norris; ordered to lie over under the rule, 1158.

S. Res. 272—Relative to the death of Hon. Walter Allen Watson, late a Representative from the State of Virginia.
Mr. Swanson; considered and agreed to, 1177.

S. Res. 273—Amending Rule XXV, Standing Rules of the Senate, so as to read "A Committee on Pacific Islands, Porto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, to consist of 12 Senators."
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Rules, 1248.—Reported back, considered, and agreed to, 2487.

S. Res. 274—Empowering the Committee on Naval Affairs to hold hearings at such place and time as it may deem necessary and to provide for traveling expenses for said committee.
Mr. Page; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 1248.—Reported without amendment, considered, and agreed to, 1248.

S. Res. 275—Directing the Alien Property Custodian to report to the Senate all pertinent facts and details in connection with the sale or transfer of voting trust certificates of the American Metal Co.
Mr. Calder; considered and agreed to, 1366.

S. Res. 276—Expresing it as the sense of the Senate that those parts of Thrace surrendered by Bulgaria and Turkey to the principal allied and associated powers should be awarded to Greece, with proper control of fortifications, etc.
Mr. King; ordered to lie on the table, 1366.—Referred to Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 1649.—Reported with an amendment in the nature of a substitute, 1814.—Debated and agreed to, 1815.

S. Res. 277—Authorizing the subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, under resolution of Senate of calendar day Dec. 20, 1919, to employ counsel.
Mr. Moses; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 1420.—Reported back and agreed to, 1520.

S. Res. 278—Requesting the Secretary of State to inform the Senate of any legislative or executive action by Great Britain, France, Italy, or Belgium looking to granting of amnesty to military, political, or other prisoners since the armistice, Nov. 11, 1918.
Mr. Chamberlain; considered and agreed to (see S. Doc. 241, 249; S. Doc. 249, pt. 2), 1471.

S. Res. 279—Directing the Committee on Appropriations to investigate and report to the Senate concerning the subject of the improvement of Rogue River, Mich., and the connection of Henry Ford therewith.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Appropriations, 1471.—Committee on Appropriations discharged, and referred to Committee on Commerce, 2742.

S. Res. 280—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to inform the Senate what contracts have been entered into under authority of "An act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to provide hospital facilities for discharged sick and disabled soldiers," etc.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Appropriations, 1520.

S. Res. 281—To print the resolution of the American Mining Congress at St. Louis, Mo., together with an address before the Federal Trade Commission, by Hon. George L. Nye, in support of the same.
Mr. Moses; considered and agreed to, 1647.

S. Res. 282—To print the annual report of the National Forest Reservation Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1919.
Mr. Moses; considered and agreed to, 1647.

S. Res. 283—Authorizing the Interstate Commerce Committee under Senate resolution of Aug. 15, 1919, to employ counsel.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 1648.

S. Res. 284—Instructing the Federal Reserve Board to inform the Senate if the Federal Reserve System has resorted to coercive measures to compel State banks to join it or to submit to regulations made by it.
Mr. Norris; considered and agreed to, 1699.

S. Res. 285—Authorizing the subcommittee on Naval Affairs, under resolution No. 62, agreed to June 6, 1919, to employ such counsel and clerical assistants as it may deem necessary.
Mr. Hale; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 1780.—Reported without amendment, 1780.—Debated, 1780, 1781, 1819–1824, 1866, 2060, 2061, 2093, 2094.—Ordered under Rule IX, 6447.

S. Res. 286—To print Senate Document No. 259, Sixty-fifth Congress, second session, entitled "Corporate earnings and Government revenues."
Mr. Sheppard; considered and agreed to, 1818.

S. Res. 287—Declaring it to be the sense of the Senate that the disclosure of the alleged admonition by Admiral Sims merits reprobation.
Mr. Walsh of Montana; ordered to lie over under the rule, 1816.—Debated, 1816–1818, 1866, 1867.

S. Res. 288—Authorizing the Committee on Commerce to employ an assistant clerk during the present session of the Sixty-sixth Congress.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 1929.—Reported with amendments, 2092.—Concidered, amended, and agreed to, 2092.

S. Res. 289—Directing the Secretary of the Senate to pay jointly to Cora Shaw, Mabel Shaw Hedekin, and Edna Shaw Hutson, daughters of Joseph Shaw, late an employee in the Senate folding room, six months' pay, etc.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 1929.—Reported back, 3786.—And agreed to, 3786.

S. Res. 290—To print as a Senate document, pursuant to a Senate resolution of Oct. 3, 1919, the several communications from the heads of executive departments concerning work now being carried on in relation to the foreign commerce of the United States.
Mr. Smoot; considered and agreed to, 2301.

S. Res. 291—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish the Senate information concerning certain cash advances to foreign governments and copies of the obligations for the same.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; considered and agreed to, 2428.—(See S. Doc. 255), 4373.

S. Res. 292—Directing the Committee on the Library to have painted an oil portrait of Abraham Lincoln, to be placed in the Senate wing of the Capitol.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on the Library, 2428.—Reported back, 3387.—Considered and agreed to, 5180.

S. Res. 293—To print the manuscript "Government by Injunction," presented by Senator Pomerene, in the Congressional Record.
Mr. Moses; considered and agreed to, 2424.

S. Res. 294—Directing the Secretary of War to furnish the Senate a specific statement giving the policy of the General Staff with respect to the demotion of officers of the Regular Army, etc.
Mr. Harrison; ordered to lie on the table, 2428.—Debated, 2495, 2900–2903.—Considered, amended, and as amended agreed to, 2496.

S. Res. 295—Amending resolution of Dec. 3, 1919, to authorize the Interstate Commerce Committee to sit and act at such times and places as it may deem necessary.
Mr. Townsend; considered and agreed to, 2445.

S. Res. 296—For the preservation of national archives.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on the Library, 2495.

S. Res. 297—For the preservation of records, papers, and other documents as are valuable for historical, statistical, or other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on the Library, 2495.

S. Res. 298—Authorizing the printing of extra copies of the National banking act as amended to date.
Mr. Moses; considered and agreed to, 2535.

S. Res. 299—To print the letter of the Secretary of the Treasury submitting a report on the number of documents received and distributed by the Treasury Department during 1919.
Mr. Moses; considered and agreed to, 2535.

S. Res. 300—Authorizing the Committee on Pensions to hold hearings and to employ a stenographer.
Mr. McCumber; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 2536.—Reported back, considered, and agreed to, 2625.

S. Res. 301—Instructing the Committee on Banking and Currency to investigate the amount of loans made by banks on grain and the alleged causes of withdrawal of funds for loans, extensions, renewals, etc.
Mr. Gronna; considered and agreed to, 2625.

S. Res. 302—Instructing the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry to investigate the alleged shortage of cars for stock and other farm products during the Government peration of railroads and charges of interference by officials with such operation.
Mr. Gronna; ordered to lie over under the rule, 2625.—Debated, 2625, 2626, 2746–2752.—Indefinitely postponed, 5176.

S. Res. 303—Directing the Director of Railroads to report to the Senate the powers and duties with respect to handling coal and coke originally delegated to the Fuel Administrator, etc.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; considered and agreed to, 2700.

S. Res. 304—Amending Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Rules, 2700.

S. Res. 305—Requesting the United States Shipping Board to defer the sale of vessels taken by the United States from the Imperial German Government.
Mr. McKellar; ordered to lie over under the rule, 2836.—Debated, modified, and agreed to, 2938–2944.

S. Res. 306—Requesting the President to inform the Senate concerning any understanding between him and British officials as to the disposition by the United States of the German ships proposed to be sold by the Shipping Board.
Mr. Brandegee; considered and agreed to, 2907.

S. Res. 307—Requesting the Shipping Board to defer the sale of vessels or any vessel taken over by the United States from the Imperial German Government until further action by Congress.
Mr. Ashurst; ordered to lie over under the rule, 2935.

S. Res. 308—Proposing an amendment to Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Rules, 2990.

S. Res. 309—Directing the Postmaster General to furnish information in regard to alleged circularization of agriculturists in the United States.
Mr. King; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 2990.—Reported back, 5967.—Agreed to, 6056.—(See S. Doc. 268), 6258.

S. Res. 310—Raising a select committee of five Senators to be appointed by the President of the Senate to investigate the public-school system of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Harrison; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 3436.—Reported with amendment, 3387.—Considered, amended, and agreed to, 3387, 3388.—Committee appointed, 3611.—Report submitted (S. Rept. 635), 7659, 7660.—Debated, 7665–8677.

S. Res. 311—Directing the Secretary of Agriculture to furnish information in regard to the alleged depletion of the forest resources of the United States.
Mr. Capper; considered and agreed to, 3229.

S. Res. 312—Directing the Secretary of the Navy to inform the Senate as to the details of the sale of all ships sold by the Navy Department during the last five years or which it now contemplates selling.
Mr. Jones of Washington; considered and agreed to (see S. Doc. 242), 3351.

S. Res. 313—Directing the Secretary of the Interior to report to the Senate the total number of employees in the Interior Department and the total number in the Reclamation Service, the expenditures and receipts of said service, etc.
Mr. King; considered and agreed to, 3388.

S. Res. 314—To print the manuscript entitled "Lincoln's Gettysburg Address," as a Senate document.
Mr. Moses; considered and agreed to, 3487.

S. Res. 315—Requesting the President to open negotiations with the British Government for acquisition of the Bermuda Islands.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Foreign Relations, 3554.

S. Res. 316—Announcing the death of the Hon. John Hollis Bankhead, late a Senator from the State of Alabama.
Mr. Underwood; considered and agreed to, 3701.

S. Res. 317—For investigation into the cost of shoes.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Manufactures, 3732.—Reported back, 4675.—Referred to Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 4675.—The Committee to Audit and Control the Expenses of the Senate discharged, and ordered placed on the calendar, 4723.—Considered and agreed to, 5233.

S. Res. 318—To print for the use of the Senate 2,500 additional copies of Senate Document No. 172, entitled "Bolshevist Movement in Russia."
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Printing, 3733.—Reported back, considered and agreed to, 4672.

S. Res. 319—Directing the Committee on Manufactures to inquire into the reported wheat pool and investigate the alleged dealings, operations, speculations, and manipulations of the United States Grain Corporation.
Mr. Reed; referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 3732.—Reported back, 4000.—Considered, modified, and agreed to, 4162–4166.

S. Res. 320—Expressing it as the sense of the Senate that the ancient territory of Armenia be erected into an independent national State, and that Constantinople be separated from all political connection with Asia Minor and be constituted an independent State.
Mr. King; Committee on Foreign Relations, 3792.

S. Res. 321—To pay to Annie E. Carson a sum equal to six months' compensation of the late Robert Carson.
Mr. Overman; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 3885.—Reported back and agreed to, 5031.

S. Res. 322—Requesting information as to the policy of the War Department regarding disposal and protection of remains of American soldiers who died in France.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; ordered to lie on the table, 3895.—Considered, amended, and agreed to, 4117.

S. Res. 323—Requesting information from the director of the Council of National Defense in regard to the accounts of the Committee on Public Information.
Mr. Smoot; considered and agreed to, 3906.

S. Res. 324—Declaring it the sense of the Senate that northern Epirus, the Twelve Islands of the Aegean and the western coast of Asia Minor should be awarded to Greece, etc.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Foreign Relations, 3937.—Reported back, 6494.—Considered and agreed to, 7160.

S. Res. 325—Extending sympathy to the Armenian people and declaring it to be the sense of the Senate that the Allies should restore the territorial rights and political independence of Armenia.
Mr. King; Committee on Foreign Relations, 3946.

S. Res. 326—Requesting the President to send to the Senate a copy of the report of the Harbord mission.
Mr. Wadsworth; considered and agreed to, 3947.—Document submitted (see S. Doc. 264), 5159.

S. Res. 327—Directing the Secretary of Agriculture to report to the Senate the number of persons employed in the department at present and in each of the 10 preceding years, classified to show the nature of employment, residence, and detailed expenditures.
Mr. King; considered and agreed to, 4001.

S. Res. 328—Directing the Federal Reserve Board to advise the Senate what is the cause of the usurious rates of interest on collateral call loans and what remedy there may be to abate this condition.
Mr. Owen; considered and agreed to, 4004.—(See S. Doc. 262), 4943.

S. Res. 329—Calling upon the Secretary of the Interior for certain information regarding the Alaska Railroad.
Mr. Jones of Washington; considered and agreed to, 4001.

S. Res. 330—Directing the Secretary of the Senate to pay the actual and necessary expenses of the committee in arranging for and attending the funeral of the Hon. John H. Bankhead, late a Senator from the State of Alabama.
Mr. Underwood; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 4068.—Reported back, considered, and agreed to, 4160.

S. Res. 331—Requesting the President to inform the Senate in regard to restrictions imposed by certain foreign countries upon citizens of the United States in prosecuting or acquiring lands containing petroleum, and if such restrictions exist what steps have been taken to remove them.
Mr. Gore; considered and agreed to, 4117.—Report made (see S. Doc. 272), 7146.

S. Res. 332—Declaring it to be the sense of the Senate that the Government of the United States recognize the independence of Armenia and that the allied powers and the United States furnish the Armenian Republic military equipment adequate for the defense of its people.
Mr. King; Committee on Foreign Relations, 4119.

S. Res. 333—Declaring it to be the sense of the Senate that Northern Epirus, the Twelve Islands of the Aegean, and a defined part of the western coast of Asia Minor be awarded to Greece, and that Turkish rule over Christians everywhere be now abolished.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Foreign Relations, 4210.

S. Res. 334.—Referring the claims of Edward W. Owens and others to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Wolcott, from Committee on Claims, 4566.—Reported back and agreed to, 6449.

S. Res. 335—To print the manuscript entitled "Address before the Middlesex County Bar Association on Americanism v. Socialism," delivered by Rome G. Brown.
Mr. Moses; considered by unanimous consent and agreed to, 4672.

S. Res. 336—To print the manuscript entitled "Work of the International High Commission," by John Bassett Moore, as a Senate document.
Mr. Moses; considered and agreed to, 4672.

S. Res. 337—Requesting the President to inform the Senate whether the island of Yap is to be given to Japan and what, if anything, has been done to assure to the United States the possession of this island.
Mr. Lodge; considered and agreed to, 4677.

S. Res. 338—Expressing it as the sense of the Senate that the United States should accord provisional recognition to the de facto governments of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Ukraine.
Mr. King; Committee on Foreign Relations, 4678.

S. Res. 339—Directing the Committee on Immigration to investigate the administration of the immigration laws and of the Alien Immigration Station at Ellis Island, N. Y.
Mr. King; Committee on Immigration, 4678.

S. Res. 340—Directing the Director of the Census to furnish the Senate information concerning unspinnable cotton.
Mr. Smith of South Carolina; considered and agreed to, 4776.—Document submitted (see S. Doc. 263), 5030.—Debated, 5081–5083.—See S. Doc. 263, pt. 2), 6442.

S. Res. 341—Relative to the death of Hon. William J. Browning, late a Representative from the State of New Jersey.
Mr. Lodge; considered and agreed to, 4799.

S. Res. 342—Authorizing the Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine to hold hearings and to employ a stenographer to report same.
Mr. France; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 5080.—Reported back and agreed to, 5645.

S. Res. 343—Amending Rule XIV of the Standing Rules of the Senate relative to changes in existing law.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Rules, 5131.

S. Res. 344—To pay to the children of the late Edwin W. Trimmer an amount equal to his salary for six months.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 5155.

S. Res. 345—Authorizing the Secretary of the Senate to pay to J. W. Flanagan, administrator of J. W. Flanagan, a Senator of the United States, balance of salary.
Mr. Culberson; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 5156.

S. Res. 346—Authorizing the Committee on Interstate Commerce to inquire into and report on any existing strike of interstate railroad employees not conducted by any recognized organization of railroad employees.
Mr. McCormick; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 5335.—Reported with amendment, 5385.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5385, 5386.

S. Res. 347—In memory of and paying tribute to the high character and distinguished public services of Hon. Thomas S. Martin, late a Senator from the State of Virginia.
Mr. Swanson; considered and agreed to, 5482–5491.

S. Res. 348—To print in the Congressional Record the manuscript entitled "Mr. Hoover and the Farmer" and letter from Henry C. Wallace to Senator Gore.
Mr. Moses; considered and agreed to, 5588.

S. Res. 349—Directing the Secretary of the Senate to pay to Elizabeth A. Agnew, widow of Frank E. Agnew, late upholsterer and locksmith in the employ of the Senate, six months' pay.
Mr. Glass; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 5590.—Reported back and agreed to, 5645.

S. Res. 350—Authorizing the appointment of a committee to inquire into the general building situation and to report to the Senate before Dec. 1, 1920, such measures as may be deemed necessary to stimulate and foster the development of construction work in all its forms.
Mr. Calder; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 5685.—Reported back, 5765.—Debated and agreed to, 5765–5768.—Committee appointed, 6223.

S. Res. 351—Directing the Committee on the District of Columbia to present to the Senate legislation to bring about the ownership and operation of street railways of the District of Columbia and power plants operated in connection therewith.
Mr. Jones of Washington; ordered to lie on the table and to be printed, 5712.—Debated, 5715–5717.

S. Res. 352—To print the briefs in an appeal from the district courts of Kentucky, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin relative to the validity of the so-called eighteenth amendment and the enforcement thereof as a Senate document.
Mr. Moses; considered and disagreed to, 6015.

S. Res. 353—Relative to the death of the Hon. Charles A. Nichols, late a Representative from the State of Michigan.
Mr. Townsend; considered and agreed to, 6141.

S. Res. 354—Directing the Secretary of the Navy to report to the Senate whether it would be advantageous to acquire oil lands in foreign countries for the use of the Navy.
Mr. King; ordered to lie on the table, 6220.—Referred to Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, 6259.

S. Res. 355—Requesting the Committee on the Judiciary to inquire into the question and to report to the Senate whether or not the Sherman Antitrust Act requires revision, alteration, or extension.
Mr. King; Committee on the Judiciary, 6443.

S. Res. 356—Requesting the Secretary of State to instruct our consuls in foreign countries where cotton is consumed to ascertain what quantity will be needed during the present year.
Mr. Smith of South Carolina; considered and agreed to, 6494.

S. Res. 357—Instructing the Committee on Privileges and Elections or any subcommittee thereof to investigate the campaign expenses of various presidential candidates in both parties, and authorizing said committee or any subcommittee thereof to hold hearings, to employ a stenographer, to require the attendance of witnesses and the production of papers, documents, etc., and prescribing penalties for the refusal of witnesses to attend or answer questions.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Privileges and Elections, 6618.—Committee on Privileges and Elections discharged and referred to Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 6798.—Reported with amendments, 7326.—Considered, amended, and agreed to, 7327.

S. Res. 358—Directing the Committee on the District of Columbia to inquire into the proposed increase in the price of bread in the District of Columbia and to make such recommendations as the situation warrants.
Mr. Capper; considered and agreed to, 6798–6802.

S. Res. 359—Extending to the people of Armenia the congratulations of the Senate on the recognition of the Republic of Armenia and requesting the President to dispatch to the port of Batum a warship to protect American lives and property.
Mr. Harding, from Committee on Foreign Relations, 6844.—Considered and agreed to, 6978.—(See message from the President), 7533.

S. Res. 360—Requesting the Secretary of State to advise the Senate as to the provisions of the pending treaty between the allied Governments and Turkey with respect to the protectorate of Great Britain over Egypt.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Foreign Relations, 6980.

S. Res. 361—Directing the Committee on Naval Affairs to investigate the questions of again using coal as fuel by Government vessels, the locations of proper coal fields, costs of transportation to ports, and of Government ownership of such fields.
Mr. Cummins; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 6979.

S. Res. 362—Directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to furnish the Senate information as to the causes of the present freight congestion in the principal cities of the United States and as to the remedies to relieve it.
Mr. Reed; considered and agreed to, 7030.

S. Res. 363—Directing the Federal Reserve Board to advise the Senate as to its plans in regard to the existing inflation of the currency and the mobilization of credits to move the 1920 crop.
Mr. McCormick; ordered to lie on the table, 7085.—Considered and agreed to, 7145, 7146.—Report submitted (see S. Doc. 280), 7557.

S. Res. 364—Congratulating the peoples of Greece upon the reintegration of their ancient territories.
Mr. King; Committee on Foreign Relations, 7113.

S. Res. 365—Expressing the profound regret of the Senate at the death of the Hon. Levi P. Morton, former Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.
Mr. Lodge; considered and unanimously agreed to, 7165.

S. Res. 366—Authorizing the President of the Senate to appoint a select committee of five to investigate the relation between high prices for necessaries and the concentration of wealth.
Mr. Walsh of Massachusetts; ordered to lie on the table and to be printed, 7197.—Considered and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 7514.

S. Res. 367—Referring to the Court of Claims the bill (S. 4384) for the relief of William Casey.
Mr. Spencer, from Committee on Claims, 7189.—Agreed to, 7794.

S. Res. 368—Referring to the Court of Claims the bill (S. 4375) for the relief of the Pawnee Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma.
Mr. Spencer, from Committee on Claims, 7190.—Agreed to, 7794.

S. Res. 369—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish the Senate information relative to profiteering which would enable Congress to deal with the matter through proposed revenue legislation or otherwise.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Finance, 7328.

S. Res. 370—Expressing the hope that the people of Mexico will institute a new government which will bring internal peace and amicable relations with the United States.
Mr. King; Committee on Foreign Relations, 7328.

S. Res. 371—Directing the Committee on Naval Affairs to investigate and report on the value, extent, cost, and improvements of the Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Ill.
Mr. McCormick; Committee on Naval Affairs, 7397.

S. Res. 372—Felicitating Italy on the liberation of her subject peoples, the reintegration of her ancient territories, and the complete unity of the Italian people.
Mr. King; considered and agreed to, 7511.

S. Res. 373—Amending Rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Rules, 7715.—Reported, considered, and agreed to, 7715.

S. Res. 374—Authorizing and directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to investigate the bituminous coal situation.
Mr. Walsh of Massachusetts; ordered to lie over under the rule, 7780.—Reported back and agreed to, 8491.

S. Res. 375—Of sympathy for the Albanian people.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Foreign Relations, 7770.

S. Res. 376—Directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to inform the Senate upon what authority its order of Apr. 15, 1920, as to assigned and unassigned cars was made.
Mr. Harding; considered and agreed to, 7892.

S. Res. 377—Referring to the Court of Claims the bill (S. 2665) for the relief of Prof. William H. H. Hart, principal of the Hart Farm School and Junior Republic for Dependent Children.
Mr. Spencer, from Committee on Claims, 7960.

S. Res. 378—Authorizing the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Justice to hold hearings and to employ a stenographer to report the same.
Mr. France; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 8075.

S. Res. 379—Expressing the sorrow of the Senate on account of the death of Hon. Albert Estopinal, late a Member of the House of Representatives from the State of Louisiana.
Mr. Ransdell; considered and agreed to, 8078–8084.

S. Res. 380—Referring to the Court of Claims the bill (S. 2673) for the relief of James L. Vai.
Mr. Spencer; ordered to be placed on the calendar, 8161.

S. Res. 381—Directing the Secretary of the Senate to pay Walter B. Henretty for clerical services rendered the subcommittee of the Committee on Naval Affairs investigating awards in the Navy.
Mr. Lodge; June 2, 1920, referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate; June 2, 1920; reported without amendment; considered and agreed to, 8162.

S. Res. 382—Directing the Committee on the District of Columbia to investigate the conditions of the Washington Terminal in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on the District of Columbia, 8304.

S. Res. 383—Extending the powers conferred upon the Committee on Privileges and Elections under S. Res. 357, May 6, 1920, to investigate after adjournment of the Democratic national convention and before the November election, 1920, receipts and expenditures of political committees and of campaigns conducted in the election of President, Vice President, and United States Senators.
Mr. Pomerene; ordered to lie over under the rule, 8315.—Referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 8490.—Reported back adversely, 8637.—Minority report submitted (S. Rept. 663), 8637.—Debated, 8637–8641.—Agreed to, 8643.

S. Res. 384—Notifying the President of the United States that the two Houses of Congress are ready to adjourn.
Mr. Lodge; considered and agreed to, 8465.

S. Res. 385—Directing the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment to investigate the system of ratings in examinations for postmasters of the first, second, and third class and preferences, if any, in such examinations or certifications, etc.
Mr. Harris; ordered to lie over under the rule, 8491.

S. Res. 386—Denouncing all indignities toward the official representatives or the flag of any foreign Government with which the United States is at peace and calling upon the proper authorities to lawfully prevent their recurrence.
Mr. Thomas; ordered to lie over under the rule, 8493.

S. Res. 387—Amending Rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate by providing for the appointment of a committee on the revision of the laws.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Rules, 8640.—Considered and agreed to, 8640.

H. R. 2—To pension soldiers of the War with Spain, the Philippine insurrection, and the China relief expedition.
Mr. Sells; debated, 3709–3722, 8846, 8847, 8881, 8902, 8938.—Amended and passed House, 3722.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 3733.—Reported back (S. Rept. 527), 5713.—Debated, 6495–6500, 6566, 7784, 7788, 7861–7873.—Amended and passed Senate, 7873.—House agrees to Senate amendments, 8424.—Examined and signed, 8486, 8585.—Presented to the President, 8584.

H. R. 178—Authorizing an exchange of lands by A. A. Bruce, of La Veta, Colo.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 832), 5683.

H. R. 202—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent in fee simple to the county of Huron, in the State of Michigan, for a certain-described tract of land for public-park purposes.
Mr. Cramton; debated, 927, 928.—Passed House, 928.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 970.—Reported back, 2935.—Passed Senate, 5176.—Examined and signed, 5307, 5316.—Presented to the President, 5527.—Approved [Public, No. 176], 5761.

H. R. 263—To further protect interstate and foreign commerce against bribery and other corrupt trade practices.
Mr. Sims; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce discharged and referred to Committee on the Judiciary, 5253.

H. R. 274—In the promotion of the general welfare to provide capital for the development by land colonization of the agricultural resources of the Nation, providing certain privileges to soldier settlers, and creating a national colonization board.
Mr. Knutson; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3783.

H. R. 288—For the purpose of conferring citizenship upon Indians, segregation of Indian tribal property, and for other purposes.
Mr. Carter; debated, 1540–1559.—Passed House, 1559.—Referred to Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, 1563.

H. R. 348—To add certain lands to the Ochoco National Forest, Oreg.
Mr. Sinnott; debated, 17.—Passed House, 17.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 46.—Reported back, 1208.—Passed Senate, 2344.—Examined and signed, 2482, 2484.—Presented to the President, 2558.—Approved [Public, No. 135], 2875.

H. R. 393—Granting to all members of the military or naval service in the present war six months' pay, subject to deduction for bonuses heretofore received.
Mr. Ferris; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. R. 396—To authorize the payment of certain amounts for damages sustained by prairie fire on the Rosebud Indian Reservation, in South Dakota.
Mr. Gandy; reported back (S. Rept. 347), 1017.—Passed Senate, 2635.—Examined and signed, 2789, 2820, 2880.—Approved [Private, No. 27], 3086.

H. R. 397—To authorize a lieu selection by the State of South Dakota for 160 acres on Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gandy; reported back (H. Rept. 918), 6483.

H. R. 400—Authorizing the Sioux Tribe of Indians to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Gandy; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 345), 1017.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2343, 2344.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 2421.—Committee on Indian Affairs discharged, 5710.—House disagreed to Senate amendments, ask for conference, 5710.—Conferees appointed, 5710, 5713.—Senate insists upon its amendments, agrees to conference, 5713.—Conference report submitted in Senate and agreed to, 7271.—Conference report submitted in House, 7495.—Agreed to, 7846–7848.—Examined and signed, 7860, 7942.—Presented to the President, 8048.—Approved [Public, No. 237], 8553.

H. R. 406—Amending an act entitled "An act authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to sell to the city of Los Angeles, Calif., certain public lands in California; and granting rights in, over, and through the Sierra Forest Reserve, the Santa Barbara Forest Reserve, and the San Gabriel Timberland Reserve, Calif., to the city of Los Angeles, Calif.," approved June 30, 1906.
Mr. Osborne; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 602), 2618.—Debated, 2966–2968, 3723–3724.—Amended and passed House, 3724.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 3733.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 597), 7189.—Amended and passed Senate, 7791, 7792.—House agrees to Senate amendments with an amendment, in which it asks the concurrence of the Senate, 8231.—Senate concurs to the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate, 8162.—Examined and signed, 8334, 8398.—Presented to the President, 8563.

H. R. 415—Providing for cooperation between the United States and State Governments in the rural settlement of soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to promote the reclamation of lands, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3783.

H. R. 457—Providing for cooperation between the United States and State Governments in the rural settlement of soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to promote the reclamation of lands, and for other purposes.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3783.

H. R. 479—Providing for cooperation between the United States and State Governments in the rural settlement of soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to promote the reclamation of lands, and for other purposes.
Mr. Byrnes of South Carolina; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3783.

H. R. 484—To provide for the erection of a Federal office building on the site acquired for the Subtreasury in St. Louis, Mo.
Mr. Dyer; debated, 784.—Passed House, 784.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 806.—Reported back, 1362.—Passed Senate, 1362.—Examined and signed, 1517, 1519.—Presented to the President, 1601.—Approved [Public, No. 118], 2447.

H. R. 487—To provide employment and rural homes for those who have served with the military and naval forces through the reclamation of lands to be known as the "National soldier-settlement act."
Mr. Mondell; debated, 368, 1676, 1677.

H. R. 492—Providing for cooperation between the United States and State Governments in the rural settlement of soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to promote the reclamation of lands, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ferris; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3783.

H. R. 517—Amending an act to provide for drainage of Indian allotments of the Five Civilized Tribes, approved Mar. 27, 1914 (38 Stat., 310; Public, No. 77).
Mr. McKeown; reported back (H. Rept. 784), 5129.—Passed House, 5218.—Referred to Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, 5228.

H. R. 539—To carry into effect the findings of the Court of Claims in favor of Elizabeth White, administratrix of estate of Samuel N. White, deceased.
Mr. Sanders of Louisiana; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 713) and laid on table, 3934.

H. R. 544—To provide for the establishment of a national employment bureau in the Department of Labor.
Mr. Nolan; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 999), 7267.

H. R. 567—For the relief of John Chick.
Mr. Burroughs; reported back (H. Rept. 886), 6200.

H. R. 644—For the relief of Oscar Smith.
Mr. Gandy; reported back (S. Rept. 598), 7189.

H. R. 683—For the relief of William E. Johnson.
Mr. Hayden; reported back (S. Rept. 330), 615.—Passed Senate, 2634.—Examined and signed, 2789, 2820, 2880.—Approved [Private, No. 28], 3086.

H. R. 685—For the relief of Frank S. Ingalls.
Mr. Hayden; reported back (S. Rept. 481), 4566.—Passed Senate, 5238.—Examined and signed, 5383, 5385.—Presented to the President, 5561.—Approved [Private, No. 44], 5761.

H. R. 687—For the relief of Frank Pinkley.
Mr. Hayden; reported back (S. Rept. 482), 4566.—Passed Senate, 5238.—Examined and signed, 5383, 5385.—Presented to the President, 5561.—Approved [Private, No. 45], 5761.

H. R. 740—For the relief of John W. Baggott.
Mr. Hawley; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 881), 6200.

H. R. 742—For the relief of J. W. La Bare.
Mr. Hawley; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 887), 6200.

H. R. 788—For the relief of John Minahan, alias John Bagley.
Mr. Kinkaid; reported back (H. Rept. 876), 6199.

H. R. 795—For the relief of Arthur Wendle Englert.
Mr. Lea of California; passed House, 916, 917.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 437), 3387.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5178.—House disagrees to Senate amendment and asks for conference, 5493.—Conferees appointed, 5493.—Senate recedes from its amendment, 5535.—Examined and signed, 5683, 5713.—Presented to the President, 5814.—Approved [Private, No. 54], 6078.

H. R. 853—For the relief of Miles Swift.
Mr. Osborne; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1023), 7505.

H. R. 908—For the relief of Leo Balsam.
Mr. Snell; reported back (H. Rept. 804), 5314.

H. R. 909—For the relief of Ellen Agnes Monogue.
Reported back (S. Rept. 390), 2092.—Passed Senate, 4680.—Examined and signed, 4802, 4842.—Presented to the President, 4882.—Approved [Private, No. 31], 5061.

H. R. 946—For the relief of James A. Showen.
Reported back (S. Rept. 391), 2092.—Passed Senate, 4680.—Examined and signed, 4802, 4842.—Presented to the President, 4882.—Approved [Private, No. 33], 5061.

H. R. 974—For the relief of W. T. Dingler.
Mr. Wingo; reported back (S. Rept. 594), 7189.

H. R. 1003—For the relief of Jose Lopez y Castelo.
Mr. Walsh; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 711) and laid on table, 3934.

H. R. 1024—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent to John Zimmerman for certain lands in the Colorado National Forest upon the surrender of other lands of an equal acreage also located in the Colorado National Forest, Colo.
Mr. Timberlake; reported back, 8074.—Passed Senate, 8085.—Examined and signed, 8281, 8305.—Presented to the President, 8553.—Approved [Public, No. 240], 8662.

H. R. 1030—To correct the military record of John R. Smith, deceased.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 888), 6200.

H. R. 1034—For the relief of Jose Ramon Cordova.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 568), 1811.—Debated, 4839–4841.

H. R. 1035—For the relief of the widow of Joseph C. Akin.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; reported back (H. Rept. 569), 1811.

H. R. 1124—To authorize entry of the public lands by school districts for schoolhouse site and ground.
Mr. Raker; debated, 14–16.

H. R. 1143—Granting a gratuity to members of the United States Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, Army Nurse Corps, Army field clerks, and naval reservists.
Mr. Lampert; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. R. 1189—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Bethlehem, Pa., three German cannon or fieldpieces.
Mr. Steele; laid on the table, 8427.

H. R. 1199—To prohibit the purchase, sale, or possession for the purpose of sale of certain wild birds in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; amended and passed Senate, 275.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 408.—Examined and signed, 560, 597.—Presented to the President, 689.—Approved [Public, No. 101], 1054.

H. R. 1216—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide aid to State or Territorial homes for the support of disabled soldiers and sailors of the United States," approved Aug. 27, 1888, as amended Mar. 2, 1889.
Mr. Curry of California; debated and passed Senate, 1703, 1704.—Examined and signed, 1860, 1862.—Presented to the President, 1924.—Approved [Public, No. 126], 2448.

H. R. 1254—To provide soldiers, sailors, and marines with capital for agricultural development, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wilson of Louisiana; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3783.

H. R. 1266—For the relief of Mrs. Mamie Duffer, of Shannon, Miss.
Mr. Candler; passed House, 918.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.—Reported back (S. Rept. 478), 4375.—Debated, 5232.—Indefinitely postponed, 6449.

H. R. 1275—For the relief of W. L. Rose.
Mr. Curry of California; passed House, 918.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.—Reported back (S. Rept. 438), 3387.—Debated and passed Senate, 5178.—Examined and signed, 5307, 5316.—Presented to the President, 5527.—Approved [Private, No. 46], 5761.

H. R. 1279—Granting an increase of pension to Freda Burow.
Mr. Dyer; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 3992.

H. R. 1288—For the relief of George W. Gamble.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; reported back (H. Rept. 685), 3650.—Debated, 5125, 5126.—Passed House, 5126.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 5159.

H. R. 1299—For the relief of George LeClear.
Mr. Magee; reported back (H. Rept. 884), 6200.

H. R. 1300—For the relief of Alfred E. Lewis.
Mr. Magee; reported back (H. Rept. 878), 6200.

H. R. 1309—For the relief of Perry L. Haynes.
Mr. Merritt; reported back (H. Rept. 681), 3543.—Debated and passed House, 5124, 5125.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 5159.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 634), 7659.—Amended and passed Senate, 7799.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 8016.—Examined and signed, 8084, 8156.—Presented to the President, 8281.—Approved [Private, No. 62], 8662.

H. R. 1317—For the relief of Robert T. Legge.
Mr. Raker; passed House, 938.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.—Reported back (S. Rept. 392), 2092.—Debated and passed Senate, 4680.—Examined and signed, 4802, 4842.—Presented to the President, 4882.—Approved [Private, No. 34], 5061.

H. R. 1321—For the relief of Mrs. Annie M. Lepley, as postmaster at Plymouth, Amador County, Calif., for money, postal-money orders, and postage stamps stolen.
Mr. Raker; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 677), 3484.—Debated, 5123, 5124.

H. R. 1700—To pay the balance due the loyal Creek Indians on the award made by the Senate on the 16th day of February, 1903.
Mr. McKeown; reported back (H. Rept. 572), 1925.—Debated, 2363–2366.

H. R. 1713—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to appoint a commission to investigate and report upon the available sources of water supply for the District of Columbia.
Mr. Zihlman; reported back (S. Rept. 328), 316.

H. R. 1761—For the relief of the Farmers National Bank of Wilkinson, Ind.
Mr. Elliott; reported back (S. Rept. 338), 807.—Debated and passed Senate, 2343.—Examined and signed, 2482, 2484.—Presented to the President, 2558.—Approved [Private, No. 26], 2875.

H. R. 1787—For the relief of Kentuck Corbett.
Mr. French; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 710) and laid on table, 3934.

H. R. 1789—For the relief of Thomas P. Darr.
Mr. French; passed House, 919.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.—Reported back (S. Rept. 599), 7189.

H. R. 1790—For the relief of John K. Ashley, jr.
Mr. French; debated, amended, and passed House, 4827, 4828.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 4845.

H. R. 1791—For the relief of O. W. Lindsley.
Mr. French; passed House, 923.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.—Reported back (S. Rept. 444), 3387.—Passed Senate, 5180.—Examined and signed, 5307, 5316.—Presented to the President, 5527.—Approved [Private, No. 52], 6078.

H. R. 1796—For the relief of William Holsten.
Mr. Gandy; passed House, 926.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 970.

H. R. 1812—Making an appropriation to compensate James M. Moore for damages sustained while in the service of the Government of the United States.
Mr. Hastings; reported back (S. Rept. 331), 15.—Passed Senate, 2343.—Examined and signed, 2482, 2484.—Presented to the President, 2558.—Approved [Private, No. 24], 2875.

H. R. 1813—Making an appropriation to compensate Samuel Grant for pay, bounty, and clothing pay while in the service of the Government of the United States.
Mr. Hastings; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 729) and laid on table, 4049.

H. R. 1817—For the relief of Eliza Audre, daughter of Maria Colston.
Mr. Hastings; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 730) and laid on table, 4049.

H. R. 1827—For the relief of Carolyn Wheeler Kobbe.
Mr. Hicks; passed House, 4824.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 4845.—Reported back (S. Rept. 600), 7189.—Passed Senate, 7793.—Examined and signed, 8084, 8156.—Presented to the President, 8281.—Approved [Private, No. 63], 8662.

H. R. 1853—To reimburse E. T. Thing and S. A. Thing for losses and damages sustained by them by the negligent dipping of their cattle by the Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture.
Mr. Kettner; reported back (S. Rept. 439), 3387.—Debated, 5178.

H. R. 1856—For the relief of Arthur J. Burdick.
Mr. Kettner; passed House, 926.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.—Reported back, 8306.

H. R. 1865—For the relief of the Baltimore Dry Docks & Ship Building Co., owner of a dry dock at Baltimore, Md.
Mr. Linthicum; passed House, 926.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.—Reported back (S. Rept. 393), 2092.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 4680, 4681.—Taken from Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on Claims, 4842.

H. R. 1949—To correct the military record of George F. Reid.
Mr. Raker; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 882), 6200.

H. R. 2264—For the relief of the St. Croix Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin.
Mr. Nelson of Wisconsin; laid on the table, 4823.

H. R. 2328—Relating to the title to land to be acquired as a site for a post-office building at Spring Valley, Ill.
Mr. Ireland; reported back (H. Rept. 1031), 7556.

H. R. 2396—For the relief of John A. Gauley.
Mr. Dallinger; debated, amended, and passed House, 6095, 6096.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 6107.—Reported back (S. Rept. 622), 7459.—Passed Senate, 7798.—Examined and signed, 8084, 8156.—Presented to the President, 8281.—Approved [Private, No. 58], 8662.

H. R. 2420—For the relief of the legal representatives of Samuel Schiffer, deceased.
Mr. Langley; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 724) and laid on table, 4049.

H. R. 2702—To provide for the application of the reclamation law to irrigation districts.
Mr. Raker; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1065), 7957.

H. R. 2740—For the relief of Maude H. Mosher.
Mr. Dallinger; debated and passed House, 934, 935.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.

H. R. 2749—For the relief of legal representatives of Dr. W. D. Barnett, deceased, late of Cleveland County, Ark.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 723) and laid on table, 4048.

H. R. 2796—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah Parrish.
Mr. Kraus; reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 2814—For the relief of the legal representatives of the estate of Alphonse Desmare, deceased, and others.
Mr. Lazaro; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 621) and laid on table, 2818.

H. R. 2815—For the relief of Arthur J. Coney, sole heir of L. J. J. Coney, deceased.
Mr. Lazaro; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 725) and laid on table, 4049.

H. R. 2856—To regulate dealing in leaf tobacco.
Mr. Garrett; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 774), 4941.

H. R. 2946—To amend acts to permit the use of the right of way through the public lands for tramroads, canals, and reservoirs, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; debated, 18.—Amended and passed House, 19.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 46.

H. R. 2950—To authorize a preference right of entry by certain Carey Act entrymen, and for other purposes.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; reported back (S. Rept. 357), 1208.—Passed Senate, 2344.—Examined and signed, 2482, 2484.—Presented to the President, 2558.—Approved [Public, No. 140], 3086.

H. R. 2980—To increase the efficiency of the Military Establishment of the United States.
Mr. Kahn; debated and passed Senate, 1702.—Examined and signed, 1860, 1862.—Presented to the President, 1924.—Approved [Public, No. 123], 2448.

H. R. 3156—To provide employment and rural homes for those who have served with the military and naval forces through the reclamation of lands to be known as the "National soldier settlement act."
Mr. Tillman; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3783.

H. R. 3149—For the retirement of employees in the classified civil service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Lehlbach; laid on the table (see S. 1699), 6767.

H. R. 3175—Authorizing local drainage districts to drain certain public lands in the State of Arkansas, counties of Mississippi and Poinsett, and subjecting said lands to taxation.
Mr. Caraway; reported back, 1247.—Passed Senate, 1248.—Examined and signed, 1467, 1470.—Presented to the President, 1560.—Approved [Public, No. 119], 2447.

H. R. 3184—To create a Federal power commission, to provide for the improvement of navigation, the development of water powers, the use of public lands in relation thereto, and to repeal section 18 of the river and harbor appropriation act approved Aug. 8, 1917, and for other purposes.
Mr. Esch; debated, 241–246, 1039–1049, 1099–1109, 1176–1177, 1222–1224, 1225, 1277, 1338, 1362, 1429–1443, 1472–1496, 1521–1535, 1562, 1563–1574, 9319, 9350.—Passed Senate, 1574.—Senate asks for conference, 1574.—Conferees appointed, 1574, 1672.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to conference, 1672.—Conference report submitted in Senate (S. Doc. 269), 6329.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 910), 6381.—Debated and agreed to, 6519–6538.—Conference report debated in Senate, 7592, 7722–7739, 7770–7779, and agreed to, 7779.—Examined and signed, 7860, 7942.—Presented to the President, 8048.

H. R. 3201—For the relief of E. F. Mathews.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 726) and laid on table, 4049.

H. R. 3210—For the relief of Joseph A. Prat.
Mr. Dupré; passed House, 919.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.

H. R. 3211—For the relief of Emma J. Spear.
Mr. Dupré; passed House, 917.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.—Reported back (S. Rept. 449), 3435.—Passed Senate, 5181.—Examined and signed, 5307, 5316.—Presented to the President, 5527.—Approved [Private, No. 49], 5761.

H. R. 3212—For the relief of legal representatives of George E. Payne, deceased.
Mr. Dupré; debated, amended, and passed House, 4829.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 4845.—Reported back (S. Rept. 610), 7270.—Passed Senate, 7794.—Examined and signed, 8084, 8156.—Presented to the President, 8281.—Approved [Private, No. 59], 862.

H. R. 3214—For the relief of the legal representatives of Lapeue and Ferré.
Mr. Dupré; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 622) and laid on table, 2818.

H. R. 3215—For the relief of I. C. Johnson, jr.
Mr. Dupré; reported back (H. Rept. 964), 6893.

H. R. 3216—For the relief of the heirs of Isabella Ann Fluker.
Mr. Dupré; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 727) and laid on table, 4049.

H. R. 3274—In the promotion of the general welfare to provide capital for the development by land colonization of the agricultural resources of the Nation, providing certain privileges to soldier settlers, and creating a national colonization board.
Mr. Knutson; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3783.

H. R. 3329—To extend the time of the Hudson River Connecting Railroad Corporation for the completion of its bridge across the Hudson River, in the State of New York.
Mr. Esch; reported back (H. Rept. 1066), 7957.

H. R. 3477—To provide employment and rural homes for those who have served with the military and naval forces through the reclamation of lands to be known as the national soldier settlement act.
Mr. Hernandez; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3783.

H. R. 3510.—Granting an increase of pension to Lucinda Wilson.
Mr. Currie of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 352.

H. R. 3519—For the relief of David C. McGee.
Mr. Kettner; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 728) and laid on table, 4049.

H. R. 3522—For the relief of Lemuel Stokes.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; reported with amendment (R. Rept. 828), 5683.

H. R. 3564—For the relief of George W. Woodall.
Mr. Sanders of Indiana; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 604), 2618.—Debated, 5101.

H. R. 3620—To authorize the Commissioner of Navigation to change the names of vessels.
Mr. Alexander; passed Senate, 2633.—Examined and signed, 2789, 2820, 2880.—Approved [Public, No. 144], 3202.

H. R. 3654—To authorize the governor of the Territory of Hawaii to acquire privately owned lands and rights of way within the boundaries of the Hawaii National Park.
Mr. Kalanianaole; reported back (S. Rept. 428), 3041.—Passed Senate, 3041.—Examined and signed, 3316, 3377.—Presented to the President, 3484.—Approved [Public, No. 150], 3629.

H. R. 3707—Authorizing the enlistment of non-English-speaking citizens and aliens.
Mr. Kahn; laid on the table (see S. 547), 8429–8432.

H. R. 3754—To amend sections 8 and 21 of the copyright act, approved Mar. 4, 1909.
Mr. Nolan; reported back (S. Rept. 326), 271.—Debated, 271.—Passed Senate, 271.—Examined and signed, 386, 389.—Presented to the President, 469.—Approved [Public, No. 102], 1054.

H. R. 3791—To pay the heirs of Lewis J. Blair, late lieutenant colonel of the Eighty-eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, amount found due him by the Court of Claims.
Mr. Hickey; debated, 4823, 6097.

H. R. 3977—For the relief of the legal representatives of Donnelly & Egan, deceased.
Mr. Darrow; reported back (H. Rept. 613), 2675.—Debated, 51[illegible]

H. R. 3984—For the relief of Thomas Bayton and Bertha M. Hartt.
Mr. Hadley; debated, amended, and passed House, 4828, 4829.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 4845.

H. R. 4094—To provide employment and rural homes for those who have served with the military and naval forces through the reclamation of lands, to be known as the "National soldier farm act."
Mr. Johnson of Mississippi; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3783.

H. R. 4155—For the relief of the heirs of N. N. Barmore, deceased.
Mr. Jacoway; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 1018) and laid on table, 7384.

H. R. 4158—For the relief of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Arkansas.
Mr. Jacoway; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 1015) and laid on table, 7384.

H. R. 4159—For the relief of the legal representatives of Wiley J. Davis, deceased.
Mr. Jacoway; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 1014) and laid on table, 7384.

H. R. 4160—For the relief of Leander Mason and others, heirs of Thomas M. Mason, deceased.
Mr. Jacoway; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 1016) and laid on table, 7384.

H. R. 4184—For the relief of C. V. Hinkle.
Mr. Jacoway; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 667), 3317.—Debated amended, and passed House, 5122, 5123.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 5159.—Reported back (S. Rept. 595), 7189.

H. R. 4298—Granting additional compensation according to length of service to the officers and enlisted personnel of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps.
Mr. Langley; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. R. 4311—To authorize the addition of certain lands to the Caribou National Forest.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; debated, 20.—Amended and passed House, 20.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 46.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 517), 5529.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 6452.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 8231.—Examined and signed, 8346, 8398.—Presented to the President, 8563.

H. R. 4382—To confer on the Court of Claims jurisdiction to determine the respective rights of and differences between the Fort Berthold Indians and the Government of the United States.
Mr. Sinclair; debated, 923, 924.—As amended passed House, 924.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.—Reference changed to Committee on Indian Affairs, 1605.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 372), 1698.—Debated, 1699, 2157, 2158.—Amended and passed Senate, 2158.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 2303.—Examined and signed, 2420, 2423.—Presented to the President, 2558.—Approved [Public, No. 136], 2875.

H. R. 4383—To further amend section 858 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Volstead; reported back (H. Rept. 520), 941.—Debated and passed House, 1741, 1742.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 1765.

H. R. 4437.—To provide revenue for the Government and to promote the production of tungsten ores and manufactures thereof in the United States.
Mr. Timberlake; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 487), 4722.—Debated, 7271, 7272.

H. R. 4438—To provide for the promotion of vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry or otherwise and their return to civil employment.
Mr. Fess; reported with amendment, 1312.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5535, 5536.—Senate asks for conference, 5536.—Conferees appointed, 5536.—Referred to House Committee on Education, 6104.—Reported back, 7593.—Debated, 7593–7603.—House agrees to Senate amendment, 7603.—Examined and signed, 7739, 7780.—Presented to the President, 7921.—Approved [Public, No. 236], 8553.

H. R. 4927—For the relief of Nancy A. Parsons, C. M. Parsons, D. F. Staggs, Ollie Staggs, Roas Staggs, Lena Birchfield, Alice Birchfield, Bertie Gwin, Greely Gilbert, Linville Gilbert, and Nelson Gilbert.
Mr. Huddleston; debated, 921, 923.—Passed House, 923.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.—Reported back (S. Rept. 601), 7189.—Passed Senate 7793.—Examined and signed, 8084, 8156.—Presented to the President, 8281.—Vetoed (see H. Doc. 808). 8677.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 8677.

H. R. 5003—To amend section 4414, Revised Statutes of the United States, to classify and provide salaries for clerks in the Steamboat Inspection Service.
Mr. Greene of Massachusetts; reported back (H. Rept. 983), 7081.

H. R. 5006—To add certain lands to the Sequoia National Park, California and to change the name of said park to Roosevelt National Park.
Mr. Elston; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 764) 4843.—Debated, 5854.

H. R. 5081—For the relief of J. E. Adams.
Mr. Elston; passed House, 926.—Referred to Senate committee on Public Lands, 970.

H. R. 5132—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to make necessary surveys and provide plans for the construction and maintenance of an irrigation and colonization system in the States of California and Nevada to be known as the "Tahoe reclamation system," and to provide farms and employment for returned soldiers and sailors, and appropriating funds for the same.
Mr. Randall of California; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3783.

H. R. 5163—Authorizing certain tribes of Indians to submit claims to the Court of Claims, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sinnott; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 672), 3432.—Debated, 4347–4349.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5853, 5854.—Referred to Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, 5882.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 548), 6144.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 7155.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 7298.—Examined and signed, 7447, 7459.—Presented to the President, 7552.—Approved [Public, No. 222], 7812.

H. R. 5189—For the relief of Leonidas Sawyer.
Mr. Goodall; reported back (H. Rept. 806), 5314.

H. R. 5194—To correct the military record of Alfred Rebsamen.
Mr. Little; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 883), 6200.

H. R. 5201—Granting a pension to James D. White.
Mr. Parrish; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 3106.

H. R. 5202—Granting a pension to Ewell V. Osborn.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 859.

H. R. 5213—For the relief of occupants and claimants of unsurveyed public land in township eight north of range two west of Salt Lake meridian, Utah.
Mr. Welling; as amended passed House, 925.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 970.—Reported back, 2625.—Passed Senate, 5174, 5175.—Examined and signed, 5307, 5316.—Presented to the President, 5527.—Approved [Public, No. 177], 5761.

H. R. 5218—To provide revenue for the Government and to establish and maintain the production of magnesite ores and manufactures thereof in the United States.
Mr. Hadley; reported back (S. Rept. 458), 3732.—Debated, 8202.

H. R. 5238—For the relief of the Cleveland Trindad Paving Co.
Mr. Emerson; passed House, 918.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.

H. R. 5252—To provide soldiers, sailors, and marines with capital for agricultural development, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wilson of Louisiana; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3783.

H. R. 5345—For the relief of the Arundel Sand & Gravel Co.
Mr. Holland; laid on the table (see S. 1670), 918.

H. R. 5346—For the relief of the Eastern Transportation Co.
Mr. Holland; passed House, 917.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.—Reported back (S. Rept. 394), 2092.—Passed Senate, 4681.—Examined and signed, 4802, 4842.—Presented to the President, 4882.—Approved [Private, No. 32], 5061.

H. R. 5348—For the relief of Mrs. Thomas McGovern.
Reported back (S. Report 332), 615.—Debated and passed Senate, 2241.—Examined and signed, 2383, 2385.—Presented to the President, 2420.—Approved [Private, No. 23], 2668.

H. R. 5356—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Mason.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2179.

H. R. 5395—To provide soldiers, sailors, and marines with capital for agricultural development, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wilson of Louisiana; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3783.

H. R. 5416—To authorize corporations organized in the District of Columbia to change their names.
Mr. Mapes; debated and passed House, 7554, 0000.—Referred to Senate Committee on Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia, 7559.

H. R. 5478—Granting a pension to James Noe.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1077.

H. R. 5479—Granting a pension to James Sullivan.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 3317.

H. R. 5480—Granting a pension to Seaburn D. Wray.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1245.

H. R. 5481—Granting a pension to Scott Engle.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2333.

H. R. 5545—To provide homes for soldiers, seamen, and marines, and for other purposes.
Mr. Morgan; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.

H. R. 5579—To place Albert Hamilton on the retired list of the United States Navy.
Mr. Randall of California; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 995), 7188.

H. R. 5580—Granting six months' pay to Anton Kunz, father of Joseph Anthony Kunz, deceased, machinist's mate, first class, United States Navy, in active service.
Mr. Hardy of Texas; reported back (H. Rept. 990), 7126.

H. R. 5647—Granting additional pay to officers, enlisted men, and others who served in the armed forces of the United States in the war with Germany.
Mr. Voigt; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. R. 5665—For the relief of Carlow Avellina.
Mr. Caldwell; reported back (S. Rept. 333), 615.—Passed Senate, 2634.—Examined and signed, 2789, 2820, 2880.—Approved [Private, No. 29], 3086.

H. R. 5726—To fix the compensation of certain employees of the United States.
Mr. Nolan; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 383), 2039.—Amended and passed Senate, 7517.—Motion to reconsider made in Senate, 7664.—Debated and agreed to, 8197–8200.—Debated, 8320–8324, 8325–8333, 8336–8338, 8345, 8350, 8328–8333.

H. R. 5744—For the relief of Emma H. Ridley.
Mr. Donovan; reported back (H. Rept. 704), 3836.

H. R. 5745—For the relief of Dr. John H. Blackburn.
Mr. Thomas; reference changed to Committee on War Claims, 3217.

H. R. 5807—For the relief of John T. Adams.
Mr. Vestal; passed House, 917.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.—Reported back (S. Rept. 602), 7189.—Passed Senate, 7794.—Examined and signed, 8084, 8156.—Presented to the President, 8281.

H. R. 5815—Granting relief to persons who served in the Military Telegraph Corps of the Army during the Civil War.
Mr. Juul; reported back (H. Rept. 824), 5642.

H. R. 5818—For the retirement of public-school teachers in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Mapes; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 1035–1038.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 1177.—Examined and signed, 1309, 1311.—Presented to the President, 1467.—Approved [Public, No. 111], 1636.

H. R. 5859—For the relief of J. P. Littell.
Mr. Dickinson of Iowa; reported back (H. Rept. 705), 3837.

H. R. 5899—For the relief of Kenneth S. Cook, storekeeper, second class, United States Navy.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; reported back (H. Rept. 989), 7126.

H. R. 5918—In reference to a national military park on the plains of Chalmette, below the city of New Orleans.
Mr. O'Connor; reported back (H. Rept. 523), 1012.—Debated, 2115, 2366, 5852.

H. R. 5944—To remove the charge of desertion standing against Kenneth McKenzie, ordinary seaman, United States Navy.
Mr. Burdick; reference changed to Committee on Naval Affairs, 1676.

H. R. 6025—To amend the act entitled "An act to establish a code of law for the District of Columbia, approved Mar. 3, 1901," and the acts amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto.
Mr. Volstead; reported back (H. Rept. 481), 352.—Debated, 1739, 1740, 4487–4493.—Amended and passed House, 4493.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 4496.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 507), 5172.—Amended and passed Senate, 5237.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 5504.—Examined and signed, 5713.—Presented to the President, 5814.—Approved [Public, No. 181], 6078.

H. R. 6043—To provide homes for soldiers, sailors, and marines, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hastings; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.

H. R. 6077—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay the claim of the King Coal Co., of San Francisco, Calif.
Mr. Elston; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 556), 1693.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 4838, 4839.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 4845.—Reported back, 4992.—Passed Senate, 5232.—Examined and signed, 5383, 5385.—Presented to the President, 5561.—Approved [Private, No. 50], 5762.

H. R. 6090—Granting a pension to Sophia Doering.
Mr. Jacoway; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1077.

H. R. 6092—For the relief of the McClintic-Marshall Construction Co.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; reported back (H. Rept. 633), 2932.

H. R. 6098—For the relief of A. S. Rosenthal Co.
Mr. Pell; Reported back (H. Rept. 913), 6441.

H. R. 6102—Granting a pension to Charles M. Walker.
Mr. Phelan; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2818.

H. R. 6114—Granting a pension to John W. Hays.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3317.

H. R. 6130—Granting an increase of pension to James Robinson.
Mr. Smithwick; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5481.

H. R. 6136—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to sell certain lands to school district No. 21, of Fremont County, Wyo.
Mr. Mondell; passed House, 932.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 970.—Reported back, 2935.—Passed Senate, 5176.—Examined and signed, 5307, 5316.—Presented to the President, 5527.—Approved [Private, No. 48], 5761.

H. R. 6171—To authorize the refund of duties collected on field kitchens imported during the year 1916.
Mr. Britten; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 897), 6256.—Debated, 6480, 6481.

H. R. 6174—For the purpose of providing credits for honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines who are not owners of homes.
Mr. McKeown; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.

H. R. 6198—Authorizing payment of compensation to Swanhild Sims for personal injuries.
Mr. Miller; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 618), 2790.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5106.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 5159.—Reported back (S. Rept. 623), 7459.—Passed Senate, 7798.—Examined and signed, 8084, 8156.—Presented to the President, 8281.—Approved [Private, No. 64], 8662.

H. R. 6210—Granting an increase of pension to George Poff.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 6386.

H. R. 6221—Conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in the Osage civilization-fund claim of the Osage Nation of Indians against the United States.
Mr. Howard; reported back (H. Rept. 899), 6256.—Passed House, 6479, 6480.—Referred to Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, 6495.

H. R. 6222—To remove a certain tract or lots of land in Cristobal, Canal Zone, from the operation and effect of the Executive order of the President of Dec. 5, 1912, pursuant to the act of Congress of Aug. 24, 1912 (37 Stat., ch. 390, p. 565).
Mr. Denison; Committee on Commerce discharged, and referred to the Committee on Interoceanic Canals, 7890.—Reported with an amendment, 7890.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 7890.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 8230.—Examined and signed, 8346, 8398.—Presented to the President, 8563.—Approved [Public, No. 250], 8662.

H. R. 6238—To provide a tariff and to obtain revenue in connection with the metal contents of zinc ores and products thereof and repealing existing laws fixing the rates of duty on such commodities.
Mr. McPherson; reported back (S. Rept. 511), 5385.

H. R. 6291—For the relief of E. Willard.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; as amended passed House, 920.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.—Reported back (S. Rept. 440), 3387.—Passed Senate, 5179.—Examined and signed, 5307, 5316.—Presented to the President, 5527.—Approved [Private, No. 53], 6078.

H. R. 6296—Authorizing the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians, residing in the State of Washington, to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; reference changed to Committee on Indian Affairs, 3317.—Reported back (H. Rept. 790), 5223.

H. R. 6301—For the relief of Nathan Manzer.
Mr. Randall of California; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 885), 6200.

H. R. 6375—For the relief of the Kentucky drafted men.
Mr. Rouse; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 1017) and laid on table, 7384.

H. R. 6376—To amend section 2 of the act approved Sept. 8, 1916, relating to pensions.
Mr. Ashbrook; laid on the table (see H. R. 9369; also Public, No. 190), 8427.

H. R. 6407—For the relief of Michael MacGarvey.
Mr. Siegel; passed House, 926.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.—Reported without amendment (S. Rept. 649), 8161.—Passed Senate, 8538.—Examined and signed, 8620, 8662.—Presented to the President, 8678.

H. R. 6413—Granting the sum of $549.12 to Clara Kane, dependent parent, by reason of the death of William A. Yenser, late civil employee, killed as a result of an accident at the Philadelphia Navy Yard.
Mr. Vare; reported back (S. Rept. 441), 3387.—Passed Senate, 5179.—Examined and signed, 5307, 5316.—Presented to the President, 5527.—Approved [Private, No. 47], 5761.

H. R. 6414—For the relief of Herman W. Schallert.
Mr. Voigt; debated, amended, and passed House, 4828.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 4845.

H. R. 6522—For the relief of F. M. Barfield.
Mr. Crisp; passed House, 932.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.

H. R. 6598—Granting a pension to Cynthia Ann Mitchell.
Mr. Ferris; reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 57.

H. R. 6639—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War, and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 376), 1764.

H. R. 6684—To provide employment and rural homes for those who have served with the military and naval forces and to encourage the development of the agricultural resources of the United States.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.

H. R. 6721—For the relief of Revilow N. Spohn.
Mr. Morin; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 712) and laid on table, 3934.

H. R. 6722—For the relief of Julius Zanone.
Mr. Morin; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 623) and laid on table, 2818.

H. R. 6750—To deport certain undesirable aliens and to deny readmission to those deported.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; passed Senate, 6444.—Examined and signed, 6615, 6617.—Presented to the President, 6737.—Approved [Public, No. 197], 6884.

H. R. 6772—Authorizing and directing the transfer of 10 acres of land to rural high school district No. 1, Lapwai, Idaho.
Mr. French; debated, amended, and passed House, 920, 921.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 970.—Reported back, 2935.—Passed Senate, 5177.—Examined and signed, 5307, 5316.—Presented to the President, 5527.—Approved [Public, No. 178], 5761.

H. R. 6773—For the relief of Albert C. Burgess.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; as amended passed House, 919.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.—Reported back (S. Rept. 442), 3387.—Passed Senate, 5179.—Examined and signed, 5307, 5316.—Presented to the President, 5527.—Approved [Private, No. 43], 5761.

H. R. 6857—To authorize the change of the name of the steamer Charlotte Graveraet Breitung to T. K. Maher.
Mr. Greene of Massachusetts; reported back (S. Rept. 314), 46.—Passed Senate, 46.—Examined and signed, 177, 213.—Presented to the President, 292.—Approved [Public, No. 96], 422.

H. R. 6863—To regulate the height, area, and use of buildings in the District of Columbia and to create a Zoning Commisison, and for other purposes.
Mr. Mapes; debated, 1032, 1033.—Amended and passed Senate, 2094–2096.—House disagrees to Senate amendments, asks for conference, 2303, 2304.—Conferees appointed, 2285, 2304.—Conference report submited in House (H. Rept. 653), 3105.—Conference report submited in Senate, 3110.—And agreed to, 3389.—Conference report agreed to in House, 3528.—Examined and signed, 3543, 3553.—Presented to the President, 3608.—Approved [Public, No. 153], 4048.

H. R. 6870—To provide for a library information service in the Bureau of Education.
Mr. Raker; debated, 16.

H. R. 6881—For the relief of Joseph A. McCarthy.
Mr. Kahn; passed House, 932.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.

H. R. 6928—Granting a pension to Agnes Eugenia Dinsmoor.
Mr. Hawley; reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 7004—To provide employment and rural homes for those who have served with the military and naval forces, and others, through the reclamation and redistribution of lands, to be known as the "Soldiers' land bill," and for other purposes.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.

H. R. 7026—Providing for employment for returning soldiers and sufferers from the drought by the construction of irrigation projects.
Mr. Riddick; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.

H. R. 7050—For the relief of the First State Bank of Kerrville, Kerr County, State of Texas, and to refund to that bank moneys which were deducted from its securities following the loss of war savings stamps or certificates mailed by the said Kerrville bank to the Federal reserve bank at Dallas, Tex.
Mr. Hudspeth; reported back (H. Rept. 805), 5314.

H. R. 7053—For the relief of H. L. McFarlin.
Mr. Jacoway; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 919), 6483.

H. R. 7062—Granting a pension to Joseph Willms.
Mr. McArthur; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 57.

H. R. 7157—To amend section 5 of the trade-mark act of Feb. 20, 1905.
Mr. Merritt; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 601), 2594.

H. R. 7158—To provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Mapes; reported back (H. Rept. 531), 1077.—Minority report submitted (H. Rept. 531, pt. 2), 1154.—Debated, 1444–1466, 8720.—Passed House, 1466.—Referred to Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 1472.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 636), 7713.—Amended and passed Senate, 7799.—House disagrees to the Senate amendments and asks for conference, 8044.—Conferees appointed, 8044, 8085.—Senate insists upon its amendment and agrees to conference, 8085.—(See Public, No. 245.)

H. R. 7191—Authorizing the issuance of bonds to be furnished soldiers, sailors, and marines of the United States in proportion to the length of service in the war with Germany.
Mr. Jones of Texas; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.

H. R. 7230—Granting a pension to Emma Ervin.
Mr. Hoch; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 7188.

H. R. 7271—Granting an increase of pension to John Kennedy.
Mr. LaGuardia; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2333.

H. R. 7333—For the relief of Emily J. Mullins.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; reported back (H. Rept. 949), 6792.

H. R. 7351—To provide homes for soldiers, seamen, and marines, and for other purposes.
Mr. Evans of Montana; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.

H. R. 7404—To repeal section 7 of the act of Oct. 7, 1917, entitled "An act making appropriation to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes."
Mr. Smith of Idaho; debated, 19, 20.

H. R. 7535—For the relief of Ellen M. Willey.
Mr. Montague; reported back (H. Rept. 963), 6893.

H. R. 7567—For the relief of G. T. and W. B. Hastings, partners trading as Hastings Bros.
Mr. Holland; reported back (H. Rept. 583), 1980.—Passed House, 4841.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 4845.—Reported without amendment, 8464.

H. R. 7573—Authorizing payment of compensation to Pasquale Dolce for personal injuries.
Mr. MacGregor; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 693), 3650.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5126–5128.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 5159.

H. R. 7622—Providing for cooperation between the United States and State Governments in the acquirement of homes for soldiers, sailors, and marines, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ferris; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.

H. R. 7629—To amend the penal laws of the United States.
Mr. Walsh; reported back (H. Rept. 580), 1980.—Debated and passed House, 2178, 2179.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 2185.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 528).—Amended and passed Senate, 7162.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 7297.—Examined and signed, 7447, 7459.—Presented to the President, 7552.—Vetoed by the President (H. Doc. No. 802), 8280.—(See H. R. 14384), 8280.

H. R. 7634—To encourage the development of the agricultural resources of the United States through Federal and State cooperation, giving preference, in the matter of employment and the establishment of rural homes, to those who have served with the military and naval forces.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.

H. R. 7656—To repeal the act entitled "An act to authorize the President to provide housing for war needs," approved May 16, 1918, and to repeal all acts and parts of acts amendatory thereof, and to provide for the disposition of all property acquired under and by virtue of the same.
Mr. Clark of Florida; debated, 762–784.—Amended and passed House, 784.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 806.—Reported with amendment, 4775.—Amended and passed Senate, 4775, 4776.—Senate asks for conference, 4776.—Conferees appointed, 4776, 4881.—House agrees to conference, 4881.

H. R. 7657—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 489), 4092.—Indefinitely postponed (see H. R. 12530), 8196.

H. R. 7682—For the relief of the heirs of Michael Carling, assignee of Joseph R. Shannon, deceased.
Mr. Linthicum; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 798) and laid on table, 5273.

H. R. 7692—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Cravens.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 7705—To amend section 339 of the tariff act of Oct. 3, 1913, in respect to the tariff on buttons of shell and pearl.
Mr. Green of Iowa; reported back (S. Rept. 483), 4672.

H. R. 7710—To provide homes for soldiers, sailors, and marines, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hastings; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.

H. R. 7737—To amend the act approved Oct. 3, 1913, entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes."
Mr. Osborne; reported back (H. Rept. 1097), 8459.

H. R. 7752—Relating to detached service of officers of the Regular Army.
Mr. Kahn; debated, 1426–1428.—Passed Senate, 1428.—Examined and signed, 1517, 1519.—Presented to the President, 1601.—Approved [Public, No. 120], 2447.

H. R. 7775—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy, and certain soldiers and sailors of wars other than the Civil War, and to widows of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Sells; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 377), 1764.—Debated, 8511.—Amended and passed Senate, 8513.—House disagrees to Senate amendments, asks for conference, 8663.—Conferees appointed, 8631, 8663.—Senate insists upon its amendments, agrees to conference, 8631.

H. R. 7785—To provide revenue for the Government, to establish and maintain in the United States the manufacture of laboratory glassware, laboratory porcelain ware, optical glass, scientific and surgical instruments.
Mr. Bacharach; reported back (S. Rept. 459), 3732.

H. R. 7844—Granting one year's pay to all members of the military and naval forces of the United States who served during the present war.
Mr. Morin; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. R. 7845—Granting a pension to John M. Williams.
Mr. Barbour; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2179.

H. R. 7875—To grant one year's extra pay to the members of the military and naval forces of the United States as partial compensation for their sacrifices and to assist them during the period of readjustment.
Mr. Foster; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. R. 7900—For the relief of Rudolph L. Desdunes.
Mr. Jefferis; passed House, 919.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.—Reported back (S. Rept. 641), 7769.

H. R. 7930—To provide for the treatment in hospital of diseased alien seamen.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; reported with amendments, 8084.

H. R. 8028—To reserve as parts of the Oregon, Siuslaw, and Crater National Forests in Oregon certain lands that were revested in the United States pursuant to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the Oregon & California Railroad Co. *v.* the United States.
Mr. Hawley; debated, amended, and passed House, 21, 22.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 46.—Reported back, 1208.—Passed Senate, 2345.—Examined and signed, 2482, 2484.—Presented to the President, 2558.—Approved [Public, No. 137], 2875.

H. R. 8038—To amend section 4 of the act approved July 17, 1916, known as the Federal farm loan act, extending its provisions to Porto Rico.
Mr. Davila; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 733), 4157.—Debated, 5070–5077, 5294–5302, 5303–5307.—Passed House, 5307.—Referred to Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, 5318.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 558), 6202.

H. R. 8062—To extend the permit privilege to include first-class mail.
Mr. Randall of California; reported back (H. Rept. 673), 3484.—Debated, 4352, 4353.—Amended and passed House, 4353.—Referred to Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 4396.

H. R. 8067—To establish standard weights and measures for the District of Columbia, to define the duties of the superintendent of weights, measures, and markets of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Mapes; debated, 293–310, 7539–7545.—Amended and passed House, 7548.—Referred to Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 7559.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 647), 8074.

H. R. 8078—To regulate the importation of coal-tar products, to promote the establishment of the manufacture thereof in the United States, and, as incident thereto, to amend the act of Sept. 8, 1916, entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes."
Mr. Longworth; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 425), 2899.—Debated, 3440–3457, 6397–6404, 6456–6458, 6502, 6503, 6568, 6626, 6671–6705, 6742–6765, 6805, 6857, 9225–9233.

H. R. 8084—Granting to certain claimants the preferential right to purchase certain alleged public lands in the State of Arkansas, and for other purposes.
Mr. Caraway; debated and passed House, 929, 930.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 970.—Reported back, 1210.—Passed Senate, 1210.—Examined and signed, 1309, 1311.—Presented to the President, 1467.—Approved [Private, No. 21], 2447.

H. R. 8142—For the relief of Anna Blumenthal.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 936), 6669.

H. R. 8308—Providing for an exchange of lands between the Swan Land & Cattle Co. and the United States.
Mr. Sinnott; passed House, 921.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 970.

H. R. 8314—To provide for the training of officers of the Army in aeronautic engineering and the issue of equipment and materials therefor.
Mr. Kahn; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 409), 2339.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5173.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 6504, 6505.—Examined and signed, 6615, 6617.—Presented to the President, 6737.—Approved [Public, No. 198], 6884.

H. R. 8440—To restore to the public domain certain lands heretofore reserved for a bird reservation in Siskiyou and Modoc Counties, Calif., and Klamath County, Oreg., and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; debated, 373–386.—Amended and passed House, 386.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 394.—Reported back, 7084.—Passed Senate, 7162.—Examined and signed, 7384, 7386.—Presented to the President, 7423.—Approved [Public, No. 226], 7812.

H. R. 8450—Granting a pension to Annie J. Page.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1811.

H. R. 8484—Granting to certain members of the Military or Naval Service in the war with the central European powers additional pay.
Mr. Pou; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. R. 8535—To provide for the redistribution of general taxes and special assessments due and payable on real estate in the District of Columbia, in cases of subdivision or sales of land therein.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 944), 6792.—Debated, 7546.—Amended and passed House, 7548.—Referred to Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 7559.

H. R. 8536—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 490), 4992.—Indefintely postponed (see H. R. 12530), 8196.

H. R. 8545—To provde for the disposition of abandoned lighthouse and life-saving stations.
Mr. Sears; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 912), 6440.

H. R. 8560—For the relief of Lena Schmieder.
Mr. Newton of Missouri; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 703), 3836.

H. R. 8598—Restoring to Amy E. Hall her homestead rights and providing that, on any homestead entry made by her, she shall be given credit for all compliance with the law on her original homestead entry and for all payments made on same.
Mr. Hawley; passed House, 930.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 970.—Reported back, 1208.—Passed Senate, 2345.—Examined and signed, 2484.—Presented to the President, 2558.—Approved [Private, No. 25], 2875.

H. R. 8645—For the relief of Lawrence Bendich and Anthony Vezich.
Mr. O'Connor; passed House, 927.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 970.—Reported back (S. Rept. 479), 4375.—Passed Senate, 5233.—Examined and signed, 5383, 5385.—Presented to the President, 5561.—Approved [Private, No. 51], 5762.

H. R. 8647—For the relief of the owners of the American schooner William H. Sumner.
Mr. Rowe; debated and passed House, 4826, 4827.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 4845.

H. R. 8661—To authorize the Kingsdale Lumber Corporation to construct a bridge across Lumber River, near the town of Lumberton, N. C.
Mr. Godwin of North Carolina; passed House, 1070.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 1084.—Reported back (S. Rept. 349), 1208.—Passed Senate, 1208.—Examined and signed, 1309, 1311.—Presented to the President, 1467.—Approved [Public, No. 112], 1636.

H. R. 8686—For the relief of William C. Chandler.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; reference changed to Committee on Military Affairs, 1759.

H. R. 8690—For the relief of certain homestead entrymen.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 838), 5711.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5869–5872.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 5882.

H. R. 8692—Authorizing the exchange of lands within the Montezuma National Forest in Colorado.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 947), 6792.

H. R. 8719—Providing for the payment to legal heirs of deceased honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines the $60 bonus due at date of death of the soldiers, sailors, or marines.
Mr. Mead; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. R. 8778—To amend and modify the War Risk Insurance act.
Mr. Sweet; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 339), 81[illegible]—Debated, 819, 820, 876, 877, 8727.—Amended and passed Senate, 877.—House disagrees to Senate amendments, asks for conference, 977.—Conferees appointed, 978.—Senate insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference, conferees appointed, 970.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 952.—Agreed to, 952.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 529), 1006.—And agreed to, 1007.—Examined and signed, 974, 1010.—Presented to the President, 1054.—Approved [Public, No. 104], 1055.

H. R. 8819—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and for other purposes," approved July 11, 1919.
Mr. Kahn; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 484), 352.—Debated, 415–434, 470–497, 548–550, 8775.—Amended and passed House, 551.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 562.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 379), 1928.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2430–2442.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for conference, 2653.—Conferees appointed, 2653, 2960.—Senate insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference, 2959–2960.—Conference report submitted in Senate and agreed to, 3164, 3165.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 668), 3317.—Debated and agreed to, 3410.—Examined and signed, 3484, 3486.—Presented to the President, 3601.—Approved [Public, No. 151], 3709.

H. R. 8820—To provide members of the military and naval forces with capital for farm settlements.
Mr. McFadden; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.

H. R. 8864—To encourage the reclamation of certain arid lands in the State of California, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 511), 859.—Debated, 1735, 2361.

H. R. 8881—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to reimburse the First National Bank of New Carlisle, Ind., for the loss of war-savings stamps and thrift stamps.
Mr. Hickey; reported back (H. Rept. 694), 3650.—Debated and passed House, 5128.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 5159.

H. R. 8921—For the relief of Lena R. McCauley.
Mr. Mann; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 624) and laid on table, 2818.

H. R. 8943—To grant a Victory bond bonus to the members of the military and naval forces of the United States who brought about the victory.
Mr. Mason; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. R. 8953—To authorize the incorporated town of Ketchikan, Alaska, to issue bonds for the construction and equipment of schools therein, and for other purposes.
Mr. Grigsby; reported back (S. Rept. 360), 1247.—Passed Senate, 2241.—Examined and signed, 2383, 2385.—Presented to the President, 2420.—Approved [Public, No. 132], 2668.

H. R. 8992—For the construction of a bridge across the Susquehanna River at Laceyville, Wyoming County, Pa.
Mr. McFadden; passed House, 17.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 46.—Reported back (S. Rept. 340), 913.—Passed Senate, 913.—Examined and signed, 974, 1010.—Presented to the President, 1054.—Approved [Public, No. 108], 1055.

H. R. 9023—To give effect to certain provisions of the convention for the protection of trade-marks and commercial names, made and signed in the city of Buenos Aires, in the Argentine Republic, Aug. 20, 1910, and for other purposes.
Mr. Nolan; debated, amended, and passed House, 1835–1843.—Referred to Senate Committee on Patents, 1865.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 432), 3225.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 3225–3227.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for conference, 3521.—Conferees appointed, 3500, 3521.—Senate insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference, 3500.—Conference report submitted in Senate and agreed to, 4160.—Conference report submitted in House, 4255, 4286.—Conference report agreed to in House, 4286, 4287.—Examined and signed, 4372, 4374.—Presented to the President, 4467.—Approved [Public, No. 163], 4701.

H. R. 9027—To create the commission on rural and urban home settlement.
Mr. Riddick; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.

H. R. 9028—To authorize the addition of certain lands to the Nezperce National Forest, Idaho.
Mr. French; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 833), 5683.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 6466, 6467.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 6494.

H. R. 9036—To repeal and annul certain parts of the charter and lease granted and made to the Washington Market Co. by act of Congress entitled "An act to incorporate the Washington Market Co.," approved May 20, 1870.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; debated, 7546.—Amended and passed House, 7548.—Referred to Senate Committee on Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia, 7559.

H. R. 9046—For the relief of William Malone.
Mr. Green of Iowa; reported back (H. Rept. 614), 2675.—Passed House, 5105.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 5159.

H. R. 9048—For the relief of Catherina Rea, administratrix of the estate of John Rea.
Mr. Hersman; reported back (H. Rept. 664), 3217.—Debated and passed House, 5121.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 5159.—Reported back (S. Rept. 624), 7459.—Passed Senate, 7798.—Examined and signed, 8084, 8156.—Presented to the President, 8281.—Approved [Private, No. 65], 8662.

H. R. 9065—To amend sections 3, 8, 10, 12, 20, and 21 of the act approved July 17, 1916, known as the Federal farm loan act.
Mr. Platt; debated, 1769, 2151, 2152.—Amended and passed Senate, 2152.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for conference, 2362, 2371.—Conferees appointed, 2371, 2428.—Senate insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference, 2428.—Conference report submitted and agreed to in Senate, 3438, 3439.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 684), 3629, 3759.—House insists upon its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate and asks for further conference, 3759–3767.—Conferees appointed, 3767, 3788.—Senate further insists upon its amendments and agrees to further conference, 3788.—Second conference report submitted in Senate and agreed to, 5227, 5228.—Second conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 815), 5481, 5621.—Debated, 5621–5628.—Agreed to, 5628.—Examined and signed, 5710, 5713.—Presented to the President, 5814.—Approved [Public, No. 182], 6078.

H. R. 9067—Granting additional pay to all enlisted men of the military and naval forces of the United States who served during the war against Germany.
Mr. Rhodes; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. R. 9089—Releasing the claim of the United States Government to the block or square of land in the city of Fort Smith, in the State of Arkansas, upon which is situated the old Federal jail, to the city of Fort Smith for a site for a convention hall, community building, and other public purposes.
Mr. Wingo; debated, 936, 938.—As amended passed House, 938.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 970.—Reported back and passed Senate, 1520.—Examined and signed, 1670, 1697.—Presented to the President, 1759.—Approved [Public, No. 122], 2447.

H. R. 9112—Authorizing the Secretary of War to loan Army rifles to posts of the American Legion.
Mr. Rogers; amended and passed Senate, 1702.—Reconsidered, amended, and passed Senate, 1768.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 2370.—Examined and signed, 2420, 2423.—Presented to the President, 2558.—Approved [Public, No. 133], 2875.

H. R. 9137—Granting to the members of the military and naval forces of the United States the same bonus accorded other Government workers.
Mr. Benham; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.

H. R. 9182—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy, and certain soldiers and sailors of wars other than the Civil War, and to widows of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Sells; laid on the table, 1298.

H. R. 9183—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to adjust the terms of the contract for the sale of the old post-office property in New Haven, Conn.
Mr. Tilson; debated, 20, 21.—Passed House, 21.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 46.—Reported back and passed Senate, 1520.—Examined and signed, 1670, 1697.—Presented to the President, 1759.—Approved [Private, No. 22], 2447.

H. R. 9197—For the relief of Frances Martin.
Mr. Ricketts; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1099), 8459.

H. R. 9223—Granting a pension to Ezra Shanks.
Mr. Thompson of Oklahoma; reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1601.

H. R. 9228—To authorize the establishment of a Coast Guard station on the coast of Lake Superior, in Cook County, Minn.
Mr. Carss; reported back (H Rept. 826), 5683.—Passed House, 5866.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 5882.—Reported back and passed Senate, 6259.—Examined and signed, 6442.—Presented to the President, 6552.—Approved [Public, No. 192], 6836.

H. R. 9257—For the relief of the Van Dorn Iron Works Co.
Mr. Emerson; debated, 4832, 4833.

H. R. 9281—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy, and certain soldiers and sailors of wars other than the Civil War, and to widows of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Sells; debated and passed House, 1286–1290.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 1319.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 433), 3386.—Amended and passed Senate, 8513–8517.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for conference, 8663.—Conferees appointed, 8631, 8663.—Senate insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference, 8631.

H. R. 9299—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John F. Kelly.
Mr. Kreider; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 874), 6199.

H. R. 9321—Granting additional compensation to all soldiers, sailors, marines, and others who served in the armed forces of the United States in the war against Germany and Austria.
Mr. Fairfield; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. R. 9322—To provide educational facilities for persons serving as members of the United States military or naval forces in the war with Germany and honorably discharged from such forces, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fess; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.

H. R. 9337—For the relief of the Cornwell Co.
Mr. Fordney; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 822), 5642.

H. R. 9355—Granting one year's pay to all members of the military and naval forces of the United States who served during the present war.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. R. 9357—For the relief of S. S. Markley.
Mr. Ferris; reported back (H. Rept. 836), 5711.

H. R. 9369—To revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, and the war with Mexico, to certain widows, including widows of the War of 1812, former widows, dependent parents, and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; debated, 1060–1068, 8693, 8704, 8709, 8710, 8715–8717, 9046.—Passed House, 1068.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 1084.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 512), 5407.—Debated, 5927–5944, 5970–5974, 6056, 6057–6062, 6168–6171, 6186–6226, 6227, 9263.—Amended and passed Senate, 6062.—Taken from the Speaker's table, 6227.—House agrees to Senate amendments, 6227.—Examined and signed, 6328, 6357.—Presented to the President, 6440.—Approved [Public, No. 190], 9369.

H. R. 9389—To consolidate, codify, revise, and reenact the general and permanent laws of the United States in force Mar. 4, 1919.
Mr. Little; reported back (H. Rept. 781), 4941.

H. R. 9392—Regulating the disposition of lands formerly embraced in the grants to the Oregon and California Railroad Co. and Coos Bay Wagon Road Co.
Mr. Sinnott; reported back (H. Rept. 841), 5762.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 6461–6464.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 6495.—Committee on Public Lands discharged, 7797.—Passed Senate, 7797.—Examined and signed, 8084, 8156.—Presented to the President, 8281.—Approved [Public, No. 241], 8662.

H. R. 9412—To authorize the Secretary of War to transfer free of charge certain surplus motor-propelled vehicles and motor equipment to the Department of Agriculture, Post Office Department, Navy Department, and the Treasury Department for the use of the Public Health Service, and certain other surplus property to the Department of Agriculture, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kahn; laid on the table (see S. 3037), 2980.

H. R. 9448—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 491), 4992.—Indefinitely postponed (see H. R. 12530), 8196.

H. R. 9505—Granting an increase of pension to Robert H. Cowan.
Mr. Godwin of North Carolina; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2333.

H.R. 9521—To prevent hoarding and deterioration of, and deception with respect to, cold-storage foods, to regulate shipments of cold-storage foods in interstate commerce, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hutchinson; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 569), 6329.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 7157–7160.—House disagrees to all the Senate amendments, and asks for a conference, 7259.—Conferees appointed, 7259, 7272.—Senate insists upon its amendments, agrees to conference, 7272.

H. R. 9545—Granting a pension to Oliver M. McRoberts.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 100.

H. R. 9559—To extend the benefits of the employers' liability act of Sept. 7, 1916, to Arthur E. Rump.
Mr. Newton of Missouri; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1001), 7325.

H. R. 9583—For the relief of Edward A. Purdy, postmaster of the city of Minneapolis, Minn., for postage stamps, postal-savings stamps, war-savings stamps, war-tax revenue stamps, and cash from money orders stolen from the branch post office at Minneapolis, Minn., commonly known and described as the traffic station, and located at Nos. 621 and 623 First Avenue north, in said city.
Mr. Newton of Minnesota; debated and passed House, 4830–4832.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 4845.—Reported back (S. Rept. 603), 7189.—Passed Senate, 7794.—Examined and signed, 8084, 8156.—Presented to the President, 8281.—Approved [Private, No. 60], 8662.

H. R. 9615—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to correct an error in an Indian allotment.
Mr. Snyder; passed House, 4824.—Referred to Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, 4846.—Reported back (S. Rept. 538), 5967.—Passed Senate, 6455.—Examined and signed, 6615, 6617.—Presented to the President, 6737.—Approved [Private, No. 57], 6884.

H. R. 9628—Granting additional compensation to members of the military and naval forces who served in the war against Germany.
Mr. Evans of Montana; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.—Debated, 9076.

H. R. 9629—For the relief of the owner of the derrick Concord.
Mr. Cleary; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 656), 3158.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5119–5121.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 5159.—Reported back, 5731.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5731.—House agrees to Senate amendment, 6095.—Examined and signed, 6258, 6326.—Presented to the President, 6326.—Approved [Private, No. 56], 6836.

H. R. 9658—Granting an increase of pension to Clara J. Sitton.
Mr. Nelson of Missouri; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 785.

H. R. 9675—To reimburse John Anderson, former postmaster at Sandborn, Knox County, Ind., for stamps and funds stolen from the post office.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 698), 3783.

H. R. 9702—Granting certain lands to the city of Sandpoint, Idaho, to protect the watershed of the water-supply system of said city.
Mr. French; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 676), 3484.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5200, 5201.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 5228.

H. R. 9755—To establish the standard of weights and measures for the following wheat-mill and corn-mill products, namely, flours, hominy, grits, and meals, and all commercial feeding stuffs, and for other purposes.
Mr. Vestal; debated, 151–173, 194–213.—Passed House, 292, 293.—Referred to Senate Committee on Standards, Weights, and Measures, 272.

H. R. 9781—To amend section 217 of the act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved Mar. 4, 1909.
Mr. Steenerson; reported back (H. Rept. 662), 3216.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5212, 5213.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 5228.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 523), 5587.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 6452, 6453.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 7230, 7231.—Examined and signed, 7384, 7386.—Presented to the President, 7423.—Approved [Public, No. 216], 7812.

H. R. 9783—To provide a national budget system and an independent audit of Government accounts, and for other purposes.
Mr. Good; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 524), 5587.—Debated, 6223, 6260, 6266, 6278, 6349–6356, 6389–6395, 9109, 9244.—Amended and passed Senate, 6395.—House disagrees to amendments of Senate and asks for conference, 6480.—Conferees appointed, 6480, 6502.—Senate insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference, 6502.—Conference report submitted in Senate (S. Doc. 279), 7660.—And agreed to, 7721, 7722.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 1044), 7708, 7942.—And agreed to, 7942–7956.—Examined and signed, 8084, 8156.—Presented to the President, 8281.—Vetoed (H. Doc. No. 805), 8609.—Failed to pass House over President's veto, 8614.—Referred to the Committee on the Budget, 8614.—H. R. 14441 substituted, 8647.

H. R. 9794—For the relief of Wendell Phillips Lodge, No. 365, Knights of Pythias.
Mr. MacGregor; reported back (H. Rept. 541), 1518.—Debated and passed House, 4834–4836.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 4845.—Reported without amendment, 8464.

H. R. 9821—To amend an act entitled "An act relating to the Metropolitan police of the District of Columbia," approved Feb. 28, 1901, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gould; Examined and signed, 23, 32.—Presented to the President, 75.—Approved [Public, No. 94], 292.

H. R. 9822—To authorize the President of the United States to arrange and participate in an international conference to consider questions relating to international communication.
Mr. Rogers; reported back, 267.—Passed Senate, 267.—Examined and signed, 386, 389.—Presented to the President, 469.—Approved [Public, No. 100], 769.

H. R. 9825—Authorizing any land-grant railroad company, or its successors, to convey for public-road purposes certain parts of its right of way.
Mr. Evans of Montana; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 843), 5762.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 6470, 6471.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 6495.—Reported back (S. Rept. 592), 7144.—Passed Senate, 7163.—Examined and signed, 7384, 7386.—Presented to the President, 7423.—Approved [Public, No. 217], 7812.

H. R. 9840—For the relief of Capt. E. V. Dickson.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; reported back (H. Rept. 577), 1925.—Passed House, 4841.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 4846.

H. R. 9843—To carry into effect the findings of the Court of Claims in favor of Myron C. Bond, Guy M. Claflin, and Edwin A. Wells.
Mr. Michener; reported back H. Rept. 932), 6669.

H. R. 9899—To provide for the disposition of abandoned portions of rights of way granted to railroad companies.
Mr. Christopherson; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 851), 5880.—Debated, 6473–6475, 8046.

H. R. 9904—For the relief of Forrest R. Black.
Mr. Begg; reported back (H. Rept. 552), 1643.—Debated and passed House, 4837, 4838.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 4846.

H. R. 9932—Authorizing the Federal Trade Commission to accept and administer for the benefit of the public and the encouragement of industry, inventions, patents, and patent rights, and for other purposes.
Mr. Nolan; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 595), 2421.

H. R. 9944—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to accept on behalf of the United States the donation by Sedgwick Post No. 10, Grand Army of the Republic, of its memorial hall property in Bedford, Taylor County, Iowa, for Federal building purposes.
Mr. Towner; reported back (H. Rept. 854), 5880.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 6477, 6478.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6495.—Reported back, 6795.—Passed Senate with thanks, 6795.—Examined and signed, 7028, 7030.—Presented to the President, 7165.—Approved [Public, No. 209], 7360.

H. R. 9947—To authorize J. L. Anderson and H. M. Duvall to construct a bridge across Great Pee Dee River near the town of Cheraw, S. C.
Mr. Stevenson; passed House, 857.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 861.—Reported back (S. Rept. 350), 1208.—Passed Senate, 1209.—Examined and signed, 1309, 1311.—Presented to the President, 1467.—Approved [Public, No. 113], 1636.

H. R. 9982—To provide extra compensation to the soldiers, sailors, and marines of the War with Germany, to issue bonds therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. R. 9996—Granting an increase of pension to Emil A. Akerman.
Mr. McCulloch; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2134.

H. R. 10002—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent to R. L. Credille, mayor of the village of Bonita, La., in trust, for certain purposes.
Mr. Wilson of Louisiana; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 850), 5881.

H. R. 10004—To authorize the widening of Georgia Avenue between Fairmont Street and Gresham Place NW.
Mr. Mapes; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 982), 7081.—Debated, 7546.—Amended and passed House, 7548.—Referred to Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 7559.

H. R. 10011—Authorizing and directing the Director of the Census to collect and publish monthly statistics concerning hides, skins, and leather.
Mr. Kreider; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 928), 6616.—Debated, 8454–8458.—Amended and passed House, 8458.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Census, 8462.—Reported back, 8538.—Passed Senate, 8538.—Examined and signed, 8620, 8662.—Presented to the President, 8678.—Approved [Public, No. 274].

H. R. 10031—Granting a pension to Elizabeth L. M. Miller.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 7028.

H. R. 10072—To provide for the punishment of officers of United States courts wrongfully converting moneys coming into their possession, and for other purposes.
Mr. Volstead; reported back (H. Rept. 544), 1601.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3079–3081.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 3111.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 584), 6844.—Amended and passed Senate, 7161.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 7297.—Examined and signed, 7447, 7459.—Presented to the President, 7552.—Approved [Public, No. 229], 7942.

H. R. 10074—To enlarge the jurisdiction of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia, and to regulate appeals from the judgments of said court, and for other purposes.
Mr. Volstead; debated, 1617–1642, 1671, 1672.—Passed House, 1672.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 1702.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 467), 4159.

H. R. 10104—To renew patent No. 25909.
Mr. Lonergan; reported back (H. Rept. 737), 4258.—Passed House, 5215.—Referred to Senate Committee on Patents, 5228.

H. R. 10105—Conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, examine, consider, and adjudicate claims which the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole Indians may have against the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hastings; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 573), 1925.—Debated, 2971–2973.—Amended and passed House, 3702–3704.—Referred to Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, 3733.

H. R. 10107—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 492), 4992.—Indefinitely postponed (see H. R. 12530), 8196.

H. R. 10115—For the relief of Harvey R. Butcher.
Mr. Dickinson of Missouri; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 543), 1560.—Amended and passed House, 4836.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 4846.—Reported back (S. Rept. 604), 7189.—Passed Senate, 7794.—Examined and signed, 8084, 8156.—Presented to the President, 8281.—Approved [Private, No. 61], 8662.

H. R. 10135—For the construction of a bridge across Rock River at or near East Grand Avenue, in the city of Beloit, Wis.
Mr. Randall of Wisconsin; passed House, 1670.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 1084.—Reported back (S. Rept. 351), 1209.—Passed Senate, 1209.—Examined and signed, 1309, 1311.—Presented to the President, 1467.—Approved [Public, No. 114], 1636.

H. R. 10137—To amend an act entitled "An act to classify the officers and members of the fire department of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved June 20, 1906, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gould; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 329), 615.—As amended passed Senate, 1159, 1160.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for conference, 1278.—Conferees appointed, 1251, 1278.—Senate insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference, 1251.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 564), 1732, 1733.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 1710.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 1733, 1734.—Conference report debated and agreed to in Senate, 1765, 1768.—Examined and signed, 1860, 1862.—Presented to the President, 1924.—Approved [Public, No. 124], 2448.

H. R. 10183—To authorize the aids to navigation and for other works in the Lighthouse Service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Esch; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 498), 559.—Debated, 6940–6951.—Amended and passed House, 6951.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 6977.—Reported without amendment, passed Senate, 8537.—Examined and signed, 8620, 8662.—Presented to the President, 8678.

H. R. 10187—To change the place of holding the United States District Court for the Western Division, Northern District of Illinois, and for maintaining the clerk's office therein.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 695), 3729.—Rereferred to the Committee on the Judiciary, 5198.

H. R. 10207—Providing for service of process in causes removed from a State or other court to a United States court.
Mr. Jones of Texas; debated, 1744–1747.—Amended and passed House, 2362.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 2386.—Reported back (S. Rept. 453), 3436.—Passed Senate, 5181.—Examined and signed, 5307, 5316.—Presented to the President, 5527.—Approved [Public, No. 180], 5762.

H. R. 10227—For the relief of Lieut. D. A. Neumann, Pay Corps, United States Naval Reserve Force.
Mr. Peters; reported back (H. Rept. 993), 7188.

H. R. 10285—To authorize the purchase by the city of Myrtle Point, Oreg., of certain lands formerly embraced in the grant to the Oregon & California Railroad Co. and revested in the United States by the act approved June 9, 1916.
Mr. Hawley; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 863), 6013.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 6476.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 6495.—Reported back, 7084.—Passed Senate, 7162.—Examined and signed, 7384, 7386.—Presented to the President, 7423.—Approved [Public, No. 218], 7812.

H. R. 10287—Granting the consent of Congress to the Interstate Construction Corporation to construct a bridge across the Columbia River, between the State of Oregon and Washington, at or within 2 miles westerly from Cascade Locks, in the State of Oregon, and granting a license to construct and maintain the approach to said bridge over property belonging to the Government of the United States.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; reported back (H. Rept. 530), 1077.—Laid on the table (see S. 3331), 1997.

H. R. 10300—To remove the charge of desertion standing against Nelson P. Robinson.
Mr. Sculiy; reference changed to Committee on Naval Affairs, 1676.

H. R. 10317—For the relief of Blanche Utley.
Mr. Lanham; debated, 4826, 6101, 6102.—Passed House, 6102.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 6107.—Reported back (S. Rept. 605), 7189.—Passed Senate, 7794.—Examined and signed, 8084, 8156.—Presented to the President, 8281.

H. R. 10328—To amend an act approved May 18, 1916, entitled "An act to provide for the removal of what is known as the Aqueduct Bridge, across the Potomac River, and for the building of a bridge in the place thereof."
Mr. Moore of Virginia; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 565), 1759.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 6951–6955.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 6977.

H. R. 10331—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919," approved July 9, 1918.
Mr. Summers of Washington; reported back (H. Rept. 499), 559.—Debated (Appendix 8705).—Amended and passed House, 1074.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 1084.—Reported back (S. Rept. 363), 1312.—Passed Senate, 1712.—Examined and signed, 1860, 1862.—Presented to the President, 1924.—Approved [Public, No. 125], 2448.

H. R. 10334—Granting an increase of pension to James B. Waters.
Mr. Brinson; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1560.

H. R. 10359—For the relief of Seth J. Harris, Jimmie Lou Martin, Mary Holloman, and William Henry Coleman.
Mr. Lee of Georgia; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1052), 7767.

H. R. 10373—To amend section 1406 of the revenue act of 1918, approved Feb. 24, 1919.
Mr. Sherwood; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3934.

H. R. 10378—To provide for the promotion and maintenance of the American merchant marine, to repeal certain emergency legislation, and provide for the disposition, regulation, and use of property acquired thereunder, and for other purposes.
Mr. Greene of Massachusetts; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 573), 6494.—Debated, 6803–6816, 6857–6869, 6984–6994, 7036, 7043–7048, 7163, 7164, 7198, 7211, 7223–7227, 7274, 7291, 7293–7296, 7326, 7334, 7336, 7347–7356, 7409–7420.—Amended and passed Senate, 7420.—Senate requests conference with the House on the bill and amendments, 7420.—Conferees appointed, 7420, 7504.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to conference, 7504.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 1093), 8290, 8398.—House further insists upon its disagreement to the Senate amendments and asks for further conference, 8398, 8412, 8442.—Conferees appointed, 8334, 8412.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 8163.—Debated, 8182.—Senate insists upon its amendments and agrees to further conference, 8334.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 8338.—Debated, 8465–8470, 8489.—Agreed to, 8470.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 1102), 8572.—House further insists on its disagreement to the Senate amendments and asks further conference, 8576.—Conferees appointed, 8487, 8576.—Senate further insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference, 8487.—Report submitted in Senate, 8493.—Agreed to, 8502.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 1107), 8588.—Debated, 8588–8609, 9360, 9367.—Agreed to, 8609.—Examined and signed, 8620, 8662.—Presented to the President, 8678.

H. R. 10401—To amend section 14 of an act entitled "An act to provide for the final disposition of the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territory, and for other purposes," approved Apr. 26, 1906 (34 Stat., 137).
Mr. Howard; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 574), 1925.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3704.—Referred to Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, 3733.

H. R. 10402—Authorizing the Secretary of War to grant permission to the municipal authorities of Little Chute, Wis., to construct, maintain, and operate sewers on certain Government property and under the United States canal at Little Chute, Wis.
Mr. Classon; reported back (H. Rept. 482), 352.—Passed House, 857, 858.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 861.—Reported back, 913.—Passed Senate, 913.—Examined and signed, 974, 1010.—Presented to the President, 1054.—Approved [Public, No. 107], 1055.

H. R. 10404—To amend sections 4, 8, and 10 of the act of June 29, 1906, as amended, relating to naturalization, to provide a division of patrol guard in the Bureau of Immigration, and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; debated, 408.

H. R. 10432—To provide for the exchange of Government lands for privately owned lands in the Territory of Hawaii.
Mr. Kahn; reported back (H. Rept. 526), 1012.—Debated, 1738, 2366–2369.—Passed House, 2369.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, 2386.

H. R. 10434—To add certain lands to the Targhee National Forest.
Mr. French; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 849), 5815.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 6471–6473.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 6495.

H. R. 10453—To provide for the termination of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation; to provide for the settlement of disputes between carriers and their employees; to further amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved Feb. 4, 1887, as amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Esch; reported with amendment, 323.—Debated, 323, 884–912, 950–952.—Amended and passed Senate, 952.—Senate asks for conference, 952.—House disagrees to Senate amendment and agrees to conference, 1004.—Conferees appointed, 952, 1004.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 3043.—Debated and agreed to, 3326–3350.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 650), 3098.—Debated and agreed to, 3243–3316, 8817, 8818, 8826–8829, 8831, 8832, 8834, 8838–8846, 8849, 8851–8857, 8860–8865, 8866–8879, 8886.—Examined and signed, 3435, 3457.—Presented to the President, 3484.—Approved [Public, No. 152], 3709.

H. R. 10465—Granting an increase of pension to Roy W. Turner.
Mr. Burroughs; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 57.

H. R. 10515—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy, and certain soldiers and sailors of wars other than the Civil War, and to widows of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Sells; as amended passed House, 1290–1292.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 1319.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 434), 3386.—Amended and passed Senate, 8517–8522.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for conference, 8663.—Conferees appointed, 8631, 8663.—Senate insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference, 8631.

H. R. 10520—For the relief of Richard P. McCullough.
Mr. Butler; reported back (H. Rept. 962), 6893.

H. R. 10521—For the relief of Ida F. Baum.
Mr. Campbell of Pennsylvania; reported back (H. Rept. 1041), 7712.

H. R. 10558—Granting the consent of Congress to the Connecticut River Railroad Co., its lessees, successors, and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Connecticut River in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
Mr. Treadway; reported back (H. Rept. 494), 498.—Debated and passed House, 1074.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 1084.—Reported back (S. Rept. 352), 1209.—Passed Senate, 1209.—Examined and signed, 1309, 1311.—Presented to the President, 1467.—Approved [Public, No. 115], 1636.

H. R. 10568—Granting a pension to Charles B. Crawford.
Mr. Browne; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 57.

H. R. 10570—For the relief of Mary Flinn.
Mr. Cleary; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 898), 6257.

H. R. 10574—Granting a pension to Harlem L. Gorham.
Mr. Dyer; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10598—To provide for the payment to the First National Bank of Sharon, Pa., for certificate of indebtedness of the United States, No. 3240, for $10,000, which has been lost.
Mr. Hulings; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 627), 2818.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5109.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 5159.

H. R. 10600—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy Jane Howard.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10633—Granting a pension to Christ L. Einkopf.
Mr. McArthur; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 57.

H. R. 10635—For the relief of Vincent L. Keating.
Mr. Merritt; reference changed to Committee on War Claims, 3217.

H. R. 10650—Defining sedition, the promoting thereof, providing punishment therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Davey; debated, 8796.

H. R. 10700—To authorize the judges of the United States Court of Customs Appeals to be assigned to any district or circuit court of appeals of the United States and conferring the jurisdiction of said courts upon them while so assigned.
Mr. Volstead; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 532), 1204.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 1742, 1743.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 1765.

H. R. 10701—Granting the consent of Congress to the Whiteville Lumber Co., Goldsboro, N. C., to construct a bridge across the Waccamaw River, in Brunswick County, N. C.
Mr. Godwin of North Carolina; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 483), 352.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 1743, 1744.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 1765.—Reported back (S. Rept. 404) and passed Senate, 2232.—Examined and signed, 2383, 2385.—Presented to the President, 2420.—Approved [Public, No. 134], 2875.

H. R. 10723—Granting a pension to John E. Broyles.
Mr. Foster; referred to House Committee on Invalid Pensions, 434.

H. R. 10729—Granting a pension to Bessie Walsh.
Mr. Purnell; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1759.

H. R. 10736—Defining the crime of criminal syndicalism and prescribing punishment therefor; to provide for the deportation of aliens and certain naturalized citizens upon conviction thereof; to prohibit the use of the mails for the promotion of criminal syndicalism; and for other purposes.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on the Judiciary, 26.

H. R. 10737—Prohibiting the manipulation of the prices of necessaries of life.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on the Judiciary, 26.

H. R. 10738—To provide for collective bargaining between employers and employees in all industries engaged in interstate commerce.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Judiciary, 26.

H. R. 10739—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon at Oregon City, in the State of Oregon.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Public Building and Grounds, 26.

H. R. 10740—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon at Marshfield, in the State of Oregon.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Public Building and Grounds, 26.

H. R. 10741—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon at Astoria, in the State of Oregon.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Public Building and Grounds, 26.

H. R. 10742—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon at Ashland, in the State of Oregon.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Public Building and Grounds, 26.

H. R. 10743—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon at Grants Pass, in the State of Oregon.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 26.

H. R. 10744—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon at Corvallis, in the State of Oregon.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 26.

H. R. 10745—Providing for the addition to the Federal building in Eugene, Oreg.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 26.

H. R. 10746—To authorize the incorporated town of Wrangell, Alaska, to issue bonds for the construction, enlargement, and equipment of schools, the acquisition and construction of a water-supply system, the construction of a sewer system, the construction of a city dock and floating dock, and to levy and collect a special tax therefor.
Mr. Grigsby; Committee on the Territories, 26.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 480), 311.—Passed House, 1069, 1070.—Referred to Senate Committee on Territories, 1084.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 361), 1247.—Amended and passed Senate, 2301.—House agrees to the Senate amendment, 2714.—Examined and signed, 2797, 2820.—Presented to the President, 3081.—Approved [Public, No. 142], 3086.

H. R. 10747—To promote the efficiency of the permanent Military Establishment, and for the retirement of certain enlisted men who served as temporary officers during the war between United States and Germany.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Military Affairs, 26.

H. R. 10748—Providing for the removal of the remains of certain soldiers, sailors, and marines to the United States.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Military Affairs, 26.

H. R. 10749—Granting a pension to Mary A. Moessner.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10750—Granting an increase of pension to John Schoonnover.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10751—Granting a pension to Daniel Burkey.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10752—Granting a pension to Jennie O. Reed.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10753—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis K. Allen.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10754—Granting a pension to James S. Haggard.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10755—Granting a pension to Joseph Tewell.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10756—Granting a pension to Frank H. Howell.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10757—Granting a pension to George Birch.
Mr. Dewalt; Committee on Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10758—Granting a pension to Sarah E. Maurer.
Mr. Dewalt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10759—For the relief of Lizzie Askel.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Claims, 26.

H. R. 10760—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph A. Kashner.
Mr. Hulings; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10761—For the relief of Oliver Lewis.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Military Affairs, 26.

H. R. 10762—For the relief of Robert W. Vail.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Claims, 26.

H. R. 10763—For the relief of George A. Cummings.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Claims, 26.

H. R. 10764—For the relief of E. C. Adams.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Claims, 26.

H. R. 10765—For the relief of Katherine Abel.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Claims, 26.

H. R. 10766—Granting a pension to Ivar A. Amell.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10767—Granting a pension to Jean B. Kopf.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10768—Granting a pension to Robert Hand.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10769—Granting a pension to David O. Spencer.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10770—Granting a pension to Luella Covert.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10771—Granting an increase of pension to Perry Harris.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10772—Granting a pension to Frank Scott.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10773—Granting a pension to Catherine Weber.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10774—Granting a pension to Diana Lucas.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10775—Granting an increase of pension to Peter T. Miller.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10776—Granting an increase of pension to Solomon J. Grine.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10777—Granting a pension to John B. A. Richard.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10778—Granting a pension to James M. Winston.
Mr. King; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10779—To correct the military record of William Kern.
Mr. Newton of Missouri; Committee on Military Affairs, 26.

H. R. 10780—Granting a pension to Jane Fine.
Mr. Osborne—Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10781—Granting a pension to John R. Garstang.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10782—Granting a pension to Robert M. Linton.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10783—Granting a pension to W. H. Johnston.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10784—Granting an increase of pension to Charles S. Humphrey.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10785—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy F. Taylor.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10786—Granting a pension to Eugene F. Boyer.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10787—For the relief of the Citizens' National Bank of Los Angeles, Calif.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Claims, 26.

H. R. 10788—For the relief of Austin G. Tainter.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Claims, 26.

H. R. 10789—Granting an increase of pension to Annie Belle Guant.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10790—Granting an increase of pension to Armstead Shain.
Mr. Romjue; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10791—Granting a pension to Alvis F. Ritter.
Mr. Romjue; Committee on Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10792—Granting an increase of pension to James P. Ritchie.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10793—Granting a pension to Arthur M. Rogers.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 26.

H. R. 10794—Granting an increase of pension to Murray V. Livingstone.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 27.

H. R. 10795—Granting a pension to James J. Barrett.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Pensions, 27.

H. R. 10796—Granting a pension to George J. Molloy.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Pensions, 27.

H. R. 10797—Granting an increase of pension to John Sowers.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 27.

H. R. 10798—Granting a pension to Isabelle Monroe.
Mr. Ward; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 27.

H. R. 10799—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Beach.
Mr. Ward; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 27.

H. R. 10800—Granting a pension to Mary F. Green.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 27.

H. R. 10801—Granting a pension to Mary Phillips.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 27.

H. R. 10802—Granting a pension to Louisa J. V. Vaughn.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 27.

H. R. 10803—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the operation of transportation systems while under Federal control, for the just compensation of their owners, and for other purposes," approved Mar. 21, 1918.
Mr. Sims; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 57.

H. R. 10804—For the purchase of a site for a public building at Longmont, Boulder County, Colo.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 57.

H. R. 10805—For acquiring a site and erecting a public building thereon in Hartford, Conn., for the use and accommodation of the post office and other Government offices.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 57.

H. R. 10806—To provide for the abolition of the eighty-rod reserved shore spaces between claims on shore waters in Alaska.
Mr. Grigsby; Committee on the Public Lands, 57.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 868), 6104.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 8043, 8044.—Referred to Senate Committee on Territories, 8050.—Reported without amendment, 8532.—Passed Senate, 8532.—Examined and signed, 8620, 8662.—Presented to the President, 8678.

H. R. 10807—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Oshkosh, Wis.
Mr. Lampert; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 57.

H. R. 10808—To pension soldiers and Army nurses of the War with Spain, the Philippine insurrection, and the China relief expedition.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Pensions, 57.

H. R. 10809—Granting a pension to Minnie A. Kiernan.
Mr. Caldwell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 57.

H. R. 10810—For the relief of Mrs. M. E. Tison.
Mr. Crisp; Committee on Claims, 57.

H. R. 10811—Granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Button.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 57.

H. R. 10812—Granting a pension to Ella I. B. Faust.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Pensions, 57.

H. R. 10813—Granting a pension to Callie Oberer.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 57.

H. R. 10814—Granting a pension to Harvey L. Williams.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 57.

H. R. 10815—Granting a pension to Simeon H. Johnston.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Pensions, 57.

H. R. 10816—Granting an increase of pension to La Barron T. Marshall.
Mr. Lampert; Committee on Pensions, 57.

H. R. 10817—Granting a pension to Julius A. Nemitz.
Mr. Lampert; Committee on Pensions, 57.

H. R. 10818—Granting an increase of pension to William C. Schofield.
Mr. Little; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 57.

H. R. 10819—Granting a pension to Myra Scranton.
Mr. Little; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 58.

H. R. 10820—To correct the military record of Levi Mott.
Mr. Little; Committee on Military Affairs, 58.

H. R. 10821—To correct the military record of Samuel D. Jarman.
Mr. Little; Committee on Military Affairs, 58.

H. R. 10822—Granting a pension to Robert Zink.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 58.

H. R. 10823—Granting an increase of pension to Nicola Depompa.
Mr. Magee; Committee on Pensions, 58.

H. R. 10824—Granting a pension to Laura Kellison.
Mr. Purnell; Committee on Pensions, 58.

H. R. 10825—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah Cain.
Mr. Sanders of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 58.

H. R. 10826—To correct the military record of John C. Cummins.
Mr. Sanders of Indiana; Committee on Military Affairs, 58.

H. R. 10827—Granting an increase of pension to Simon Hoafmyre.
Mr. Treadway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 58.

H. R. 10828—Granting an increase of pension to Helena Garges.
Mr. Watson of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 58.

H. R. 10829—Granting an increase of pension to John Horn.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 58.

H. R. 10830—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy H. Jones.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 58.

H. R. 10831—To restore to private ownership and operation certain radio stations, and for other purposes.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 100.

H. R. 10832—To increase the limit of cost for the proposed new Federal building at Madison, Wis., and the site thereof.
Mr. Monahan of Wisconsin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 100.

H. R. 10833—To extend the penny-postage rate on local delivery first-class mail matter to post offices where the system of free delivery is established.
Mr. Griest; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 100.

H. R. 10834—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the village of Douglaston, in the State of New York, one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Military Affairs, 100.

H. R. 10835—To fix compensation of officers of the National Army who incurred disability while in the service.
Mr. Stevenson; Committee on Military Affairs, 100.—Reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.—Committee on Ways and Means discharged, and referred to Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4179.—Debated, 4256–4258.

H. R. 10836—To amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department,' approved Sept. 2, 1914, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 6, 1917.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Military Affairs, 100.

H. R. 10837—To regulate the immigration of aliens to the United States.
Mr. Nicholls of South Carolina; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 100.

H. R. 10838—Authorizing the United States Shipping Board to adjust the equitable claims of wooden-ship builders arising out of the prosecution of the war.
Mr. Greene of Massachusetts; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 100.

H. R. 10839—To consolidate national forest lands.
Mr. Bell; Committee on Agriculture, 100.

H. R. 10840—To provide for the purchase of a site and for the erection of a public building thereon at Whitesburg, Ky.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 100.

H. R. 10841—To provide for the purchase of a site and for the erection of a public building thereon at Hazard, Ky.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 100.

H. R. 10842—For the erection of a Federal building at Pikeville, Ky., and increasing the limit of cost for the site.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 100.

H. R. 10843—For the erection of a Federal building at Prestonsburg, Ky.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 100.

H. R. 10844—For the erection of a Federal building at Paintsville, Ky.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 100.

H. R. 10845—To provide for bringing to the United States for burial the remains of all American soldiers, sailors, and marines buried in foreign lands, on the request of the parents or next of kin of such soldiers, and for the disposition of such remains.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Military Affairs, 100.

H. R. 10846—To increase the efficiency of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and Public Health Service.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Military Affairs, 100.

H. R. 10847—Granting the consent of Congress to Marion County, State of Mississippi, to construct a bridge across the Pearl River in Marion County, State of Mississippi.
Mr. Johnson of Mississippi; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 100.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 503), 721.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 939, 940.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 970.—Reported back (S. Rept. 353), 1209.—Passed Senate, 1209.—Examined and signed, 1309, 1311.—Presented to the President, 1467.—Approved [Public, No. 116], 1636.

H. R. 10848—Granting a pension to William E. Cheek.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10849—Granting an increase of pension to John Ervin.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10850—Granting an increase of pension to Richard Herrell.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10851—Granting an increase of pension to Martin V. Taylor.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10852—Granting an increase of pension to Cornelius Albertson.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10853—Granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah M. Fitger.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10854—Granting a pension to Lottie Baughman.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10855—Granting a pension to John A. Lovett.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10856—Granting a pension to Emma E. Brown.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10857—For the relief of John J. Buckley.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Claims, 100.

H. R. 10858—Granting a pension to Cathrine T. Cuff.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10859—For the relief of Edwin Wicks.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Claims, 100.

H. R. 10860—Granting an increase of pension to Loretta Hosey.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10861—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew G. Cunningham.
Mr. Kennedy of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10862—Granting an increase of pension to James Ross Hann.
Mr. Kiess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10863—Granting an increase of pension to Lucian Smith.
Mr. Kiess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10864—Granting a pension to John Workiug.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10865—Granting an increase of pension to Charles S. Kipman.
Mr. Lee of Georgia; Committee on Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10866—Granting an increase of pension to Dennis Pagett.
Mr. Oldfield; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10867—Granting a pension to Henrietta A. Whitney.
Mr. Paige; Committee on Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10868—Granting a pension to Harriet Aymar.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10869—Granting a pension to Hannah Brantner.
Mr. Rose; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10870—Granting a pension to Daniel W. Orr.
Mr. Sanders of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 100.

H. R. 10871—To provide for the payment of wages to civilian officers and crews, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Appropriations, 174.

H. R. 10872—To amend section 211 of the revenue act of 1918.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Ways and Means, 174.

H. R. 10873—To provide for the acquisition by the United States of private rights of fishery in and about Pearl Harbor, Hawaiian Islands.
Mr. Butler; Committee on the Territories, 174—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 508), 785.—As amended passed House, 1075.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, 1084.

H. R. 10874—To provide revenue and encourage domestic industries by the elimination, through the assessment of special duties, of unfair foreign competition, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Ways and Means, 174.

H. R. 10875—To liberalize the provisions of an act entitled "An act to provide for vocational rehabilitation and return to civil employment of disabled persons discharged from the military or naval forces of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 27, 1918, as amended.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Education, 174.

H. R. 10876—To fix second-class postage rates and to provide for a commission to investigate and report upon a proper classification of mail matter and postage charges for the different classes, respectively.
Mr. Fess; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 174.—Debated, 8816, 8932.

H. R. 10877—To authorize air mail service between New York City, N. Y., and the Pacific Coast.
Mr. Randall of California; Committee on the Post Office and Post roads, 174.

H. R. 10878—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for vocational rehabilitation and return to civil employment of disabled persons discharged from the military or naval forces of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 27, 1918.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Education, 174.

H. R. 10879—To amend an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provisions for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 174.

H. R. 10880—For the regulation and protection of the fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. Grigsby—Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 174.

H. R. 10881—For the purchase of a site for the erection thereon of a public building at Seneca Falls, N. Y.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 174.

H. R. 10882—Providing for pensions for all American citizens who have reached the age of 64 years and who are incapable of manual labor and whose incomes are less than $800 per annum.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Labor, 174.

H. R. 10883—Authorizing the counties of Beaufort, S. C., and Chatham, Ga., to construct a bridge across the Savannah River at or near Savannah, Ga.
Mr. Byrnes of South Carolina; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 174.—Reported back (H. Rept. 493), 497.

H. R. 10884—To provide for an examination and survey of Fernandina Harbor, Fla.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 174.

H. R. 10885—For the erection of a public building at Lyons, N. Y.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 174.

H. R. 10886—Granting a pension to Rhoda Button.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 174.

H. R. 10887—For the relief of Robert Clive Wilcox.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Military Affairs, 174.

H. R. 10888—For the relief of Jacob L. Malsberry.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Military Affairs, 174.

H. R. 10889—Granting an increase of pension to William Cline.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 174.

H. R. 10890—Granting a pension to Zittle King.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Pensions, 174.

H. R. 10891—Removing the charge of desertion from the record of Seth A. Welch.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on Military Affairs, 174.

H. R. 10892—Granting a pension to Eva R. Meek.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 174.

H. R. 10893—Granting a pension to Henriette Borgstadt.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 174.

H. R. 10894—Granting a pension to William Herbert Fish.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Pensions, 174.

H. R. 10895—To authorize the appointment of William Roberts, major, United States Army, retired, in the reserve of the United States Public Health Service.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 174.

H. R. 10896—Granting a pension to Martha L. Elliott.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 174.

H. R. 10897—Granting a pensions to Roy C. Murray.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Pensions, 174.

H. R. 10898—For the relief of James Y. Whitsitt.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Military Affairs, 174.

H. R. 10899—Granting a pension to Mary Emma Seabrook.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 174.

H. R. 10900—Granting a pension to Emma Bouse.
Mr. McLaughlin of Nebraska; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 174.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 785.

H. R. 10901—Granting a pension to Louisa Gladwish.
Mr. McLaughlin of Nebraska; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 174.

H. R. 10902—To compensate the firm of Rothwell Bros. for repair work for the United States at Jefferson Barracks, Mo.
Mr. Newton of Missouri; Committee on Claims, 174.

H. R. 10903—Granting a pension to Flora B. Warren.
Mr. Purnell; Committee on Pensions, 174.

H. R. 10904—Granting a pension to Sarah Lanham.
Mr. Reed of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 174.

H. R. 10905—Granting an increase of pension to Elisha Childress.
Mr. Rucker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 174.

H. R. 10906—Granting an increase of pension to Emma Swalls.
Mr. Sanders of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 174.

H. R. 10907—Granting an increase of pension to Zetta Swalls.
Mr. Sanders of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 175.

H. R. 10908—Granting an increase of pension to Jasper Stoops.
Mr. Sanders of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 175.

H. R. 10909—Granting a pension to Sarah J. Parks.
Mr. Sanders of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 175.

H. R. 10910—Granting an increase of pension to Horace B. Case.
Mr. Snyder; Committee on Pensions, 175.

H. R. 10911—Granting a pension to Mary Haremaker.
Mr. Snyder; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 175.

H. R. 10912—Granting a pension to Alice Victoria Cook.
Mr. Tincher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 175.

H. R. 10913—Granting an increase of pension to Nelson Behymer.
Mr. Vestal; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 175.

H. R. 10914—Granting an increase of pension to Lemuel C. Nicoson.
Mr. Vestal; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 175.

H. R. 10915—Granting a pension to Burton Walters.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 175.

H. R. 10916—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the third congressional district in Maine 25 cannons or fieldpieces.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Military Affairs, 214.

H. R. 10917—To amend an act entitled "An act to incorporate the national education association of the United States" by adding thereto an additional section.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Education, 214.—Reported back (H. Rept. 761), 4773.—Debated and passed House, 5861, 5862.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 6106.—Reported back (S. Rept. 553), 6145.—Debated and passed Senate, 6146.—Examined and signed, 6328, 6357.—Presented to the President, 6440.—Approved [Public, No. 206], 7121.

H. R. 10918—To provide revenue and encourage domestic industries by the elimination, through the assessment of special duties, of unfair foreign competition, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Ways and Means, 214.—Reported back (H. Rept. 479), 292.—Debated, 325–337, 345–351.—Amended and passed House, ——.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 394.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 510), 5316.—Minority report submitted (S. Rept. 510, pt. 2), 5967.—Debated, 5769, C619–C625.

H. R. 10919—To require the Secretary of War to cause to be made a survey for a canal from Cumberland Sound to the mouth of the Mississippi River, and to make full and complete report to Congress of the most feasible route and cost of construction.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Railways and Canals, 214.

H. R. 10920—Declaring Platte River to be a nonnavigable stream.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 214.—Reported back (H. Rept. 519), 941.

H. R. 10921—To create a national department of highways and a national highway commission therein, to promote and organize a national system of highways, to increase the economy and efficiency of transportation, to assist industry and commerce, to improve the facilities for postal service, and to provide additional means for national defense.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Agriculture, 214.

H. R. 10922—To grant the consent of Congress to the Alfords Bridge Co. to construct a bridge across the Savannah River.
Mr. Brand; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 214.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 495), 498.—Laid on the table (see S. 3722), 2558.

H. R. 10923—To repeal the tax on oleomargarine.
Mr. Crisp; Committee on Ways and Means, 214.

H. R. 10924—To amend an act entitled "An act for the preservation of the public peace and the protection of property within the District of Columbia," approved July 29, 1892.
Mr. Reber; Committee on the District of Columbia, 214.

H. R. 10925—For the public protection of maternity and infancy and providing a method of cooperation between the Government of the United States and the several States.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 214.

H. R. 10926—For the purchase and erection of an armor-plate security vault building for the use of the Treasury Department.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 214.

H. R. 10927—Granting a pension to Walter Barbo.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10928—For the relief of Robert B. Griggs.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Military Affairs, 214.

H. R. 10929—Granting a pension to Charles S. Porter.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10930—Granting a pension to Jane Burton.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10931—Granting a pension to Mary A. McGill.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10932—Granting an increase of pension to Eben N. Higley.
Mr. Burroughs; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10933—Granting a pension to Columbus Brundage.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; Committee on Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10934—Granting an increase of pension to Harry A. Smith.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; Committee on Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10935—Granting a pension to Anna Sharp.
Mr. Crowther; Committee on Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10936—For the relief of the Liberty loan subscribers of the North Penn Bank.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Claims, 214.

H. R. 10937—Granting an increase of pension to Martha J. James.
Mr. Elliott; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10938—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Goldie.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10939—Granting a pension to William O. Wallace.
Mr. King; Committee on Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10940—For the relief of Charles L. Moore.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Claims, 214.

H. R. 10941—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Shaw.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10942—To correct the military record of Frederick Bruns.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Military Affairs, 214.

H. R. 10943—Granting a pension to Betsey Palmer Mason.
Mr. Michener; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10944—Granting a pension to Edward C. Crawford.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10945—Granting a pension to Elsie C. Bright.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10946—Granting an increase of pension to Whitney P. Carroll.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10947—Granting a pension to William N. Hupp.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10948—Granting a pension to Ella E. Carbonell.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10949—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Phillips.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10950—Granting an increase of pension to Merritt A. White.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10951—Granting a pension to George W. Flack.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 214.

H. R. 10952—Granting an increase of pension to Robert W. Gibbs.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 215.

H. R. 10953—Granting a pension to Tom S. Bailey.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 215.

H. R. 10954—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Coddington.
Mr. Tincher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 215.

H. R. 10955—Granting an increase of pension to Christopher Wilson.
Mr. Tincher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 215.

H. R. 10956—Granting a pension to Charles A. Heiland.
Mr. Tincher; Committee on Pensions, 215.

H. R. 10957—For the relief of Mark A. Skinner.
Mr. Vaile; Committee on Claims, 215.

H. R. 10958—Granting a pension to James A. Franklin.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 215.

H. R. 10959—For the enlargement of Federal building and site at Natchez, Miss.
Mr. Quin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 312.

H. R. 10960—To limit the size of newspapers and periodicals entitled to the privileges of the second-class mail rate.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 312.

H. R. 10961—Granting pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War.
Mr. King; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10962—Authorizing the sale of Indian reservation and agency buildings and lands not longer needed for administrative purposes.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Indian Affairs, 312.

H. R. 10963—Granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge across the Savannah River at or near Hailey's Ferry, and between the counties of Anderson, S. C., and Hart, Ga.
Mr. Dominick; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 312.

H. R. 10964—To amend the Federal aid road act approved July 11, 1916.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Roads, 312.

H. R. 10965—To amend section 8 of an act entitled "An act for preventing the manufacture, sale, or transportation of adulterated or misbranded or poisonous or deleterious foods, drugs, medicines, and liquors, and for regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes," approved June 30, 1906.
Mr. Hickey; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 312.

H. R. 10966—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Ridgewood Memorial Committee, of Ridgewood, Long Island, N. Y., three German cannons or fieldpieces.
Mr. Caldwell; Committee on Military Affairs, 312.

H. R. 10967—To provide for an examination and survey of Newark Bay and the Passaic and Hackensack Rivers in the State of New Jersey.
Mr. Minihan of New Jersey; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 312.

H. R. 10968—Providing for the disposition of the present site and the acquisition of a new site and the erection of a public building thereon at Canon City, Colo.
Mr. Hardy of Colorado; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 312.

H. R. 10969—For the reduction of the weight of subsidiary silver coinage.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and measures, 312.

H. R. 10970—To authorize the acquisition of a site and the erection of a Federal building at Detroit, Minn.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 312.

H. R. 10971—To authorize the acquisition of a site and the erection of a Federal building at Thief River Falls, Minn.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 312.

H. R. 10972—To require and empower boards of examining surgeons under the Commissioner of Pensions to make examinations for the Bureau of War Risk Insurance and the Federal Board for Vocational Education.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 312.

H. R. 10973—Granting an increase of pension to L. W. Severus.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10974—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Gilbert.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10975—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel J. White.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10976—Granting a pension to Rose A. Woods.
Mr. Bland of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10977—Granting a pension to Ann Van Fleet.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10978—Granting a pension to Rebecca E. Brown.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10979—Granting an increase of pension to James F. Jones.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10980—Granting a pension to Harriett A. Lake.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10981—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas W. Sample.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10982—Granting a pension to Leonidas Duncan.
Mr. Elliott; Committee on Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10983—Granting an increase of pension to Murray A. Ringland.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10984—For the relief of Ira M. Buckingham.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Claims, 312.

H. R. 10985—For the relief of Mrs. George E. Ruppert.
Mr. Johnston of New York; Committee on Claims, 312.

H. R. 10986—Granting an increase of pension to John B. Gillaspie.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10987—Granting an increase of pension to James D. Lafferty.
Mr. King; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10988—Granting a pension to Martha I. Sexton.
Mr. King; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10989—For the relief of the owner of a drill boat known as drill boat No. 3 and a dredge known as dredge No. 9.
Mr. MacCrate; Committee on Claims, 312.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 540), 1517.—Laid on the table (see S. 3472), 4833, 4834.

H. R. 10990—Granting an increase of pension to Ida L. Crandell.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10991—Granting a pension to John W. Mercer.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10992—Granting a pension to Seymour J. Hathaway.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10993—Granting a pension to Samuel H. Neese.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10994—Granting a pension to Julia Knox.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10995—Granting a pension to Joseph Doyle.
Mr. Parker; Committee on Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10996—Granting a pension to Sarah A. Atchison.
Mr. Rhodes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10997—Granting an increase of pension to Jonathan Wolfe.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10998—Granting an increase of pension to Gustav Hamberger.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 10999—Granting an increase of pension to Nicholas Scholl.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 11000—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Hanson.
Mr. Schall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 11001—Granting an increase of pension to John Bennett.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 312.

H. R. 11002—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Frazier.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 312.

H. R. 11003—Granting a pension to Jack Hurley.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Pensions, 312.

H. R. 11004—To grant certain lands to the village of Downey, State of Idaho, for the protection of its water supply.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on the Public Lands, 312.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 707), 3883.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5202–5206.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 5228.

H. R. 11005—Granting a pension to Bridget E. Reid.
Mr. Shreve; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1245.

H. R. 11006—Granting a pension to Augustus O. Hartel.
Mr. Shreve; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 785.

H. R. 11007—Granting a pension to Mary M. Newman.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Pensions, 312.

H. R. 11008—Granting a pension to Edwin E. Warren.
Mr. Treadway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.

H. R. 11009—Granting an increase of pension to George Wallace Paul.
Mr. Wilson of Louisiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 312.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 352.

H. R. 11010—To reclassify the salaries of employees above the clerical grades in post offices of the first and second class.
Mr. Madden; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 352.

H. R. 11011—To provide for an examination and survey of Luco Creek, town of Fond du Lac, midway between the city of Fond du Lac, Wis., and the village of Taycheedah, Wis.
Mr. Lampert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 352.

H. R. 11012—To provide for an examination and survey of the south shore of Lake Butte des Morts, in the city of Oshkosh, Wis.
Mr. Lampert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 352.

H. R. 11013—To provide for the erection of an addition to the Federal building in the city of Kenosha, county of Kenosha, State of Wisconsin.
Mr. Randall of Wisconsin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 352.

H. R. 11014—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a new public building at Elkhorn, county of Walworth, State of Wisconsin.
Mr. Randall of Wisconsin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 352.

H. R. 11015—To license and regulate cold-storage warehouses and to regulate the sale and distribution of cold-storage foods.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on Agriculture, 352.

H. R. 11016—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Uinta County Memorial Association, Evanston, Wyo., one piece of artillery, or like trophy, captured or obtained from the enemy during or at the close of the war with Germany and Austria.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Military Affairs, 352.

H. R. 11017—To provide employment for returned soldiers, to open up the unused lands and natural resources of the United States for the use of the returned soldiers and other citizens who may desire access to them, and to promote the general welfare of all the people of the United States, and to establish an executive department of the United States, to be known as the Department of Land and Natural resources.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on the Public Lands, 352.—Reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.

H. R. 11018—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes," approved Mar. 2, 1917.
Mr. Davila; Committee on Insular Affairs, 352.

H. R. 11019—For the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at East Chicago, Ind.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 352.

H. R. 11020—To provide a 1-cent postage rate on local letters and reduce the rate of postage on first-class mail matter.
Mr. Griest; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 352.

H. R. 11021—To extend the penny postage rate of local delivery first-class mail matter to post offices where the system of free delivery is established.
Mr. Griest; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 352.

H. R. 11022—For the relief of certain chief warrant and warrant officers of the United States Navy and Marine Corps who were called into active service during the war with Germany and promoted.
Mr. MacGregor; Committee on Naval Affairs, 352.

H. R. 11023—For the erection of a Federal building at Niles, Ohio.
Mr. Cooper; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 353.

H. R. 11024—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914," approved June 30, 1913.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Indian Affairs, 353.—Reported back (H. Rept. 732), 4157.—Passed House, 5216.—Referred to Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, 5228.—Reported back (S. Rept. 550), 6144.—Passed Senate, 7156.—Examined and signed, 7384, 7386.—Presented to the President, 7423.—Approved [Public, No. 223], 7812.

H. R. 11025—To authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a bridge across the Tombigbee River near Iron Wood Bluff, in Itawamba County, Miss.
Mr. Candler; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 353.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 517), 940, 941.—Passed House, 1076.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 1084.—Reported back (S. Rept. 354) and passed Senate, 1209.—Examined and signed, 1309, 1311.—Presented to the President, 1467.—Approved [Public, No. 117], 1636.

H. R. 11026—To provide for an examination and survey of that portion of Lavaca Bay in Texas extending from the present harbor basin at the city of Port Lavaca to the mouth of Lynns Bayou, with a view to securing a channel 7 feet deep and 100 feet wide; and then extending up said bayou a sufficient distance to secure a reasonably safe and adequate harbor and turning bason 7 feet deep and 250 feet wide.
Mr. Mansfield; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 353.

H. R. 11027—Granting a pension to George J. Bock.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 353.

H. R. 11028—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Felton.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 353.

H. R. 11029—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Brant.
Mr. Brooks of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 353.

H. R. 11030—For the relief of the Woodford Bank & Trust Co., of Versailles, Ky.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Claims, 353.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 665), 3217.—Amended and passed House, 5122.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 5159.—Reported back (S. Rept. 633), 7557.—Passed Senate, 7799.—Examined and signed, 8084, 8156.—Presented to the President, 8281.—Approved [Private, No. 66], 8662.

H. R. 11031—To reimburse Mary Torok and Elmer Torok for property destroyed by mail aeroplane No. 73, operated by the Post Office Department.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Claims, 353.

H. R. 11032—To reimburse Perry J. Lotz for property destroyed by mail aeroplane No. 73, operated by the Post Office Department.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Claims, 353.

H. R. 11033—To reimburse William H. Flagg and E. B. Flagg for property destroyed by mail aeroplane No. 73, operated by the Post Office Department.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Claims, 353.

H. R. 11034—Granting an increase of pension to Peter P. Faller.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 353.

H. R. 11035—Granting an increase of pension to Robison D. Maus.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 353.

H. R. 11036—To correct the military record of Second Lieut. Van Buren S. Reber.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Military Affairs, 353.

H. R. 11037—Granting a pension to Frank Scott.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 353.

H. R. 11038—Granting a pension to Margaret Bruce.
Mr. Kincheloe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 353.

H. R. 11039—Granting a pension to Martha J. Kain.
Mr. Mann of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 353.

H. R. 11040—Granting a pension to Janie L. Lewis.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 353.

H. R. 11041—Granting a pension to Elizabeth J. Montague.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 353.

H. R. 11042—Granting an increase of pension to Dell W. Stinchcomb.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Pensions, 353.

H. R. 11043—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Brown.
Mr. Smithwick; Committee on Pensions, 353.

H. R. 11044—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Niven.
Mr. Stiness; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 353.

H. R. 11045—For the relief of James A. Bennett.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Public Lands, 353.

H. R. 11046—Granting a pension to Jacob R. Moore.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 353.

H. R. 11047—For the relief of the heirs of Phlegmon W. Willis.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 353.

H. R. 11048—Granting a pension to Louis Mikolajewski.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Pensions, 353.

H. R. 11049—For the relief of Crawford Miller.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Claims, 353.

H. R. 11050—Granting an increase of pension to Salathiel K. Wise.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 353.

H. R. 11051—To provide for the acquisition of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Henrietta, Tex.
Mr. Parrish; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 387.

H. R. 11052—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a new public building at Atlantic City, N. J.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 387.

H. R. 11053—To transfer the county of Early from the northern judicial district of Georgia to the southern judicial district of Georgia.
Mr. Park; Committee on the Judiciary, 387.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 518), 941.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 1737, 1738.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 1818.

H. R. 11054—To authorize the establishment of a fisheries experiment station on the coast of Masachusetts.
Mr. Lufkin; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 387.

H. R. 11055—To make the rate of postage on all mail matter of the first class within the limits of any post-office delivery district 1 cent for each ounce or fraction thereof.
Henry T. Rainey; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 387.

H. R. 11056—To increase limit of cost of a public building at Akron, Ohio.
Mr. Davey; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 387.

H. R. 11057—To provide for an examination and survey of Jamaica Bay, in the harbor of New York.
Mr. O'Connell; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 387.

H. R. 11058—For the reorganization and improvement of the Foreign Service of the United States.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 387.

H. R. 11059—Providing for the licensing, the importation, exportation, manufacture, storage, or distribution of sugar.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Agriculture, 387.

H. R. 11060—Providing for a transportation corps in the Army.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Military Affairs, 387.

H. R. 11061—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Slater, Mo.
Mr. Major; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 387.

H. R. 11062—Granting a pension to Hector C. Bryant.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Pensions, 387.

H. R. 11063—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Zinn.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 387.

H. R. 11064—Granting an increase of pension to Austin A. Yates.
Mr. Crowther; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 387.

H. R. 11065—Granting a pension to Isabella B. Slayter.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Pensions, 387.

H. R. 11066—For the relief of the Shipowners & Merchants Tugboat Co.
Mr. Elston; Committee on Claims, 387.—Reported back (H. Rept. 860), 5965.

H. R. 11067—To refund certain duties paid by W. Loaiza & Co.
Mr. Elston; Committee on Claims, 387.—Reported back (H. Rept. 548), 1643.—Debated, 4836.

H. R. 11068—For the relief of Maj. R. W. Gansmann.
Mr. Ward; Committee on Claims, 387.

H. R. 11069—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Riley.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 387.

H. R. 11070—Granting an increase of pension to William Roberts.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 387.

H. R. 11071—Granting a pension to Mary LeRoy.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 387.

H. R. 11072—Granting a pension to Matilda M. Howard.
Mr. Kiess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 387.

H. R. 11073—Granting a pension to Charles Knight.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Pensions, 387.

H. R. 11074—Granting a pension to Louisa Engelhardt.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 387.

H. R. 11075—To amend the military record of Samuel T. King.
Mr. McPherson; Committee on Military Affairs, 387.

H. R. 11076—For the relief of Oscar Pope.
Mr. McPherson; Committee on War Claims, 387.

H. R. 11077—To provide for the purchase of a site and for the erection of a public building thereon at Union City, Pa.
Mr. Shreve; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 434.

H. R. 11078—To provide for the extension of aeroplane mail service to the Pacific coast.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 434.

H. R. 11079—Providing for the disposition of the statue of Abraham Lincoln now in course of removal from its site in front of the courthouse in the city of Washington, D. C.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on the Library, 434.

H. R. 11080—To provide for the acquisition by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise of a site for a public building at Sanford, N. C.
Mr. Robinson of North Carolina; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 434.

H. R. 11081—To provide for the erection of a public building at Laurinburg, N. C.
Mr. Robinson of North Carolina; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 434.

H. R. 11082—To provide for the erection of a public building at Wadesboro, N. C.
Mr. Robinson of North Carolina; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 434.

H. R. 11083—To provide for the erection of a public building at Rockingham, N. C.
Mr. Robinson of North Carolina; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 434.

H. R. 11084—To provide for the acquisition, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, of a site for a public building at Hamlet, N. C.
Mr. Robinson of North Carolina; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 434.

H. R. 11085—To declare certain publications unmailable and prescribing punishment for its violation.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 434.

H. R. 11086—To prohibit certain persons engaging in business in the District of Columbia and the Territories of the United States, and to punish its violation.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on the Judiciary, 434.

H. R. 11087—To regulate the filling of vacancies in the Corps of Cadets at the United States Military Academy not otherwise provided for by existing law.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Military Affairs, 435.

H. R. 11088—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Peterborough, in the State of New Hampshire.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 435.

H. R. 11089—To provide for the punishment of the crime of anarchy, and for other purposes.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on the Judiciary, 435.

H. R. 11090—Providing for a survey of the Columbia River between Chinook, Wash., and the head of Sand Island.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 435.

H. R. 11091—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of York Haven, Pa., two cannons with suitable number of shells.
Mr. Brooks of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 435.

H. R. 11092—Providing for the exclusion, deportation, and expulsion from the United States of certain aliens, and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 435.

H. R. 11093—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph S. Hall.
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H. R. 11094—Granting a pension to May Gantert Lace.
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H. R. 11095—Granting an increase of pension to Theresa Brisbois.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 435.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 785.

H. R. 11096—Granting an increase of pension to Vernom Van Houten.
Mr. Hadley; Committee on Pensions, 435.

H. R. 11097—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Keltner.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 435.

H. R. 11098—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Asa Clark.
Mr. Hersman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 435.

H. R. 11099—Authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to lease San Miguel Island, Calif., and for other purposes.
Mr. Hersman; Committee on the Public Lands, 435.

H. R. 11100—Granting an increase of pension to Leonard T. Butler.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 435.

H. R. 11101—Granting an increase of pension to John J. Spencer.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 435.

H. R. 11102—For the relief of Dr. L. A. O'Brien.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Claims, 435.

H. R. 11103—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Chairsell.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 435.

H. R. 11104—Granting a pension to Milo Conner.
Mr. King; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 435.

H. R. 11105—Granting a pension to Charles Diesron.
Mr. King; Committee on Pensions, 435.

H. R. 11106—Granting a pension to Dora Myers.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 435.

H. R. 11107—Granting an increase of pension to John Canote
Mr. Rucker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 435.

H. R. 11108—Granting an increase of pension to Laura E. Valleau.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 435.

H. R. 11109—Granting a pension to Charles Roddy.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 435.

H. R. 11110—Granting a pension to Palace Douglas.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 435.

H. R. 11111—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Sheline.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 435.

H. R. 11112—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Libby.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 435.

H. R. 11113—To prohibit the exportation of sugar from the United States and its possessions.
Mr. O'Connell; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 498.

H. R. 11114—Authorizing the United States Sugar Equalization Board (Inc.) to purchase the entire Cuban sugar crop for the United States and its possessions.
Mr. O'Connell; Committee on Agriculture, 498.

H. R. 11115—To amend the act entitled "An act to exclude and expel from the United States aliens who are members of the anarchistic and similar classes," approved Oct. 16, 1918.
Mr. Box; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 498.

H. R. 11116—Granting additional compensation to the officers and enlisted personnel of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, including nurses (female).
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on Military Affairs, 498.—Reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. R. 11117—Defining sedition, the promotion thereof, providing punishment therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Judiciary, 498.

H. R. 11118—Authorizing the consolidation of lands in the national forests in the State of South Dakota.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on the Public Lands, 498.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1042), 7711.

H. R. 11119—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes," approved Mar. 2, 1917.
Mr. Davila; Committee on Insular Affairs, 498.

H. R. 11120—Fixing the per diem compensation of grand and petit jurors.
Mr. Scott; Committee on the Judiciary, 498.

H. R. 11121—To establish a national military park to commemorate the Battle of Pilot Knob, Missouri.
Mr. Rhodes; Committee on Military Affairs, 498.

H. R. 11122—To save daylight.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 498.

H. R. 11123—For the erection of a post-office building at Crockett, Tex., with an appropriation of $100,000 for such purpose.
Mr. Briggs; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 498.

H. R. 11124—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire, by condemnation or otherwise, such additional land in the city of Roanoke, Va., as may be necessary for the location of a new building, or for the enlargement of the present post office and Federal office and court building in said city, to cause said present building to be enlarged or a new building erected, and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Woods of Virginia; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 498.

H. R. 11125—To increase the salary of the United States marshal for the eastern district of Virginia.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Justice, 498.—Reference changed to Committee on the Judiciary, 829.

H. R. 11126—To save daylight in the first zone.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 498.

H. R. 11127—Making appropriation for the improvement of navigation in Sabine River, in Louisiana and Texas.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 498.

H. R. 11128—Making appropriation for the improvement of navigation in Red River in Arkansas and Louisiana.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 498.

H. R. 11129—To provide for a site and public building at Homer, La.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 498.

H. R. 11130—To provide for a site and public building at Mansfield, La.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 498.

H. R. 11131—To make the Star-Spangled Banner the national anthem.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on the Library, 498.

H. R. 11132—Granting an increase of pension to John N. Clark.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 498.

H. R. 11133—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Davis.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 498.

H. R. 11134—Granting an increase of pension to Luther Bedel.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 498.

H. R. 11135—Granting an increase of pension to August H. Knippenberg.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 498.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1077.

H. R. 11136—Granting an increase of pension to Flavius J. Cole.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 498.

H. R. 11137—Granting an increase of pension to David M. Haskell.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 498.

H. R. 11138—Granting an increase of pension to John E. Collins.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 498.

H. R. 11139—Granting an increase of pension to Webster Cotton.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 498.

H. R. 11140—Granting a pension to Flora Heath.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 498.

H. R. 11141—To retire Maj. R. M. Angus as a second lieutenant.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on Military Affairs, 498.

H. R. 11142—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Reiber.
Mr. Brooks of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 498.

H. R. 11143—Granting a pension to Thomas Skaggs.
Mr. Brooks of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 498.

H. R. 11144—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah N. Bolinger.
Mr. Brooks of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 498.

H. R. 11145—Granting an increase of pension to William W. Freshwater.
Mr. Brooks of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 498.

H. R. 11146—Granting an increase of pension to Alice Moore.
Mr. Brooks of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 498.

H. R. 11147—Granting an increase of pension to Thompson S. Lozaw.
Mr. Casey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 498.

H. R. 11148—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph J. Dalbey.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 498.

H. R. 11149—To authorize the President of the United States to appoint Charles A. Ranlett major of Infantry.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Military Affairs, 498.

H. R. 11150—Granting a pension to Louise H. Thornton.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 498.

H. R. 11151—Granting a pension to Charley Thomas.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Pensions, 499.

H. R. 11152—For the relief of the First National Bank of Belle Fourche, S. Dak.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 499.

H. R. 11153—For the relief of the widow of Hugh D. Ward.
Mr. Godwin of North Carolina; Committee on Claims, 499.

H. R. 11154—For the relief of Arthur Frost.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on Claims, 499.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 699), 3783.

H. R. 11155—Granting an increase of pension to James C. Smith.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 499.

H. R. 11156—Granting a pension to Annie E. Walker.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 499.

H. R. 11157—Granting an increase of pension to Marshall F. Truax.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 499.

H. R. 11158—For the relief of the Liberty loan subscribers of the Santa Rosa National Bank.
Mr. Lea of California; Committee on Claims, 499.

H. R. 11159—Granting an increase of pension to Peter T. McQuain.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 499.

H. R. 11160—Granting a pension to James B. Bristow.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Pensions, 499.

H. R. 11161—Granting a pension to Elizabeth S. Ennis.
Mr. Minahan of New Jersey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 499.

H. R. 11162—For the relief of A. W. Holland.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Claims, 499.

H. R. 11163—Granting a pension to James Hanna.
Mr. Radcliffe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 499.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2333.

H. R. 11164—Granting a pension to Presima W. Plummer.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 499.

H. R. 11165—Granting a pension to Ferdinand Lambert.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 499.

H. H. 11166—Granting an increase of pension to Augusta Lambert.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 499.

H. R. 11167—Granting a pension to Charles Grunert.
Mr. Scott; Committee on Pensions, 499.

H. R. 11168—Granting a pension to Thomas G. Aldreg.
Mr. Scott; Committee on Pensions, 499.

H. R. 11169—Granting a pension to John J. Boggs.
Mr. Smithwick; Committee on Pensions, 499.

H. R. 11170—For the relief of Elizabeth R. Nicholls and Joanna L. Nicholls, heirs of Joshua Nicholls.
Mr. Stevenson; Committee on Claims, 499.—Referred to House Committee on War Claims, 611.—Reported back adversely (H. Rept. 715) and laid on table, 3934.

H. R. 11171—Granting an increase of pension to Hugh O. Neville.
Mr. Vaile; Committee on Pensions, 499.

H. R. 11172—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Hurricane, W. Va.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 559.

H. R. 11173—To promote the efficiency of the permanent Military Establishment, and for the retirement of certain enlisted men who served as temporary officers during the war between United States and Germany.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Military Affairs, 559.

H. R. 11174—For the erection of a Federal building at Pikeville, Ky., and increasing the limit of cost for the site.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 559.

H. R. 11175—For the public sale of customhouse building and site at Kennebunkport, Me.
Mr. Goodall; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 559.—Reported back (H. Rept. 631), 2880.—Debated and passed House, 3707, 3708.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3733.—Reported back, 4210.—Passed Senate, 5229.—Examined and signed, 5383, 5385.—Presented to the President, 5561.—Approved [Public, No. 179], 5761.

H. R. 11176—Granting an increase of pension to Ephraim Whitson.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 11177—For the relief of the estate of Joseph Hanserd.
Mr. Brand; Committee on War Claims, 559.

H. R. 11178—Authorizing the appointment of Maj. W. H. Allen as a major in the Regular Army.
Mr. Dickinson of Missouri; Committee on Military Affairs, 559.

H. R. 11179—Granting a pension to Victor A. Benson.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 11180—For the relief of John C. Bush.
Mr. MacGregor; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 11181—To reimburse Earl V. Larkin for injuries sustained by the accidental discharge of a pistol in the hands of a soldier in the United States Army.
Mr. Morin; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 11182—For the relief of Benjamin R. Buffington.
Mr. Murphy; Committee on Military Affairs, 559.

H. R. 11183—Requiring the Secretary of War to issue an honorable discharge to Benjamin R. Buffington.
Mr. Murphy; Committee on Military Affairs, 559.

H. R. 11184—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel G. Dinsmore.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 11185—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Wilson.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 11186—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel K. Rowe.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 11187—Granting a pension to Leon J. Collins.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 11188—Granting a pension to Russell M. Huff.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 11189—Granting a pension to Thomas G. Pardue.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 11190—For the relief of the employees of the Mead-Morrison Manufacturing Co., East Boston, Mass.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 11191—Granting a pension to Mattie Dunn.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 11192—Granting a pension to Willie E. Vaughan.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 11193—Providing for the exclusion, deportation, and expulsion from the United States of certain aliens, and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 559.

H. R. 11194—To amend section 2319 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to mining claims.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on the Public Lands, 559.

H. R. 11195—Providing for an appropriation for the purpose of making examinations, investigations, and surveys and preparing plans and estimates of cost for regulating the stream flow and controlling the flood waters of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers and their tributaries.
Mr. Porter; Committee on Flood Control, 611.

H. R. 11196—To dispose of a certain strip of public land in Waterville, Me.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 611.

H. R. 11197—For the reduction of postage on first-class mail matter.
Mr. Dickinson of Missouri; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 611.

H. R. 11198—To provide for the erection of a post-office building at Luray, Va.
Mr. Harrison; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 611.

H. R. 11199—To provide for the erection of a post-office building at Woodstock, Va.
Mr. Harrison; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 611.

H. R. 11200—To make additions and extensions to post office and courthouse building at Harrisonburg, Va.
Mr. Harrison; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 611.

H. R. 11201—To make an additional appropriation for the construction of a post-office building at Front Royal, Va.
Mr. Harrison; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 611.

H. R. 11202—Increasing the limit of cost for a post-office building and site at Salem, Va.
Mr. Woods of Virginia; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 611.

H. R. 11203—For the reduction of postage on first-class mail matter.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 611.

H. R. 11204—Authorizing the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a hospital at St. Louis, Mo.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 611.

H. R. 11205—Providing for the exclusion, deportation, and expulsion from the United States of certain aliens, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 611.

H. R. 11206—To create a department of aeronautics, defining the powers and duties of the director thereof, providing for the development, production, operation, and maintenance of aircraft, and providing for the development of civil and commercial aviation.
Mr. Morin; Committee on Military Affairs, 611.

H. R. 11207—Granting a pension to Harry M. Sutter.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 611.

H. R. 11208—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Waller.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 611.

H. R. 11209—Granting a pension to Mary F. Cook.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Pensions, 611.

H. R. 11210—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Balenti.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Pensions, 611.

H. R. 11211—Granting an increase of pension to John Bounds.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 611.

H. R. 11212—For the relief of William J. Wagner.
Mr. Harrison; Committee on Claims, 611.

H. R. 11213—Granting an increase of pension to Kate McLaughlin.
Mr. King; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 11214—For the relief of A. C. Goddard.
Mr. Knutson; Committee on Claims, 612.

H. R. 11215—Granting an increase of pension to William S. Stout.
Mr. Lehlbach; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 11216—For the relief of Cosmo Palermo.
Mr. MacGregor; Committee on Claims, 612.

H. R. 11217—Granting a pension to Sadie L. Runyan.
Mr. McDuffie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 11218—Granting a pension to Martha A. Wade.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 11219—Granting an increase of pension to Christina Wylie.
Mr. Parker; Committee on Pensions, 612.

H. R. 11220—Granting an increase of pension to Cynthia Martin.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 612.

H. R. 11221—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel K. Rowe.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 11222—For the relief of William A. O'Connor.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Claims, 612.

H. R. 11223—Making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the Employees' Compensation Commission and the Public Health Service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920.
Mr. Good, from Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 502), 720.—Debated, 839–847, 1005, 1006, 1008–1010.—Amended and passed House, 857.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 861.—Reported with amendments, 912.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 912, 913, 847–851.—Senate amendment agreed to, 1010.—Examined and signed, 974, 1010.—Presented to the President, 1054.—Approved [Public, No. 105], 1055.

H. R. 11224—To amend the act entitled "An act to exclude and expel from the United States aliens who are members of the anarchistic and similar classes," approved Oct. 16, 1918.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 721.—Reported back (H. Rept. 504), 721.—Debated, 990–1119, 1192, 1285–1288, 9402–9404.—Passed House, 1003.—Referred to Senate Committee on Immigration, 1031.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 648), 8084, 8539.—Amended and passed Senate, 8539.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 8664, 8665.—Examined and signed, 8641, 8677.—Presented to the President, 8678.

H. R. 11225—Making provision for the irrigation of Indian lands within the limits of the Curlew irrigation district, in the State of Washington.
Mr. Webster; Committee on Indian Affairs, 721.

H. R. 11226—To amend an act approved Apr. 23, 1918, entitled "An act to conserve the gold supply of the United States; to permit the settlement in silver of trade balances adverse to the United States; to provide silver for subsidiary coinage and for commercial use; to assist foreign Governments at war with the enemies of the United States; and for the above purposes to stabilize the price and encourage the production of silver"; to amend section 3514 of the Revised Statutes establishing the standards of gold and silver coins, and for other purposes.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Banking and Currency, 721.

H. R. 11227—Extending the period during which the prosecutions of certain violations of the selective-service act may be brought.
Mr. Watson of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Judiciary, 721.

H. R. 11228—To authorize the establishment of a Coast Guard station on the coast of Green Bay at or in the vicinity of Strawberry Passage, in Door County, Wis.
Mr. Classon; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 721.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1074), 8157.

H. R. 11229—To increase the limit of cost of the public building to be erected at Pratt, Pratt County, Kans.
Mr. Tincher; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 721.

H. R. 11230—To permanently transfer the United States Coast Guard from the Treasury Department to the Navy Department.
Mr. Campbell of Pennsylvania; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 721.

H. R. 11231—Defining criminal syndicalism and sabotage, proscribing certain acts and methods in connection therewith and in pursuance thereof, and providing penalties and punishments therefor.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Judiciary, 721.

H. R. 11232—For the enlargement, extension, and improvement of the post-office building at Hattiesburg, Miss.
Mr. Johnson of Mississippi; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 721.

H. R. 11233—To amend the act of Oct. 6, 1917, entitled "An act to provide for reimbursement of officers, enlisted men, and others in the naval service of the United States for property lost or destroyed in such service."
Mr. Lufkin; Committee on Naval Affairs, 721.

H. R. 11234—To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States, approved Jan. 16, 1883."
Mr. Fess; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 721.

H. R. 11235—To provide for aeroplane mail service between Pittsburgh, Pa., and Kansas City, Mo.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 721.

H. R. 11236—For the erection of a public building at Linton, Ind.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 721.

H. R. 11237—To make additions, extensions, and improvements to the post-office building at Vincennes, Ind., to be used for post-office and mine rescue purposes.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 721.

H. R. 11238—Granting an increase of pension to Lorin B. Ohlinger.
Mr. Anderson; Committee on Pensions, 721.

H. R. 11239—Granting an increase of pension to Marguerite Murphy.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 721.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1356.

H. R. 11240—Granting an increase of pension to Anton Schwarz.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Pensions, 721.

H. R. 11241—Granting an increase of pension to L. W. Severns.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 721.

H. R. 11242—Granting a pension to George A. Cooper.
Mr. Bachrach; Committee on Pensions, 721.

H. R. 11243—Granting a pension to Nancy C. Troupe.
Mr. Dickinson of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 721.

H. R. 11244—Granting a pension to Enoch K. Shackleford.
Mr. Dickinson of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 721.

H. R. 11245—Granting a pension to Albert Shellhorn.
Mr. Dickinson of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 721.

H. R. 11246—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Burgess.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 721.

H. R. 11247—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander Kimbrough.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 721.

H. R. 11248—For the relief of Lester Cross.
Mr. Hamill; Committee on Claims, 721.

H. R. 11249—Granting a pension to Mary Jane Miller.
Mr. Hickey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 721.

H. R. 11250—Granting a pension to Delos Burke.
Mr. Houghton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 721.

H. R. 11251—Granting an increase of pension to Emanuel Miller.
Mr. Houghton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 721.

H. R. 11252—Granting an increase of pension to Emmet Ellis.
Mr. Houghton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 721.

H. R. 11253—Granting an increase of pension to James L. Newbury.
Mr. Houghton; Committee on Pensions, 721.

H. R. 11254—Granting an increase of pension to Thaddues B. Tannery.
Mr. Houghton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 721.

H. R. 11255—For the relief of the estate of Joseph F. Mitchell.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Claims, 721.

H. R. 11256—Granting an increase of pension to Isabella W. Williams.
Mr. Lehlbach; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 721.

H. R. 11257—For the relief of the Liberty loan subscribers of the Mineral City Bank.
Mr. McCulloch; Committee on Claims, 721.

H. R. 11258—Granting an increase of pension to Luther C. Reidabaugh.
Mr. McCulloch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 722.

H. R. 11259—Granting an increase of pension to Garlet H. Fowler.
Mr. McCulloch; Committee on Pensions, 722.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1643.

H. R. 11260—Granting an increase of pension to Harper Brosius.
Mr. McCulloch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 722.

H. R. 11261—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Ernst.
Mr. McCulloch; Committee on Pensions, 722.

H. R. 11262—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Mason.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 722.

H. R. 11263—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick A. Hart.
Mr. Reed of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 722.

H. R. 11264—Granting a pension to Charles Apthorp.
Mr. Reed of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 722.

H. R. 11265—Granting a pension to Sarah R. Van Court.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 722.

H. R. 11266—For the relief of the employees of the Mead-Morrison Manufacturing Co., East Boston, Mass.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Claims, 722.

H. R. 11267—Granting a pension to Huldah Chapman.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 722.

H. R. 11268—Granting a pension to Alexander Emory.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 722.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2179.

H. R. 11269—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Dodson.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 722.

H. R. 11270—Granting an increase of pension to Flora Moore.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 722.

H. R. 11271—Granting a pension to Adam Perry Kaufman.
Mr. Tincher; Committee on Pensions, 722.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 11272—For the relief and reimbursement of Cora T. Dering.
Mr. Ward; Committee on War Claims, 722.

H. R. 11273—To prescribe certain conditions upon which newspapers and periodicals shall be entitled to the privileges of the second-class postage rate.
Mr. Hoch; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 785.

H. R. 11274—Providing for the extension and enlargement of the post office and court building at Hammond, Ind.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 785.

H. R. 11275—To amend section 4 of the act entitled "An act to provide for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States and establishing the Bureau of Naturalization," approved June 29, 1906, as amended, and section 2 of the act entitled "An act to amend the naturalization laws and to repeal certain sections of the Revised Statutes of the United States and other laws relating to naturalization, and for other purposes," approved May 9, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 785.

H. R. 11276—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes," approved July 11, 1919 (Public, No. 5, 66th Cong.).
Mr. Langley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 785.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 521), 941.

H. R. 11277—To prohibit and punish certain seditious acts against the Government of the United States and to prohibit the use of the mails for the purpose of promoting such acts.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on the Judiciary, 785.

H. R. 11278—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Wyoming, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 785.

H. R. 11279—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire by gift a suitable tract of land in or near the city of Memphis, Tenn., and to construct thereon a hospital, etc.
Mr. Fisher; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 785.

H. R. 11280—To amend paragraph 75 of the act approved Oct. 3, 1913, entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes."
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Ways and Means, 785.

H. R. 11281—To prohibit seditious acts against the Government or Constitution of the United States, the promoting thereof, the use of the mails and interstate traffic therefor, provide punishment therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Begg; Committee on the Judiciary, 785.

H. R. 11282—To replace section 1 of an act entitled "An act fixing the compensation of certain officials in the Customs Service, and for other purposes," approved Mar. 4, 1909, and the amendment thereto approved Sept. 8, 1916.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Ways and Means, 785.

H. R. 11283—For the relief of Jacob Scott.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 785.

H. R. 11284—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph E. Crow.
Mr. Cole; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 11285—Granting a pension to Susanah Raines.
Mr. Goodykoontz; Committee on Pensions, 785.

H. R. 11286—Granting an increase of pension to Cassie R. Hatch.
Mr. Hersey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 11287—Granting a pension to Charles A. Rogers.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Pensions, 785.

H. R. 11288—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis W. Taft.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Pensions, 785.

H. R. 11289—Granting a pension to Eleanor Peel.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 11290—Granting a pension to George F. Smith.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Pensions, 785.

H. R. 11291—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Karnes.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 11292—Granting an increase of pension to George R. Driver.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 11293—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Frost.
Mr. Murphy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 11294—Providing for the purchase of certain inventions, designs, and methods of aircraft, aircraft parts, and aviation technique of Edwin Fairfax Naulty and Leslie Fairfax Naulty, of New York.
Mr. Oldfield; Committee on Military Affairs, 785.

H. R. 11295—Granting an increase of pension to John F. Dile.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 785.

H. R. 11296—Granting an increase of pension to Nelson B. Hackett.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 11297—Granting a pension to Daniel F. Healy.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 11298—For the relief of William H. Philbrick.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Claims, 785.

H. R. 11299—For the purchase of a post-office site at Timmonsville, S. C.
Mr. Stoll; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 859.

H. R. 11300—For the purchase of a post-office site at Conway, S. C.
Mr. Stoll; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 859.

H. R. 11301—For the purchase of a post-office site at Lake City, S. C.
Mr. Stoll; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 859.

H. R. 11302—For the purchase of a post-office site at Kingstree, S. C.
Mr. Stoll; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 860.

H. R. 11303—To authorize the acquisition of a site and the erection of a Federal building at Hartsville, S. C.
Mr. Stoll; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 860.

H. R. 11304—To authorize the acquisition of a site and the erection of a Federal building at Dillon, S. C.
Mr. Stoll; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 860.

H. R. 11305—Authorizing the San Luis Valley irrigation district, Colorado, to purchase certain public lands.
Mr. Hardy of Colorado; Committee on the Public Lands, 860.

H. R. 11306—To create a Bureau of Agricultural Engineering in the Department of Agriculture, to provide for the testing and certification of farm tractors, and for other purposes.
Mr. Anderson; Committee on Agriculture, 860.

H. R. 11307—To amend section 5146 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, in relation to the qualifications of directors of the National Banking Association.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Banking and Currency, 860.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 589), 2179.

H. R. 11308—To amend section 190 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Husted; Committee on the Judiciary, 860.

H. R. 11309—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to fix compensation of certain laborers in the Customs Service.
Mr. Fordney; reported back (H. Rept. 516), 940.—Debated, 2162–2171.—Amended and passed House, 2171.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 2185.—Reported back, 4376.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 4376.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 4560.—Examined and signed, 4642, 4672.—Presented to the President, 4772.—Approved [Public, No. 164], 4842.

H. R. 11310—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; from the Committee on Invalid Pensions (H. Rept. 509) as substitute for certain bills referred to that Committee, 859.—As amended passed House, 1298–1304.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 1319.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 493), 4992.—Indefinitely postponed (see H. R. 12530), 8196.

H. R. 11311—Providing for the classification of vessels of the United States.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 860.—Reported back (H. Rept. 525), 1012.—Passed House, 3704.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 3733.

H. R. 11312—To appropriate $4,000,000 for loans to farmers in drought-stricken sections of the United States for the purchase of seed for 1920 spring planting.
Mr. Riddick; Committee on Agriculture, 860.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 598), 2482.

H. R. 11313—To permit transportation of a limited number of passengers on cargo vessels.
Mr. Greene of Massachusetts; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 860.—Reported back (H. Rept. 524), 1012.—Passed House, 3704, 3705.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 3733.

H. R. 11314—Authorizing the United States Shipping Board to adjust the equitable claims of wooden-ship builders arising out of the prosecution of the war.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 860.

H. R. 11315—Granting an increase of pension to Henry H. Rowe.
Mr. Anderson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 860.

H. R. 11316—Granting an increase of pension to Caroline Saint Denis.
Mr. Ayers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 860.

H. R. 11317—Granting a pension to Angeline W. Kelley.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 860.

H. R. 11318—Granting an increase of pension to Josiah C. Hancock.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 860.

H. R. 11319—Granting a pension to Fred Stoops.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Pensions, 860.

H. R. 11320—Granting an increase of pension to Lucy M. Bougher.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 860.

H. R. 11321—For the relief of the William Gordon Corporation.
Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania; Committee on Claims, 860.

H. R. 11322—Granting an increase of pension to John Wroten.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 860.

H. R. 11323—For the relief of James Kernan.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Military Affairs, 860.

H. R. 11324—Granting a pension to Martha Jane Duddleson.
Mr. Hickey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 860.

H. R. 11325—Granting a pension to Tinnie A. Gary.
Mr. Hulings; Committee on Pensions, 860.

H. R. 11326—Granting an increase of pension to Charles M. Taylor.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 860.

H. R. 11327—Granting an increase of pension to Julia Ruth Bartlett.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 860.

H. R. 11328—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse W. Rigby.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 860.

H. R. 11329—To provide for the sale by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia of certain land in the District of Columbia acquired for a school site, and for other purposes.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on the District of Columbia, 941.—Reported back (H. Rept. 943), 6792.—Debated, 7547.—Amended and passed House, 7548.—Referred to Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 7559.

H. R. 11330—Increasing the limit of cost for a Federal building at Wilson, N. C.
Mr. Kitchin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 941.

H. R. 11331—To establish a Corps of Civilian Engineers in the United States Army.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11332—Defining criminal anarchy, providing punishment therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Husted; Committee on the Judiciary, 941.

H. R. 11333—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell the present marine hospital site in the city of St. Louis and to acquire a suitable and sufficient tract of land in or adjacent to the city of St. Louis for the construction of a complete hospital plant for the treatment of beneficiaries of the war risk insurance and the Public Health Service.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 941.

H. R. 11334—To amend an act incorporating Prospect Hill Cemetery, and for other purposes.
Mr. Reed of West Virginia; Committee on the District of Columbia, 941.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 872), 6199.

H. R. 11335—To construct a public building for a post office at the city of Sandersville, Ga.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 941.

H. R. 11336—To authorize the establishment and maintenance of a forest experiment station at Asheville, N. C.
Mr. Weaver; Committee on Agriculture, 941.

H. R. 11337—To provide extra compensation to the soldiers, sailors, and marines of the World War with Germany, to issue bonds therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Ways and Means, 941.

H. R. 11338—Providing for a site and public building for a post office at Sioux City, Iowa.
Mr. Boies; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 941.

H. R. 11339—To punish fraudulent dealers in foodstuffs and fuel, to make the acts herein set forth criminal, and for other purposes.
Mr. Brand; Committee on the Judiciary, 941.

H. R. 11340—To acquire by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, additional land for the Federal building at Portsmouth, N. H., and to construct an addition thereon.
Mr. Burroughs; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 941.

H. R. 11341—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Norton, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11342—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Burr Oak, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11343—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Gove, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11344—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Russell Springs, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11345—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Sharon Springs, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11346—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Lebanon, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11347—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Smith Center, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11348—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Jewell City, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11349—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Ellsworth, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11350—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Kanopolis, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11351—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Oberlin, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11352—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Atwood, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11353—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of St. Francis, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11354—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Goodland, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11355—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Colby, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11356—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Stockton, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11357—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Osborne, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11358—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Hill City, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11359—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Lincoln, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11360—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Beloit, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11361—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Wilson, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11362—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Russell, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11363—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Hays, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 941.

H. R. 11364—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Wakeeney, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 942.

H. R. 11365—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Mankato, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 942.

H. R. 11366—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Phillipsburg, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 942.

H. R. 11367—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Hoxie, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 942.

H. R. 11368—Making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921.
Mr. Snyder, from Committee on Indian Affairs, 938.—Reported back (H. Rept. 522), 941.—Debated, 1109–1119, 1126–1139, 1143–1146, 1147, 1177–1204, 1227–1245, 1278–1284.—Passed House, 1285.—Referred to Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, 1420.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 395), 2092.—Debated, 2137–2149—Amended and passed Senate, 2149.—Senate requests conference, 2149.—Conferees appointed, 2149, 2361.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to conference, 2361.—Conference report submitted in House, 2419.—Debated and agreed to, 2452–2459.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 2484.—Debated and agreed to, 2484–2486.—Examined and signed, 2716, 2735.—Presented to the President, 2789.—Approved [Public, No. 141], 3086.

H. R. 11369—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph M. Turpin.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 942.

H. R. 11370—For the relief of John Sponseller.
Mr. Brooks of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 942.

H. R. 11371—Granting an increase of pension to Jerome B. Summers.
Mr. Dowell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 942.

H. R. 11372—Granting an increase of pension to Eli B. Beard.
Mr. Drane; Committee on Pensions, 942.

H. R. 11373—Granting a pension to John W. Lawton.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Pensions, 942.

H. R. 11374—Granting a pension to Guy Robison.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Pensions, 942.

H. R. 11375—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Meekin.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 942.

H. R. 11376—Granting a pension to Mary Werner.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 942.

H. R. 11377—For the relief of Warren V. Howard.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Military Affairs, 942.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 879), 6200.

H. R. 11378—Granting a pension to Charles M. Bingham.
Mr. McCulloch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 942.

H. R. 11379—Granting a pension to Carrie S. Warner.
Mr. MacGregor; Committee on Pensions, 942.

H. R. 11380—Granting a pension to William A. Morris.
Mr. Parrish; Committee on Pensions, 942.

H. R. 11381—For the relief of Charles D. Morse.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Military Affairs, 942.

H. R. 11382—Granting an increase of pension to Elias B. Lesh.
Mr. Randall of California; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 942.

H. R. 11383—For the relief of Nat Wolf.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Claims, 942.

H. R. 11384—To authorize the restoration to files of Capt. John McEwan Pruyn, Infantry.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Military Affairs, 942.

H. R. 11385—Granting an increase of pension to William T. Gibbs.
Mr. Smith of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 942.

H. R. 11386—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Cobb.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 942.

H. R. 11387—Granting an increase of pension to Allen Coyle.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 942.

H. R. 11388—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the village of Clinton, Lenawee County, Mich., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Michener; Committee on Military Affairs, 1012.

H. R. 11389—Donating a captured German cannon or fieldpiece to the township of Washington, county of Mercer, State of New Jersey, for decorative and patriotic purposes.
Mr. Hutchinson; Committee on Military Affairs, 1012.

H. R. 11390—To save daylight in the first zone so as to encourage the establishment of home gardening, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ackerman; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1012.

H. R. 11391—To restore to entry certain lands in Klamath County, Oreg., and for other purposes.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on the Public Lands, 1012.

H. R. 11392—For the purchase of a site and erection of a public building at Cuthbert, Ga.
Mr. Crisp; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1012.

H. R. 11393—For the purchase of a site for a public building at Ashburn, Ga.
Mr. Crisp; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1012.

H. R. 11394—For the purchase of a site for a public building at Vienna, Ga.
Mr. Crisp; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1012.

H. R. 11395—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Asheville, N. C.
Mr. Weaver; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1012.

H. R. 11396—To amend paragraph 1 of section 3 of an act of Feb. 5, 1917, entitled "An act to regulate the immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States."
Mr Lea of California; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 1012.

H. R. 11397—To provide for payment to an officer, enlisted man, female nurse, or civilian employee of the American Expeditionary Forces of loss sustained on a negotiable instrument, by reason of a fluctuation in the rate of exchange, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Military Affairs, 1012.

H. R. 11398—For the creation of the Custer State Park Game Sanctuary, in the State of South Dakota, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on the Public Lands, 1012.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 635), 2932.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3705, 3706.—Referred to Senate Committee on Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game, 3733.—Reported back, 7270.—Passed Senate, 7795.—Examined and signed, 8084, 8156.—Presented to the President, 8281.

H. R. 11399—For the erection of a Federal building at Huntsville, Tex.
Mr. Briggs; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1012.

H. R. 11400—Granting a pension to Eliza Ann Kime.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11401—Granting a pension to John W. Otter.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11402—Granting a pension to Lucy E. Blue.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11403—Granting a pension to Eliza C. Ludwig.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11404—Granting an increase of pension to Lafayette Van Gundy.
Mr. Dowell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11405—Granting a pension to John F. Keeton.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11406—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Fariss.
Mr. Hardy of Colorado; Committee on Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11407—Granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Durand.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11408—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Frazier.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11409—Granting a pension to Margaret Pinkham.
Mr. Kennedy of Iowa; Committee on Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11410—For the relief of James E. Connors.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Claims, 1012.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 603), 2618.

H. R. 11411—Granting a pension to Eleanor Lewis Taylor.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11412—Granting a pension to Esther Dye.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11413—Granting a pension to Sarah C. Steadman.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11414—For the relief of Julia H. Castle.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on War Claims, 1012.—Reported back adversely (H. Rept. 799) and laid on table, 5273.

H. R. 11415—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Stewart.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11416—For the relief of Orville M. Myers.
Mr. Romjue; Committee on Claims, 1012.—Reported back (H. Rept. 893), 6200.

H. R. 11417—For the relief of Capt. J. S. Carpenter, Pay Corps, United States Navy.
Mr. Stephens of Ohio; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1012.—Reported back (H. Rept. 991), 7188.

H. R. 11418—Granting an increase of pension to Hunter C. Frampton.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11419—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Cross.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11420—Granting a pension to Robert R. Brown.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11421—Granting a pension to Liza Sharp.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11422—Granting an increase of pension to Lelen B. Owen.
Mr. Yates; Committee on Pensions, 1012.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1601.

H. R. 11423—Granting an increase of pension to Seth Bailey.
Mr. Young of North Dakota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1012.

H. R. 11424—Granting certain rights of way and exchanges of the same across the Fort Douglas Military Reservation of the State of Utah.
Mr. Mays; Committee on Military Affairs, 1012.—Laid on the table (see S. 3327), 2369.

H. R. 11425—To provide for the purchase of a site and for the erection of a public building thereon at Canton, S. Dak.
Mr. Christopherson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1077.

H. R. 11426—To provide for the purchase of a site and for the erection of a public building thereon at Flandreau, S. Dak.
Mr. Christopherson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1077.

H. R. 11427—Conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, examine, consider, and adjudicate the claim of any mixed-blood Menominee Indian who participated in the payment of the sum of $40,000 provided for in article 4 of the treaty with the Menominee Indians of Oct. 18, 1848 (9 Stat. L., p. 952), or any descendant of such Indian, and for other purposes.
Mr. Classon; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1077.

H. R. 11428—Conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, examine, consider, and adjudicate claims which the Stockbridge and Munsee Indians may have against the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Classon; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1077.

H. R. 11429—To increase the limit of cost of the post-office building to be erected at Bakersfield, Calif.
Mr. Barbour; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1077.

H. R. 11430—To punish offenses against the existence of the Government of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Judiciary, 1077.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 536), 1467.—Debated, 1964.

H. R. 11431.—To give the Federal Trade Commission power and authority to allocate and distribute the available supply of print paper.
Mr. Christopherson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1077.

H. R. 11432—To prohibit the export of print paper from the United States.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1077.

H. R. 11433—To provide for the erection of a public building at Nashville, Ark.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1077.

H. R. 11434—To provide for the erection of a public building at De Queen, Ark.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1077.

H. R. 11435—To provide for the erection of a public building at Van Buren, Ark.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1077.

H. R. 11436—To provide for the erection of an addittion to the post-office building at Alexandria, Va., and for acquiring the land necessary therefor and for use in connection with the building.
Mr. Moore of Virginia; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1077.

H. R. 11437—For the erection of a public building at North Little Rock, Ark.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1077.

H. R. 11438—For the erection of a public building at Conway, Ark.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1078.

H. R. 11439—Providing for a further survey and examination of Absecon Inlet, Atlantic County, N. J.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 1078.

H. R. 11440—To increase the limit of cost of post-office site and building at Vineland, N. J.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1078.

H. R. 11441—To increase the limit of cost of post-office site and building at Millville, N. J.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1078.

H. R. 11442—To amend the act for the promotion of vocational education.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Education, 1078.

H. R. 11443—Providing for the disposition of the statue of Abraham Lincoln which formerly stood on the site in front of the courthouse in the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Luhring; Committee on the Library, 1078.

H. R. 11444—For the benefit of disabled former members of the military and naval forces who are in training under the direction of the Federal Board for Vocational Education.
Mr. Stevenson; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 1078.

H. R. 11445—To empower district judges of the United States to accept pleas of the guilty and pass sentence in all cases not capital at chambers and before bill is found.
Mr. Stevenson; Committee on the Judiciary, 1078.

H. R. 11446—To assist in increasing the productive agricultural area of Val Verde, Kinney, and Maverick Counties, in Texas, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hudspeth; Committee on Ways and Means, 1078.

H. R. 11447—To prevent gambling in cotton futures and make it unlawful for any person, corporation, or association of persons to sell any contract for future delivery of any cotton within the United States, unless such seller is actually the legitimate owner of the cotton so contracted for future delivery at the time said sale or contract of sale is made.
Mr. Hudspeth; Committee on the Judiciary, 1078.

H. R. 11448—To transfer the vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons discharged from the military or naval forces of the United States from the Federal Board for Vocational Education to the Bureau of War Risk Insurance of the Treasury Department.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Education, 1078.

H. R. 11449—Providing that any person who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during any war, who was killed in action or died of wounds incurred or disease contracted in such service, shall be deemed to have been honorably discharged from such service, and to give pensionable status to the widow or former widow of any such person.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.—Reported back (H. Rept. 537), 1467.—Debated, 1740, 1843–1860.—Amended and passed House, 1860.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 1865.

H. R. 11450—For the relief of Dr. R. B. Leister and Mercy Hospital, Tiffin, Ohio.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Claims, 1078.

H. R. 11451—Granting an increase of pension to William D. Moores.
Mr. Burroughs; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11452—Granting an increase of pension to William O. Callis.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11453—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Neuville.
Mr. Classon; Committee on Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11454—Granting a pension to Katherine M. Flanagan.
Mr. Crowther; Committee on Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11455—Granting an increase of pension to John Searles.
Mr. Crowther; Committee on Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11456—To correct the military record of Darius Atkinson.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Military Affairs, 1078.

H. R. 11457—Granting an increase of pension to Franklin Bolen.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11458—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse Corn.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11459—Granting a pension to John Baker.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11460—Granting a pension to Paul J. Flynn.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11461—Granting a pension to Fanny Van Winkle.
Mr. Hamill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11462—Granting a pension to Ellen Coleman.
Mr. Hamill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11463—Granting a pension to Knight F. Flanders.
Mr. Hernandez; Committee on Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11464—Granting a pension to Ralph L. Hackett.
Mr. Hersey; Committee on Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11465—For the relief of Alphonse Vulin.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Claims, 1078.

H. R. 11466—Granting a pension to Alphonzine Bastian.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11467—Granting an increase of pension to James Donohoo.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11468—Granting an increase of pension to Marion Cahall.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11469—Granting an increase of pension to Reuben Boring.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11470—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Gaskins.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11471—Granting a pension to Frank Alspach.
Mr. Kennedy of Iowa; Committee on Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11472—Granting a pension to Julia A. Barnes.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11473—Granting a pension to Richard McGregor.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11474—Granting an increase of pension to James Duran.
Mr. King; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11475—For the relief of Mrs. Fannie M. Higgins.
Mr. Moore of Virginia; Committee on Claims, 1078.

H. R. 11476—For the relief of Charles D. Crego.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Military Affairs, 1078.

H. R. 11477—Granting an increase of pension to George F. Griffith.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11478—Granting a pension to Pearl Smith.
Mr. Purnell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11479—Granting an increase of pension to Philip A. Warner.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11480—Granting a pension to Sarah J. Pond.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11481—Granting a pension to Priscilla Eggleston.
Mr. Sanders of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11482—Granting a pension to Zora Hockman.
Mr. Sanders of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11483—Granting a pension to Mary E. Nevins.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Pensions, 1078.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3317.

H. R. 11484—Granting a pension to Martha Williams.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Pensions, 1078.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1643.

H. R. 11485—Granting a pension to Mary E. Bowen.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11486—Granting an increase of pension to Ray W. Burkdoll.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11487—Granting a pension to Alice J. Goebel.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11488—Granting a pension to Elizabeth M. Sager.
Mr. Voigt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1078.

H. R. 11489—Concerning proof of widowhood in claims for pension.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1154.—Reported back (H. Rept. 538), 1467.—Debated (see Public law No. 190), 1741.

H. R. 11490—For the purchase of a site for and the erection of a post-office building at Mount Vernon, Ohio.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1154.

H. R. 11491—Directing the Secretary of War to authorize a survey of a military road for the uses of the military from San Antonio, in the State of Texas, via Corpus Christi, in the said State of Texas, and terminating in Brownsville, in the said State of Texas.
Mr. Bee; Committee on Military Affairs, 1154.

H. R. 11492—To amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to regulate the immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States," approved Feb. 5, 1917.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 1154.—Laid on the table (see S. 3566), 8454.

H. R. 11493—Establishing the Mammoth Cave National Park in the State of Kentucky, and for other purposes.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on the Public Lands, 1155.

H. R. 11494—To increase the salary of the United States district attorney for the western district of Texas.
Mr. Bee; Committee on the Judiciary, 1155.

H. R. 11495—Providing for delivering to the State of Illinois the statue of Abraham Lincoln which formerly stood in front of the courthouse in the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on the Library, 1155.

H. R. 11496—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Winfield, W. Va.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1155.

H. R. 11497—To amend an act entitled "An act to pension widows and minor children of officers and enlisted men who served in the War with Spain, Philippine insurrection, or in China," approved July 16, 1918.
Mr. Lehlbach; Committee on Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11498—To amend sections 4, 8, and 10 of the act of June 29, 1906, as amended, relating to naturalization, and for other purposes.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 1155.

H. R. 11499—To amend an act entitled "An act to increase the efficiency of the Medical Department of the United States Army," approved Apr. 23, 1908.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Military Affairs, 1155.

H. R. 11500—Granting an increase of pension to Frelin C. Lumbert.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11501—Granting a pension to Benjamin C. Moffet.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11502—Granting an increase of pension to John W. McPherron.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11503—Granting an increase of pension to Henry J. Kinney.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11504—Granting a pension to Oren O. Pound.
Mr. Boies; Committee on Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11505—Granting a pension to Sarah A. George.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11506—For the relief of the Merritt & Chapman Derrick and Wrecking Co.
Mr. Cleary; Committee on Claims, 1155.

H. R. 11507—Granting a pension to Johanna Ferron.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11508—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Monteith.
Mr. Greene of Vermont; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11509—Granting a pension to Mary E. Skinner.
Mr. Hersman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11510—Granting a pension to Susan H. Orr.
Mr. Hersman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11511—Granting a pension to William A. Anderson.
Mr. Jones of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11512—Granting a pension to John W. Thompson.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11513—Granting an increase of pension to Cora I. Cromwell.
Mr. Lampert; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11514—Granting an increase of pension to Hugo Schrottky.
Mr. Lampert; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11515—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza Brown.
Mr. Lampert; Committee on Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11516—Granting an increase of pension to Herbert H. Pommerich.
Mr. Lampert; Committee on Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11517—Granting a pension to Eva J. Plante.
Mr. Lampert; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11518—Granting an increase of pension to James B. Bristow.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11519—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Gass.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11520—Granting an increase of pension to James Reagin.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11521—Granting a pension to Loretta McKee.
Mr. Rose; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11522—Granting an increase of pension to Rosella Magee.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11523—For the relief of the Wales Island Packing Co.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Claims, 1155.

H. R. 11524—For the relief of the estate of John Stewart, deceased.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Claims, 1155.

H. R. 11525—Granting a pension to Sallie A. Cox.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11526—For the relief of the Snare & Triest Co.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Claims, 1155.

H. R. 11527—To correct the status of Mate John L. Vennard, United States Navy, retired, deceased.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1155.

H. R. 11528—Granting a pension to minor heirs of John W. Barr.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11529—Granting an increase of pension of John Foster.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11530—Granting an increase of pension to Edward R. Roll.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11531—Granting an increase of pension to James Hodges.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11532—Granting a pension to Harriet Sillman.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11533—Granting an increase of pension to Laura Levensaler.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11534—Granting an increase of pension to William W. Goodridge.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11535—Granting an increase of pension to Cornelius Conley, alias Cornelius Connelly.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11536—Granting a pension to William Bradford Cobb.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1155.

H. R. 11537—Making an appropriation for the payment of special assessment for paving, curbing, and guttering of Nineteenth Street, Oklahoma City, Okla., adjacent to real estate owned by the United States and used and occupied by the Weather Bureau.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1204.

H. R. 11538—To repeal certain provisions of the act of Mar. 3, 1899 (30 Stat. L., p. 1379), relating to widows' pensions.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1204.—Referred to House Committee on Revisions of the Laws, 1888.

H. R. 11539—To define the term honorable discharge in the administration of the pension laws.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1204.

H. R. 11540—Providing for cooperation in the enforcement of the immigration laws.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 1204.

H. R. 11541—Providing for a survey of Grand Haven Harbor, in the State of Michigan, with a view to securing increased depth in the entrance channel.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 1204.

H. R. 11542—For the purchase of a site for a public building at Walterboro, Colleton County, S. C.
Mr. Whaley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1204.

H. R. 11543—For the purchase of a site for a public building at St. George, Dorchester, County, S. C.
Mr. Whaley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1204.

H. R. 11544—For the purchase of a site for a public building at Summerville, Dorchester County, S. C.
Mr. Whaley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1204.

H. R. 11545—For the purchase of a site for a public building at Manning, Clarendon County, S. C.
Mr. Whaley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1204.

H. R. 11546—To treat the transportation of mails between Palisade, Nev., and Eureka, Nev., as other than railroad service.
Mr. Evans of Nevada; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1204.

H. R. 11547—To organize the civilian engineers in the service of the Engineer Corps of the United States Army.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Military Affairs, 1204.

H. R. 11548—For the consolidation of forest lands within the Clearwater, St. Joe, and the Coeur d'Alene National Forests.
Mr. French; Committee on the Public Lands, 1204.

H. R. 11549—Providing for the erection of a public building at the city of Lancaster, Pa.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1204.

H. R. 11550—To provide for the purchase of a site for a public building at Columbia, Pa.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1204.

H. R. 11551—To amend an act entitled "An act to amend and modify the War Risk Insurance Act," approved December 24, 1919.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1204.—Debated, 8939.

H. R. 11552—To authorize the acquisition of a site and the erection of a Federal building at Ozark, Christian County, Mo.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1204.

H. R. 11553—For the relief of the Imperial Valley, Calif., and for other purposes.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 1204.

H. R. 11554—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy, and certain soldiers and sailors of wars other than the Civil War, and to widows of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Sells; from Committee on Pensions as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee (H. Rept. 533), 1204.—Passed House, 1296.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 1319.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 494), 4992.—Amended and passed Senate, 8522–8528.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for conference, 8663.—Conferees appointed, 8631, 8663.—Senate insists upon its amendments, agrees to conference, 8631.

H. R. 11555—Prohibiting the bringing into the United States and the carrying and transporting therein, from one State, Territory, or District to another State, Territory, or District, of pictures, films, moving-picture film or films, purporting to show or to simulate the acts and conduct of ex-convicts, desperadoes, bandits, train robbers, bank robbers, or outlaws in the commission or attempted commission of crime or acts of violence, and to probihit the use of the mails in carrying communications relating to the same and providing punishment therefor.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on the Judiciary, 1204.

H. R. 11556—Making the 11th day of November in each and every year a legal public holiday.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on the Judiciary; 1204.

H. R. 11557—Prohibiting the bringing into the United States and the carrying and transporting therein, from one State, Territory, or District to another State, Territory, or District, of pictures, films, moving-picture film or films, purporting to show or to simulate the acts and conduct of ex-convicts, desperadoes, bandits, train robbers, bank robbers, or outlaws, in the commission or attempted commission of crime or acts of violence, and to prohibit the use of the mails in carrying communications relating to the same, and providing punishment therefor.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on the Judiciary, 1204.

H. R. 11558—Providing for the erection and completion of a public building in the Borough of The Bronx, New York City, in the State of New York.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1204.

H. R. 11559—Providing for appropriation for the purpose of making examinations and surveys and preparing plans and estimates of costs, and for constructing projects, for regulating the stream flow and controlling the flood waters of the Red River of the North and its tributaries.
Mr. Baer; Committee on Flood Control, 1205.

H. R. 11560—For the relief of William A. Duff.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on War Claims, 1205.

H. R. 11561—Granting a pension to Mary Davis Silveira.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1205.

H. R. 11562—Granting an increase of pension to Nathanial Henry.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1205.

H. R. 11563—Granting a pension to Allen H. Wilson.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1205.

H. R. 11564—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Christy.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1205.

H. R. 11565—Granting a pension to Mary F. Douglas.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1205.

H. R. 11566—Granting a pension to Martha B. Sipes.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1205.

H. R. 11567—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Yeates.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1205.

H. R. 11568—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick Dupont
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1205.

H. R. 11569—Granting a pension to Emerson Safford.
Mr. Lampert; Committee on Pensions, 1205.

H. R. 11570—For the relief of the National Laundry Co.
Mr. Ogden; Committee on Claims, 1205.

H. R. 11571—For the adjudication by the Court of Claims of the claims of George Chorpenning under contracts with the United States for carrying the mails.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Claims, 1205.

H. R. 11572—For the relief of the John E. Moore Co.
Mr. Rowe; Committee on Claims, 1205.—Reported back (H. Rept. 657), 3158.

H. R. 11573—Granting a pension to Anson T. Lazier.
Mr. Valle; Committee on Pensions, 1205.

H. R. 11574—Granting an increase of pension to Charles J. S. Arey.
Mr. Voigt; Committee on Pensions, 1205.

H. R. 11575—For the relief of August Herzer.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Claims, 1205.

H. R. 11576—Granting an increase of pension to Robert C. Abel.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 1205.

H. R. 11577—Granting a pension to Sarah Keys.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1205.

H. R. 11578—Making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.
Mr. Steenerson, from Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads (H. Rept. 534), 1245.—Debated, 1305–1309, 1344–1355, 1512–1517, 1575–1600, 8718.—Passed House, 1600.—Referred to Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 1613.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 461), 3786.—Debated, 4907–4915, 4916, 4944–4967.—Amended and passed Senate, 4967.—Senate asks for conference, 5032.—Conferees appointed, 5032, 5077.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to conference, 5077.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 802), 5294, 5498.—Debated, 5498.—House further disagrees to the amendments of the Senate and asks for conference, 5504.—Conferees appointed, 5504, 5529.—Senate further insists upon its amendments and agrees to further conference, 5529.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 834), 5682, 5731.—Debated and agreed to, 5731–5739.—Conference report submitted in Senate and agreed to, 5685.—Examined and signed, 5925, 5927.—Presented to the President, 5983.—Approved [Public, No. 187], 6227.

H. R. 11579—Amending the prohibition act.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on the Judiciary, 1245.

H. R. 11580—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Weatherford, Okla.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1245.

H. R. 11581—To provide for the national security and defense by encouraging the production and refining of graphite (plumbago, silver lead) ores in the United States and its possessions, and to provide revenue for the Government of the United States.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Ways and Means, 1245.

H. R. 11582—Relating to third-class mail matter.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1245.

H. R. 11583—For the purchase of a post-office site at Mullins, S. C.
Mr. Stoll; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1245.

H. R. 11584—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to cause to be erected a suitable building or buildings for marine-hospital purposes on the present marine-hospital site at San Francisco, Calif., and to remove all or any of the present structures on said site.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1246.

H. R. 11585—To amend the Federal plant quarantine act of Aug. 20, 1912, so as to provide that all expenses incident to the fumigation of importations be paid by the United States Government.
Mr. Hudspeth; Committee on Agriculture, 1246.

H. R. 11586—For the relief of Frederick Salzman.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Military Affairs, 1246.

H. R. 11587—Granting a pension to James H. Turner.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Pensions, 1246.

H. R. 11588—Granting an increase of pension to William Vollrath.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1246.

H. R. 11589—Granting an increase of pension to Mary C. Titman.
Mr. Casey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1246.

H. R. 11590—Granting a pension to Abbie Davis Morang.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Pensions, 1246.

H. R. 11591—Granting a pension to James Bartram.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1246.

H. R. 11592—Granting a pension to Mary Benson.
Mr. Hill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1246.

H. R. 11593—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Totten.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1246.

H. R. 11594—For the relief of John M. Higgins.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on War Claims, 1246.—Reported back adversely (H. Rept. 625) and laid on table, 2818.

H. R. 11595—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Edgington.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1246.

H. R. 11596—Granting an increase of pension to Gurney E. Hall.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1246.

H. R. 11597—Granting a pension to John C. Prestin.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Pensions, 1246.

H. R. 11598—Granting an increase of pension to George B. Pearl.
Mr. Monahan of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1246.

H. R. 11599—For the relief of Peter A. Kearney.
Mr. Pell; Committee on Claims, 1246.

H. R. 11600—For the relief of Mrs. Gussie Husak.
Mr. Pell; Committee on Claims, 1246.

H. R. 11601—Granting a pension to George W. Keith.
Mr. Stephens of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 1246.

H. R. 11602—For the erection of a public building at the city of Susanville, State of California, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1309.

H. R. 11603—For the erection of a public building at Melrose, Mass.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1309.

H. R. 11604—To acquire a site for a public building in the city of Philadelphia, State of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1309.

H. R. 11605—To amend the revenue act of 1918.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Ways and Means, 1310.

H. R. 11606—To authorize the county of Fountain, in the State of Indiana, to construct a bridge across the Wabash River at the city of Attica, Fountain County, Ind.
Mr. Purnell; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1310.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 546), 1643.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 1747.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 1765.—Reported back (S. Rept. 382), 2039.—Passed Senate, 2039.—Examined and signed, 2134, 2137.—Presented to the President, 2228.—Approved [Public, No. 129], 2448.

H. R. 11607—Providing for a survey of Rockland Harbor in the county of Knox, in the State of Maine.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 1310.

H. R. 11608—Providing for a survey of the Damariscotta River at Damariscotta, in the county of Lincoln and State of Maine.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 1310.

H. R. 11609—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a Federal building at Hillsboro, Ohio.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1310.

H. R. 11610—To provide for the erection of a Federal building and the purchase of a site therefor at Greenfield, Ohio.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1310.

H. R. 11611—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Nichols.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Pensions, 1310.

H. R. 11612—Granting a pension to William Tungate.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1310.

H. R. 11613—Granting a pension to Margaret Burney.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1310.

H. R. 11614—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Gilmore.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1310.

H. R. 11615—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Thomas.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1310.

H. R. 11616—Granting a pension to Clara E. Beede.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1310.

H. R. 11617—Granting a pension to Solomon D. Thompson.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1310.

H. R. 11618—For the relief of Joshua Cavins.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Military Affairs, 1310.

H. R. 11619—Granting a pension to John Walsh.
Mr. Elston; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1310.

H. R. 11620—Granting an increase of pension to Lyman M. Sherwood.
Mr. Elston; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1310.

H. R. 11621—Granting a pension to Henry L. Bond.
Mr. Hernandez; Committee on Pensions, 1310.

H. R. 11622—Granting a pension to Hannah Elizabeth Ledgerwood.
Mr. Jefferis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1310.

H. R. 11623—For the relief of Charles E. Reyburn.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Claims, 1310.

H. R. 11624—Granting a pension to Charles Eilers.
Mr. Lampert; Committee on Pensions, 1310.

H. R. 11625—To correct the military record of Robert Zink.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Military Affairs, 1310.

H. R. 11626—Granting a pension to Lucille Henninger.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1310.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 3317.

H. R. 11627—Granting an increase of pension to John Walker.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1310.

H. R. 11628—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Goddard.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1310.

H. R. 11629—Granting a pension to Robert C. Ladd.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 1310.

H. R. 11630—Granting a pension to Herbert E. Strode.
Mr. Tincher; Committee on Pensions, 1310.

H. R. 11631—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Wroten.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1310.

H. R. 11632—Granting an increase of pension to Nicholas S. Ward.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1310.

H. R. 11633—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of public buildings at Providence, R. I., for use as a quarantine station.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1356.

H. R. 11634—Providing for the appraisement of the value, the purchase of, and the operation of the pneumatic mail-tube properties in the city of Philadelphia and other cities where such equipment is now located.
Mr. Vare; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1356.

H. R. 11635—For the erection of a public building in Blairsville, Indiana County, State of Pennsylvania, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1356.

H. R. 11636—For the erection of a public building in Kittanning, county seat of Armstrong County, State of Pennsylvania, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1356.

H. R. 11637—Authorizing the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Keyser, W. Va.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1356.

H. R. 11638—Authorizing the acquisition of a site at Berkeley Springs, W. Va.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1356.

H. R. 11639—To provide for the promotion of the senior major general on the active list of the United States Army, and for other purposes.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Military Affairs, 1356.

H. R. 11640—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the cemetery at Barren Hill, Montgomery County, Pa., one brass cannon.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Military Affairs, 1356.

H. R. 11641—To prevent deceit and profiteering that result from the unrevealed presence of substitutes for virgin wool in woven fabrics purporting to contain wool and in garments or articles of apparel made therefrom, manufactured in any State or Territory of the United States or the District of Columbia, or transported or intended to be transported in interstate or foreign commerce, and providing penalties for the violation of the provisions of this act, and for other purposes.
Mr. French; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1356.

H. R. 11642—Conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, examine, consider, and adjudicate the claim of any member of the Wisconsin Band of Pottawatomie Indians against the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Classon; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1356.

H. R. 11643—Granting a pension to Harriette Skelton.
Mr. Almon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1356.

H. R. 11644—For the relief of the heirs of John M. Corley.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on War Claims, 1356.

H. R. 11645—Granting a pension to Sarah B. Jewett.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1356.

H. R. 11646—Granting a pension to Carrie E. Brown.
Mr. Dale; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1356.

H. R. 11647—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Willey.
Mr. Dale; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1356.

H. R. 11648—Granting an increase of pension to John E. Coogle.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1356.

H. R. 11649—Granting an increase of pension to Ellis Henthorn.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1356.

H. R. 11650—Granting a pension to Gladys R. B. Scheib.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Pensions, 1356.

H. R. 11651—Granting a pension to Lucy J. Sheldon.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1356.

H. R. 11652—Granting an increase of pension to Philander S. Groesbeck.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1356.

H. R. 11653—Granting a pension to Luke C. Monroe.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Pensions, 1356.

H. R. 11654—Granting an increase of pension to Marsh Smith.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1356.

H. R. 11655—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Jamison.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 1356.

H. R. 11656—For the relief of the Stevens Institute of Technology, of Hoboken, N. J.
Mr. Lehlbach; Committee on Claims, 1356.—Reported back (H. Rept. 920), 6483.

H. R. 11657—To carry into effect the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Lemuel C. Canfield.
Mr. McLaughlin of Michigan; Committee on War Claims, 1356.

H. R. 11658—Granting an increase of pension to Catherine Lenz.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1356.

H. R. 11659—To provide for the erection of a public building at Benton, Ill.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1467.

H. R. 11660—To provide for the erection of a public building at Herrin, Ill.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1467.

H. R. 11661—To provide for the erection of a public building at Carbondale, Ill.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1467.

H. R. 11662—To provide for the acquisition of additional land and for the erection of a Federal building in the city of Kenosha, county of Kenosha, State of Wisconsin.
Mr. Randall of Wisconsin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1467.

H. R. 11663—Authorizing bonded warehouses and other buildings used for the purpose of storing spirituous intoxicating liquors to be turned over to the Department of Agriculture to be used as warehouses for the storing of agricultural products.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Agriculture, 1467.

H. R. 11664—For the disposition of the proceeds of the illegal cotton taxes collected in 1862, 1864, and 1866.
Mr. Heflin; Committee on War Claims, 1467.

H. R. 11665—To increase the efficiency of the commissioned, warrant, and enlisted personnel of the Navy and Coast Guard through the temporary provision of bonuses or increased compensation.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1467.

H. R. 11666—Declaring certain persons ineligible as candidates for election to the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States, excluding their names from the official ballots, and conferring jurisdiction upon the circuit and district courts of the United States in such cases.
Mr. Luhring; Committee on the Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress, 1467.

H. R. 11667—To construct a public building for a post office at Warsaw, Richmond County, Va.
Mr. Bland of Virginia; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1467.

H. R. 11668—To require agents, brokers, and members of cotton exchanges and other persons in reporting or publishing notices of interstate or foreign sales of cotton to state specifically whether the sale is that of cotton futures or of actual cotton.
Mr. Heflin; Committee on the Judiciary, 1468.

H. R. 11669—Authorizing the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Windsor, Mo.
Mr. Dickinson of Missouri; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1468.

H. R. 11670—Authorizing the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Rich Hill, Mo.
Mr. Dickinson of Missouri; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1468.

H. R. 11671—Authorizing the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Eldorado Springs, Mo.
Mr. Dickinson of Missouri; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1468.

H. R. 11672—Making it possible for the natural and artificial ice industries of the country to be included in the next industrial census.
Mr. McLane; Committee on the Census, 1468.

H. R. 11673—To authorize the War Department to restore the Gettysburg National Military Park to its condition prior to use for military purposes during the war with Germany, and to appropriate the necessary funds therefor.
Mr. Brooks of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 1468.

H. R. 11674—To provide for the permanent improvement of part of the Tanneytown public road within the limits of the battle field of Gettysburg.
Mr. Brooks of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 1468.

H. R. 11675—To provide for the purchase of a site and erection of a public building thereon in the city of Delta, Colo.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1468.

H. R. 11676—To correct the military record of Sanford F. Timmons.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Military Affairs, 1468.

H. R. 11677—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Norris.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11678—Granting a pension to Solomon Morris.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11679—Granting an increase of pension to James K. Butler.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11680—Granting an increase of pension to Rufus J. Tyhurst.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11681—Granting an increase of pension to Adam Maharg.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11682—Granting a pension to Orlando R. Edwards.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11683—Granting a pension to Jeremiah Robinson.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11684—For the relief of Hewson L. Peeke.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Claims, 1468.

H. R. 11685—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Foster.
Mr. Bland of Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1601.

H. R. 11686—Granting a pension to Mathilda C. Greenwood.
Mr. Bland of Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11687—Granting an increase of pension to Walter B. McKey.
Mr. Browne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1601.

H. R. 11688—Granting an increase of pension to Hyram Colwell.
Mr. Browne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1601.

H. R. 11689—Granting an increase of pension to James L. Moore.
Mr. Cole; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11690—Granting an increase of pension to James M. Divine.
Mr. Dickinson of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11691—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham M. Reams.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11692—Granting an increase of pension to Lena Mauter.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11693—For the relief of Anton Smith, alias Charles Roehmer.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Military Affairs, 1468.

H. R. 11694—Granting an increase of pension to Susan Chittenden.
Mr. Hill; Committee on Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11695—For the relief of Thomas E. Philips.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Military Affairs, 1468.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 880), 6200.

H. R. 11696—Granting a pension to Anna Dixon.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1601.

H. R. 11697—Granting a pension to Patrick H. Guhin.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1601.

H. R. 11698—Granting a pension to Rose M. Painter.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11699—Granting an increase of pension to Anna E. Herrington.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11700—For the relief of Moore L. Henry.
Mr. Layton; Committee on Claims, 1468.

H. R. 11701—Granting an increase of pension to Gilbert Smith.
Mr. McGlennon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11702—Granting a pension to Maria C. Vance.
Mr. Major; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11703—Granting a pension to Albina Van Meter Pearce.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11704—Granting an increase of pension to Cicero Phipps.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11705—Granting an increase of pension to Harriett H. Carmical.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11706—Granting a pension to Patrick Kinney.
Mr. Rose; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 4207.

H. R. 11707—To correct the military record of Andrew Potter.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Military Affairs, 1468.

H. R. 11708—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Watson.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11709—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew T. Smith.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11710—Granting a pension to Andrew J. Showan.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11711—Granting a pension to John F. McNeeley.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11712—Granting a pension to Samuel S. Caldwell.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11713—Granting a pension to Benjamin Phillips.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11714—Granting an increase of pension to Ephraim A. Adams.
Mr. Vestal; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11715—Granting a pension to Cora Booram.
Mr. Vestal; Committee on Pensions, 1468.

H. R. 11716—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make settlement with the lessees who erected buildings on the zone of Camp Funston activities and amusements at Camp Funston, Kans.
Mr. Strong of Kansas; Committee on War Claims, 1468.

H. R. 11717—For the establishment and maintenance of a forest experiment station at Cloquet, Minn., in cooperation with the University of Minnesota.
Mr. Carss; Committee on Agriculture, 1518.

H. R. 11718—Providing that agents be sent into the South American Republics and into China and Japan for the purpose of inquiring into our trade relations with those countries and urging the use of American cotton goods.
Mr. Heflin; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1518.

H. R. 11719—To provide for the purchase of a site and erection of a public building thereon in the city of Delta, Colo.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1518.

H. R. 11720—To provide for the erection of a public building at Crystal Springs, Miss.
Mr. Quin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1518.

H. R. 11721—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a post-office building at the city of Monticello, Ga.
Mr. Wise; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1518.

H. R. 11722—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a post-office building at the city of Thomaston, Ga.
Mr. Wise; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1518.

H. R. 11723—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a post-office building at the city of Jackson, Ga.
Mr. Wise; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1518.

H. R. 11724—To amend the act for the promotion of vocational education in respect to the board created thereby.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Education, 1518.

H. R. 11725—To provide for the purchase of a site for a public building at Bloomsburg, Pa.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1518.

H. R. 11726—To provide for the purchase of a site for a public building at Milton, Pa.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1518.

H. R. 11727—To authorize the establishment of a Coast Guard station on the coast of Florida at or in the vicinity of the Government cut, Miami Beach, Dade County.
Mr. Sears; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1518.

H. R. 11728—Providing for a site for a post office at Jacksonville, Duval County, Fla.
Mr. Sears; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1518.

H. R. 11729—To permit traveling salesmen to deduct expenses for meals and lodging in computing their net income for income-tax purposes.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Ways and Means, 1518.

H. R. 11730—To increase the efficiency of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and the Public Health Service.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Military Affairs, 1518.—Reported back (H. Rept. 555), 1693.—Debated, 4397.—Laid on the table, 7489.

H. R. 11731—Authorizing the Postmaster General to enter into contracts with telegraph and telephone companies for the transmission of letters by electrical means of communication.
Mr. Bee; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1518.

H. R. 11732—To provide for a public building at San Jose, Calif.
Mr. Hersman; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1518.

H. R. 11733—Granting a pension to Ira Fouche.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 11734—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel L. Portley.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 11735—Granting a pension to William Costello.
Mr. Costello; Committee on Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 11736—For the relief of Reinman & Wolfort.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Claims, 1518.

H. R. 11737—Granting a pension to Mary Martha Hopkins.
Mr. King; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 11738—For the relief of Nels D. Anderson.
Mr. Lee of Georgia; Committee on Claims, 1518.

H. R. 11739—For the relief of William Marzahl.
Mr. McGlennon; Committee on Claims, 1518.

H. R. 11740—For the relief of Joseph A. Choate.
Mr. Rainey of Alabama; Committee on Military Affairs, 1518.

H. R. 11741—For the relief of Mrs. Emma LaMee.
Mr. Sears; Committee on Claims, 1518.

H. R. 11742—Granting an increase of pension to Sylvanus Strang.
Mr. Sears; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 11743—Granting a pension to Thomas J. Herndon.
Mr. Sears; Committee on Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 11744—Granting an increase of pension to Peter L. Tremper.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 11745—Granting a pension to William Eldmond.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 11746—To authorize the President to appoint Capt. Harold K. Hines, United States Navy, retired, a rear admiral on the retired list of the Navy.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1518.

H. R. 11747—Granting a pension to Leonard H. Hemphill.
Mr. Tincher; Committee on Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 11748—For the purchase of a site and erection of a public building at Fort Payne, Ala.
Mr. Rainey of Alabama; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1560.

H. R. 11749—To provide for the erection of a public building at the city of Albertville, Ala.
Mr. Rainey of Alabama; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1560.

H. R. 11750—To provide for the erection of a public building at the city of Attalla, Ala.
Mr. Rainey of Alabama; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1560.

H. R. 11751—Authorizing the acquisition of a site for a public building at Berkeley Springs, W. Va.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1560.

H. R. 11752—To control and conserve for irrigation, power, and other uses the flood and flow waters of the Colorado River of the West; to protect property and construct trunk canals wholly in American territory for irrigation, and for other purposes.
Mr. Randall of California; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 1560.

H. R. 11753—Further to regulate public utilities in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1560.

H. R. 11754—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Torrington, in the State of Connecticut.
Mr. Glynn; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1560.

H. R. 11755—To establish a home and training school for feeble-minded persons of the District of Columbia, to be known as the District Home and Training School, providing for commitments thereto and the maintenance thereof, and for other purposes.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1560.

H. R. 11756—To extend the time for the construction of a bridge across the Connecticut River between Springfield and West Springfield, in Hampden County, Mass.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1561.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 646), 3106.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3708.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 3733.—Reported back, 3786.—Passed Senate, 3786.—Examined and signed, 3907, 3936.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 158], 4466.

H. R. 11757—To authorize the provision of accommodations for the United States courts in the Federal building at Sunbury, Pa., and to increase the limit of cost for said building accordingly.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1561.

H. R. 11758—Authorizing a preliminary survey to be made of certain portions of the Illinois River and its tributaries, with a view to controlling the floods caused by the backwaters therefrom.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Flood Control, 1561.

H. R. 11759—Authorizing the survey of Depue Lake and the Illinois River in Bureau County, Ill.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 1561.

H. R. 11760—Granting an increase of pension to Louisa Carey.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 1561.

H. R. 11761—Granting a pension to Maggie Standeffer.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1561.

H. R. 11762—Granting a pension to Tony Jud.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Pensions, 1561.

H. R. 11763—For the relief of Rudolph L. Wise.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Claims, 1561.

H. R. 11764—For the relief of the Knight Motor Co., a corporation.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Claims, 1561.

H. R. 11765—Granting a pension to Mary T. Tupper.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1561.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2134.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2228.

H. R. 11766—Granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Davis.
Mr. Strong of Kansas; Committee on Pensions, 1561.

H. R. 11767—Granting an increase of pension to Susan Bedell.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1561.

H. R. 11768—To provide for the mileage of Philippine soldiers.
Mr. Vaile; Committee on Military Affairs, 1601.

H. R. 11769—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes," approved Mar. 2, 1917.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Insular Affairs, 1601.—Reported back (H. Rept. 576), 1925.—Debated and passed House, 4349–4352.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pacific Islands, Porto Rico, and Virgin Islands, 4396.

H. R. 11770—Authorizing the acquisition of a site for a public building at Roanoke, Ala.
Mr. Heflin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1602.

H. R. 11771—To dispose of certain Army equipment of deceased soldiers.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Military Affairs, 1602.

H.R. 11772—To promote marine insurance, and for other purposes.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1602.

H. R. 11773—Making reservation and withdrawing from settlement, occupancy, or sale, and dedicating and setting apart as a national monument, a certain tract of land in the county of Riverside, State of California.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on the Public Lands, 1602.

H. R. 11774—Making an appropriation of $30,000 for the purpose of building roads, causeways, bridges, dams, retaining walls, toilets, repairing buildings, purchasing tools, and otherwise improving and beautifying Platt National Park at Sulphur, Okla.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on Appropriations, 1602.

H. R. 11775—Authorizing the payment of stationary engineers and others for service performed on Sundays and legal holidays.
Mr. Mason; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1602.

H. R. 11776—To provide for the restoration to their former positions and rank of officers and employees of the Public Health Service who resigned such service to enter the Army or Navy in the war with Germany.
Mr. Webster; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1602.

H. R. 11777—To increase the limit of cost of the public building to be erected at Sandusky, Ohio.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1602.

H. R. 11778—To provide aid from the United States for the several States in prevention and control of drug addiction and the care and treatment of drug addicts, and for other purposes.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1602.

H. R. 11779—To restore to private ownership and operation certain radio stations, and for other purposes.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1602.

H. R. 11780—Authorizing and directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to conduct investigations and to make orders relating to warehouse facilities of certain common carriers at certain ports.
Mr. Anderson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1602.

H. R. 11781—Granting a pension to Mike Kulas.
Mr. Anderson; Committee on Pensions, 1602.

H. R. 11782—Granting an increase of pension to George H. Pennington.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1602.

H. R. 11783—For the relief of the heirs of William J. Crabtree, deceased.
Mr. Dickinson of Missouri; Committee on War Claims, 1602.

H. R. 11784—Granting a pension to Mary E. Henderson.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Pensions, 1602.

H. R. 11785—Granting an increase of pension to Algon E. Cole.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Pensions, 1602.

H. R. 11786—Granting an increase of pension to James Hood.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1602.

H. R. 11787—Granting a pension to Richard J. Weaver.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Pensions, 1602.

H. R. 11788—For the relief of Marion B. Patterson.
Mr. Fisher; Committee on Claims, 1602.

H. R. 11789—For the relief of James Kernan.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Military Affairs, 1602.

H. R. 11790—For the relief of Charles W. Bisher.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Claims, 1602.

H. R. 11791—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick Dupont.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Pensions, 1602.

H. R. 11792—For the relief of Samuel Wilson.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Military Affairs, 1602.

H. R. 11793—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Lloyd.
Mr. Mann of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1602.

H. R. 11794—Granting a pension to Nelle T. O'Neil.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Pensions, 1602.

H. R. 11795—Granting a pension to Minerva A. Ford.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on Pensions, 1602.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1860.

H. R. 11796—Granting a pension to Charles Goff.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 1602.

H. R. 11797—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Collins.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1602.

H. R. 11798—Granting a pension to James A. G. Livingstone.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 1602.

H. R. 11799—Granting an increase of pension to Edward F. Stewart.
Mr. Steele; Committee on Pensions, 1602.

H. R. 11800—For the relief of Stanley Mitchell.
Mr. Vaile; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1602.

H. R. 11801—Granting a pension to Louisa R. Bechtel.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1602.

H. R. 11802—For the relief of Vince P. Brown.
Mr. Webster; Committee on the Public Lands, 1602.

H. R. 11803—To provide a site and erect a public building at De Ridder, La.
Mr. Lazaro; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1643.

H. R. 11804—To provide a site and erect a public building at Oakdale, La.
Mr. Lazaro; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1643.

H. R. 11805—To provide for the erection of a public building at Cloquet, Minn.
Mr. Carss; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1643.

H. R. 11806—To provide revenue and to encourage the manufacture of oxalic acid by imposing special duties, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Ways and Means, 1643.

H. R. 11807—Authorizing the erection of a Federal building at Pasco, Wash.
Mr. Summers of Washington; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1643.

H. R. 11808—To amend section 2 of the act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes."
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 1643.

H. R. 11869—Making appropriations for the purchase of airplanes and aviation equipment for the Aviation Service of the United States Army.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 1643.

H. R. 11810—For the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Earle, Ark.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1643.

H. R. 11811—For the erection of a public building at Forrest City, Ark.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1643.

H. R. 11812—To increase the limit of cost of the erection of a post-office building at Marianna, Ark.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1643.

H. R. 11813—For the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Rector, Ark.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1643.

H. R. 11814—To authorize the Secretary of War, in his discretion, to furnish quarters at Langley Field, Va., to the civilian employees of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 1643.

H. R. 11815—To provide for the national security and defense by encouraging the production and refining of graphite (plumbago, silver lead) ores in the United States and its possessions, and to provide revenue for the Government of the United States.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Ways and Means, 1643.

H. R. 11816—Providing for the relief of populations in Europe and in countries contiguous thereto.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Ways and Means, 1643.

H. R. 11817—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Guffy.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11818—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Burklew.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11819—Granting an increase of pension to Jennie Barker.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11820—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Morr.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11821—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Harrison.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11822—Granting a pension to Isaac Morris.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11823—To convey to the Big Rock Stone & Construction Co. a portion of the military reservation of Fort Logan H. Roots, in the State of Arkansas.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Military Affairs, 1644.

H. R. 11824—For the relief of William S. Britton, formerly second lieutenant of Infantry, who has been erroneously dropped from the rolls of the United States Army.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 1644.

H. R. 11825—Granting a pension to John Frederick Fellhauer.
Mr. King; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11826—Granting a pension to William T. Atkinson.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11827—Granting a pension to Noah Smith.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11828—Granting a pension to Jacob Stone.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11829—Granting a pension to Frank Risner.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11830—Granting a pension to David C. Stephens.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11831—Granting a pension to William Winn.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11832—Granting an increase of pension to Leck Patrick.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11833—Granting an increase of pension to James Wheeler.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11834—For the relief of certain landowners of New Castle County, in the State of Delaware.
Mr. Layton; Committee on the Public Lands, 1644.—Reference changed to Committee on Claims, 1811.—Reported back (H. Rept. 663), 3216.

H. R. 11835—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Johnston.
Mr. Reber; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11836—Granting an increase of pension to William S. Phelps.
Mr. Reed of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11837—Granting an increase of pension to Julia Tomlin.
Mr. Rucker; Committee on Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11838—Granting an increase of pension to Alida A. Marshall.
Mr. Strong of Kansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11839—Granting an increase of pension to Simpson Hornaday.
Mr. Summers of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11840—Granting a pension to William M. Furnas.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Pensions, 1644.

H. R. 11841—To amend "An act granting additional quarantine powers and imposing additional duties upon the Marine Hospital Service," approved Feb. 15, 1893.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1693.—Reported back (H. Rept. 945), 6792.

H. R. 11842—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915."
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 1694.

H. R. 11843—To provide for the purchase of a site and for the erection of a public building thereon at Milton, Pa.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1694.

H. R. 11844—To provide for the purchase of a site and for the erection of a public building thereon at Bloomsburg, Pa.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1694.

H. R. 11845—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Bucyrus, Ohio.
Mr. Cole; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1694.

H. R. 11846—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to refund moneys paid for taxes on intoxicating liquors and for tax stamps on beer and wine remaining unused, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on Ways and Means, 1694.

H. R. 11847—Creating a commission to award equitable compensation to honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, marines, and nurses who served in the war against Germany.
Mr. McGlennon; Committee on Military Affairs, 1694.—Reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. R. 11848—To authorize the Secretary of War to transfer to the Federal Board for Vocational Education certain buildings, machines, appliances, tools, equipment, and other supplies under the control of the War Department.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 1694.

H. R. 11849—Authorizing the establishment of a light vessel to mark the entrance to Grays Harbor, Wash.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1694.

H. R. 11850—Authorizing the establishment of a fog signal at Gig Harbor, Wash.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1694.

H. R. 11851—Authorizing the exchange of lands within the Rainier National Forest, in the State of Washington, and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on the Public Lands, 1694.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 925), 6615.

H. R. 11852—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to deposit with the Bank of North Dakota $10,000,000, on certificates of deposit bearing interest at 4 per cent per annum, to be loaned by said bank, through its local correspondent banks, to the farmers in the drought-stricken areas of North Dakota.
Mr. Sinclair; Committee on Appropriations, 1694.

H. R. 11853—Granting a pension to M. M. Sayre.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1694.

H. R. 11854—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph E. W. Bergbower.
Mr. Brooks of Illinois; Committee on Pensions, 1694.

H. R. 11855—Granting a pension to Henry Burkitt.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1694.

H. R. 11856—Granting a pension to John Rovinski.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Pensions, 1694.

H. R. 11857—Granting an increase of pension to Anna H. Torrey.
Mr. Evans of Montana; Committee on Pensions, 1694.

H. R. 11858—Granting a pension to Noah C. Reynolds.
Mr. Goodykoontz; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1694.

H. R. 11859—For the relief of Josie N. Styron.
Mr. Godwin, of North Carolina; Committee on Claims, 1694.

H. R. 11860—Granting an increase of pension to Philip Dieter.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1694.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 6200.

H. R. 11861—For the relief of Lieut. Col. John R. White.
Mr. Hardy of Texas; Committee on Military Affairs, 1694.

H. R. 11862—Authorizing Ralph B. Quinn to make homestead entry for certain public lands in the State of Arizona.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on the Public Lands, 1694.

H. R. 11863—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Vincent.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1694.

H. R. 11864—Granting an increase of pension to Laony Carver.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1694.

H. R. 11865—Granting an increase of pension to Jennie L. Ramsdell.
Mr. Hersey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1694.

H. R. 11866—Granting a pension to Julia E. Mills.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1694.

H. R. 11867—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Kirby.
Mr. MacCrate; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1694.

H. R. 11868—Granting a pension to Jesse K. Drinnen.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 1694.

H. R. 11869—Granting a pension to John M. Davis.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 1694.

H. R. 11870—Granting a pension to Huse Walker.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 1694.

H. R. 11871—Granting a pension to Mitchell Phillips.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 1694.

H. R. 11872—Granting a pension to William Francis Sheridan.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 1694.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2134.

H. R. 11873—To assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws, and to punish the crime of lynching.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on the Judiciary, 1759.

H. R. 11874—For the protection of treaty rights of aliens.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on the Judiciary, 1759.

H. R. 11875—To construct a public building for a post office at the city of Monroe, Ga.
Mr. Brand; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1759.

H. R. 11876—To amend section 8 of an act entitled "An act for preventing the manufacture, sale, or transportation of adulterated or misbranded or poisonous or deleterious foods, drugs, medicines, and liquors, and for regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes," approved June 30, 1906.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1759.

H. R. 11877—Granting the consent of Congress to Madison and Rankin Counties, in the State of Mississippi, to construct a bridge across the Pearl River between Madison and Rankin Counties.
Mr. Collier; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1759.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 689), 3650.—Amended and passed House, 5198.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 5228.—Reported back (S. Rept. 521), 5587.—Passed Senate, 5588.—Examined and signed, 5710, 5713.—Presented to the President, 5814.—Approved [Public, No. 183], 6078.

H. R. 11878—To enlarge and extend the post-office building at Alliance, Nebr.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1759.

H. R. 11879—To authorize the extension and widening of Fourteenth Street from Montague Street to its southern terminus south of Dahlia Street, Nicholson Street from Thirteenth Street to Sixteenth Street, Colorado Avenue from Montague Street to Thirteenth Street, Concord Avenue from Sixteenth Street to its western terminus west of Eighth Street west, Thirteenth Street from Nicholson Street to Piney Branch Road, and Piney Branch Road from Thirteenth Street to Blair Road, and for other purposes.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1759.

H. R. 11880—To create the offices of third assistant probation officer and stenographer and typist for the probation office of the police court of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1759.

H. R. 11881—To provide for an examination and survey of the channel of Sterlings Creek, Accomac County, Va., and of the channels connecting the said creek with the Pocomoke Sound and Chesapeake Bay.
Mr. Bland of Virginia; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 1759.

H. R. 11882—To provide for an examination and survey of the channel leading from Oyster, Northampton County, Va., to the Atlantic Ocean.
Mr. Bland of Virginia; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 1759.

H. R. 11883—To provide for the erection of a post-office building at Warsaw, Richmond County, Va.
Mr. Bland of Virginia; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1759.

H. R. 11884—To amend an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provisions for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Lufkin; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1759.

H. R. 11885—To authorize the Secretary of the Navy to remove the charge of desertion under certain conditions from the records of former members of the naval service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1759.

H. R. 11886—To change the name of the Bureau of Steam Engineering to the "Bureau of Engineering" and the Bureau of Navigation to the "Bureau of Personnel."
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1759.

H. R. 11887—To give the Secretary of Commerce power and authority to allocate and distribute the available supply of print paper.
Mr. Christopherson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1759.

H. R. 11888—Granting 30 days' sick leave with pay to regular postal employees.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Expenditures in the Post Office Department, 1760.

H. R. 11889—Making an appropriation to pay the State of Massachusetts for expenses incurred and paid at the request of the President in protecting the harbors and fortifying the coast during the Civil War.
Mr. Luce; Committee on War Claims, 1760.

H. R. 11890—For the protection and improvement of the Lassen Volcanic National Park, Calif., and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Appropriations, 1760.

H. R. 11891—To prevent deceit in the manufacture and sale of woven fabrics or of yarn.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1760.

H. R. 11892—Making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kennedy of Iowa; from Committee on Rivers and Harbors (H. Rept. 566), 1759.—Debated, 1759, 1784–1810, 1888–1924, 1997, 2004, 6568, 6995, 8745, 8762, 8763, 9403.—Amended and passed House, 1924.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 1996.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 513), 5385.—Debated, 5593–5598, 5646, 5769, 5776–5788, 5898–5903, 5935, 5974, 5980, 6062–6076, 6107, 6119–6130, 6132–6141, 8534, 9214–9220.—Amended and passed Senate, 6141.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for conference, 7320, 7321.—Conferees appointed, 7321, 7397.—Senate insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference, 7397.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 1045), 7739, 8010.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 7784.—Agreed to, 7786.—Senate insists upon its amendment No. 1 and asks for further conference, 7786.—Conferees appointed, 7786, 8016.—Conference report agreed to in House, 8010–8016.—House further insists on its disagreement to Senate amendment No. 1 and agrees to further conference, 8010–8016.—Senate recedes from its amendment No. 1, 8534, 8536, 8537.—Examined and signed, 8620.—Presented to the President, 8678.

H. R. 11893—Granting an increase of pension to James K. Butler.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11894—For the relief of George W. Allison.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Claims, 1760.

H. R. 11895.—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Hale.
Mr. Dowell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11896—Granting a pension to Abigal Merriman.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11897—Granting an increase of pension to Eduard P. Latham.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11898—Granting an increase of pension to James B. Erskine.
Mr. Hersey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11899—Granting a pension to Minnie M. Raysor.
Mr. Hulings; Committee on Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11900—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Johnson.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11901—Granting a pension to Mary J. Herbert.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11902—Granting an increase of pension to Elmer K. Coppock.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11903—Granting a pension to Erastus A. Buck.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11904—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Sanders.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11905—Granting a pension to Frederick Hattler.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11906—Granting a pension to Mollie McCracken.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11907—Granting a pension to Annie B. Kenyon.
Mr. McLane; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11908—For the relief of John J. Tully.
Mr. Ogden; Committee on Claims, 1760.

H. R. 11909—Granting an increase of pension to Lynn J. Heldreth.
Mr. Reed of West Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11910—Granting an increase of pension to Electa Rexroad.
Mr. Reed of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11911—Granting a pension to Joseph I. Vincent.
Mr. Reed of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11912—Granting a pension to Carrie Hanks.
Mr. Rhodes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11913—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Stroup.
Mr. Rhodes; Committee on Pensions, 1760.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2482.

H. R. 11914—For the relief of Lenorah E. Copeland.
Mr. Rhodes; Committee on War Claims, 1760.

H. R. 11915—Granting an increase of pension to Sylvester J. Fisher.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11916—Granting a pension to Edward S. McClellan.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 1760.

H. R. 11917—For the relief of Gustavus F. Gallagher.
Mr. Tincher; Committee on the Public Lands, 1760.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 848), 5815.

H. R. 11918—To amend section 9 of the Federal reserve act.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Banking and Currency, 1811.—Reported back (H. Rept. 900), 6256.

H. R. 11919—For the relief of the families of policemen and firemen who lose their lives through death or injuries in the performance of their official duties in the District of Columbia.
Mr. O'Connell; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1811.

H. R. 11920—To provide for a site and public building at Eaton, Ohio.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1811.

H. R. 11921—Authorizing the erection of a post-office building at Rossville, Ga.
Mr. Lee of Georgia; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1811.

H. R. 11922—For the purchase of a site and the erection of a post-office building at Sylva, N. C.
Mr. Weaver; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1811.

H. R. 11923—To amend the revenue act of 1918 in regard to deductions from income for contributions for certain purposes.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on Ways and Means, 1811.

H. R. 11924—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to contract for the enlargement, extension, remodeling, and improvement of the present Federal building in the city of Mason City, in the State of Iowa.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1811.

H. R. 11925—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the settlement of the claims of officers and enlisted men of the Army for loss of private property destroyed in the military service of the United States," approved Mar. 3, 1885, as amended by the act of July 9, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kahn, Committee on Military Affairs, 1811.

H. R. 11926—To enable officers, enlisted men, or civilian employees of the American Expeditionary Forces, who received their pay and allowances in foreign currency or in the form of a check drawn by an Army disbursing officer and payable in foreign currency, to exchange the foreign currency or to cash such check in United States currency at the rate of exchange at which the check was drawn.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 1811.

H. R. 11927—To increase the efficiency of the personnel of the Navy and Coast Guard through the temporary provision of bonuses or increased compensation.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1811.—Reported back (H. Rept. 570), 1860.—Debated, 1954–1959.—Passed House, 1959.—Referred to Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, 1996.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 421), 2688.—Debated, 2743–2746.—Amended and passed Senate, 2746.—Senate asks for conference, 2746.—Conferees appointed, 2746, 4612.—The bill with amendments of the Senate taken from Speaker's table and referred to House Committee on Naval Affairs, 3010.—Reported back (H. Rept. 666), 3317.—House agrees to conference asked for by Senate, 4607–4612.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 948), 6767, 7048.—Agreed to, 7048–7051.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 7034.—Agreed to, 7036.—Examined and signed, 7084, 7121.—Presented to the President, 7165.—Approved [Public, No. 210], 7360.

H. R. 11928—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Carter.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1811.

H. R. 11929—Granting a pension to Earl S. Reeves.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 1811.

H. R. 11930—Granting a pension to Robert A. Herbst.
Mr. Brooks of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 1811.

H. R. 11931—Granting a pension to Frank A. Smith.
Mr. Brooks of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 1811.

H. R. 11932—Granting a pension to Henry N. Wilks.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; Committee on Pensions, 1811.

H. R. 11933—For the relief of James G. Weart.
Mr. Chindblom; Committee on Claims, 1811.

H. R. 11934—Granting an increase of pension to Peter Filiatreau.
Mr. Classon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1811.

H. R. 11935—Granting an increase of pension to Annie F. Willis.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1811.

H. R. 11936—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas L. Harris.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1811.

H. R. 11937—Granting a pension to Henry Burkitt.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1811.

H. R. 11938—For the relief of Nelson M. Maydole.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Military Affairs, 1811.

H. R. 11939—Granting a pension to Mary F. Woods.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1811.

H. R. 11940—Granting an increase of pension to James Nolan, jr.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Pensions, 1811.

H. R. 11941—Granting a pension to Bessie B. Johnson.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1811.

H. R. 11942—Granting a pension to Teresa S. Fisher.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1811.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6200.

H. R. 11943—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham Hess.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1811.

H. R. 11944—For the relief of James F. Ayers.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Claims, 1811.

H. R. 11945—For the relief of W. C. Stewart.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Claims, 1811.—Reported back (H. Rept. 830), 5683.

H. R. 11946—Granting a pension to John B. Hamilton.
Mr. Parrish; Committee on Pensions, 1811.

H. R. 11947—Granting an increase of pension to George McDowell.
Mr. Sweet; Committee on Pensions, 1811.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 11948—For the relief of George W. Horn.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Military Affairs, 1811.

H. R. 11949—For the relief of Stanley Mitchell.
Mr. Weaver; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1811.

H. R. 11950—Granting an increase of pension to Etta Crisp.
Mr. Weaver; Committee on Pensions, 1811.

H. R. 11951—To authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to close streets, roads, or highways in the District of Columbia rendered useless or unnecessary by reason of the opening, extension, widening, or straightening of other streets, roads, or highways, and for other purposes.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1860.

H. R. 11952—To prohibit the export of coal from the United States.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1860.

H. R. 11953—To amend section 215, act of Mar. 4, 1909 (Criminal Code), penalizing fraudulent use of the mails.
Mr. Randall of California; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1860.

H. R. 11954—To amend section 4041, Revised Statutes, enabling the Postmaster General to forbid payments of postal money orders in connection with the exclusion of fraudulent devices and lottery paraphernalia from the mails.
Mr. Randall of California; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1860.

H. R. 11955—To amend section 3929, Revised Statutes, relating to exclusion of fraudulent devices and lottery paraphernalia from the mails.
Mr. Randall of California; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1861.

H. R. 11956—To amend section 213, act of Mar. 4, 1909 (Criminal Code), affixing penalties for use of mails in connection with fraudulent devices and lottery paraphernalia.
Mr. Randall of California; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1861.

H. R. 11957—For the consolidation of forest lands within the Wenatchee National Forests.
Mr. Webster; Committee on the Public Lands, 1861.

H. R. 11958—To authorize and direct the Secretary of the Interior to ascertain the feasibility and desirability for reclamation by irrigation, including the making of an official survey of the North Grand River and its tributary, Spring Creek, in the counties of Bowman and Adams, in the State of North Dakota, and in the counties of Harding and Perkins, in the State of South Dakota, and authorize an appropriation to defray the expenses thereof.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 1861.

H. R. 11959—To provide for a reclamation project on the North Fork of Grand River and Spring Creek, in the counties of Bowman and Adams, in the State of North Dakota, and the counties of Harding and Perkins, in the State of South Dakota.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 1861.

H. R. 11960—Making appropriations for the Diplomatic and Consular Service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921.
Mr. Porter, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs (H. Rept. 571), 1860.—Debated, 1959, 1961–1964, 1975, 1978, 1997–2022, 2069–2089, 2909, 8785, 9036, 9135.—Amended and passed House, 2089.—Referred to Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 2093.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 416), 2535.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2689–2692.—Senate asks for conference, 2692.—Conferees appointed, 2692, 2961.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to conference, 2960, 2961.—Conference report submitted in House, (H. Rept. 895), 6199, 6707.—House disagrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate, insists upon its disagreements to Senate amendments, and asks for further conference, 6706–6709.—Conferees appointed, 6705, 6709.—Senate insists upon its amendments and agrees to further conference, 6705.—Second conference report submitted in Senate, 6740.—Agreed to, 6742.—Second conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 985), 7077, 7121.—Debated, 7121–7126, 7165–7176, 9407.—Rejected, 7175.—House insists on its disagreement to the Senate amendments and asks for a further conference, 7176.—Conferees appointed, 7176, 7190.—Senate further insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference asked for by the House, 7190.—Conference report submitted in Senate and agreed to, 7558, 7559.—Conference reported submitted in House (H. Rept. 1038), 7604.—Debated, 7748–7750.—Agreed to, 7750.—Examined and signed, 7844, 7860.—Presented to the President, 8042.—Approved [Public, No. 238], 8553.

H. R. 11961—To authorize advances to the reclamation fund and for the issue and disposal of bonds in reimbursement therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Ways and Means, 1861.

H. R. 11962—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Burklew.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1861.

H. R. 11963—Granting an increase of pension to Robert H. Kernan.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1861.

H. R. 11964—For the relief of the heirs of Benjamin S. Roberts.
Mr. Greene of Vermont; Committee on Claims, 1861.

H. R. 11965—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Amberg.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on Pensions, 1861.

H. R. 11966—Granting an increase of pension to Lucy E. Buckridge.
Mr. Hoch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1861.

H. R. 11967—For the relief of Julian Hurt Guild.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1861.

H. R. 11968—Granting a pension to Delia P. Smith.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1861.

H. R. 11969—Granting an increase of pension to Ferdinand Zimmerer.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1861.

H. R. 11970—Granting a pension to Philip Stokes.
Mr. Kleczka; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1861.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 3432.

H. R. 11971—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of James M. Webster.
Mr. McLaughlin of Michigan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1861.

H. R. 11972—Granting a pension to Owen P. Daly.
Mr. McLaughlin of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 1861.

H. R. 11973—Granting a pension to David E. Almy.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1861.

H. R. 11974—Granting a pension to Margaret Egan.
Mr. Pell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1861.

H. R. 11975—Granting an increase of pension to David H. Welch.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1861.

H. R. 11976—Granting an increase of pension to Katharine L. Cushing.
Mr. Reed of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1861.

H. R. 11977—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Thompson.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1861.

H. R. 11978—For the relief of Maj. Dean Monahan.
Mr. Vaile; Committee on Military Affairs, 1861.

H. R. 11979—To reimburse William C. Hann for property destroyed by an automobile truck operated by the Post Office Department.
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on Claims, 1861.

H. R. 11980—Fixing the compensation of certain officials of the Customs Service.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Ways and Means, 1925.

H. R. 11981—To provide for the admission, free of charge, to the public schools of the District of Columbia of children of parents employed at the Arlington National Cemetery and the agricultural experiment farm, located in Alexandria County, Va.
Mr. Moore of Virginia; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1925.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 716), 3934.

H. R. 11982—To provide for the purchase of a site and for the erection of a public building thereon at Hartford City, Ind.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1925.

H. R. 11983—To amend sections 1, 3, 4, 7, and 37 of title 2 of the national prohibition act.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on the Judiciary, 1925.

H. R. 11984—To increase the force and salaries in the Patent Office, and to authorize the Federal Trade Commission to accept and administer for the benefit of the public and the encouragement of industry, inventions, patents, and patent rights, and for other purposes.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Patents, 1925.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 612), 2618.—Debated, 3907–3931.—Amended and passed House, 3931.—Referred to Senate Committee on Patents, 3939.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 596), 7189.—Debated, 8472, 8475–8486, 8490.—Amended and passed Senate, 8490.—Senate requests conference with House, 8490.

H. R. 11985—To amend and simplify the revenue act of 1918; to repeal the excess-profits tax and certain other taxes, and for other purposes.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Ways and Means, 1925.

H. R. 11986—To repeal section 2 of an act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.
Mr. McLaughlin of Nebraska; Committee on Military Affairs, 1925.

H. R. 11987—Granting a pension to Abbie Davis Morang.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Pensions, 1925.

H. R. 11988—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Bothwell.
Mr. Dickinson of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1926.

H. R. 11989—Granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Morrison.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1926.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 3650.

H. R. 11990—Granting a pension to William Firkins.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1926.

H. R. 11991—Granting an increase of pension to Henry McCombs.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Pensions, 1926.

H. R. 11992—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis C. Fosnot.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1926.

H. R. 11993—Granting a pension to Ewel King.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 1926.

H. R. 11994—Granting a pension to Lucinda C. Muncey.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1926.

H. R. 11995—Granting a pension to John Baker.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 1926.

H. R. 11996—Granting a pension to James M. Vaughn.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 1926.

H. R. 11997—Granting a pension to Hiram Hensley.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 1926.

H. R. 11998—Granting a pension to Gellgoo Wells.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 1926.

H. R. 11999—Granting a pension to Elijah Spurlock.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 1926.

H. R. 12000—Granting a pension to Stephen Lyttle.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 1926.

H. R. 12001—Granting a pension to Lafayette R. Kincaid.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 1926.

H. R. 12002—Granting a pension to Rosa Taylor.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 1926.

H. R. 12003—Granting a pension to Harlan R. Hudson.
Mr. Sumners of Texas; Committee on Pensions, 1926.

H. R. 12004—Granting an increase of pension to George Guilford.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1926.

H. R. 12005—For the relief of Henry P. Corbin.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Claims, 1926.—Reported back (H. Rept. 831), 5683.

H. R. 12006—For the relief of Reuben Clymer.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Military Affairs, 1926.

H. R. 12007—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Bradshaw.
Mr. Weaver; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1926.

H. R. 12008—Granting an increase of pension to Louise Niemann.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Pensions, 1926.

H. R. 12009—To punish the transportation of stolen motion-picture films in interstate or foreign commerce.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on the Judiciary, 1925.

H. R. 12010—For the erection of a public building at Covington, Ga.
Mr. Brand; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1980.

H. R. 12011—To provide for the copyright of educational games.
Mr. Venable; Committee on Patents, 1981.

H. R. 12012—Concerning the administration of the pension laws in claims for pension of persons who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War, and by the widows of such persons.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1981.—Reported back (H. Rept. 585), 2089.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5198, 5199.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 5228.

H. R. 12013—For the reclamation of lands in the Imperial and Coachella Valleys, Calif., and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 1981.

H. R. 12014—To provide a tariff and to obtain revenue in connection with cobalt, oxide of, and repealing existing laws fixing the rate of duty on such commodity.
Mr. Rhodes; Committee on Ways and Means, 1981.

H. R. 12015—For the relief of the Leavenworth Bridge Co., of Leavenworth, Kans.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Claims, 1981.—Reported back (H. Rept. 590), 2228.

H. R. 12016—Granting an increase of pension to William E. Dines.
Mr. Dickinson of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1981.

H. R. 12017—To reimburse William H. Flagg and others for property destroyed by mail aeroplane No. 73, operated by the Post Office Department.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Claims, 1981.

H. R. 12018—Granting an increase of pension to William Riley.
Mr. Ganly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1981.

H. R. 12019—Granting an increase of pension to Isaiah G. Mayo.
Mr. Hersey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1981.

H. R. 12020—Granting a pension to Charles L. Kent.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1981.

H. R. 12021—Granting a pension to Ida McCoy.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1981.

H. R. 12022—Granting a pension to George W. Murphy.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1981.

H. R. 12023—Granting a pension to Louise M. McArthur.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 1981

H. R. 12024—Granting a pension to Sophia Schram.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1981.

H. R. 12025—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret L. Burns.
Mr. Rowe; Committee on Pensions, 1981.

H. R. 12026—Granting an increase of pension to Robert W. McFarland.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 1981.

H. R. 12027—Granting a pension to Sarah C. Bragg.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1981.

H. R. 12028—To remove the charge of desertion against William H. Mounce.
Mr. Wheeler; Committee on Military Affairs, 1981.

H. R. 12029—Granting a pension to John T. Burris.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 1981.

H. R. 12030—Granting a pension to James C. Overbee.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 1981.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2134.

H. R. 12031—To amend section 1 of an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved Feb. 4, 1887, as amended by section 7 of the act entitled "An act to create a commerce court, and to amend the act entitled 'An act to regulate commerce,' approved Feb. 4, 1887, as heretofore amended, and for other purposes," approved June 18, 1910.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2022.

H. R. 12032—To provide for the segregation and care of men in the United States Army afflicted with mental and nervous maladies.
Mr. King; Committee on Military Affairs, 2022.

H. R. 12033—Providing that Indians of the United States may legally assemble in general council and providing for a general election among the Indian tribes.
Mr. Randall of Wisconsin; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2022.

H. R. 12034—To encourage stock raising and agriculture.
Mr. Lufkin; Committee on Agriculture, 2022.

H. R. 12035—To provide a means of reimbursement for owners of property appropriated by the United States under the provisions of section 6911a of the statutes.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 2022.

H. R. 12036—For the establishment of a probation system in the United States courts, except in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on the Judiciary, 2022.

H. R. 12037—To prevent the nullification of State antigambling laws by international or interstate transmission of bets and betting odds on horse races and other contests.
Mr. Sims; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2022.

H. R. 12038—Authorizing badges of merit to be given soldiers, sailors, marines, and others, and their next of kin.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Military Affairs, 2022.—Debated, 2006–2008.

H. R. 12039—To authorize the coinage of a Roosevelt 2½-cent coin.
Mr. Vestal; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 2022.

H. R. 12040—To provide for the payment of six months' pay to the widow, children, or other designated dependent relative of any officer or enlisted man of the Navy or Marine Corps whose death results from wounds or disease not the result of his own misconduct.
Mr. Lufkin; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2022.

H. R. 12041—Defining criminal anarchy, providing punishment therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Husted; Committee on the Judiciary, 2022.

H. R. 12042—To amend section 5334 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Pou; Committee on the Judiciary, 2023.

H. R. 12043—To amend section 13 of article 8 of section 1624 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relative to the receipt on board a vessel of the Navy of goods, merchandise, or treasure for freight or safekeeping.
Mr. Butler; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2023.

H. R. 12044—To accept the cession by the State of California of exclusive jurisdiction over the lands embraced within the Yosemite National Park, Sequoia National Park, and General Grant National Park, respectively, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 2023.—Reported back (H. Rept. 743), 4433.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5209–5212.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 5228.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 590), 7084.—Amended and passed Senate, 7163.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 7298.—Examined and signed, 7447, 7459.—Presented to the President, 7552.—Approved [Public, No. 235], 8277.

H. R. 12045—To provide for the conveyance of lots on the low grounds of Washington, D. C.
Mr. Coady; Committee on the Public Lands, 2023.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1019), 7457.

H. R. 12046—Making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes.
Mr. Good, from the Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 584), 2022.—Debated, 2109–2134, 2199–2228, 2255–2283, 2305–2331, 2371–2383, 2392–2419, 2459–2482.—Amended and passed House, 2509.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 2484.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 426), 2986.—Debated, 3066–3077, 3111–3135, 3166–3175.—Amended and passed Senate, 3175.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for conference, 3375.—Conferees appointed, 3375, 3377.—Senate insists upon its amendment and agrees to conference, 3377.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 3576.—Senate insists upon its amendments and asks for further conference, 3576–3579.—Conferees appointed, 3649, 3801.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 683), 3632.—House insists upon its disagreement to Senate amendments and agrees to further conference, 3631–3649.—Second conference report submitted in Senate, 3748.—Debated, 3748–3753, 3789, 3790–3792.—Agreed to, 3792.—Second conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 701), 3755.—Agreed to, 3755.—Examined and signed, 3864, 3883.—Presented to the President, 3992.—Approved [Public, No. 155], 4048.

H. R. 12047—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel E. Hagy.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12048—Granting an increase of pension to Susan E. Lime.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12049—Granting a pension to Henry Puder.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12050—Granting a pension to Rachel E. Edwards.
Mr. Bankhead; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12051—Granting an increase of pension to Anna Eschbach.
Mr. Cole; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12052—Granting an increase of pension to Dianah Jacobs.
Mr. Cole; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12053—Granting a pension to Thomas L. Harris.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12054—To reimburse H. A. Swink for loss of cattle sustained by him by the negligent dipping of his cattle by the Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture.
Mr. Hardy of Texas; Committee on Claims, 2023.

H. R. 12055—To reimburse S. G. Ward for loss of cattle sustained by him by the negligent dipping of his cattle by the Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture.
Mr. Hardy of Texas; Committee on Claims, 2023.

H. R. 12056—Granting an increase of pension to Rosalia Reiner.
Mr. Keller; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12057—For the relief of J. C. Maxfield.
Mr. King; Committee on Claims, 2023.

H. R. 12058—Granting a pension to Ellen S. Vestile.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12059—Granting an increase of pension to Archie M. Leighton.
Mr. Lufkin; Committee on Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12060—Granting a pension to George H. Spang.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12061—Granting a pension to Mary A. McClelland.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12062—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Shepherd.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12063—Granting an increase of pension to William Gross.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12064—Granting an increase of pension to Martha Wallace.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12065—Granting an increase of pension to William B. Cummings.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12066—Granting an increase of pension to William Allen.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12067—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas M. Woods.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12068—Granting a pension to Charles R. Burries.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12069—Granting a pension to James M. Caldwell.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12070—Granting a pension to David M. Bates.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12071—Granting a pension to Bose Cox.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12072—Granting a pension to LaFayette McFarland.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12073—Granting a pension to Susan Fackler.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12074—Granting a pension to Ella Williamson.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12075—Granting a pension to Sarah Isabell Lowe.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12076—Granting a pension to William Apgar.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 12077—To amend section 6 of the Federal aid road act.
Mr. Hernandez; Committee on Roads, 2089.

H. R. 12078—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the promotion of vocational education, to provide for cooperation with the States in the promotion of such education in agriculture and the trades and industries, to provide for cooperation with the States in the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects, and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditures," approved Feb. 23, 1917.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Education, 2090.

H. R. 12079—Granting an increase of pension to Adelia Doersh.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2090.

H. R. 12080—To advance Capt. Benjamin S. Berry to the permanent rank of major.
Mr. Butler; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2090.—Reported back (H. Rept. 966), 6893.

H. R. 12081—Granting an increase of pension to Dwight F. Cummins.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2090.

H. R. 12082—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel A. Holt.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Pensions, 2090.

H. R. 12083—To convey to the Big Rock Stone & Construction Co. a portion of the military reservation of Fort Logan H. Roots, in the State of Arkansas.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Military Affairs, 2090.

H. R. 12084—Granting an increase of pension to James F. Hughes.
Mr. King; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2090.

H. R. 12085—Granting a pension to John L. Sullivan.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Pensions, 2090.

H. R. 12086—Granting a pension to Mary Wessel.
Mr. McLaughlin of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2090.

H. R. 12087—Granting a pension to Richard Oddy.
Mr. Radcliffe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2090.

H. R. 12088—Granting a pension to Ella E. Carbonell.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Pensions, 2090.

H. R. 12089—Granting a pension to Anna Redding.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2090.

H. R. 12090—Granting a pension to Flora A. Nelson.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2090.

H. R. 12091—Granting a pension to Kesiah Garrison.
Mr. Steagall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2090.

H. R. 12092—Granting a pension to John Van Dyne.
Mr. Steagall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2090.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 3650.

H. R. 12093—Granting a pension to Lloyd Newell.
Mr. Steagall; Committee on Pensions, 2090.

H. R. 12094—Granting an increase of pension to William L. Snider.
Mr. Steagall; Committee on Pensions, 2090.

H. R. 12095—Granting a pension to Joseph Stocker.
Mr. Valle; Committee on Pensions, 2090.

H. R. 12096—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Schiemann.
Mr. Valle; Committee on Pensions, 2090.

H. R. 12097—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Brown.
Mr. Valle; Committee on Pensions, 2090.

H. R. 12098—For the relief of Annie M. Eopolucci.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2090.

H. R. 12099—To establish additional fish-cultural subsidiary stations in the State of Michigan.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2134.

H. R. 12100—To amend section 70 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved Feb. 28, 1913.
Mr. Rainey of Alabama; Committee on the Judiciary, 2134.

H. R. 12101—Providing for the appointment of an additional district judge in and for the Eastern District of Michigan.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; Committee on the Judiciary, 2134.

H. R. 12102—To provide and adjust penalties for violation of various navigation laws, and for other purposes.
Mr. Greene of Massachusetts; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2134.

H. R. 12103—To aid in winding up the affairs of the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota.
Mr. Ellsworth; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2134.

H. R. 12104—Granting privilege of the floor and right to participate in debate to heads of executive departments.
Mr. Mooney; Committee on the Judiciary, 2134.

H. R. 12105—Granting a pension to Carl L. Setchell.
Mr. Dickinson of Iowa; Committee on Pensions, 2135.

H. R. 12106—Granting an increase of pension to Susanna A. Johnson.
Mr. Goodall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2135.

H. R. 12107—Granting a pension to Robert H. Foote.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Pensions, 2135.

H. R. 12108—Granting a pension to Lucile D. Murphey.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Pensions, 2135.

H. R. 12109—For the relief of Leslie E. Drake.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on Claims, 2135.

H. R. 12110—Granting an increase of pension to Elexious H. Conley.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2135.

H. R. 12111—Granting an increase of pension to Frank P. Collins.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 2135.

H. R. 12112—Granting a pension to Francis P. Crane.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 2135.

H. R. 12113—Granting a pension to Julia Gallagher.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 2135.

H. R. 12114—Granting a pension to Rose M. Cherbonnier.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 2135.

H. R. 12115—Granting a pension to Agnes E. Smith.
Mr. MacGregor; Committee on Pensions, 2135.

H. R. 12116—Granting a pension to J. H. Clark.
Mr. O'Connell; Committee on Pensions, 2135.

H. R. 12117—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Purviance.
Mr. Purnell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2135.

H. R. 12118—Granting a pension to Bert Rich.
Mr. Purnell; Committee on Pensions, 2135.

H. R. 12119—Granting an increase of pension to Martha J. Hopkins.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2135.

H. R. 12120—Granting a pension to Mary Plum.
Mr. Riddick; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2135.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 3432.

H. R. 12121—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob H. Wisher.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2135.

H. R. 12122—Granting an increase of pension to Eva Whittlebery.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2135.

H. R. 12123—Fixing the compensation of the United States customs guards and night inspectors.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Ways and Means, 2179.

H. R. 12124—Providing for the allotment of lands within the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation, Mont., and for other purposes.
Mr. Evans of Montana; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2179.

H. R. 12125—To define and punish vagrancy in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Burroughs; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2179.

H. R. 12126—To grant additional pay to officers, enlisted men, and others who served in the armed forces of the United States in the war with Germany; to establish the Victory tax to provide revenue for the payment of the same, and for other purposes.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Ways and Means, 2179.

H. R. 12127—To amend the act of Sept. 8, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Schall; Committee on Pensions, 2179.

H. R. 12128—Granting an increase of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War and the War with Mexico, and to the widows of such soldiers, sailors, and marines.
Mr. Newton of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2179.

H. R. 12129—To provide for the erection of a public building at Eveleth, Minn.
Mr. Carss; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2179.

H. R. 12130—Granting an increase of pension to Edward H. Bennett.
Mr. Brooks of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2180.

H. R. 12131—For the relief of the heirs at law of Jacques Clamorgan.
Mr. Newton of Missouri; Committee on Claims, 2180.

H. R. 12132—Granting a pension to Michael F. Fisher.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Pensions, 2180.

H. R. 12133—For the relief of those who fought in previous wars and in this great World War.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Military Affairs, 2228.

H. R. 12134—To create a department of aeronautics, defining the powers and duties of the director thereof, providing for the production, development, designing, and maintaining of aircraft, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Military Affairs, 2228.

H. R. 12135—To amend section 5 of the act entitled "An act to divide the judicial district of Nebraska into divisions and to provide for an additional district judge in said district."
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on the Judiciary, 2228.

H. R. 12136—To complete the military record of Jacob W. Starr.
Mr. Browning; Committee on Military Affairs, 2229.

H. R. 12137—Granting a pension to Frank W. Tuttle.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Pensions, 2229.

H. R. 12138—Granting an increase of pension to William Rosenbarger.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2229.

H. R. 12139—Granting an increase of pension to Felix Karl.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2229.

H. R. 12140—Granting an increase of pension to James R. Lewis.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2229.

H. R. 12141—To provide for the payment of certain claims against the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota.
Mr. Ellsworth; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2229.

H. R. 12142—Granting an increase of pension to Awilda A. Wheeler.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2229.

H. R. 12143—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel P. Burns.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2229.

H. R. 12144—Granting an increase of pension to Ulysses S. Hall.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 2229.

H. R. 12145—Granting a pension to George H. Leaycraft.
Mr. MacGregor; Committee on Pensions, 2229.

H. R. 12146—For the relief of Mrs. Constance D. Lathrop.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Claims, 2229.

H. R. 12147—Granting an increase of pension to Milton Diehl.
Mr. Purnell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2229.

H. R. 12148—Granting an increase of pension to Logan Stanley.
Mr. Purnell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2229.

H. R. 12149—Granting an increase of pension to Betty Lentz.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Pensions, 2229.

H. R. 12150—Granting an increase of pension to Rosella King.
Mr. Reed of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2229.

H. R. 12151—For the relief of the Hudson Navigation Co.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on War Claims, 2229.

H. R. 12152—Granting an increase of pension to George M. Mitchell.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2229.

H. R. 12153—Granting a pension to Martha A. James.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2229.

H. R. 12154—Granting a pension to Manthia Phelps.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2229.

H. R. 12155—For the relief of Gill I. Wilson.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Military Affairs, 2229.

H. R. 12156—For the relief of lock masters, lockmen, and other laborers and mechanics employed by the United States Government in the locks and dams of the Kanawha River, in West Virginia.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Claims, 2229.

H. R. 12157—To amend act of Congress approved June 30, 1913.
Mr. Carter; Committee on Indians Affairs, 2283.

H. R. 12158—To enlarge the boundaries of the Oregon National Forest.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on the Public Lands, 2283.

H. R. 12159—To provide for the granting of pensions to survivors of certain battalions of Kentucky Militia.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2283.

H. R. 12160—Authorizing the construction of a bridge and approaches thereto across Red River at a point a little east of north of Nocona in Montague County, Tex.
Mr. Parrish; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2283.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 649), 3106.—Amended and passed House, 3708.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 3733.—Reported back (S. Rept. 460), 3786.—Passed Senate, 3786.—Examined and signed, 3907, 3936.—Presented to the President, 4070.—Approved [Public, No. 157], 4134.

H. R. 12161—To amend an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved Mar. 4, 1909 (35 Stat. L., 1134).
Mr. Esch; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2283.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 911), 6440.

H. R. 12162—Authorizing a per diem allowance for officers on recruiting duty.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 2283.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 626), 2818.

H. R. 12163—Providing for a survey of Valley River, in Jefferson County, Ala., with the view to making same navigable.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 2283.

H. R. 12164—To authorize the construction of a bridge and approaches thereto across the Columbia River, between the towns of Pasco and Kennewick, in the State of Washington.
Mr. Summers of Washington; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2283.—Reported back (H. Rept. 644), 3106.—Debated and passed House, 3708.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 3733.—Reported back (S. Rept. 464), 4000.—Passed Senate, 4000.—Examined and signed, 4106, 4108.—Presented to the President, 4206.—Approved [Public, No. 161], 4467.

H. R. 12165—Authorizing the Postmaster General to investigate conditions arising from contracts in star route, screen wagon, and other vehicle service, prior to June 30, 1918.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2283.

H. R. 12166—Granting a pensoin to Frank T. Thomas.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Pensions, 2284.

H. R. 12167—Granting a pension to Alpheus R. Bascom.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; Committee on Pensions, 2284.

H. R. 12168—Granting a pension to Anna M. Bateman.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Pensions, 2284.

H. R. 12169—Granting a pension to Mary Muhleder.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2284.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2733.

H. R. 12170—Granting an increase of pension to Simeon Bailey.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2284.

H. R. 12171—Granting a pension to Zachariah T. Johnson.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 2284.

H. R. 12172—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick Nieutzenhelzer.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2284.

H. R. 12173—Granting an increase of pension to Virginia H. Welsh.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Pensions, 2284.

H. R. 12174—To reimburse Clarence J. Vaughan, of Marquette, Mich., for money lost in registered letter.
Mr. James; Committee on Claims, 2284.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1030), 7556.

H. R. 12175—Granting a pension to Martin Edwards.
Mr. Monahan of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2284.

H. R. 12176—Granting a pension to Anna M. Bremigam.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 2284.

H. R. 12177—Granting an increase of pension to Clanton Jarrett.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Pensions, 2284.

H. R. 12178—Granting a pension to William Pace.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 2284.

H. R. 12179—Granting a pension to Gilbert G. Horsby.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 2284.

H. R. 12180—Granting a pension to John Allen.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 2284.

H. R. 12181—Granting a pension to Alonzo L. Hansel.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 2284.

H. R. 12182—Granting a pension to Sarah Ella Weidner.
Mr. Steele; Committee on Pensions, 2284.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2383.

H. R. 12183—Granting a pension to Teresa Bruner.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2284.

H. R. 12184—Granting a pension to Malinda Nulph.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2284.

H. R. 12185—Granting a pension to John Abbott.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 2284.

H. R. 12186—Granting a pension to William T. Conway.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 2284.

H. R. 12187—Authorizing the Pitt River and the Apwaraki Tribes or Bands of Indians of California to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2333.

H. R. 12188—For the establishment and maintenance of a forest experiment station on the White Mountain National Forest, in the State of New Hampshire.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Agriculture, 2333.

H. R. 12189—To repeal tariff duties on printing paper, wood pulp, and rag pulp.
Mr. Connally; Committee on Ways and Means, 2333.

H. R. 12190—To authorize the Secretary of War, under rules and regulations prescribed by him, to pay cash rewards for suggestions and inventions which result in improvement or economy in the production of munitions or military material.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 2333.

H. R. 12191—To amend section 4888 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended by an act of Mar. 3, 1915 (38 Stat. L., p. 958), so as to require that applications and patents issued for inventions by inventors in the Government service shall show the fact of such service.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Patents, 2333.

H. R. 12192—To amend the paragraph of the sundry civil appropriation act approved Mar. 3, 1883, relating to patents, beginning with the words "the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Patents," on page 625 of the Twenty-second Statutes at Large, by substituting a new paragraph in lieu thereof, so as to authorize the grant of patents, without payment of fee, for any invention or discovery useful in or for carrying on the functions and activities of the Government, when the application therefor contains the statement that such invention or discovery may be made and used by and for the Government without royalty.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Patents, 2333.

H. R. 12193—Providing for the relief of populations in Europe and in countries contiguous thereto suffering for the want of food.
Mr. Fordney, from Committee on Ways and Means (H. Rept. 594), 2333.

H. R. 12194—To provide a preliminary survey of Cowlitz River, Wash., with a view to the control of its floods.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Flood Control, 2333.

H. R. 12195—Granting a pension to Edward S. Patton.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Pensions, 2333.

H. R. 12196—Granting a pension to Vance K. Stewart.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Pensions, 2333.

H. R. 12197—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth F. McCasland.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Pensions, 2333.

H. R. 12198—Granting a pension to Columbus O. Perkins.
Mr. Brooks of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2333.

H. R. 12199—For the relief of Louis A. Cornthwaite.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Claims, 2333.

H. R. 12200—For the relief of Frederick Hasiedel.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Claims, 2333.

H. R. 12201—For the relief of Elizabeth F. Sullivan.
Mr. Dickinson of Missouri; Committee on Claims, 2333.—Reference changed to Committee on War Claims, 4107.

H. R. 12202—Granting a pension to Francis H. Johnson.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Pensions, 2333.

H. R. 12203—Granting an increase of pension to Alonzo D. Prosser.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2333.

H. R. 12204—For the relief of William E. Lucas.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Claims, 2334.

H. R. 12205—Granting a pension to Alfred J. Hester.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Pensions, 2334.

H. R. 12206—Granting a pension to Mary R. Berridge.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Pensions, 2334.

H. R. 12207—Granting a pension to William T. Claiborne.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 2334.

H. R. 12208—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Hall.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Pensions, 2334.

H. R. 12209—To abolish the subtreasuries and to transfer their duties to the Federal reserve banks, the Treasury at Washington, the mints and assay offices, and for other purposes.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2383.

H. R. 12210—Granting statehood to the Territory of Hawaii.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on the Territories, 2383.

H. R. 12211—Increasing the fees charged for passports to $10, and for the viséing of foreign passports to $4.
Mr. Porter; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2383.

H. R. 12212—To repeal section 852, chapter 16, and the first paragraph of section 848, chapter 16, Revised Statutes of the United States, and to amend the first paragraph of page 377, chapter 200, volume 35, part 1, session 1, United States Statutes at Large of the Sixtieth Congress, by striking out the words "In the States of Wyoming, Montana, Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Idaho, Colorado, and Utah, and in the Territories of New Mexico, and Arizona.
Mr. Jefferis; Committee on the Judiciary, 2383.

H. R. 12213—Authorizing F. R. Beals to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Big Nestucca River, in Tillamook County, Oreg.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2384.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 645), 3106.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3708, 3709.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 3733.—Reported back (H. Rept. 465) and passed Senate, 4000.—Examined and signed, 4106, 4108.—Presented to the President, 4206.—Approved [Public, No. 162], 4467.

H. R. 12214—Granting an increase of pension to Celeste Doussan Bisset.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12215—Granting an increase of pension to Eunice A. Smith.
Mr. Hill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12216—Granting a pension to Patrick Hughes, alias Patrick Keagan.
Mr. Jefferis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12217—For the relief of Thomas Etherton.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Military Affairs, 2384.

H. R. 12218—Granting a pension to John M. Graham.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 2384.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7767.

H. R. 12219—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret A. Osborn.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12220—Granting a pension to Eliza Monroe.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12221—Granting an increase of pension to John V. Thompson.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12222—Granting a pension to John D. Hoskins.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12223—Granting a pension to Henry Mason.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12224—Granting a pension to Charles L. Cook.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12225—Granting an increase of pension to James A. Boster.
Mr. McPherson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12226—Granting a pension to Carrie Hover.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12227—Granting an increase of pension to Howard F. Waters.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12228—Granting a pension to William S. Starnes.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12229—Granting a pension to Hugh Sizemore.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12230—Granting an increase of pension to Lowell O. Carpenter.
Mr. Rucker; Committee on Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12231—Granting a pension to Charles A. Skaggs.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12232—Granting an increase of pension to Carrie Lourenia Briney.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12233—Granting a pension to John H. Lytle.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12234—Granting an increase of pension to John F. Scott.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2384.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2533.

H. R. 12235—Granting a pension to James Fullen.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 2384.

H. R. 12236—For the relief of Anthony Schartzenberger.
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on Military Affairs, 2384.

H. R. 12237—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Hanna City, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2421.

H. R. 12238—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Toluca, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2421.

H. R. 12239—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Varna, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2421.

H. R. 12240—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Hennepin, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2421.

H. R. 12241—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Lafayette, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2421.

H. R. 12242—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Deer Creek, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2421.

H. R. 12243—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Hopedale, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2421.

H. R. 12244—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Mackinaw, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2421.

H. R. 12245—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Morton, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2421.

H. R. 12246—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Tremont, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2422.

H. R. 12247—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Green Valley, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2422.

H. R. 12248—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Bureau, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2422.

H. R. 12249—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Depue, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2422.

H. R. 12250—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Lamoille, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2422.

H. R. 12251—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Dunlap, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2422.

H. R. 12252—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Elmwood, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2422.

H. R. 12253—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Glasford, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2422.

H. R. 12254—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Spring Valley, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2422.

H. R. 12255—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Walnut, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2422.

H. R. 12256—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Tiskilwa, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2422.

H. R. 12257—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Sheffield, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2422.

H. R. 12258—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Ohio, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2422.

H. R. 12259—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of New Bedford, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece and shells.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2422.

H. R. 12260—To amend section 600 of the act approved Sept. 8, 1916, entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes."
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Ways and Means, 2422.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 757), 4719.—Debated, 5020–5028.—Amended and passed House, 5028.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 5081. Reported back (S. Rept. 509), 5316.—Debated and passed Senate, 5768.—Examined and signed, 5880, 5882.—Presented to the President, 5925.—Approved [Public, No. 185], 6078.

H. R. 12261—To amend paragraph 10 of section 4 of an act entitled "An act to establish a bureau of immigration and naturalization and to provide a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States," and to repeal all laws in conflict therewith
Mr. Hickey; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 2422.

H. R. 12262—To purchase a site for the erection of a post-office building in the city of Cassville, Mo.
Mr. McPherson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2422.

H. R. 12263—To purchase a site for the erection of a post-office building in the city of Neosho, Mo.
Mr. McPherson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2422.

H. R. 12264—To purchase a site for the erection of a post-office building in the city of Monett, Mo.
Mr. McPherson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2422.

H. R. 12265—To regulate the employment of minors within the District of Columbia.
Mr. Gard; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2422.

H. R. 12266—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for vocational rehabilitation and return to civil employment of disabled persons discharged from the military or naval forces of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 27, 1918.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Education, 2422.—Reported back (H. Rept. 651), 3106.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5800–5808.—Referred to Senate Committee on Education and Labor, 5823.—Reported back (S. Rept. 571), 6494.—Debated, 6625.

H. R. 12267—To regulate motor vehicle traffic in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2422.

H. R. 12268—To create revenue for defraying, carrying out, contributing toward, or meeting the requirements of any legislation to be presently enacted awarding funds to any enlisted or commissioned man in the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps who now has or may hereafter receive an honorable discharge therefrom.
Mr. Ackerman; Committee on Ways and Means, 2422.

H. R. 12269—To amend the naturalization laws, to provide for the Americanization of aliens, and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 2422.

H. R. 12270—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 6, 1917.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 2422.

H. R. 12271—To amend the act entitled "An act for the organization of the militia of the District of Columbia."
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 2422.

H. R. 12272—Making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921.
Mr. Haugen, from the Committee on Agriculture (H. Rept. 596), 2419, 2421.—Debated, 2509–2532, 2558–2594, 2598–2618, 2654–2674, 2717–2733, 2762–2789, 2797–2818, 2850–2880, 2910, 2915, 5054–5056, 7013, 8781, 8786, 8799, 8801, 8809, 8889.—Amended and passed House, 2915.—Referred to Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2936.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 469), 4260.—Debated, 4723–4745, 4776–4799, 4803–4813, 4851, 4859–4881.—Amended and passed Senate, 4881.—Senate asks for conference, 4881.—Conferees appointed, 4881, 5056.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to conference, 5054–5056.—Conference report submitted in Senate (S. Rept. 271), 6844.—Debated, 7163, 7211–7223.—Agreed to, 7223.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 960), 6892, 6998.—Debated and agreed to, 6998–7007.—House recedes from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate No. 249 and agrees to the same with an amendment, insists on its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate Nos. 93 and 116 and asks a further conference with the Senate, 7007–7026.—Conferees appointed, 7026, 7223.—Senate further insists upon its amendments and agrees to the further conference asked for by the House, 7211–7223.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 7480.—Agreed to, 7481.—Senate further insists upon its amendment No. 93 and requests further conference, 7481.—Conferees appointed, 7481, 7538.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 1033), 7504, 7554.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 7525.—Conference report agreed to in House, 7535.—House further insists upon its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate No. 93 and agrees to further conference, 7538.—Senate further insists upon its amendment No. 93, and asks for further conference, 7716–7720.—Conferees appointed, 7720, 7812.—House further insists upon its disagreement to the Senate amendment No. 93 and agrees to further conference asked for by the Senate, 7809–7812.—Senate recedes from its amendment No. 93, 7864.—Examined and signed, 7959, 8008.—Presented to the President, 8048.—Approved [Public, No. 234], 8089.

H. R. 12273—Granting a pension to Eliza Raley Adams.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2422.

H. R. 12274—Granting a pension to William H. Hambleton.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Pensions, 2422.

H. R. 12275—Granting a pension to Mary S. Davis.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2422.

H. R. 12276—For the relief of Frank Emile Parrott.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Claims, 2422.

H. R. 12277—For the relief of the estate of Leavitt Grimes.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Claims, 2422.

H. R. 12278—For the relief of Lee Martin.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Claims, 2422.

H. R. 12279—Granting an increase of pension to Carrie M. Booher.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2422.

H. R. 12280—Granting an increase of pension to James Hafer.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2422.

H. R. 12281—For the relief of the William Gordon Corporation.
Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania; Committee on Claims, 2422.—Reported back (H. Rept. 658), 3158.

H. R. 12282—Granting a pension to Nancy Haleman.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 2422.

H. R. 12283—Granting a pension to David C. Stephens.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 2422.

H. R. 12284—Granting an increase of pension to William Johnson.
Mr. Layton; Committee on Pensions, 2422.

H. R. 12285—Granting a pension to Mary L. Farrar.
Mr. McPherson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2422.

H. R. 12286—Granting a pension to Elmina Dutcher.
Mr. Randall of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2422.

H. R. 12287—Granting an increase of pension to W. N. Caldwell.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2422.

H. R. 12288—Granting a pension to William Wilburn.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 2422.

H. R. 12289—Granting a pension to Mack Hickey.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 2422.

H. R. 12290—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis A. Shelton.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 2422.

H. R. 12291—Granting a pension to Maria Theresa Smyth.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2422.

H. R. 12292—For the relief of Clair J. McFadden.
Mr. Vestal; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2422.

H. R. 12293—Granting an increase of pension to Clark Brown.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on Pensions, 2422.

H. R. 12294—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel A. Greenlee.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Pensions, 2422.

H. R. 12295—For the relief of Frank H. Walker and Frank E. Smith.
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on Claims, 2422.

H. R. 12296—Granting compensation to Charles K. Remsberg.
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on Claims, 2422.

H. R. 12297—For the relief of retired commissioned and warrant officers of the United States Navy and Marine Corps who were called into active service during the war with Germany and promoted.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2482.

H. R. 12298—Increasing the fees charged for passports and for the visēing of foreign passports to $5.
Mr. Connally; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2482.

H. R. 12299—To provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Aurora, in the State of Missouri.
Mr. McPherson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2482.

H. R. 12300—To provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Lamar, in the State of Missouri.
Mr. McPherson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2482.

H. R. 12301—Authorizing the appointment of a board to investigate and recommend awards of medals to the enlisted or enrolled persons of the Navy.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2482.

H. R. 12302—Authorizing the appointment of a board to investigate and recommend awards of medals to enlisted soldiers.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Military Affairs, 2482.

H. R. 12303—To continue certain appropriations for securing lands for aviation purposes.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2482.

H. R. 12304—To amend the provisions of the naval appropriation act of Aug. 29, 1916, relating to the lease of naval lands.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2482.

H. R. 12305—To acquire site for distant-control radio station in Porto Rico.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2482.

H. R. 12306—To continue the availability of the appropriation for aviation in the naval appropriation act of July 1, 1918.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2482.

H. R. 12307—To amend the act authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to settle claims for damage to private property arising from collision with naval vessels.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2482.

H. R. 12308—Authorizing the purchase of additional land for the Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.
Mr. Mudd; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2482.

H. R. 12309—Authorizing the relief of certain disbursing officers.
Mr. Mudd; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2482.

H. R. 12310—To reimburse Capt. H. E. Lackey, United States Navy, for checkage against personal account.
Mr. McPherson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2483.—Reported back (H. Rept. 994), 7188.

H. R. 12311—To enable the Navy Department to transfer to any other branch of the Government desirous of same any vessel which has been or may hereafter be stricken from the Navy list under law.
Mr. McPherson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2483.

H. R. 12312—To provide for the relief of members of the United States Naval Reserve Force who were given temporary appointments in the Regular Navy prior to July 1, 1918.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2483.

H. R. 12313—Relative to promotion by selection in the Navy.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2483.

H. R. 12314—To provide for the disposition of certain lands commandeered for the Navy Department during the war but not now needed for naval purposes.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2483.

H. R. 12315—To provide for payment of damages by civilian employees of the Naval Establishment to private property.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2483.

H. R. 12316—To continue publication of the Daily Shipping Bulletin.
Mr. Browning; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2483.

H. R. 12317—Authorizing the relief of certain disbursing officers.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2483.

H. R. 12318—To credit enrolled members of the United States Naval Reserve Force with service in the Naval Auxiliary Service.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2483.

H. R. 12319—To authorize the addition of certain lands in the State of New Mexico to a national forest in said State, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hernandez; Committee on the Public Lands, 2483.

H. R. 12320—To provide for the protection of the citizens of the United States by the temporary suspension of immigration; for the deportation of additional classes of aliens; for the admission by passport of certain aliens; for the admission of certain aliens on the signing of a preliminary admission statement; for the registration of aliens hereafter admitted; to further regulate the residence of aliens in the United States; and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 2483.

H. R. 12321—To establish an additional fish-cultural station in the State of Michigan.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2483.

H. R. 12322—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Moser.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12323—Granting an increase of pension to De Witt C. Carpenter.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12324—Granting an increase of pension to Gideon Leiby.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12325—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram Partridge.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12326—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Todd.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12327—Granting an increase of pension to David Grube.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12328—Granting an increase of pension to John Wharton.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12329—Granting an increase of pension to David B. Rutherford.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12330—Granting a pension to George E. Gardner.
Mr. Benson; Committee on Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12331—Granting an increase of pension to Amos J. Moore.
Mr. Cole; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12332—Granting a pension to James McVay.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12333—For the relief of Albert T. Huso.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Claims, 2483.—Reported back (H. Rept. 636), 2984.—Debated, 5118.

H. R. 12334—Granting a pension to Ellen J. Webb.
Mr. McLaughlin of Nebraska; Committee on Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12335—To correct and amend the service and military record of Herbert Langley, United States Marine Corps.
Mr. McPherson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2483.—Reported back (H. Rept. 996), 7188.

H. R. 12336—Granting an increase of pension to James E. Jenney.
Mr. Olney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12337—To provide for the relief of Anthony Sulik, former sergeant, United States Marine Corps.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2483.—Reported back (H. Rept. 965), 6893.

H. R. 12338—Granting an increase of pension to Carl L. Austin.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12339—Granting a pension to Minerva A. Ford.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12340—Granting a pension to James H. Hornsby.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12341—For the relief of Mayhew A. Ross.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Claims, 2483.

H. R. 12342—Granting an increase of pension to Charlotte Velie.
Mr. Rowan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12343—Granting an increase of pension to Frank A. Moses.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12344—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick W. Duden.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12345—Granting a pension to Martha C. Correll.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12346—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas F. Moore.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 2483.

H. R. 12347—To authorize an additional issue of bonds to be known as World War veteran bonds, to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to preserve the national honor; such bonds to be issued to soldiers, sailors, and marines—officers and men alike—at the rate of $1 per day for each day served during the war; to provide the manner in which such bonds shall be issued, and for other purposes.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Ways and Means, 2533.

H. R. 12348—To provide for the control of the floods of the Atchafalya, Red, and Black Rivers, La., and to protect their basins from the flood waters of the Mississippi River, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wilson of Louisiana; Committee on Flood Control, 2533.

H. R. 12349—To provide for the segregation and care of men in the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps afflicted with mental and nervous maladies.
Mr. King; Committee on Military Affairs, 2533.

H. R. 12350—To fix standards for hampers, round stave baskets, and splint baskets for fruits and vegetables, to establish a standard box for apples, and for other purposes.
Mr. Vestal; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 2533.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 852), 5880.—Debated, 5951–5965, 6228–6255, 6939.

H. R. 12351—To extend the time for the construction of a bridge across the Roanoke River in Halifax County, N. C.
Mr. Kitchin; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2533.—Reported back (H. Rept. 643), 3106.—Passed House, 3185.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 3219.—Reported back (S. Rept. 446), 3387.—Passed Senate, 3387.—Examined and signed, 3543, 3553.—Presented to the President, 3608.—Approved [Public, No. 154], 4048.

H. R. 12352—Repealing an act entitled "An act to extend protection to the civil rights of members of the Military and Naval Establishments of the United States engaged in the present war."
Mr. Tilson; Committee on the Judiciary, 2533.

H. R. 12353—Granting a pension to George Clark.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Pensions, 2533.

H. R. 12354—Granting a pension to George W. Brown.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Pensions, 2533.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3158.

H. R. 12355—For the relief of William J. Lucks.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Claims, 2533.

H. R. 12356—For the relief of Anson B. Coates.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Claims, 2533.

H. R. 12357—Granting a pension to Edward M. Smailes.
Mr. Drane; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2533.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2733.

H. R. 12358—Granting an increase of pension to Eli B. Beard.
Mr. Drane; Committee on Pensions, 2533.

H. R. 12359—For the relief of Jesse L. Clay.
Mr. Eagle; Committee on Claims, 2533.

H. R. 12360—Granting an increase of pension to Bridget Conerton.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2533.

H. R. 12361—Granting a pension to Ella J. Johnston.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2533.

H. R. 12362—Granting a pension to Caroline Wright.
Mr. Hamil; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2533.

H. R. 12363—Granting a pension to Daniel Guthrie.
Mr. King; Committee on Pensions, 2533.

H. R. 12364—To amend the military record of Roberf Zink.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Military Affairs, 2533.

H. R. 12365—For the relief of certain civilian employees of the Engineer Department at Large, United States Army.
Mr. Mansfield; Committee on Claims, 2533.

H. R. 12366—For the relief of Thomas Smith.
Mr. Mays; Committee on Military Affairs, 2533.

H. R. 12367—Granting an increase of pension to Caroline Strobel.
Mr. Murphy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2533.

H. R. 12368—For the relief of Philip Osburg.
Mr. Newton of Missouri; Committee on Claims, 2533.

H. R. 12369—For the relief of Marion Banta.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Claims, 2533.

H. R. 12370—Granting a pension to Hilas A. Morgan.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 2533.

H. R. 12371—Granting a pension to Michael Levi.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 2533.

H. R. 12372—Granting a pension to Fannie M. Buchanan.
Mr. Weaver; Committee on Pensions, 2533.

H. R. 12373—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred Kirkpatrick.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Pensions, 2533.

H. R. 12374—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Dodds.
Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2533.

H. R. 12375—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the adjudication and payment of claims arising from Indian depredations," approved Mar. 3, 1891.
Mr. Parrish; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2594.

H. R. 12376—To control the exportation of helium gas.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2594.

H. R. 12377—To amend the act approved July 11, 1919 (H. R. 5227, 66th Cong.), being an act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 2594.

H. R. 12378—Requiring the filing of certain information by associations, societies, leagues, gatherings, or individuals who seek to influence legislation or public opinion by means of propaganda or written communication from their officers, members, or friends.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on the Judiciary, 2594.

H. R. 12379—Amending section 13 of the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the act approved Mar. 3, 1915 (38 Stat., ch. 93, p. 958); act approved Sept. 7, 1916 (39 Stat., ch. 461, p. 752); act approved June 21, 1917 (40 Stat., ch. 32, p. 232).
Mr. Steagall; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2594.

H. R. 12380—To authorize the improvement of Red Lake and Red Lake River, in the State of Minnesota, for navigation, drainage, and flood-control purposes.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Flood Control, 2594.

H. R. 12381—Granting a pension to Mary L. Sterling.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2594.

H. R. 12382—Granting a pension to James P. Barton.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; Committee on Pensions, 2594.

H. R. 12383—Granting a pension to Mary S. Davis.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2594.

H. R. 12384—For the relief of the estate of David B. Landis, deceased, and the estate of Jacob F. Schaeffer, deceased.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Claims, 2594.

H. R. 12385—To carry out the findings of the United States Court of Claims in case of Capt. Zachariah Morgan.
Mr. Langley; Committee on War Claims, 2594.

H. R. 12386—To carry out the findings of the United States Court of Claims in case of Isaac R. Sherwood.
Mr. Langley; Committee on War Claims, 2594.

H. R. 12387—Granting a pension to Delila Hughes.
Mr. McLane; Committee on Pensions, 2594.

H. R. 12388—Granting a pension to Joseph Griffin.
Mr. McLaughlin of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 2594.

H. R. 12389—Granting an increase of pension to William B. Benson.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2594.

H. R. 12390—Granting an increase of pension to Ransom Griffin.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2594.

H. R. 12391—For the relief of Christian Reichert.
Mr. Reber; Committee on Military Affairs, 2594.

H. R. 12392—Granting an increase of pension to Seth Morse.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2594.

H. R. 12393—Granting a pension to Joseph S. Penland.
Mr. Weaver; Committee on Pensions, 2594.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2733.

H. R. 12394—For the allotment of lands on the Klamath Indian Reservation, in the State of Oregon, among the members of the allied tribes occupying the said reservation, and composed of the Klamath and Modoc Tribes and the Yahooskin Band of Piute Indians, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2618.

H. R. 12395—Authorizing the State of New Mexico to apply the proceeds of the grant to said State of 1,000,000 acres of land made by section 7 of the enabling act, June 20, 1910, for the reimbursement of Grant County, Luna County, Santa Fe County, and the town of Silver City, N. Mex.
Mr. Hernandez; Committee on the Public Lands, 2618.

H. R. 12396—To amend an act entitled "An act to promote the welfare of American seamen in the merchant marine of the United States; to abolish arrest and imprisonment as a penalty for desertion and to secure the abrogation of treaty provisions in relation thereto; and to promote safety at sea," approved Mar. 4, 1915.
Mr. Scott; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2618.

H. R. 12397—To provide for the raising of public revenues by a tax upon the privileges of the use and enjoyment of lands of large value.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Ways and Means, 2618.

H. R. 12398—Granting an increase of pension to James L. Passell.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2618.

H. R. 12399—Granting a pension to John M. Wible.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 2618.

H. R. 12400—Granting a pension to Claude Bain.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2618.

H. R. 12401—To reimburse Commander Walter H. Allen, civil engineer, United States Navy, for losses sustained while carrying out his duties.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2618.

H. R. 12402—Granting an increase of pension to Delia Williams.
Mr. Cole; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2618.

H. R. 12403—Granting a pension to Edwin E. Chick.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2618.

H. R. 12404—Granting a pension to Seth A. Welch.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on Pensions, 2618.

H. R. 12405—Granting a pension to Matilda Hoffman.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on Pensions, 2619.

H. R. 12406—Granting a pension to Frances M. Chronister.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2619.

H. R. 12407—Granting a pension to Archibald Collins.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2619.

H. R. 12408—Granting an increase of pension to Peter Mariann.
Mr. King; Committee on Pensions, 2619.

H. R. 12409—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis W. Ferguson.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 2619.

H. R. 12410—Granting an increase of pension to Lucy C. Strout.
Mr. Lufkin; Committee on Pensions, 2619.

H. R. 12411—Granting a pension to John Huff.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 2619.

H. R. 12412—Granting an increase of pension to W. H. Riffey.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 2619.

H. R. 12413—Granting a pension to Harrison R. Large.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 2619.

H. R. 12414—Granting a pension to James A. G. Livingston.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 2619.

H. R. 12415—Granting a pension to John B. Eakles.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 2619.

H. R. 12416—Granting an increase of pension to John Smith.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2619.

H. R. 12417—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Hartwell.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2619.

H. R. 12418—Granting a pension to Michael Walsh.
Mr. Wheeler; Committee on Pensions, 2619.

H. R. 12419—Granting additional compensation to the officers and enlisted personnel of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, including nurses.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Military Affairs, 2675.—Reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. R. 12420—Providing for the monthly payment of pensions.
Mr. Wheeler; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2675.

H. R. 12421—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Miller.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2675.

H. R. 12422—Granting a pension to Mary Field.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2675.

H. R. 12423—Granting a pension to David E. Tipple.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 2675.

H. R. 12424—Granting an increase of pension to Christopher C. Cann.
Mr. Purnell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2675.

H. R. 12425—For the relief of Orlando Ducker, major and surgeon, in the War with Spain.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Military Affairs, 2675.—Reference changed to Committee on Claims, 2932, 2984.

H. R. 12426—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Brookville Park Association, Brookville, Pa., two German cannons or fieldpieces, carriages, and equipment, with a suitable number of shells.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 2733.

H. R. 12427—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of New Bethlehem, Pa., two German cannons or fieldpieces, carriages, and equipment, with a suitable number of shells.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 2733.

H. R. 12428—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Punxsutawney, Pa., two German cannons or fieldpieces, carriages, and equipment, with a suitable number of shells.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 2734.

H. R. 12429—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Reynoldsville, Pa., two German cannons or fieldpieces, carriages, and equipment, with a suitable number of shells.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 2734.

H. R. 12430—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Blairsville, Pa., two German cannons or fieldpieces, carriages, and equipment, with a suitable number of shells.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 2734.

H. R. 12431—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Ford City, Pa., two German cannons or fieldpieces, carriages, and equipment, with a suitable number of shells.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 2734.

H. R. 12432—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the county of Clarion, State of Pennsylvania, two German cannons or fieldpieces, carriages, and equipment, with a suitable number of shells.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 2734.

H. R. 12433—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the county of Armstrong, State of Pennsylvania, two German cannons or fieldpieces, carriages, and equipment, with a suitable number of shells.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 2734.

H. R. 12434—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the county of Indiana, State of Pennsylvania, two German cannons or fieldpieces, carriages, and equipment, with a suitable number of shells.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 2734.

H. R. 12435—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the county of Jefferson, State of Pennsylvania, two German cannons or fieldpieces, carriages, and equipment, with a suitable number of shells.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 2734.

H. R. 12436—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the E. D. Sharp Post, No. 267, Grand Army of the Republic, for the E. D. Sharp soldiers' plat in the cemetery at Rimersburg, Clarion County, Pa., two German cannons or fieldpieces, carriages, and equipment, with a suitable number of shells.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 2734.

H. R. 12437—To authorize the expenditure of the sum of $100,000, heretofore appropriated for the erection of a United States post office, courthouse, and jail at Cordova, Alaska, by the act approved Mar. 4, 1913, for the erection of a United States courthouse and jail at Cordova, Alaska.
Mr. Grigsby; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2734.—Reported back (H. Rept. 857), 5925.—Debated, 6478.

H. R. 12438—Granting an increase of pension to Silas Hendrix.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2734.

H. R. 12439—Granting a pension to Sarah F. German.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2734.

H. R. 12440—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Bachmeyer.
Mr. Carss; Committee on Pensions, 2734.

H. R. 12441—For the appropriation of $25 to reimburse the Duluth, Winnipeg & Pacific Railroad for custom fine No. 368, erroneously imposed by the collector of customs at Duluth, Minn.
Mr. Carss; Committee on Claims, 2734.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 892), 6200.

H. R. 12442—For the relief of Mrs. Charles Fitzgerald, widow of Charles Fitzgerald, late a post-office inspector, who lived in the city of Jackson, in the State of Mississippi.
Mr. Collier; Committee on Claims, 2734.

H. R. 12443—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay certain claims, the result of a fire in the Government ordnance plant at Baldwin, N. Y.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Claims, 2734.

H. R. 12444—Granting a pension to William Southard.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2734.

H. R. 12445—Granting an increase of pension to Lena Griswold.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2734.

H. R. 12446—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of the Fore River Shipbuilding Co.
Mr. Olney; Committee on Claims, 2734.

H. R. 12447—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Durham.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2734.

H. R. 12448—Granting a pension to Albin D. Schaefer.
Mr. Radcliffe; Committee on Pensions, 2734.

H. R. 12449—For the relief of Elisha L. Bennett, jr.
Mr. Randall of California; Committee on Military Affairs, 2734.

H. R. 12450—Granting a pension to John F. Lindquist.
Mr. Schall; Committee on Pensions, 2734.

H. R. 12451—Granting an increase of pension to Louis S. Harris.
Mr. Schall; Committee on Pensions, 2734.

H. R. 12452—Granting an increase of pension to Joanna L. Dixon.
Mr. Swope; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2734.

H. R. 12453—Granting a pension to Susie Dixon.
Mr. Swope; Committee on Pensions, 2734—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2790.

H. R. 12454—Granting an increase of pension to Elyza Settles.
Mr. Swope; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2734.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2790.

H. R. 12455—Granting a pension to Sarah J. Stapleton.
Mr. Swope; Committee on Pensions, 2734—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2790.

H. R. 12456—Granting an increase of pension to Asael B. Caldwell.
Mr. Tincher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2734.

H. R. 12457—For the relief of Stephen Olop.
Mr. Vaile; Committee on Claims, 2734.

H. R. 12458—To establish an additional fish-cultural station in the State of Texas.
Mr. Hudspeth; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2790.

H. R. 12459—To establish an additional fish-cultural station in the State of Texas.
Mr. Hudspeth; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2790.

H. R. 12460—To authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State of Maine into the Union.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 2790.—Reported back (H. Rept. 756), 4670.—Debated, 5947.—Passed House, 5948.—Referred to Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, 5968.—Reported back (S. Rept. 559), 6202.—Passed Senate, 6454.—Examined and signed, 6615, 6617.—Presented to the President, 6737.—Approved [Public, No. 199], 6884.

H. R. 12461—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate one machine gun to the city of Warrenton, Ga.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on Military Affairs, 2790.

H. R. 12462—To provide a preliminary survey of the Savannah River at Augusta, Ga., with the view to the control of its floods.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on Flood Control, 2790.

H. R. 12463—Providing for survey of the Savannah River below Augusta, Ga.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 2790.

H. R. 12464—To provide for the relief of members of the United States Naval Reserve Force who were given temporary appointments in the Regular Navy prior to July 1, 1918.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2790.

H. R. 12465—To defray the expenses of litigation and proceedings instituted by direction of the General Council of the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota.
Mr. Ellsworth; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2790.

H. R. 12466—Authorizing the granting of certain irrigation easements in the Yellowstone National Park, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on the Public Lands, 2790.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 767), 4843.—Debated, 5856–5861.

H. R. 12467—Making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kahn, from Committee on Military Affairs (H. Rept. 620), 2789.—Debated, 2916–2931, 3018–3038.—Amended and passed House, 3033.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3060.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 456), 3553.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 3666–3690.—Senate asks for conference, 3690.—Conferees appointed, 3690, 3783.—House disagrees to all Senate amendments and agrees to conference, 3783.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 754), 4642, 4644.—Agreed to, 4645.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 4674.—Agreed to, 4675.—Examined and signed, 4802, 4842.—Presented to the President, 4882.—Approved [Public, No. 166], 5061.

H. R. 12468—Granting an increase of pension to James S. Henry.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2790.

H. R. 12469—To authorize the award of a medal of honor to Chief Gunner Robert Edward Cox, United States Navy.
Mr. Butler; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2790.—Reported back (H. Rept. 929), 6669.

H. R. 12470—For the relief of Frederick G. Barker.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Claims, 2790.

H. R. 12471—For the relief of Andrew Spence.
Mr. Evans of Nebraska; Committee on Claims, 2790.—Reference changed to Committee on Military Affairs, 5315, 6200.

H. R. 12472—Granting a pension to Earl W. Maitland.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Pensions, 2790.

H. R. 12473—Granting an increase of pension to Jessie Wiggins Conn.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Pensions, 2790.

H. R. 12474—Granting a pension to Mary E. Clark.
Mr. Hulings; Committee on Pensions, 2790.

H. R. 12475—Granting an increase of pension to Morgan J. Treadway.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 2790.

H. R. 12476—Granting an increase of pension to Scott Thompson.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2790.

H. R. 12477—For the relief of James W. Creighton as postmaster at Camino, El Dorado County, Calif., for money (gold coin) lost in transit after remittance left the Camino post office.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Claims, 2790.

H. R. 12478—For the relief of Lieut. Col. Henry C. Davis.
Mr. Ward; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2790.

H. R. 12479—Granting a pension to Jennie Nix.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2790.

H. R. 12480—To prevent the theft of motor vehicles by establishing a Federal motor registration bureau in the Department of Justice, with registrars in each State, for the purpose of certifying to all transfers of motor vehicles or conveyances used for traffic or travel by air, land, or water, and to prevent the sale or transfer of such vehicles until a certificate of ownership has been procured from such Federal motor registrar and prescribing certain penalties.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on the Judiciary, 2818.

H. R. 12481—To provide for the erection of a monument to Robert Morris at Batavia, Genesee County, N. Y.
Mr. Sanders of New York; Committee on the Library, 2818.

H. R. 12482—To preserve historical documents, records, and relics relating to the history of the United States that are now owned or that may come into possession of the Government of the United States.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2818.

H. R. 12483—To provide for the establishment and maintenance of a forest experiment station in cooperation with the University of California.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Agriculture, 2818.

H. R. 12484—Legalizing conveyances made by the Southern Pacific Railroad Co.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on the Public Lands, 2818.

H. R. 12485—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a post-office building thereon at Magee, Simpson County, Miss.
Mr. Johnson of Mississippi; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2819.

H. R. 12486—Authorizing the several district courts of the United States to appoint official stenographers and prescribing their duties and compensation.
Mr. Steele; Committee on the Judiciary, 2819.—Reported back (H. Rept. 628), 2880.—Debated, 3081–3098, 3100–3105.—Amended and passed House, 3105.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 3111.

H. R. 12487—To suspend immigration to the United States until January 1, 1930.
Mr. Steagall; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 2819.

H. R. 12488—To provide employment, homes, and additional bonus for those who have served with the military and naval forces of the United States during the war between the United States and Germany and her allies through the reclamation, acquisition, and development of lands and building of homes, to be known as the National soldier settlement, home, and bonus act.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on the Public Lands, 2819.—Reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.

H. R. 12489—To amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the incorporated town of Petersburg, Alaska, to issue bonds in any sum not exceeding $75,000 for the purpose of constructing and installing a municipal electric light and power plant and for the construction of a public-school building," approved Sept. 29, 1919.
Mr. Grigsby; Committee on the Territories, 2819.

H. R. 12490—For the relief of George W. Cook.
Mr. Brooks of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 2819.

H. R. 12491—Granting a pension to Anna Gottwald.
Mr. Donovan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2819.

H. R. 12492—For the relief of the widow and heirs of Francisco Vigil, deceased.
Mr. Hernandez; Committee on Claims, 2819.

H. R. 12493—Granting an increase of pension to John Salyer.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 2819.

H. R. 12494—For the relief of Charles Emmet Smith.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Claims, 2819.

H. R. 12495—Granting relief to Lieut. John Sagendorf.
Mr. Moon; reference changed to Committee on War Claims, 3217.

H. R. 12496—Granting a pension to Joseph Clyde Shadden.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Pensions, 2819.

H. R. 12497—Granting a pension to Anna Heston.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 2819.

H. R. 12498—For the relief of Mrs. Ella V. Gordon.
Mr. Moore of Virginia; Committee on Claims, 2819.

H. R. 12499—Granting a pension to Mont Graham.
Mr. Purnell; Committee on Pensions, 2819.

H. R. 12500—Authorizing the President to reinstate Conrad Ludwig Lein as a lieutenant in the United States Navy.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2819.

H. R. 12501—Granting holidays to postal employees in States where holidays are a State law.
Mr. O'Connell; Committee on Expenditures in the Post Office Department, 2880.

H. R. 12502—Providing for a report on the cost of improving and maintaining the Government boulevard on Missionary Ridge, in the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Military Affairs, 2880.—Reported back (H. Rept. 769), 4843.—Passed House, 5217.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 5228.—Reported back, 8074.

H. R. 12503—Making an appropriation to construct a telephone line on the Papago Indian Reservation, Ariz.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2880.

H. R. 12504—To protect the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, and to secure its observance as a day of rest in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Temple; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2880.

H. R. 12505—Granting additional compensation to all soldiers, sailors, marines, and others who served in the armed forces of the United States in the war against Germany and Austria.
Mr. Summers of Washington; Committee on Ways and Means, 2880.

H. R. 12506—To permit distilled spirits to be transferred from the original packages into bottles and cases while in distillery bonded warehouses.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on the Judiciary, 2880.

H. R. 12507—To authorize the Secretary of War to transfer certain surplus motor-propelled vehicles and motor equipment and road-making material to various services and departments of the Government, and for the use of the States.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 2880.—Reported back (H. Rept. 634), 2931.—Laid on the table (see S. 3037), 2980.

H. R. 12508—To provide for the construction of a concrete sidewalk along Frederick Avenue, Baltimore, Md., in front of the Loudon Park National Cemetery, and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Appropriations, 2881.

H. R. 12509—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Shutts.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2881.

H. R. 12510—Granting an increase of pension to Martha A. Burdick.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2881.

H. R. 12511—Granting an increase of pension to David G. Davis.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2881.

H. R. 12512—For the relief of Rita Nielson and Axel Nielson.
Mr. Benson; Committee on War Claims, 2881.

H. R. 12513—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to reimburse Peter Bohlander, of Milford, Ill., for the loss of Liberty bonds.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Claims, 2881.

H. R. 12514—Granting a pension to Mary E. Snyder.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2881.

H. R. 12515—Granting a pension to Mary E. Scifres.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Pensions, 2881.

H. R. 12516—For the relief of William Cope.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Military Affairs, 2881.

H. R. 12517—For the relief of Warren J. Deems and Mrs. Anna Leppo.
Mr. Fairfield; Committee on Claims, 2881.—Reference changed to Committee on War Claims, 3650.

H. R. 12518—Granting a pension to Angeline Bissel.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2881.

H. R. 12519—Granting a pension to Samuel H. Burbridge.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Pensions, 2881.

H. R. 12520—Granting an increase of pension to William Richards.
Mr. Hulings; Committee on Pensions, 2881.

H. R. 12521—Granting a pension to Clara Estelle Sollers.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2881.

H. R. 12522—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay war-risk insurance to the foster parents of Edward Short.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Claims, 2881.

H. R. 12523—Granting an increase of pension to Ira S. Havens.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2881.

H. R. 12524—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Buckland.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2881.

H. R. 12525—Granting a pension to Kate Young.
Mr. Sumners of Texas; Committee on Pensions, 2881.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4315.

H. R. 12526—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Flenniken.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2881.

H. R. 12527—Granting an increase of pension to Fannie S. Cross.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2881.

H. R. 12528—Granting an increase of pension to Robert W. Reynolds.
Mr. Temple; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2881.

H. R. 12529—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Durham.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2881.

H. R. 12530—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois, from the Committee on Pensions (H. Rept. 632) as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 2932.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5111–5117.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 5159.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 582), 6844.—Debated, 7974, 7980–8007, 8183–8190, 8191–8196.—Amended and passed Senate, 8196.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 8425.—Examined and signed, 8502, 8585.—Presented to the President, 8662.

H. R. 12531—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to transfer free of charge to the Department of the Interior certain motor-propelled vehicles.
Mr. Sanders of Louisiana; Committee on Military Affairs, 2932.

H. R. 12532—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Williamsburg, Blair County, Pa., one German cannon, fieldpiece, or other war trophies.
Mr. Rose; Committee on Military Affairs, 2932.

H. R. 12533—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Tyrone, Blair County, Pa., a German cannon, fieldpiece, or other war trophies.
Mr. Rose; Committee on Military Affairs, 2932.

H. R. 12534—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Johnstown, Cambria County, Pa., a German cannon, fieldpiece, or other war trophies.
Mr. Rose; Committee on Military Affairs, 2932.

H. R. 12535—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Lieut. Henry H. Houston Post, No. 3, the American Legion, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa., two German cannons or fieldpieces, carriages, and equipment, with a suitable number of shells.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Military Affairs, 2932.

H. R. 12536—Authorizing a bond issue for benefit of veterans of the World War.
Mr. Treadway; Committee on Ways and Means, 2932.

H. R. 12537—To provide for an examination and report on the condition and possible irrigation development of the Imperial Valley in California.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 2932.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 717), 3934.—Debated, 4367–4372.—Passed House, 4372.—Referred to Senate Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 4396.—Reported back (S. Rept. 497), 5080.—Debated and passed Senate, 6449, 6450.—Examined and signed, 6615, 6617.—Presented to the President, 6737.—Approved [Public, No. 208], 7360.

H. R. 12538—For the relief of George W. Cook.
Mr. Brooks of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 2932.

H. R. 12539—For the relief of the owner of lock No. 15, Cornwall Canal, Ontario, Canada.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Claims, 2932.

H. R. 12540—For the relief of Ruperto Vilche, of Guantanamo City, Cuba.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Claims, 2932.

H. R. 12541—To reimburse Capt. H. E. Lackey, United States Navy, for checkage against personal account.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Clamis, 2932.

H. R. 12542—Granting a pension to David F. Benson, alias John Bliss.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2932.

H. R. 12543—For the relief of the Commonwealth & Dominion Line (Ltd.), owner of the British steamship Port Phillip.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Claims, 2932.

H. R. 12544—Granting a pension to Ruth C. Peterson.
Mr. Houghton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2932.

H. R. 12545—Granting a pension to Philo Lewis Kelsey.
Mr. Houghton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2932.

H. R. 12546—Granting a pension to Ella G. Burt.
Mr. Houghton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2932.

H. R. 12547—To correct the muster of William Ramsey, late servant for the officers of Company B, Seventy-eighth Regiment Pennsylvania Reserves.
Mr. Houghton; Committee on Military Affairs, 2932.

H.R. 12548—Granting an increase of pension to Oscar F. Scovill.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2932.

H. R. 12549—Granting an increase of pension to Clark P. Hoskins.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 2932.

H. R. 12550—Granting a pension to Harry L. Evans.
Mr. Purnell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2932.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 4049.

H. R. 12551—Granting a pension to Zoria B. McCrary.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2932.

H. R. 12552—Granting a pension to Harry George Castello.
Mr. Randall of Wisconsin; Committee on Pensions, 2932.

H. R. 12553—Granting a pension to George A. Brewsaugh.
Mr. Schall; Committee on Pensions, 2932.

H. R. 12554—Granting an increase of pension to Harry Goff.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 2932.

H. R. 12555—Granting an increase of pension to Frances W. Blakey.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2932.

H. R. 12556—Limiting the number of pages of newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals entitled to transmision in the mails as second-class matter.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2984.

H. R. 12557—To prohibit the export of wood pulp and print paper for the period of one year.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2984.

H. R. 12558—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the village of Manchester, Washtenaw County, Mich., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Michener; Committee on Military Affairs, 2984.

H. R. 12559—Granting an increase of pension to Eugene B. Dwight.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2985.

H. R. 12560—Granting a pension to Willie Lee.
Mr. Bland of Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 2985.

H. R. 12561—Granting a pension to Margaret Smallwood.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2985.

H. R. 12562—Granting a pension to James Baker.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Pensions, 2985.

H. R. 12563—To place the name of Jedediah C. Paine upon the unlimited retired list of the Army.
Mr. Casey; Committee on Military Affairs, 2985.

H. R. 12564—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Titus.
Mr. Dickinson of Missouri; Committee on Pensions, 2985.

H. R. 12565—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Givens.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Pensions, 2985.

H. R. 12566—Granting an increase of pension to James E. Wilson.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Pensions, 2985.

H. R. 12567—Granting a pension to Charlotte F. Perrin.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2985.

H. R. 12568—Granting a pension to Lennie Ann Shunk.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2985.

H. R. 12569—Granting an increase of pension to Clara A. Collins.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2985.

H. R. 12570—Granting a pension to Robert Gardner.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2985.

H. R. 12571—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Degnan.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Pensions, 2985.

H. R. 12572—Granting a pension to Mary Long.
Mr. Sanders of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 2985.

H. R. 12573—Granting a pension to Rufus DeWitt.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Pensions, 2985.

H. R. 12574—Granting an increase of pension to Alice Jewett.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2985.

H. R. 12575—Granting an increase of pension to Ruth Posey.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2985.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 4049.

H. R. 12576—Granting a pension to Henry Gregg.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2985.

H. R. 12577—Granting a pension to James Lynch.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2985.

H. R. 12578—Making additional appropriations for the purpose of carrying out the Federal road aid act approved July 11, 1916.
Mr. Doughton; Committee on Appropriations, 3038.

H. R. 12579—To divide the eastern district of South Carolina into four divisions and the western district of South Carolina into four divisions.
Mr. Dominick; Committee on the Judiciary, 3038.

H. R. 12580—To authorize the city of Walters, Okla., to dispose of certain land reserved for public purposes.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on the Public Lands, 3038.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 845), 5762.

H. R. 12581—Granting the consent of Congress to the village and township of Shelly, Norman County, Minn., and the township of Caledonia, Traill County, N. Dak., and their successors and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Red River of the North on the boundary line between the said States.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3038.—Reported back (H. Rept. 696), 3783.—Passed House, 5209.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 5228.—Reported back (S. Rept. 525), 5645.—Passed Senate, 5645.—Examined and signed, 5821, 5880.—Presented to the President, 5925.—Approved [Public, No. 188], 6227.

H. R. 12582—Granting additional compensation to all officers and enlisted personnel of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, including nurses.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Ways and Means, 3038.

H. R. 12583—Granting an increase of pension to Martha McFarland.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3039.

H. R. 12584—Granting a pension to William S. Denius.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3039.

H. R. 12585—Granting an increase of pension to James M. White.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 3039.

H. R. 12586—Granting a pension to John M. Eidt.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 3039.

H. R. 12587—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Willingham.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; Committee on Pensions, 3039.

H. R. 12588—Authorizing the payment of a claim to Toliver B. Clark.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on War Claims, 3039.

H. R. 12589—Granting a pension to William G. Lail.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Pensions, 3039.

H. R. 12590—Granting a pension to Robert Sweeney.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Pensions, 3039.

H. R. 12591—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Kilrow.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Pensions, 3039.

H. R. 12592—Granting an increase of pension to Rufus R. K. Hill.
Mr. McPherson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3039.

H. R. 12593—For the relief of Benjamin F. Green.
Mr. Newton of Missouri; Committee on Claims, 3039.

H. R. 12594—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Jane Wilking.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3039.

H. R. 12595—Granting a pension to Mary C. Hall.
Mr. Ogden; Committee on Pensions, 3039.

H. R. 12596—Granting a pension to Mary McJenkins.
Mr. Ogden; Committee on Pensions, 3039.

H. R. 12597—Granting an increase of pension to Joshua H. Ervin.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Pensions, 3039.

H. R. 12598—For the relief of the estate of Mrs. Katherine O'Melia.
Mr. Rowan; Committee on War Claims, 3039.

H. R. 12599—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse Baird.
Mr. Smithwick; Committee on Pensions, 3039.

H. R. 12600—Granting an increase of pension to James L. Henderson.
Mr. Smithwick; Committee on Pensions, 3039.

H. R. 12601—Granting a pension to Thomas N. Collins.
Mr. Smithwick; Committee on Pensions, 3039.

H. R. 12602—Granting an increase of pension to Sallie Lumpkins.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3039.

H. R. 12603—To prevent fraud respecting securities offered for sale and to provide a summary proceeding therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on the Judiciary, 3106.

H. R. 12604—To authorize the Secretary of War to transfer to the Federal Board for Vocational Education certain machines, appliances, tools, equipment, and other supplies under the control of the War Department.
Mr. Treadway; Committee on Military Affairs, 3106.

H. R. 12605—For the establishment of branch post offices or stations beyond the corporate limits or boundaries of any city or town in which the principal office is located.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 3106.

H. R. 12606—To save daylight and to provide standard time for the United States.
Mr. O'Connell; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3106.

H. R. 12607—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes," approved July 11, 1919, to include members of the Regular Army Reserve and the Naval Reserve Force in the civil-service preference therein provided.
Mr. Lehlbach; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 3106.—Reported back (H. Rept. 659), 3158.

H. R. 12608—Providing for the employment by the United States Government of disabled soldiers and sailors of the United States and prescribing the preference to be extended to them in filling clerical and other vacancies.
Mr. Lehlbach; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 3106.—Reported back (H. Rept. 661), 3158.

H. R. 12609—To define the provisions of the Constitution of the United States relating to the inability of the President.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on the Judiciary, 3106.

H. R. 12610—Making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wood, from the Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 652), 3105.—Debated, 3139–3157, 3186–3216, 3358–3375, 3410–3432, 3460–3484, 3528–3543, 3584–3608, 3767–3782, 3811–3821, 3824–3836, 3866–3870, 8829, 8865, 8880, 8911, 8927, 8958–8961.—Amended and passed House, 3870.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 3907.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 488), 4802.—Debated, 4993–5006, 5033, 5034–5054, 5083–5099.—Amended and passed Senate, 5099.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for conference, 5251–5253.—Conferees appointed, 5253, 5227.—Senate insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference, 5227.—Conference report submitted in Senate and agreed to, 5653.—Senate further insists upon its amendments and asks for further conference, 5654.—Conferees appointed, 5654.—Conference report submitted in House, 5687, 5789.—Debated, 5789–5799.—House insists upon its disagreement to Senate amendment No. 53 and agrees to further conference, 5799.—Second conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 855), 5879, 5985.—House disagrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate No. 53, 5985–5990.—Second conference report submitted in Senate, 5977.—Senate recedes from its amendment No. 53, 5977–5980.—Examined and signed, 6326, 6328.—Presented to the President, 6440.—Vetoed by the President (H. Doc. 764), 7026.—Message and bill referred to House Committee on Appropriations, 7027.—Failed to pass House over veto and returned to Committee on Appropriations (see H. R. 14100), 7066–7072.

H. R. 12611—To meet the present print-paper emergency by directing the Postmaster General to establish proper rules and regulations limiting the number of pages in newspapers entitled to transmission through the United States mails.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 3106.

H. R. 12612—Granting an increase of pension to Emma B. Showalter.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3107.

H. R. 12613—For the relief of Adam G. Ritz.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Pensions, 3107.

H. R. 12614—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Slatton.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3107.

H. R. 12615—Granting a pension to Robert S. Miles.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Pensions, 3107.

H. R. 12616—To advance Maj. Charles C. Pierce, United States Army, retired, to rank of colonel on the retired list of the Army.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Military Affairs, 3107.

H. R. 12617—Granting an increase of pension to Emma F. Buchanan.
Mr. Dominick; Committee on Pensions, 3107.

H. R. 12618—Granting a pension to John O'Neil.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3107.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 4107.

H. R. 12619—Granting a pension to Thomas N. Swearingen.
Mr. Hickey; Committee on Pensions, 3107.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3317.

H. R. 12620—Granting a pension to Catherine Shipley.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3107.

H. R. 12621—Granting a pension to Mary Shipley.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3107.

H. R. 12622—Granting a pension to David Funk.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Pensions, 3107.

H. R. 12623—Granting a pension to David G. LeVere.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 3107.

H. R. 12624—Granting a pension to Edwin M. Brainard.
Mr. Randall of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3107.

H. R. 12625—Granting a pension to Robert A. Edwards.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 3107.

H. R. 12626—For the relief of certain persons to whom, or their predecessors, patents were issued to public lands along the Snake River in the State of Idaho under an erroneous survey made in 1883.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on the Public Lands, 3107.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 735), 4207.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5206–5208.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 5228.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 580), 6671.—Amended and passed Senate, 7160, 7162.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 7432–7434.—Examined and signed, 7503, 7507.—Presented to the President, 7549.—Approved [Public, No. 230], 7942.

H. R. 12627—Granting an increase of pension to Henry J. Patterson.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3107.

H. R. 12628—To provide for the entrance into the civil service of veterans of the war with Germany.
Mr. Steagall; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 3158.

H. R. 12629—To define the meaning of "inability" as used in article 2, section 1, clause 5, of the Constitution.
Mr. Madden; Committee on the Judiciary, 3158.

H. R. 12630—To amend subdivision (b) of section 213 of the revenue act of 1918.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Ways and Means, 3158.

H. R. 12631—Restricting the sale of tickets and number of admissions to theaters, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wheeler; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3158.

H. R. 12632—Establishing the salary of bailiffs and criers in certain United States courts at $125 a month.
Mr. Campbell of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Judiciary, 3158.

H. R. 12633—To amend an act entitled "An act to diminish the expense of proceedings on appeal and writ of error or of certiorari," approved Feb. 13, 1911.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on the Judiciary, 3158.

H. R. 12634—For the relief of Wilhelm Alexanderson.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Claims, 3158.—Reported back (H. Rept. 686), 3650.—Debated and passed House, 5125, 5126.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 5159.

H. R. 12635—Granting an increase of pension to Robert McNaught.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3158.

H. R. 12636—For the relief of Mrs. Pasquale Nicolleti.
Mr. Johnston of New York; Committee on War Claims, 3158.

H. R. 12637—For the relief of John E. Russell.
Mr. Johnston of New York; Committee on War Claims, 3158.

H. R. 12638—Granting a pension to Cyrus J. Wilsey.
Mr. Kiess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3158.

H. R. 12639—Granting a pension to Jonathan W. Watts.
Mr. Kiess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3158.

H. R. 12640—Granting an increase of pension to James M. Wilson.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Pensions, 3158.

H. R. 12641—For the relief of Henry Schmidt.
Mr. O'Connell; Committee on Claims, 3158.

H. R. 12642—Granting a pension to Hallie N. Day.
Mr. Rainey of Alabama; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3158.

H. R. 12643—Granting a pension to Moses Cunningham.
Mr. Rainey of Alabama; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3158.

H. R. 12644—Granting a pension to Emma Lucinda Davidson.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3158.

H. R. 12645—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the borough of Churchville, Pa., one cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Military Affairs, 3217.

H. R. 12646—To amend and reenact section 4 of chapter 32 of the United States Statutes at Large, approved June 21, 1917, amending and reenacting the first paragraph of section 13 of the Federal reserve act approved Dec. 23, 1913.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3217.

H. R. 12647—Providing that the absence or illness of the President of the United States shall constitute inability to discharge the powers and duties of his office.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on the Judiciary, 3217.

H. R. 12648—Amending Title II, section 1, of the national prohibition act by permitting the manufacture, production, use, sale, and transportation for beverage and other purposes of beer, ale, and porter up to 2¾ per cent alcoholic content by volume, and wine up to 10 per cent alcoholic content by volume in such States as shall so determine by referendum vote to the people.
Mr. Minahan of New Jersey; Committee on the Judiciary, 3217.

H. R. 12649—To encourage the development of the agricultural resources of the United States through Federal and State cooperation, giving preference in the matter of employment and the establishment of rural homes to those who have served with the military and naval forces.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Ways and Means, 3217.

H. R. 12650—To regulate the sale of milk and milk products in the District of Columbia, to safeguard the public health, and for other purposes.
Mr. Moore of Virginia; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3217.

H. R. 12651—Relating to married women intermarried with aliens.
Mr. Butler; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3217.

H. R. 12652—To provide for the promotion of physical education in the United States through cooperation with the States in the preparation and payment of supervisors and teachers of physical education, including medical examiners and school nurses, to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Education, 3217.

H. R. 12653—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Kopp.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3217.

H. R. 12654—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Pope.
Mr. French; Committee on Pensions, 3217.

H. R. 12655—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Knizley.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3217.

H. R. 12656—Granting an increase of pension to Harrison Roberts.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 3217.

H. R. 12657—Granting a pension to Margaret P. Long.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 3217.

H. R. 12658—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in case of John C. Chamberlin, late first lieutenant, Twelfth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, Civil War.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on War Claims, 3217.

H. R. 12659—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Frank M. Vowels, late lieutenant, Sixth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, Civil War.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on War Claims, 3217.

H. R. 12660—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Robert Brodie, late captain, Thirty-fifth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Infantry, and regimental quartermaster Seventeenth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Claims, 3217.

H. R. 12661—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Alexander Magruder, late major, Twenty-seventh Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Infantry, Civil War.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on War Claims, 3217.

H. R. 12662—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Daniel Sullivan, late lieutenant, Thirteenth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Infantry, Civil War.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on War Claims, 3217.

H. R. 12663—For the relief of John E. Walker.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on Military Affairs, 3217.

H. R. 12664—Granting a pension to Mathilda Wendorff.
Mr. McLaughlin of Nebraska; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3217.

H. R. 12665—Granting a pension to Sarah M. Standish.
Mr. McLaughlin of Nebraska; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3217.

H. R. 12666—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Shepard.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Pensions, 3217.

H. R. 12667—Granting a pension to March Agard.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Pensions, 3217.

H. R. 12668—Granting a pension to Ruth A. Burris.
Mr. Murphy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3217.

H. R. 12669—Granting a pension to Mary Orr.
Mr. Murphy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3217.

H. R. 12670—For the relief of Henry E. Thomas.
Mr. Murphy; Committee on Military Affairs, 3217.

H. R. 12671—For the relief of William Koop.
Mr. Ogden; Committee on Claims, 3217.

H. R. 12672—For the relief of Helen Pennoyer Young.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Claims, 3217.

H. R. 12673—Granting an increase of pension to Robert W. McFarland.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 3217.

H. R. 12674—Granting an increase of pension to B. F. Brown.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3217.

H. R. 12675—Granting a pension to Samuel Braden.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3217.

H. R. 12676—For the relief of J. W. Whisman.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Claims, 3217.

H. R. 12677—Granting a pension to Elijah M. Smothers.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3217.

H. R. 12678—To create a rural credit society and general insurance league to facilitate the increase and reduce the cost of farm production and act as the fiscal and financial agents for the Government of the United States, to create two such agents, and for other purposes.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3317.—Debated, 4561, 8819, 8942, 9047, 9090, 9377, 9409.

H. R. 12679—To establish in the Department of Labor a bureau to be known as the women's bureau.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; Committee on Labor, 3317.

H. R. 12680—For a survey of the Coosa River, Ala.
Mr. Rainey of Alabama; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 3317.

H. R. 12681—To punish efforts to overthrow the Government of the United States by physical force or violence or by the assassination of any officer thereof.
Mr. Husted; Committee on the Judiciary, 3317.

H. R. 12682—For the enforcement of the national prohibition act by establishing and maintaining Government warehouses, and for other purposes.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Ways and Means, 3317.

H. R. 12683—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii," approved Apr. 30, 1900, as amended by an act approved Mar. 3, 1905, and as further amended by an act approved Apr. 2, 1908, and as further amended by an act approved Mar. 3, 1909, and as further amended by an act approved May 27, 1910, by amending sections 26, 55, 66, 73, 80, 86, and 92 thereof and by adding two new sections thereto, to be known as sections 73a and 103a.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on the Territories, 3317.

H. R. 12684—To authorize and empower officers of the naval service to serve under the Republic of Peru, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3317.

H. R. 12685—To repeal an act entitled "An act authorizing the President to coordinate or consolidate executive bureaus, agencies, and offices, and for other purposes, in the interest of economy and the more efficient concentration of the Government."
Mr. Kraus; Committee on the Judiciary, 3317.

H. R. 12686—Granting an increase of pension to Ruth Ann Porter.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3317.

H. R. 12687—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Tracy.
Mr. Brooks of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3317.

H. R. 12688—Granting a pension to Aolia Lauber.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Pensions, 3317.

H. R. 12689—Granting a pension to Ellwood I. Beatty.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Pensions, 3317.

H. R. 12690—For the relief of the heirs of Frank Boddeker.
Mr. Eagle; Committee on Claims, 3317.

H. R. 12691—Granting a pension to William Camp.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Pensions, 3317.

H. R. 12692—Granting an increase of pension to George M. Wallace.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3317.

H. R. 12693—Granting an increase of pension to David Pepple.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Pensions, 3317.

H. R. 12694—Granting a pension to Austin R. Fite.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Pensions, 3317.

H. R. 12695—Granting a pension to Julianita G. Ortiz.
Mr. Hernandez; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3318.

H. R. 12696—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Langley.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3318.

H. R. 12697—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of John R. Polk, late lieutenant colonel Eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, Civil War.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on War Claims, 3318.

H. R. 12698—Granting a pension to Israel W. Bennett.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Pensions, 3318.

H. R. 12699—Granting an increase of pension to William P. Underwood.
Mr. Randall of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3318.

H. R. 12700—Granting a pension to Sarah E. Hall.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3318.

H. R. 12701—Granting a pension to Charles T. Weaver.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3318.

H. R. 12702—Granting an increase of pension to Rufus C. Williams.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3318.

H. R. 12703—Granting a pension to Thomas W. Lang.
Mr. Schall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3318.

H. R. 12704—Granting a pension to Caroline T. Huff.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on Pensions, 3318.

H. R. 12705—Granting a pension to John Lynch.
Mr. Sullivan; Committee on Pensions, 3318.

H. R. 12706—Authorizing examination, survey, and report by the War Department as a preliminary to the improvement, construction, and maintenance of a national system of motor-truck defense and military highways and post roads, with laterals, in the States of Washington, Oregon, and California adapted to heavy transporting and to protect the Pacific coast of the United States from invasion by any alien enemy and for commercial and other purposes in time of transportation emergency.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Military Affairs, 3375.

H. R. 12707—To create a national department of highways and a national highway commission therein, to promote and organize a national system of highways, to increase the economy and efficiency of transportation, to assist industry and commerce, to improve the facilities for postal service, and to provide additional means for national defense.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Agriculture, 3375.

H. R. 12708—To fix the salaries of teachers, school officers, and other employees of the board of education of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3375.

H. R. 12709—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Clarion, Iowa, one German cannon or fieldpiece, to be placed in courthouse park, in said city.
Mr. Sweet; Committee on Military Affairs, 3375.

H. R. 12710—To amend an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes."
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 3376.

H. R. 12711—To amend the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3376.—Reported back (H. Rept. 678), 3543.—Debated, 5056–5059, 5060–5461.—Amended and passed House, 5461.—Referred to Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, 5081.—Reported back, 5159.—Debated and passed Senate, 5159–5162.—Examined and signed, 5307, 5316.—Presented to the President, 5527.—Approved [Public, No. 170], 5761.

H. R. 12712—Granting an increase of pension to Garry O. Hill.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 3376.

H. R. 12713—Granting an increase of pension to Adam Williams.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3376.

H. R. 12714—For the relief of E. W. Vance, H. E. Vance, F. C. Schmidt, and E. H. McCloud.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Claims, 3376.

H. R. 12715—Granting a pension to Marcellus L. Durnell.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3376.

H. R. 12716—Granting a pension to Clara B. Partridge.
Mr. Fairfield; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3376.

H. R. 12717—Authorizing the allowance of additional homestead application of Edward E. Voedisch.
Mr. Grant; Committee on the Public Lands, 3376.

H. R. 12718—Granting an increase of pension to Nellie M. Budlong.
Mr. Mann of Illinois; Committee on Pensions, 3376.

H. R. 12719—Granting a pension to Millie Kennedy.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3376.

H. R. 12720—Granting an increase of pension to George E. Scott.
Mr. Sweet; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3376.

H. R. 12721—To abolish the Subtreasuries and to provide for the transfer of the coin, currency, and bullion, and for other purposes.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3376.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 675), 3484.—Laid on the table (see H. R. 14100; also Public, No. 231), 8122.

H. R. 12722—To authorize the Secretary of War to cause a preliminary survey to be made of the Red River of the North and tributaries.
Mr. Baer; Committee on Flood Control, 3432.

H. R. 12723—To enable the Secretary of the Treasury to at once construct the Public Health Service hospital at Broadview, Cook County, Ill.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3432.

H. R. 12724—To declare Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday.
Mr. Husted; Committee on the Judiciary, 3432.—Reported back (H. Rept. 682), 3608.—Debated, 4467–4481.—Passed House, 4481.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 4496.

H. R. 12725—Providing for the issuing of certificates of indebtedness to honorably discharged persons who have served in the military or naval forces in the war between the United States and Germany and her allies, and for other purposes.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Ways and Means, 3432.

H. R. 12726—Granting an increase of pension to James G. Buckingham.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3432.

H. R. 12727—Granting an increase of pension to A. Judson Graves.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3432.

H. R. 12728—For the relief of R. W. Lindsey.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; Committee on Claims, 3432.

H. R. 12729—For the relief of Seth A. Welch.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on Military Affairs, 3432.

H. R. 12730—Granting a pension to Etta Hall.
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H. R. 12731—Granting a pension to Alexandra Mackenzie.
Mr. Hutchinson; Committee on Pensions, 3432.

H. R. 12732—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel B. Marris.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3432.

H. R. 12733—Granting a pension to Hannah Noonan.
Mr. Luce; Committee on Pensions, 3432.

H. R. 12734—For the relief of Mary L. Flaherty.
Mr. Luce; Committee on Claims, 3432.

H. R. 12735—Granting a pension to Fannie West.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3432.

H. R. 12736—Granting a pension to Adonijah Fox.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3432.

H. R. 12737—Granting a pension to Nannie L. Baker.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3433.

H. R. 12738—Granting a pension to Lilly Guffey.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 3433.

H. R. 12739—Granting a pension to Charles Eversole.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 3433.

H. R. 12740—Granting a pension to C. L. Farmer.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 3433.

H. R. 12741—Granting a pension to George Roberts.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 3433.

H. R. 12742—To correct the military record of Adonijah Fox.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Military Affairs, 3433.

H. R. 12743—Granting an increase of pension to William Barker.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3433.

H. R. 12744—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Hyder.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 3433.

H. R. 12745—For the relief of Ellen Clifford, widow of G. T. Clifford, ex-lighthouse keeper of the Pensacola Lighthouse, Pensacola, Fla., for 31 years.
Mr. Smithwick; Committee on Claims, 3433.

H. R. 12746—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Doll.
Mr. Vaile; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3433.

H. R. 12747—Authorizing the presentation of a medal of honor, distinguished service cross, or distinguished-service medal to former holders of certificates of merit.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Military Affairs, 3484.

H. R. 12748—To facilitate commerce by prescribing overtime rates to be paid by transportation lines for inspection of arriving passengers and crews.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 3484.

H. R. 12749—To provide that after the ratification of the constitutional amendment extending suffrage to women no woman who is an American citizen shall lose her citizenship by marrying an alien, and that no alien woman shall acquire American citizenship by marrying an American citizen.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 3484.

H. R. 12750—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Corpl. Charles W. Hewitt, jr., Post No. 154, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Philadelphia, Pa., two German cannons or fieldpieces, carriages, and equipment, with a suitable number of shells.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Military Affairs, 3484.

H. R. 12751—Providing additional compensation to all soldiers, sailors, marines, and others who served in the armed force of the United States in the war against Germany and Austria, and to provide the revenue therefor.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Ways and Means, 3484.

H. R. 12752—For the relief of Frank Emile Perrot.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Claims, 3485.

H. R. 12753—Making an appropriation to compensate Mrs. Lillian Jensen.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Claims, 3485.

H. R. 12754—Making an appropriation to compensate Mads Madsen.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Claims, 3485.

H. R. 12755—Granting a pension to Israel B. Cowen.
Mr. French; Committee on Pensions, 3485.

H. R. 12756—Granting a pension to Kathryn Hatley.
Mr. French; Committee on Pensions, 3485.

H. R. 12757—Granting a pension to Mary J. De Partee.
Mr. French; Committee on Pensions, 3485.

H. R. 12758—Granting a pension to Riley Cox.
Mr. French; Committee on Pensions, 3485.

H. R. 12759—Granting a pension to William Carney.
Mr. French; Committee on Pensions, 3485.

H. R. 12760—Granting a pension to Eliza McDaneld.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3485.

H. R. 12761—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Bishop.
Mr. Keller; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3485.

H. R. 12762—Granting a pension to Hattie E. Chavis.
Mr. Madden; Committee on Pensions, 3485.

H. R. 12763—Granting a pension to Isaac Wainscott.
Mr. Parrish; Committee on Pensions, 3485.

H. R. 12764—Granting an increase of pension to Laura A. McCormick.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3485.

H. R. 12765—Granting an increase of pension to Lucy Whitmore.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3485.

H. R. 12766—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Garnes.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3485.

H. R. 12767—Granting a pension to Albina Van Meter Pearce.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3485.

H. R. 12768—Granting a pension to Garrett D. Bailey.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 3485.

H. R. 12769—Granting a pension to Martha Nave.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3485.

H. R. 12770—Granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah M. Stewart.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3485.

H. R. 12771—Granting a pension to John S. Craddock.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 3485.

H. R. 12772—To give preference right of employment on construction work on United States reclamation projects, and preference right of entry on the public lands within such projects, to honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on the Public Lands, 3543.

H. R. 12773—To regulate the practice of osteopathy in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3543.

H. R. 12774—For the purpose of assisting ex-service men by improving the facilities and service of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3544.

H. R. 12775—To amend an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Kahn, from Committee on Military Affairs (H. Rept. 680), 3743.—Debated, 4025–4048, 4070–4106, 4130–4157, 4180–4206, 4224–4255, 4287–4313, 4400–4431, 4539–4560, 8914, 8926, 8928, 8935, 9143, 9147, 9354.—Amended and passed House, 4560.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 4674.—Reported with amendment, 5883.—Debated, 5895–5898.—Amended and passed Senate, 5898.—Senate requests conference, 5898.—Conferees appointed, 5898.—House disagrees to Senate amendment and agrees to conference, 5990.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 1000), 7259, 7265.—House further disagrees to Senate amendment and asks for further conference, 7298–7319.—Conferees appointed, 7319, 7334.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 7331.—Debated and agreed to, 7331–7334.—Senate insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference asked for by House, 7334.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 1049), 7813.—Agreed to, 7813–7844.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 7893.—Agreed to, 7916.—Examined and signed, 7959, 8008.—Presented to the President, 8048.—Approved [Public, No. 242], 8662.

H. R. 12776—To extend the provisions of the act entitled "An act for the relief of Indians occupying railroad lands in Arizona, New Mexico, or California."
Mr. Hernandez; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3544.

H. R. 12777—To further amend section 10 of the act entitled "An act making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Caldwell; Committee on Military Affairs, 3544.

H. R. 12778—To reimburse the Dittlinger Lime Co., of New Braunfels, Tex., for losses sustained on contract.
Mr. Bee; Committee on Claims, 3544.

H. R. 12779—Conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, examine, consider, determine, and adjudicate the claim of Marion B. Patterson.
Mr. Fisher; Committee on Claims, 3544.

H. R. 12780—To correct the military record of Eugene Downing.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Military Affairs, 3544.

H. R. 12781—Granting an increase of pension to Ida C. Brandon.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Pensions, 3544.

H. R. 12782—Granting a pension to Emanuel F. Oliver.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Pensions, 3544.

H. R. 12783—Granting a pension to Anthony D. Mitten.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Pensions, 3544.

H. R. 12784—Granting an increase of pension to Luther Van Arman.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3544.

H. R. 12785—Granting an increase of pension to Patrick A. Galvin.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 3544.

H. R. 12786—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to sell and patent to Spencer F. Griffin, of Catahoula Parish, La., certain lands.
Mr. Wilson of Louisiana; Committee on the Public Lands, 3544.

H. R. 12787—Providing for the recording of mortgages on vessels and notation thereof on certificates of registry or enrollment and license; creating jurisdiction in the district courts of the United States for the foreclosure of mortgages so recorded and noted, and providing procedure in connection therewith; also providing for maritime liens upon vessels for necessaries, etc., and their enforcement, and subordinating the same to the liens of mortgages, repealing all conflicting acts, and for such other purposes.
Mr. Greene of Massachusetts; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 3608.

H. R. 12788—Authorizing any tribes or bands of Indians of California to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3608.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 840), 5711.—Debated, 5868.

H. R. 12789—For the purpose of enlarging the United States post office at Ardmore, Okla.
Mr. Carter; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3608.

H. R. 12790—To incorporate the Supreme Tabernacle, Illustrious Order Knights of the Cross.
Mr. Focht; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3608.—Reported back (H. Rept. 810), 5383.

H. R. 12791—To amend section 15 of the act approved July 17, 1916, known as the Federal farm loan act.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3608.

H. R. 12792—Authorizing the adjustment of the boundaries of the Olympic National Forest, in the State of Washington, and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on the Public Lands, 3608.

H. R. 12793—Making an appropriation for the contribution of the United States toward an international conference of agriculture.
Mr. Tincher; Committee on Appropriations, 3608.

H. R. 12794—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Anchorage, Alaska, two German cannons or fieldpieces.
Mr. Grigsby; Committee on Military Affairs, 3608.

H. R. 12795—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare plans and specifications for the public building in the Borough of The Bronx, New York City, N. Y.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3608.

H. R. 12796—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to remodel and repair the present post office and Subtreasury building and the appraisers' stores building at Boston, Mass.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3609.

H. R. 12797—To amend an amendment to an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department."
Mr. Dale; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3609.

H. R. 12798—Granting a pension to A. W. Dumm.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Pensions, 3609.

H. R. 12799—Granting an increase of pension to Carl F. Gatterdam.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Pensions, 3609.

H. R. 12800—Granting an increase of pension to Cornelius D. Morris.
Mr. Christopherson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3609.

H. R. 12801—Granting an increase of pension to Donald A. Nicholson.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3609.

H. R. 12802—Granting a pension to Frazier Ward.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Pensions, 3609.

H. R. 12803—For the relief of John Clark.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Military Affairs, 3609.

H. R. 12804—Granting a pension to Charles Cranmer.
Mr. Houghton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3609.

H. R. 12805—To authorize the commissioning of Dr. Hugh Hamilton.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Military Affairs, 3609.

H. R. 12806—For the relief of Peter Swartz.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Military Affairs, 3609.

H. R. 12807—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Caldwell.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3609.

H. R. 12808—Granting a pension to Catherine Golden.
Mr. O'Connell; Committee on Pensions, 3609.

H. R. 12809—Granting an increase of pension to Aaron C. Lawrence.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3609.

H. R. 12810—Granting an increase of pension to William Middagh.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3609.

H. R. 12811—Granting a pension to Huston Frey.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 3609.

H. R. 12812—Granting a pension to Holman B. Hickey.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 3609.

H. R. 12813—Granting a pension to Samuel Walls.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 3609.

H. R. 12814—Granting a pension to John H. Smith.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 3609.

H. R. 12815—Granting a pension to Jane Jackson.
Mr. Upshaw; Committee on Pensions, 3609.

H. R. 12816—To further define malfeasance in office, providing punishment therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on the Judiciary, 3650.

H. R. 12817—Providing for a survey of the West Fork of White River, Ind., with a view to making same navigable.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Flood Control, 3650.

H. R. 12818—Providing for a survey of White River, Ind., with a view to making same navigable.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 3650.

H. R. 12819—To authorize the Secretary of the Navy to waive the age limit for admission to the United States Naval Academy.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3650.

H. R. 12820—To create revenue in lieu of the excess-profits tax, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ackerman; Committee on Ways and Means, 3650.—Debated, 9017.

H. R. 12821—To create revenue for defraying, carrying out, contributing toward, or meeting the requirements of any legislation to be presently enacted awarding funds to any enlisted or commissioned man in the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps who now has or may hereafter receive an honorable discharge therefrom.
Mr. Ackerman; Committee on Ways and Means, 3650.

H. R. 12822—To amend subdivision 3 of section 214 of an act entitled "An act to provide revenue, and for other purposes," approved Feb. 24, 1919.
Mr. Ackerman; Committee on Ways and Means, 3650.

H. R. 12823—To authorize the sale or lease of real estate or any interest therein acquired for the use of the Army since Apr. 6, 1917, and no longer needed therefor.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 3650.

H. R. 12824—To authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State of Alabama into the Union.
Mr. Rainey of Alabama; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 3650.—Reported back (H. Rept. 775), 4941.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5948–5950.—Referred to Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, 5968.—Reported back (S. Rept. 560), 6202.—Passed Senate, 6454.—Examined and signed, 6615, 6617.—Presented to the President, 6737.—Approved [Public, No. 200], 6884.

H. R. 12825—For the relief of the Great Lakes Engineering Works.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Claims, 3651.

H. R. 12826—Authorizing the appointment of Paymaster T. De F. Harris as a paymaster in the Navy.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3651.

H. R. 12827—To remove the charge of desertion standing against George W. Raney.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Military Affairs, 3651.

H. R. 12828—Granting a pension to George E. Tolin.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Pensions, 3651.

H. R. 12829—Granting a pension to May Belle McDermott.
Mr. Luce; Committee on Pensions, 3651.

H. R. 12830—Granting a pension to Fredericka Bauersfeld.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Pensions, 3651.

H. R. 12831—Granting a pension to Margeret Judge.
Mr. MacGregor; Committee on Pensions, 3651.

H. R. 12832—For the relief of Julia A. Reid.
Mr. Moore of Virginia; Committee on Claims, 3651.

H. R. 12833—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas E. Collins.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3651.

H. R. 12834—Granting a pension to George W. Dille.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3651.

H. R. 12835—Granting an increase of pension to Harriet M. O. Williams.
Mr. Romjue; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3651.

H. R. 12836—Validating certain applications for and entries of public lands, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on the Public Lands, 3651.

H. R. 12837—Granting a pension to Annie Baird.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3651.

H. R. 12838—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Hopper.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3651.

H. R. 12839—Granting a pension to William Martin.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3651.

H. R. 12840—Granting a pension to Isabella B. Slayter.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Pensions, 3651.

H. R. 12841—Granting an increase of pension to Rebecca Greenawalt.
Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3651.

H. R. 12842—For the relief of the estate of William Alger Varner.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Claims, 3651.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 969), 6970.

H. R. 12843—Granting a pension to Henrietta Riedel.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 3651.

H. R. 12844—Grantig a pension to Clinton E. Brown.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 3651.

H. R. 12845—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis Ward.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 3651.

H. R. 12846—Granting a pension to Adelia Sullivan.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3651.

H. R. 12847—Granting a pension to George L. Smith.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 3651.

H. R. 12848—Repealing certain powers of the President in respect to fuel.
Mr. Tilson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3729.—Debated, 4657–4660.

H. R. 12849—To amend the Federal reserve act by providing a rate of interest on reserve balances in Federal reserve banks.
Mr. Goodykoontz; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3729.

H. R. 12850—To establish the standard and decimal divisions of the weights, measures, and coins of the United States.
Mr. Welling; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures. 3729.—Debated, 8879.

H. R. 12851—To prevent open conflict between various State and Federal officers; and to allay the present unrest of labor in every State of the Union; and to ameliorate the supreme disgust in the District of Columbia, so apparent in the embassies and legations of practically every foreign power on earth; and to make constitutional the so-called national prohibition act.
Mr. Britten; Committee on the Judiciary, 3729.

H. R. 12852—Authorizing the superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma to approve oil and gas leases made by the individual restricted members of said tribes, and providing for an appeal to the Secretary of the Interior in contested cases.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Indians Affairs, 3729.

H. R. 12853—Authorizing the Postmaster General to investigate conditions arising from contracts in star route, screen wagon, and other vehicle service, prior to June 30, 1919.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 3729.

H. R. 12854—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Cline.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3729.

H. R. 12855—Granting an increase of pension to Reason H. Treadway.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3729.

H. R. 12856—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah W. Knowland.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3729.

H. R. 12857—Granting an increase of pension to Robert N. Barton.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3729.

H. R. 12858—For the relief of the heirs of W. W. Parrish.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Claims, 3730.—Reference changed to Committee on War Claims, 4720.

H. R. 12859—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Parry.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3730.

H. R. 12860—Granting a pension to Alfred W. Marks.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Pensions, 3730.

H. R. 12861—For the relief of Thomas S. Steenwerth.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Claims, 3730.

H. R. 12862—For the relief of James A. McErlain.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Claims, 3730.

H. R. 12863—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret M. Frazier.
Mr. O'Connell; Committee on Pensions, 3730.

H. R. 12864—For the retirement of Clarence Cappel.
Mr. Rowe; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3730.

H. R. 12865—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Ramey.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 3730.

H. R. 12866—For the relief of Emma Kiener.
Mr. Welling; Committee on Claims, 3730.

H. R. 12867—Amending section 14 of the shipping act of 1916.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 3784.

H. R. 12868—Granting pension to all policemen and firemen of the District of Columbia who were retired previous to the act of Dec. 5, 1919.
Mr. James; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3784.

H. R. 12869—For the construction of a bridge across the Pentwater River or Pentwater Lake, Michigan.
Mr. McLaughlin of Michigan; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3784.—Reported back (H. Rept. 738), 4258.—Debated and passed House, 5208.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 5228.—Reported back (S. Rept. 564) and passed Senate, 6259.—Examined and signed, 6440, 6442.—Presented to the President, 6552.—Approved [Public, No. 196], 6836.

H. R. 12870—To provide for the administration of national property and interests in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. Curry of California; Committee on the Territories, 3784.

H. R. 12871—For an extension to the post-office building at Paterson, in the State of New Jersey.
Mr. Radcliffe; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3784.

H. R. 12872—For a post-office building at Passaic, in the State of New Jersey.
Mr. Radcliffe; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3784.

H. R. 12873—Granting an increase of pension to Herbert Hill.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Pensions, 3784.

H. R. 12874—Granting an increase of pension to Lucinda Rickards.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3784.

H. R. 12875—For the relief of Robert June.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Claims, 3784.

H. R. 12876—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Hopper.
Mr. Hoch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3784.

H. R. 12877—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Robison.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Pensions, 3784.

H. R. 12878—Granting an increase of pension to Carrie Smart.
Mr. Knutson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3784.

H. R. 12879—For the relief of Robert Russell.
Mr. Knutson; Committee on Claims, 3784.

H. R. 12880—For the relief of William Irving.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Military Affairs, 3784.

H. R. 12881—Granting a pension to James Y. Van Blarcom.
Mr. Radcliffe; Committee on Pensions, 3784.

H. R. 12882—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Cole.
Mr. Ramsey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3784.

H. R. 12883—Granting an increase of pension to William W. Wild.
Mr. Randall of California; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3785.

H. R. 12884—Relating to neutral and American women intermarried with aliens.
Mr. Winslow; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3837.

H. R. 12885—To provide for the control of the floods of the Wabash River, Ind., and for other purposes.
Mr. Luhring; Committee on Flood Control, 3837.

H. R. 12886—To amend section 3 of the act of Congress of June 28, 1906, entitled "An act for the division of the lands and funds of the Osage Indians in Oklahoma, and for other purposes."
Mr. Howard; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3837.

H. R. 12887—Establishing the liability of hotel proprietors and innkeepers in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Burdick; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3837.—Reported back (H. Rept. 719), 3992.—Debated and passed House, 7552, 7553.—Referred to Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 7559.—Reported back without amendment, 8345.

H. R. 12888—For the purchase of a site and the erection of a post office at Canton, N. C.
Mr. Weaver; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3837.

H. R. 12889—Granting the consent of Congress to the city of Youngstown, Ohio, to construct a bridge across the Mahoning River, at or near Division Street, in the city of Youngstown, Ohio.
Mr. Cooper; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3837.—Reported back (H. Rept. 748), 4642.—Passed House, 5215.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 5228.—Reported back (S. Rept. 522), 5588.—Passed Senate, 5588.—Examined and signed, 5710, 5713.—Presented to the President, 5814.—Approved [Public, No. 184], 6078.

H. R. 12890—Referring the claim of the State of Rhode Island for expenses during the War with Spain to the Court of Claims for adjudication.
Mr. Burdick; Committee on War Claims, 3837.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 829), 5683.

H. R. 12891—To authorize the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River near Kansas City.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3837.—Reported back (H. Rept. 752), 4642.—Laid on the table (see S. 4073), 5863.

H. R. 12892—To provide for the reimbursement of actual expenses to officers of the Army, contract surgeons, and dental surgeons when traveling on duty without troops within the Territory of Alaska.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 3837.

H. R. 12893—Granting a pension to James E. Davis.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Pensions, 3837.

H. R. 12894—Granting a pension to Albert M. Gordon.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Pensions, 3837.

H. R. 12895—For the relief of the owner of Old Dominion Pier A.
Mr. Bland of Virginia; Committee on Claims, 3837.

H. R. 12896—Granting a pension to Adam Keesey.
Mr. Brooks of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 3837.

H. R. 12897—Granting a pension to John Noble, jr.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Pensions, 3837.

H. R. 12898—Granting an increase of pension to Watson S. Tilton.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3837.

H. R. 12899—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas E. Cruess.
Mr. Hersman; Committee on Pensions, 3837.

H. R. 12900—Granting an increase of pension to Adron Duff.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 3838.

H. R. 12901—Granting a pension to Michael Quinlan.
Mr. John W. Rainey; Committee on Pensions, 3838.

H. R. 12902—Granting a pension to George S. Nevils.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 3838.

H. R. 12903—Granting a pension to Thomas M. Jenkins.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 3838.

H. R. 12904—Granting a pension to William M. Bradley.
Mr. Weaver; Committee on Pensions, 3838.

H. R. 12905—Transferring the tract of land known as Chapman Field from the jurisdiction of the War Department to the jurisdiction of the Navy Department.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Military Affairs, 3883.

H. R. 12906—Providing additional compensation to all soldiers, sailors, marines, and others who served in the armed forces of the United States in the war against Germany and Austria, and to provide the revenue therefor.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Ways and Means, 3883.

H. R. 12907—To enable vessels, wherever built, purchased from the United States Navy to be documented as vessels of the United States.
Mr. Lufkin; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 3883.

H. R. 12908—To incorporate the Roosevelt Memorial Association.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3883.—Reported back (H. Rept. 811), 5383.—Laid on the table (see S. 4163), 7552.

H. R. 12909—To provide for the improvement of transportation by water to and from and within the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. Grigsby; Committee on the Territories, 3883.

H. R. 12910—To amend sections 4, 8, and 10 of the act of June 29, 1906, as amended, relating to naturalization, and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 3883.

H. R. 12911—To provide for an investigation and report upon the condition of the Chain Bridge, across the Potomac River, and the preparation of plans for a bridge to take the place thereof should it be deemed necessary.
Mr. Woods of Virginia; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3884.—Reported back (H. Rept. 721), 4048.

—H. R. 12912—Granting a pension to Garrett Williamson.
Mr. Brooks of Illinois; Committee on Pensions, 3884.

H. R. 12913—Granting an increase of pension to William B. Carr.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3884.

H. R. 12914—Granting an increase of pension to Charles P. Streator.
Mr. Davey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3884.

H. R. 12915—Granting an increase of pension to Rachel Sethman.
Mr. Davey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3884.

H. R. 12916—Granting an increase of pension to Salonas Williams.
Mr. Davey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3884.

H. R. 12917—Granting an increase of pension to Oscar Brewster.
Mr. Davey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3884.

H. R. 12918—Granting a pension to George H. Nighman.
Mr. Davey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3884.

H. R. 12919—Granting a pension to Clara C. Biernbaumer.
Mr. Davey; Committee on Pensions, 3884.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4107.

H. R. 12920—Granting a pension to Mary L. Brown Point.
Mr. Davey; Committee on Pensions, 3884.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4107.

H. R. 12921—Granting a pension to William B. Spencer.
Mr. Davey; Committee on Pensions, 3884.

H. R. 12922—For the relief of Edward Carter.
Mr. Davey; Committee on Military Affairs, 3884.

H. R. 12923—For the relief of C. P. McManus.
Mr. Lanham; Committee on Claims, 3884.

H. R. 12924—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Clark.
Mr. Layton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3884.

H. R. 12925—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick A. Reen.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3884.

H. R. 12926—Granting a pension to Maggie Crouch.
Mr. Little; Committee on Pensions, 3884.

H. R. 12927—For the relief of J. W. Glidden and E. F. Hobbs.
Mr. Little; Committee on Claims, 3884.

H. R. 12928—For the relief of Abram H. Johnson.
Mr. Michener; Committee on Military Affairs, 3884.

H. R. 12929—Granting an increase of pension to George D. Appel.
Mr. Newton of Minnesota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3884.

H. R. 12930—Granting a pension to Cornelia K. Smith.
Mr. Newton of Minnesota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3884.

H. R. 12931—Granting an increase of pension to James K. Johnson.
Mr. Newton of Minnesota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3884.

H. R. 12932—For the relief of William V. Nolan.
Mr. O'Connell; Committee on Claims, 3884.

H. R. 12933—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Cobb.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3884.

H. R. 12934—For the relief of the owners of the dredge Maryland.
Mr. Sears; Committee on Claims, 3884.

H. R. 12935—For the relief of Fred Emberger.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on Claims, 3884.

H. R. 12936—For the relief of Robert J. Kirk.
Mr. Stoll; Committee on Claims, 3884.

H. R. 12937—Granting a pension to Mary C. Brandyberry.
Mr. Vestal; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3884.

H. R. 12938—Granting an increase of pension to William Moyer.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3884.

H. R. 12939—Granting a pension to Sarah R. Gibson.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3884.

H. R. 12940—To amend section 4 of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and for other purposes," approved Feb. 28, 1919.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 3935.

H. R. 12941—To provide for the erection of a monument to Gen. Anthony Wayne and legion at Defiance, Ohio, and markers for fort site, and retaining walls to prevent erosion at confluence of Maumee and Auglaize Rivers.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on the Library, 3935.

H. R. 12942—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Independence, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 3935.

H. R. 12943—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to each of the 17 counties in the State of Nevada two German cannons or fieldpieces, carriages, and equipment, with a suitable number of shells.
Mr. Evans of Nevada; Committee on Military Affairs, 3935.

H. R. 12944—Granting an increase of pension to Martha A. Burdick.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3935.

H. R. 12945—Granting a pension to John Hayes.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3935.

H. R. 12946—Granting a pension to George Sparks.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Pensions, 3935.

H. R. 12947—Granting an increase of pension to Ada Johnston Cowles.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 3935.

H. R. 12948—Granting a pension to W. R. Shubert.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3935.

H. R. 12949—Granting a pension to George H. Swigart.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 3935.

H. R. 12950—To obtain revenue and to maintain and encourage the breeding of canary birds in the United States.
Mr. MacGregor; Committee on Ways and Means, 3992.

H. R. 12951—To provide for the establishment of a submarine base at Los Angeles Harbor, Calif., making an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3992.

H. R. 12952—To provide employment and rural homes for those who have served with the military and naval forces of the United States during the war between the United States and Germany and her allies through the reclamation, acquisition, and development of lands to be known as the national soldier settlement act.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on Ways and Means, 3992.

H. R. 12953—To amend paragraph 18 of section 402 of an act approved Feb. 28, 1920, entitled "An act to provide for the termination of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation; to provide for the settlement of disputes between carriers and their employees; to further amend an act entitled 'An act to regulate commerce,' approved Feb. 4, 1887, as amended, and for other purposes," by prohibiting the abandonment of operation of coastwise and inland waterborne commerce save by consent of the Interstate Commerce Commission.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3992.

H. R. 12954—Providing for the relief of populations in Europe and in countries contiguous thereto suffering for want of food.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Ways and Means, 3992.—Reported back (H. Rept. 741), 4314.—Debated and passed House, 4353–4367.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 4396.—Reported back (S. Rept. 486), 4672.—Debated, 4672, 4673.—Passed Senate, 4673.—Examined and signed, 4802, 4842.—Presented to the President, 4882.—Approved [Public, No. 167], 5061.

H. R. 12955—To further define nonmailable matter, and for other purposes.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 3992.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 792), 5223.

H. R. 12956—Extending the time for constructing a bridge across the Bayou Bartholomew, in the State of Arkansas.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3992.—Reported back (H. Rept. 751), 4642.—Passed House, 5862.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 5882.—Reported back (S. Rept. 551) and passed Senate, 6144.—Examined and signed, 6328, 6357.—Presented to the President, 6440.—Approved [Public, No. 193], 6836.

H. R. 12957—To amend the revenue act of 1918, with respect to yachts and pleasure boats.
Mr. MacCrate; Committee on Ways and Means, 3992.

H. R. 12958—Granting a pension to Ward A. Siebenthal.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 3992.

H. R. 12959—For the relief of E. W. Vance, H. E. Vance, F. C. Schmidt, and E. H. McCloud.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Claims, 3992.

H. R. 12960—Granting a pension to Richard Wilkerson.
Mr. Hernandez; Committee on Pensions, 3992.

H. R. 12961—Granting a pension to Emma J. Crocker.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3992.

H. R. 12962—Granting an increase of pension to William Hittie.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3992.

H. R. 12963—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Hoover.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3992.

H. R. 12964—Granting a pension to Emma Piles.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3992.

H. R. 12965—For the relief of William Hunt.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Military Affairs, 3992.

H. R. 12966—Granting an increase of pension to Allen Farler.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3992.

H. R. 12967—For the relief of Dora Hillerman.
Mr. Schall; Committee on Claims, 3992.

H. R. 12968—Granting a pension to Mary Ann McLaughlin.
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H. R. 12969—To amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved Sept. 2, 1914, as amended.
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H. R. 12970—To provide a fund from which to pay the expenses incident to soldier-relief legislation.
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H. R. 12971—Regulating the practice of chiropractic in the District of Columbia.
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H. R. 12972—Authorizing the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota to submit claims to the Court of Claims, and for other purposes.
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H. R. 12973—For the preparation of additional rolls, allotment of lands, disposition of the lands and funds of the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota, and for other purposes.
Mr. Snyder; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4049.

H. R. 12974—Authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to Darby Township, Delaware County, Pa., a captured cannon or field-piece and suitable outfit of cannon balls.
Mr. Butler; Committee on Military Affairs, 4049.

H. R. 12975—To provide for the retirement of United States park policemen after 25 years of service, and for a pension in case of total disability.
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H. R. 12976—To increase the revenue of the Government of the United States and to conserve the supply of print and other paper by imposing a tax upon advertisers.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Ways and Means, 4049.—Debated, 9030.

H. R. 12977—To amend sections 4, 8, and 10 of the act of June 29, 1906, as amended, relating to naturalization, and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 4049.

H. R. 12978—To provide for the care of certain insane citizens of the Territory of Alaska.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on the Judiciary, 4049.

H. R. 12979—Authorizing the Wichita and affiliated bands of Indians in Oklahoma to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Snyder; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4049.

H. R. 12980—To authorize allotments of lands to Indians of the Menominee Reservation in Wisconsin, and for other purposes.
Mr. Snyder; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4049.

H. R. 12981—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to make an allotment to Pessa, a member of the Comanche Tribe of Indians in Oklahoma.
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H. R. 12982—Granting an increase of pension to Lucy Palmer.
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H. R. 12992—Granting a pension to Caroline Leasure.
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H. R. 12993—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel T. Haynes.
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Mr. Butler; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4107.

H. R. 12997—To amend subdivision 15, schedule A, of Title XI, of the revenue act of 1918.
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Mr. Darrow; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4107.

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Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 4107.

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Mr. Wason; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4207.

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H. R. 13040—Authorizing the Secretary of War to grant to Lloyd E. Gandy, of Spokane, Wash., his heirs and assigns, the right to overflow certain lands on the Fort George Wright Military Reservation at Spokane, Wash., on such terms as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War, and for other purposes.
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Mr. Volstead; Committee on the Judiciary, 4259.

H. R. 13044—To amend section 229 of the act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on the Judiciary, 4259.

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Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on the Public Lands, 4315.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1094), 8303.

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H. R. 13053—For the relief of certain tribes and nations of Indians in the State of Montana.
Mr. Evans of Montana; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4315.

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H. R. 13055—To authorize the Secretary of the Navy to sanction the use of certain titles on tablets or other memorials.
Mr. Stephens of Ohio; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4315.

H. R. 13056—To create a Federal postal commission, to define its powers and duties, and for other purposes.
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H. R. 13057—Authorizing the issuance of patent to Johnson County, Wyo., of lands for poor-farm purposes.
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Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4315.

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Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4315.

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Mr. Rogers; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4372.

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H. R. 13088—To amend section 24 of the immigration act of Feb. 5, 1917, to establish a personnel board in the Immigration Service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Campbell of Pennsylvania; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 4434.

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Mr. Fordney; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4434.

H. R. 13090—To amend the War Finance Corporation act.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Ways and Means, 4434.

H. R. 13091—To provide further for the relief of war minerals producers, and to amend an act entitled "An act to provide relief in cases of contracts connected with the prosecution of the war, and for other purposes," approved Mar. 2, 1919.
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H. R. 13108—Making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.
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H. R. 13109—Authorizing the appropriation of the sum of $15,000 for the purpose of paving the streets around the Federal building at Fayetteville, in the State of Arkansas.
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Mr. Frear; Committee on the Judiciary, 4493.

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Mr. Lankford; Committee on Railways and Canals, 4564.

H. R. 13134—To provide for the utilization of the surplus waters of the Government dam at or near Mayo Bar, on the Coosa River, in the State of Georgia.
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Mr. Hicks; Committee on Ways and Means, 4564.

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H. R. 13137—To amend the act of June 29, 1906, relating to naturalization.
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H. R. 13138—To amend section 8 of an act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 15, 1914, as amended May 15, 1916.
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H. R. 13154—Granting an increase of pension to Frank L. Jewell.
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H. R. 13155—To amend section 4075 of the Revised Statutes as amended by the act of June 14, 1902.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 4642.

H. R. 13156—To provide a method of adjusted compensation for all enlisted men serving in the military and naval forces of the United States, and to provide revenue for the same, and for other purposes.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on Ways and Means, 4642.

H. R. 13157—Authorizing the issuance of patent to Johnson County, Wyo., of lands for poor-farm purposes.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 4642.—Reported back (H. Rept. 758), 4772.—Passed House, 5215, 5216.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 5228.—Reported back (S. Rept. 586), 6979.—Passed Senate, 7161.—Examined and signed, 7384, 7386.—Presented to the President, 7423.—Approved [Public, No. 219], 7812.

H. R. 13158—To further amend the interstate-commerce act as amended.
Mr. Cooper; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4642.

H. R. 13159—Granting an increase of pension to Jonathan Baker.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4643.

H. R. 13160—Granting a pension to Addie M. Moore.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4643.

H. R. 13161—Granting an increase of pension to Ralph Waite.
Mr. Cole; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4643.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 4843.

H. R. 13162—For the relief of the Metropolitan Lumber Co.
Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Judiciary, 4643.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1057), 7957.

H. R. 13163—Granting a pension to Elenor Young.
Mr. Hickey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4643.

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Mr. MacGregor; Committee on Pensions, 4643.

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Mr. Riordan; Committee on Claims, 4643.

H. R. 13168—To reimburse Joseph Warren for the loss by fire of $300 worth of war savings stamps.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Claims, 4643.

H. R. 13169—Granting an increase of pension to Edward F. Davis.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4643.

H. R. 13170—For the relief of Edward J. Pearlove.
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H. R. 13171—To amend the War Finance Corporation act.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Ways and Means, 4670.

H. R. 13172—To provide for 1 cent a mile furlough fare for all soldiers, sailors, and marines now being given treatment in hospitals.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 4670.

H. R. 13173—To obtain revenue and to encourage and maintain the production of antimony salts, titanium salts, hydrosulphites, sulphoxylates, and artificial bates in the United States and its possessions.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Ways and Means, 4670.

H. R. 13174—To provide for the award of a medal of merit to the personnel of the merchant marine of the United States of America.
Mr. Greene of Massachusetts; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 4670.

H. R. 13175—Relative to promotion by selection in the Navy.
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H. R. 13176—Directing the remission of customs duties on certain War Department property.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Ways and Means, 4670.

H. R. 13177—To amend an act entitled "An act increasing the pay of printers and pressmen employed in the Government Printing Office, and for other purposes," approved Aug. 2, 1919.
Mr. Ogden; Committee on Printing, 4670.

H. R. 13178—Authorizing the Postmaster General to investigate and adjust claims arising out of contracts for materials and services for the Postal Service, entered into prior to June 30, 1917.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 4670.

H. R. 13179—Granting an increase of pension to Grace E. Kniffen.
Mr. Casey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4670.

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Mr. Christopherson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4670.

H. R. 13181—Granting an increase of pension to J. F. Williamson.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4670.

H. R. 13182—Granting a pension to Marion A. McClelland.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4670.

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Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4670.

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Mr. Hawley; Committee on Claims, 4670.

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Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 4670.

H. R. 13187—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew B. McCall.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4670.

H. R. 13188—Granting a pension to Tilden F. Skaggs.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Pensions, 4670.

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Mr. King; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4670.

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Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4670.

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Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Pensions, 4670.

H. R. 13192—Granting a pension to Ida Florence Brady.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Pensions, 4670.

H. R. 13193—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy Odom.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4670.

H. R. 13194—Granting a pension to Bettie E. Pearson.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 4670.

H. R. 13195—For the relief of Paul Burriss, infant son of John Burriss.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Claims, 4670.

H. R. 13196—Granting an increase of pension to Hosea Knowles.
Mr. Vaile; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4670.

H. R. 13197—Granting a pension to Nelson O. Barker.
Mr. Webster; Committee on Pensions, 4670.

H. R. 13198—Granting a pension to Berry C. Smith.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 4670.

H. R. 13199—For the establishment of a separate peace with the Governments of Germany and Austria, and for the creation of a European Trade Council.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 4720.

H. R. 13200—For the purchase of a site and the erection of a post office at Watervliet, N. Y.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 4720.

H. R. 13201—To provide for the protection of the monetary gold reserve by the maintenance of the normal gold production of the United States to satisfy the requirements of the arts and trades, by imposing an excise upon all gold used for other than monetary purposes, and the payment of a premium to the producers of newly mined gold, and providing penalties for the violation thereof.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Ways and Means, 4720.

H. R. 13202—To authorize the employment of convicts in public road construction.
Mr. Harrison; Committee on the Judiciary, 4720.

H. R. 13203—To regulate the construction and operation of elevators in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jefferis; Committee on the District of Columbia, 4720.

H. R. 13204—To create revenue for defraying, carrying out, contributing toward, or meeting the requirements of any legislation to provide a fund to be used for the education of soldiers, sailors, and marines of the World War; to give soldiers, sailors, and marines qualifying preferential rights to Government positions; and to provide a fund to be loaned for the purchase of homes.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Ways and Means, 4720.

H. R. 13205—To confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to adjudicate the claims of American citizens.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on the Judiciary, 4720.

H. R. 13206—To authorize and direct the Secretary of War to cause a survey to be made of the Schuylkill Canal.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 4720.

H. R. 13207—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Burger.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Pensions, 4720.

H. R. 13208—Granting an increase of pension to James Adams.
Mr. Elliott; Committee on Pensions, 4720.

H. R. 13209—For the relief of John W. Kellough.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Military Affairs, 4720.

H. R. 13210—Granting a pension to Peter Michel.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4720.

H. R. 13211—For the relief of Welch, Fairchild & Co. (Inc.).
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 4720.

H. R. 13212—For the relief of the heirs of Ewing M. Skaggs.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on War Claims, 4720.

H. R. 13213—Granting an increase of pension to Julia A. Smalley.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4720.

H. R. 13214—Granting an increase of pension to Agnes L. Ernst.
Mr. MacGregor; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4720.

H. R. 13215—Granting an increase of pension to John Marshall.
Mr. Mead; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4720.

H. R. 13216—Granting an increase of pension to James Lee.
Mr. Reed of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4720.

H. R. 13217—Granting an increase of pension to William B. Murray.
Mr. Sears; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4720.

H. R. 13218—Granting an increase of pension to Jane Letcher.
Mr. Swope; Committee on Pensions, 4720.

H. R. 13219—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin B. Herrick.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4720.

H. R. 13220—Granting a pension to Richard Chitwood.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 4720.

H. R. 13221—Granting a pension to Charles Payne.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 4720.

H. R. 13222—For the erection of a public building at Lumberton, N. C.
Mr. Godwin of North Carolina; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 4773.

H. R. 13223—To provide for the erection of a public building at Southport, in the State of North Carolina.
Mr. Godwin of North Carolina; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 4773.

H. R. 13224—To provide for a site and public building at Dunn, N. C.
Mr. Godwin of North Carolina; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 4773.

H. R. 13225—Providing for the allotment of lands within the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation, Mont., and for other purposes.
Mr. Evans of Montana; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4773.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 894), 6199.

H. R. 13226—To amend section 4404 of the Revised Statutes of the United States as amended by the act approved July 2, 1918, providing that the supervising inspectors of the Steamboat-Inspection Service be included under the classified civil service.
Mr. Greene of Massachusetts; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 4773.

H. R. 13227—To authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 4773.—Reported back (H. Rept. 773), 4905.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5950.—Referred to Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, 5968.—Reported back (S. Rept. 561), 6202.—Passed Senate, 6454.—Examined and signed, 6615, 6617.—Presented to the President, 6737.—Approved [Public, No. 203], 7121.

H. R. 13228—To amend section 7 and section 10 of the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act.
Mr. Nelson of Wisconsin; Committee on Banking and Currency, 4773.

H. R. 13229—To establish in the Department of Labor a bureau to be known as the women's bureau.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; Committee on Labor, 4773.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 783), 5029.—Debated, 5217, 5863, 5873–5879.—Passed House, 5879.—Referred to Senate Committee on Education and Labor, 5882.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 572), 6494.—Debated, 8085[8088.—Amended and passed Senate, 8088.—Senate requests a conference, 8088.—Conferees appointed, 8088.—House agrees to Senate amendments, 8569.—Examined and signed, 8487, 8585.—Presented to the President, 8662.

H. R. 13230—To further amend the interstate commerce act, as amended.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4773.

H. R. 13231—To terminate Federal control of the coal and coke industry, and for other purposes.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4773.

H. R. 13232—For the relief of the heirs, assigns, and legal representatives of Thomas Johnston.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on the Public Lands, 4773.

H. R. 13233—Granting a pension to Mary L. Carr.
Mr. Burdick; Committee on Pensions, 4773.

H. R. 13234—To correct the military record of Joseph Donnelly.
Mr. Caldwell; Committee on Military Affairs, 4773.—Reported back (H. Rept. 859), 5965.

H. R. 13235—Granting an increase of pension to Rudolph B. Scheitlin.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Pensions, 4773.

H. R. 13236—Granting a pension to Harry M. Owens.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Pensions, 4773.

H. R. 13237—Granting an increase of pension to James R. Compton.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on Pensions, 4773.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5223.

H. R. 13238—Granting a pension to Anna Lowe.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on Pensions, 4773.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6257.

H. R. 13239—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Stewart.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4773.

H. R. 13240—Granting a pension to Charles Herbst.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4773.

H. R. 13241—Granting a pension to William F. Cummins.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4773.

H. R. 13242—Granting a pension to Henry W. Klages.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Pensions, 4773.

H. R. 13243—Granting a pension to Mattie E. Grimes.
Mr. Hernandez; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4773.

H. R. 13244—Granting an increase of pension to Robert H. Harlow.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4773.

H. R. 13245—Granting a pension to Mary B. Hazelrigg.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4773.

H. R. 13246—Granting a pension to Gustav F. Breiter.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 4773.

H. R. 13247—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Shoen.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4773.

H. R. 13248—Granting an increase of pension to Noah P. Janes.
Mr. Swope; Committee on Pensions, 4773.

H. R. 13249—Granting a pension to William H. Edwards.
Mr. Swope; Committee on Pensions, 4773.

H. R. 13250—Granting an increase of pension to John Howard.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4773.

H. R. 13251—For the relief of William B. Mounce.
Mr. Wheeler; Committee on Military Affairs, 4773.

H. R. 13252—Granting a pension to Julia Ann Hopkins.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4773.

H. R. 13253—To grant the consent of Congress to the Elmer Red River Bridge Co. to construct a bridge across the Red River.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4799.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 793), 5273.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5864.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 5882.—Reported back (S. Rept. 552), 6144.—Passed Senate, 6145.—Examined and signed, 6328, 6357.—Presented to the President, 6440.—Approved [Public, No. 194], 6836.

H. R. 13254—Granting a pension to Henrietta L. Whitney.
Mr. Paige, Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4800.

H. R. 13255—For the relief of the estate of George B. Spearin.
Mr. Scully; Committee on Claims, 4800.—Committee on Claims discharged, referred to Committee on the Judiciary, 5585.

H. R. 13256—For the relief of Gill I. Wilson.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Military Affairs, 4800.—Committee on Military Affairs discharged, and referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4843.

H. R. 13257—To incorporate the American Volunteers of the Canadian Expeditionary Forces.
Mr. Madden; Committee on the Judiciary, 4843.

H. R. 13258—To recognize the services of certain officers and enlisted men of the National Guard or Organized Militia of the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia during the War with Spain.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 4843.

H. R. 13259—To amend sections 404, 406, and 407 of Title IV of the revenue act of 1918.
Mr. McFadden; Commmittee on Ways and Means, 4843.

H. R. 13260—To provide for the exchange of Government lands for privately owned lands in the Territory of Hawaii.
Mr. Curry of California; Commmittee on the Territories, 4843.

H. R. 13261—To provide for weekly pay days for postal employees.
Mr. Fuller of Massachusetts; Committee on Expenditures in the Post Office Department, 4843.

H. R. 13262—To prohibit the destruction of gold and subsidiary silver coins of the United States and of foreign gold or silver coins which have been made lawfully current and are in circulation as money within the United States.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 4843.

H. R. 13263—Donating a captured German cannon or fieldpiece to the town of Robbinsville, county of Mercer, State of New Jersey, for decorative and patriotic purposes.
Mr. Hutchinson; Committee on Military Affairs, 4843.

H. R. 13264—To provide for the award of a medal of merit to the personnel of the merchant marine of the United States of America.
Mr. Greene of Massachusetts; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 4843.—Reported back (H. Rept. 988), 7126.

H. R. 13265—To provide for the improvement of navigable rivers and harbors.
Mr. Lehlbach; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 4843.

H. R. 13266—Making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.
Mr. Davis of Minnesota, from Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 768), 4836, 4843.—Debated, 4883–4904, 4924–4941, 4973–4989, 5011–5019, 9365.—Amended and passed House, 5019.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 5033.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 530), 5927.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 6151–6158.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for conference, 6284.—Conferees appointed, 6259, 6284.—Senate insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference, 6259.—Conference report submitted in Senate and agreed to, 8085.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 1079, 8108, 8412.—House disagrees to all Senate amendments and asks for further conference, 8412.—Conferees appointed, 8345, 8412.—Senate insists upon its amendments and agrees to further conference, 8345.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 1103), 8454.—Debated, 8554–8563.—Agreed to, 8563.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 8377.—Agreed to, 8378.—Examined and signed, 8510, 8614.—Presented to the President, 8662.—Approved [Public, No. 245], 8662.

H. R. 13267—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Wagoner.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4843.

H. R. 13268—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Dodds.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4843.

H. R. 13269—Granting a pension to Jefferson H. Murray.
Mr. Dominick; Committee on Pensions, 4843.

H. R. 13270—Granting an increase of pension to John Brooks.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4843.

H. R. 13271—Granting an increase of pension to Frank H. Bruce.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Pensions, 4843.

H. R. 13272—Granting a pension to Mary Bowser.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Pensions, 4843.

H. R. 13273—Granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Norman.
Mr. Hill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4843.

H. R. 13274—To convey to the Big Rock Stone & Construction Co. a portion of the military reservation of Fort Logan H. Roots, in the State of Arkansas.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Military Affairs, 4843.—Reported back (H. Rept. 803), 5314.—Passed House, 5862.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 5882.—Reported back (S. Rept. 556), 6144.—Passed Senate, 7156.—Examined and signed, 7384, 7386.—Presented to the President, 7423.—Approved [Public, No. 224], 7812.

H. R. 13275—Granting a pension to Frank Arnett.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 4843.

H. R. 13276—For the relief of Nunzio Viola.
Mr. Lehlbach; Committee on Claims, 4843.

H. R. 13277—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Riley.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4843.

H. R. 13278—Granting a pension to Calvin S. Hines.
Mr. Parrish; Committee on Pensions, 4844.

H. R. 13279—Granting an increase of pension to Gilbert J. Jackson.
Mr. Ramsey; Committee on Pensions, 4844.

H. R. 13280—Granting an increase of pension to Taylor R. Dodrill.
Mr. Reed of West Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 4844.

H. R. 13281—Granting a pension to Peter Crosby.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Pensions, 4844.

H. R. 13282—Granting an increase of pension to Laura A. McCormick.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4844.

H. R. 13283—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah W. Sorber.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4844.

H. R. 13284—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Maule.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4844.

H. R. 13285—Granting a pension to Mary I. Carey.
Mr. Snyder; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4844.

H. R. 13286—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram Strayer.
Mr. Strong of Kansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4844.

H. R. 13287—Granting an increase of pension to John House.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4844.

H. R. 13288—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and for other purposes," approved July 11, 1919.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 4905.

H. R. 13289—Authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the borough of Norwood, Pa., two captured cannons or fieldpieces and suitable outfit of cannon balls.
Mr. Butler; Committee on Military Affairs, 4905.

H. R. 13290—To amend section 4 of the act of June 29, 1906, as amended, relating to naturalization, and for other purposes.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 4905.

H. R. 13291—For the purpose of improving the facilities and service of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, and of further amending and modifying the war-risk insurance act, as amended.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4905.

H. R. 13292—To reimburse for expenditures incurred by officers, enlisted men, and members of the Nurse Corps of the Army, for civilian medical services and hospital care while absent from duty.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on Military Affairs, 4905.

H. R. 13293—To be known as the national soldiers land settlement, home aid, vocational training, and adjusted compensation act, and to provide land settlement aid or home aid or vocational training, or adjusted compensation to those who have served in the military or naval forces of the United States during the war between the United States and the Central Powers beween Apr. 6, 1917, and Nov. 11, 1918, and have been honorably separated or discharged therefrom or placed in the Regular Army Reserve, or are still in the military or naval service; and to provide land settlement aid for citizens of the United States who served in the Army or Navy of our Allies in the war against the Central Powers between Aug. 4, 1914, and November 11, 1918, and who have received an honorable discharge or its equivalent.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Ways and Means, 4905.

H. R. 13294—To amend an act to reduce tariff duties and provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes, approved Oct. 3, 1913.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Ways and Means, 4905.

H. R. 13295—For the purchase of a site and the erection of a post office at East Cleveland, Ohio.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 4905.

H. R. 13296—For the purchase of a site and erection of a post office at Lakewood, Ohio.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 4905.

H. R. 13297—Granting an increase of pension to Christian H. Schoepfle.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4905.

H. R. 13298—For the relief of Josephus C. McColley.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Claims, 4905.—Reference changed to Committee on War Claims, 5029.

H. R. 13299—Granting a pension to Margaret T. Rust.
Mr. Burroughs; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4905.

H. R. 13300—Granting an increase of pension to Charles B. Griffin.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4905.

H. R. 13301—Granting a pension to William H. Kinsley.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Pensions, 4905.

H. R. 13302—Granting an increase of pension to Nellie Josephine Merriman.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4905.

H. R. 13303—For the relief of James Cahoon.
Mr. Foster; Committee on War Claims, 4905.

H. R. 13304—Granting an increase of pension to Adam A. Worthington.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4905.

H. R. 13305—Granting an increase of pension to James J. Wilson.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4905.

H. R. 13306—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Hereld.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4905.

H. R. 13307—For the relief of Leonore M. Sorsby.
Mr. Kiess; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 4905.

H. R. 13308—Granting an increase of pension to Gertrude McCormick.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Pensions, 4905.

H. R. 13309—Granting a pension to Millard L. Martindill.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Pensions, 4905.

H. R. 13310—Authorizing the President of the United States to appoint a judge or judges to preside in the Supreme Court of the United States when any member or members thereof are disqualified.
Mr. Brand; Committee on the Judiciary, 4942.—Debated, 4924, 4925.

H. R. 13311—Providing for the adoption of a flag and floral emblem for the government of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on the Library, 4942.

H. R. 13312—To extend the provisions of the pension act of May 11, 1912, to the officers and enlisted men of all State militia and other State organizations that rendered service to the Union ca se during the Civil War for a period of 90 days or more, and providing pensions for their widows, minor children, and dependent parents, and for other purposes.
Mr. Langley, from Committee on Invalid Pensions (H. Rept. 779), 4941.

H. R. 13313—To authorize the construction of flood control and improvement works in Boise de Sioux River, the Red River of the North, and Lake Traverse, between the States of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on Flood Control, 4942.—Reported back (H. Rept. 904), 6327.—Debated and passed House, 8044, 8045.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 8051.—Reported without amendment (S. Rept. 652), 8320.—Passed Senate, 8320.—Examined and signed, 8487, 8585.—Presented to the President, 8584.

H. R. 13314—Granting an increase of pension to Leander Baker.
Mr. Burdick; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4942.

H. R. 13315—Granting an increase of pension to Eva Miller.
Mr. Casey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4942.

H. R. 13316—Granting a pension to Sarah J. Courtney.
Mr. Costello; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4942.

H. R. 13317—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah L. Shipley.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4942.

H. R. 13318—Granting a pension to Esther Adele Williams.
Mr. Currie of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4942.

H. R. 13319—To remove the charge of desertion against Wilson Certain.
Mr. Good; Committee on Military Affairs, 4942.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 877), 6200.

H. R. 13320—Granting a pension to James E. Mulford.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on Pensions, 4942.

H. R. 13321—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Venning.
Mr. Hardy of Colorado; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4942.

H. R. 13322—Granting a pension to Rebecca Ann Bradshaw.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4942.

H. R. 13323—Granting a pension to Creighton Bradshaw.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4942.

H. R. 13324—Granting a pension to Zack T. Whitson.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 4942.

H. R. 13325—Granting an increase of pension to Edgar W. Lauck.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4942.

H. R. 13326—To amend section 7 of the act approved Jan. 16, 1883, entitled "An act to regulate and improve the civil service," to give preference to soldiers, sailors, marines, and Red Cross nurses.
Mr. McCulloch; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 4990.

H. R. 13327—To amend the War finance corporation act.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Ways and Means, 4990.

H. R. 13328—To amend section 904 of the revenue act of 1918.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Ways and Means, 4990.

H. R. 13329—To authorize the Secretary of War to transfer certain surplus material, machinery, and equipment to the Department of Agriculture, and for other purposes.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Military Affairs, 4990.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 796), 5273.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7184–7187.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 7190.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 638), 7784.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 8200–8202.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 8417.—Examined and signed, 8487, 8585.—Presented to the President, 8584.

H. R. 13330—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Coatesville, Hendricks County, Ind., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Sanders of Indiana; Committee on Military Affairs, 4990.

H. R. 13331—Providing for the removal of the remains of certain soldiers, sailors, and marines to the United States.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 4990.

H. R. 13332—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the Hendrix College, of Conway, Ark., two captured German cannons or fieldpieces, with carriages, for decorative and patriotic purposes.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Military Affairs, 4990.

H. R. 13333—To provide for the return to soldiers, sailors, marines, and others serving in the United States forces during the World War the premiums deducted from their pay for war-risk insurance, and the refunding of all allotments deducted from the pay of the enlisted personnel for their dependents.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Ways and Means, 4990.—Debated, 6177, 8944.

H. R. 13334—To prohibit for the purpose of canning and export from Alaska fishing of salmon in the Yukon River, Alaska, its tributaries, and adjacent waters.
Mr. Grigsby; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 4990.

H. R. 13335—For the relief of certain customs employees at the port of Philadelphia who served as acting customs guards during the war emergency.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Ways and Means, 4990.

H. R. 13336—Authorizing the acquisition of a site for a public building at Parsons, W. Va.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 4990.

H. R. 13337—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to certain municipalities in the State of Colorado certain pieces of ordnance.
Mr. Vaile; Committee on Military Affairs, 4990.

H. R. 13338—For the relief of John Lyons.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Military Affairs, 4990.

H. R. 13339—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin Burchett.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 13340—Granting a pension to John A. Combs.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 13341—Granting an increase of pension to John Miller.
Mr. French; Committee on Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 13342—Granting a pension to Zenas B. Curtis.
Mr. Hernandez; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 13343—To reimburse J. B. Glanville and others for losses and damages sustained by them through the negligent dipping of tick-infested cattle by the Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture.
Mr. Hoch; Committee on Claims, 4990.

H. R. 13344—For the relief of Lillian B. Swaney.
Mr. McCulloch; Committee on Claims, 4990.

H. R. 13345—For the relief of John M. Doddridge.
Mr. McCulloch; Committee on Claims, 4990.

H. R. 13346—Granting an increase of pension to Curtis C. Griffin.
Mr. McCulloch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 13347—To reimburse L. W. Dragoo, formerly postmaster at Smithfield, Wetzel County, W. Va., for money, money orders, and postage stamps stolen.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Claims, 4990.

H. R. 13348—Granting an increase of pension to Matilda D. Clark.
Mr. Quin; Committee on Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 13349—Granting an increase of pension to George Tuttle.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 13350—To correct the military record of John W. Gulley.
Mr. Sanders of Indiana; Committee on Military Affairs, 4990.

H. R. 13351—Granting a pension to Jacob McNewell.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 13352—Granting a pension to Sarah McGhee.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 13353—For the relief of the heirs of Claud Turner.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Claims, 4990.

H. R. 13354—Granting a pension to Jacob Jones.
Mr. Vaile; Committee on Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 13355—To simplify and consolidate Liberty bond exemptions.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Ways and Means, 5029.

H. R. 13356—Increasing the limit of cost for a Federal building at Chandler, Okla.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5029.

H. R. 13357—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to lease public lands in Codington County, S. Dak., to the city of Watertown, S. Dak., for park purposes.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on the Public Lands, 5029.

H. R. 13358—Amending and modifying the war-risk insurance act as amended.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5029.

H. R. 13359—Providing for a municipal park for the city of Butte, Mont.
Mr. Evans of Montana; Committee on Agriculture, 5029.

H. R. 13360—Donating a captured German cannon or field gun and carriage to the borough of Glen Ridge, N. J., for decorative purposes.
Mr. Lehlbach; Committee on Military Affairs, 5029.

H. R. 13361—Granting an increase of pension to Nicholas B. Querrin.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13362—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Palmer.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13363—Granting a pension to Betty White.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13364—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to reimburse Capt. George G. Seibels, United States Navy, the sum of $170, money stolen belonging to the United States from the said Capt. George G. Seibels while in the discharge of his duties and paid into the Treasury of the United States by him.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Claims, 5029.

H. R. 13365—Granting an increase of pension to Nellie Josephine Merriman.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13366—For the relief of Selma J. Gronewald.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Claims, 5029.

H. R. 13367—Granting a pension to Mary A. Smith.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13368—Granting a pension to John Donovan.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13369—Granting an increase of pension to Jefferson P. Hunter.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13370—Granting an increase of pension to Tillie C. Wood.
Mr. Hill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13371—Granting an increase of pension to Josephine Bennett.
Mr. Hill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13372—Granting a pension to William F. Hawley.
Mr. Hill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13373—Granting an increase of pension to Lucinda Davis.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13374—Granting a pension to Julia Beckley.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13375—To pay to Mike Setula $2,600 for injuries received at the hands of a Government employee.
Mr. Knutson; Committee on Claims, 5029.

H. R. 13376—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Dean.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13377—For the relief of the Liberty loan subscribers of the Mineral City Bank.
Mr. McCulloch; Committee on Claims, 5029.

H. R. 13378—Granting an increase of pension to Hugh T. Fairless.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13379—To reimburse J. D. Arnold, postmaster at Village Springs, Ala., for stamps stolen from said post officee and repaid by him to the Post Office Department.
Mr. Rainey of Alabama; Committee on Claims, 5029.

H. R. 13380—Granting a pension to Matilda A. Harris.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13381—Granting a pension to Jessie F. Harris.
Mr. Romjue; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13382—Granting a pension to Bertha E. Jones.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13383—Granting an increase of pension to Amanda M. Selleck.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13384—Granting a pension to Jonathan D. Hale.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5029.

H. R. 13385—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate one captured German machine gun, mounted, to the city of Dayton, Montgomery County, Ohio, to be placed in Stuart Patterson Park, in said city.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Military Affairs, 5078.

H. R. 13386—To create a war status for the naval working forces of the World War.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5078.

H. R. 13387—To extend the time for the construction of a bridge across the St. Louis River between the States of Minnesota and Wisconsin.
Mr. Carss; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5078.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 820), 5584.—Amended and passed House, 5864.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 5882.—Reported back (S. Rept. 529), 5883.—Passed Senate, 5883.—Examined and signed, 6258, 6326.—Presented to the President, 6326.—Approved [Public, No. 191], 6836.

H. R. 13388—To pension policemen and firemen in the District of Columbia.
Mr. James; Committee on the District of Columbia, 5078.

H. R. 13389—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to dispose of at public sale certain isolated and fractional tracts of lands formerly embraced in the grant to the Oregon & California Railroad Co.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on the Public Lands, 5078.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 864), 6013.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 6475, 6476.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 6495.—Reported back, 7084.—Passed Senate, 7162.—Examined and signed, 7384, 7386.—Presented to the President, 7423.—Approved [Public, No. 220], 7812.

H. R. 13390—For the relief of contractors and subcontractors, including material men, for work under the Navy Department, and for other purposes.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5078.

H. R. 13391—Granting a pension to Eliza J. Gibson.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5078.

H. R. 13392—Granting a pension to Charles F. Walker.
Mr. Nelson of Wisconsin; Committee on Pensions, 5078.

H. R. 13393—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Sheron.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5078.

H. R. 13394—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth A. Whitehurst.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5078.

H. R. 13395—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Smith.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5078.

H. R. 13396—Granting an increase of pension to Charles L. Taylor.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Pensions, 5078.

H. R. 13397—Granting a pension to Victor F. Wilson.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Pensions, 5078.

H. R. 13398—Granting a pension to Lafayette Fosnaugh.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5078.

H. R. 13399—Granting a pension to Ernest B. Brown.
Mr. Schall; Committee on Pensions, 5078.

H. R. 13400—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Glenside Post, No. 248, the American Legion, Glenside, Pa., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Military Affairs, 5129.

H. R. 13401—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Montgomery County Post, No. 248, of the American Legion, Glenside, Pa., two German cannons or fieldpieces, carriages, and a suitable number of shells.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Military Affairs, 5129.

H. R. 13402—For the purchase of land occupied by experiment vineyards near Fresno and Oakville, Calif.
Mr. Barbour; Committee on Agriculture, 5129.—Reported back (H. Rept. 902), 6257.

H. R. 13403—Establishing a Bureau of War Benefits in the Department of the Interior.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5129.

H. R. 13404—Donating a captured German cannon or field gun and carriage to the town of Loogootee, Ind., for decorative purposes.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Military Affairs, 5129.

H. R. 13405—Terminating certain powers of the President in respect to fuel.
Mr. Tilson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5129.

H. R. 13406—To regulate within the District of Columbia the sale of milk, cream, and certain milk products, and for other purposes.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on the District of Columbia, 5129.

H. R. 13407—To transfer to the Bureau of War Risk Insurance of the Treasury Department the care of the discharged sick or disabled soldiers, sailors, and marines, provided by the United States Public Health Service, and to transfer the vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons discharged from the military or naval forces of the United States from the Federal Board for Vocational Education to the Bureau of War Risk Insurance of the Treasury Department.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5129.

H. R. 13408—Granting a pension to Julia C. Wharton.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5129.

H. R. 13409—Granting a pension to Mary L. Lewis.
Mr. Caldwell; Committee on Pensions, 5129.

H. R. 13410—Granting a pension to Sarah E. Kennison.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5129.

H. R. 13411—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas T. Hurdle.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5129.

H. R. 13412—Granting an increase of pension to David A. Gardner.
Mr. Vaile; Committee on Pensions, 5129.

H. R. 13413—Granting a pension to Clara H. Farnsworth.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5129.

H. R. 13414—Granting a pension to Celestine Schaeffer.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5129.

H. R. 13415—Granting a pension to Alvaro Sunderland.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Pensions, 5129.

H. R. 13416—Making appropriations for the payment of invalid and other pensions of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.
Mr. Cannon, from Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 788), 5197.—Debated, 5254–5272.—Passed House, 5272.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 5275.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 583), 6844.—Amended and passed Senate, 7592.—House agrees to the Senate amendments, 7739.—Examined and signed, 7844, 7860.—Presented to the President, 8042.—Approved [Public, No. 244], 8662.

H. R. 13417—For the purchase of a post-office site at Wagoner, Okla.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5223.

H. R. 13418—Authorizing the use of Mexican land warrants in States other than those to which they were originally confined.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on the Public Lands, 5223.

H. R. 13419—Increasing the pay of printers employed in the Government Printing Office, and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Printing. 5223.

H. R. 13420—To repeal an act to extend protection to the civil rights of members of the Military and Naval Establishments of the United States engaged in the present war, approved Mar. 8, 1918.
Mr. Wright; Committee on the Judiciary, 5223.

H. R. 13421—To repeal an act authorizing the President to coordinate or consolidate executive bureaus, agencies, and offices, and for other purposes, in the interest of economy and the more efficient concentration of the Government, approved May 20, 1918.
Mr. Wright; Committee on the Judiciary, 5223.

H. R. 13422—To repeal an act to prohibit the manufacture, storage, use, and possession in time of war of explosives, providing regulations for the sale, manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession of the same, and for other purposes, approved Oct. 6, 1917.
Mr. Wright; Committee on Mines and Mining, 5223.

H. R. 13423—To repeal an act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States, approved May 18, 1917, and amendments thereto.
Mr. Wright; Committee on Military Affairs, 5223.

H. R. 13424—To repeal an act authorizing the President to provide housing for war needs, approved May 16, 1918.
Mr. Wright; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5223.

H. R. 13425—To repeal the War Finance Corporation act, approved Mar. 8, 1918.
Mr. Wright; Committee on Ways and Means, 5223.

H. R. 13426—To repeal an act to amend the act to regulate commerce as amended, and for other purposes, approved Aug. 10, 1917.
Mr. Wright; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5223.

H. R. 13427—To amend section 115a of an act entitled "An act to establish a code of law for the District of Columbia," as amended.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on the District of Columbia, 5223.

H. R. 13428—To provide traffic and other regulations for the Conduit Road along the Washington Aqueduct, together with the procedure for their enforcement.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on the District of Columbia, 5223.

H. R. 13429—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of White Bear, Minn., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Keller; Committee on Military Affairs, 5223.

H. R. 13430—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of North St. Paul, Minn., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Keller; Committee on Military Affairs, 5223.

H. R. 13431—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of St. Paul, Minn., two German cannons or fieldpieces.
Mr. Keller; Committee on Military Affairs, 5223.

H. R. 13432—To regulate dealing in leaf tobacco.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Ways and Means, 5223.—Reported back (H. Rept. 807), 5314.—Debated, 5808–5814.—Passed House, 5814.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 5823.

H. R. 13433—For the purchase of a post-office site at Piedmont, Ala.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5223.

H. R. 13434—For the purchase of a post-office site at Clanton, Ala.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5223.

H. R. 13435—To promote interstate commerce, agriculture, and the general welfare by providing for the development and control of waterways and water resources, for water conservation, for flood control, prevention, and protection; for the application of flood waters to beneficial uses; and for cooperation in such work with States and other agencies, and for other purposes.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on Flood Control, 5223.

H. R. 13436—For the purpose of improving the facilities and service of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, and of further amending and modifying the War Risk Insurance Act, as amended.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5223.

H. R. 13437—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Mathena.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13438—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph H. Gray.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13439—Granting an increase of pension to John Kern.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13440—Granting a pension to Nora E. Billstein.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13441—Granting a pension to George P. Barker.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13442—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Dodsworth.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13443—Granting a pension to Taylor Hensley.
Mr. Elliott; Committee on Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13444—Granting a pension to Harriet E. Brown.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13445—Granting an increase of pension to Sherman E. Jackson.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13446—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Schriver.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13447—Granting an increase of pension to Alvin S. Dean.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13448—Granting a pension to Nora Waters.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13449—Granting an increase of pension to Franklin C. Bartlett.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13450—For the relief of dispossessed alloted Indians of the Nisqually Reservation, Wash.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Indian Affairs, 5224.

H. R. 13451—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret J. Harvey.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13452—Granting a pension to Mary E. Turner.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13453—For the relief of Anna L. Meyers.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 5224.

H. R. 13454—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Kline.
Mr. Kiess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13455—Granting a pension to Joseph H. Mayo.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13456—Granting a pension to Henry Allen.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13457—Granting a pension to Galen Back.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13458—Granting a pension to Amelia Skinner.
Mr. Ogden; Committee on Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13459—Granting a pension to Fritz Dentler.
Mr. Ogden; Committee on Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13460—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah Hill.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5224.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5273.

H. R. 13461—Granting a pension to E. W. Johnson.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13462—Granting an increase of pension to Arabella J. Farrell.
Mr. Romjue; Committee on Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13463—Granting an increase of pension tao Elizabeth Peters.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13464—Granting an increase of pension to Maria S. Newman.
Mr. Vaile; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13465—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob W. Perkins.
Mr. Vestal; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13466—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Mulvey.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 5224.

H. R. 13467—Granting a pension to Sumner Bumgarner.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5224.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5315.

H. R. 13468—To prohibit the use of Government aircraft insignia by other than Government aircraft.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on the Judiciary, 5273.

H. R. 13469—Granting to certain claimants the preferential right to purchase certain alleged public lands in the State of Arkansas, and for other purposes.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on the Public Lands, 5273.

H. R. 13470—Granting a pension to Francis H. McGee.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Pensions, 5273.

H. R. 13471—Granting a pension to Rufus S. Hataway.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Pensions, 5273.

H. R. 13472—Granting a pension to Winfield S. Cooper.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Pensions, 5273.

H. R. 13473—Granting an increase of pension to Virgil Mahan.
Mr. Kincheloe; Committee on Pensions, 5273.

H. R. 13474—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob D. Hoekstra.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 5273.

H. R. 13475—For the relief of Ole Thorpe.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on the Public Lands, 5273.

H. R. 13476—Granting an increase of pension to Lemuel B. McGrew.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5273.

H. R. 13477—Increasing the pay of printers employed in the Government Printing Office, and for other purposes.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Printing, 5314.

H. R. 13478—Making an appropriation of the sum of $100,000 for the construction of a dyke, dam, or other protection to keep the waters of the Skagway River from running into, over, and upon the town of Skagway, Alaska.
Mr. Grigsby; Committee on Appropriations, 5314.

H. R. 13479—To repeal an act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel," approved Aug. 10, 1917.
Mr. Wright; Committee on Agriculture, 5314.

H. R. 13480—To repeal subsection B of section 503 of the revenue act of 1918.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Ways and Means, 5314.

H. R. 13481—To provide relief to persons who owned wheat of the crop of 1917 before the announcement of the Food Administration price-fixing policy with respect thereto, and who sold such wheat after Aug. 11, 1917.
Mr. Tincher; Committee on Agriculture, 5314.

H. R. 13482—To provide for the permanent improvement of part of the Taneytown public road within the limits of the battle field of Gettysburg.
Mr. Brooks of Pennsylvania; Committee on Appropriations, 5314.

H. R. 13483—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to refund moneys paid as a special tax by retail dealers in liquors.
Mr. Randall of Wisconsin; Committee on Ways and Means, 5314.

H. R. 13484—To repeal an act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," approved Aug. 10, 1917.
Mr. Wright; Committee on Agriculture, 5315.

H. R. 13485—For the relief of George W. Cook.
Mr. Brooks of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 5315.

H. R. 13486—For the relief of Nathaniel Staub.
Mr. Brooks of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 5315.

H. R. 13487—Providing for the payment of damages to R. E. Carpenter.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Claims, 5315.

H. R. 13488—Granting a pension to Andrew J. Legg.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5315.

H. R. 13489—Granting a pension to R. T. Jacobs.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on Pensions, 5315.

H. R. 13490—For the relief of Charles Hatch, alias Charles H. Lord.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on Military Affairs, 5315.

H. R. 13491—For the relief of C. L. Hampton.
Mr. Lanham; Committee on Claims, 5315.

H. R. 13492—Granting an increase of pension to Crowell Lisenby.
Mr. Larsen; Committee on Pensions, 5315.

H. R. 13493—Granting an increase of pension to Isabella W. Williams.
Mr. Lehlbach; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5315.

H. R. 13494—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Lewey.
Mr. Milligan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5315.

H. R. 13495—Granting a pension to Matilda K. Baldwin.
Mr. Milligan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5315.

H. R. 13496—For the relief of the widow and next of kin of James J. Curran.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Claims, 5315.

H. R. 13497—For the adjudication and determination of the claims arising under joint resolution of July 14, 1870 (16 Stat. L., p. 670), authorizing the Postmaster General to continue to use in the Postal Service Marcus P. Norton's combined postmarking and stamp-canceling hand-stamp patents, and directing him to "determine upon a fair, just, and equitable compensation for the use of said inventions," or arising otherwise.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 5315.

H. R. 13498—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Turner.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 5315.

H. R. 13499—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to sell and patent to J. D. Calhoun, of Lincoln Parish, La., certain lands.
Mr. Wilson of Louisiana; Committee on the Public Lands, 5315.

H. R. 13500—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii," approved Apr. 30, 1900, as amended, to establish an Hawaiian homes commission, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on the Territories, 5383.—Reported back (H. Rept. 839), 5711.—Debated, 7447–7456, 7495–7504.—Amended and passed House, 7504.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pacific Islands, Porto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, 7511.—Committee on Pacific Islands, Porto Rico, and the Virgin Islands discharged and referred to Senate Committee on Territories, 7722.—Reported back, 7769.

H. R. 13501—To provide for the sale of public lands to members of the military and naval forces.
Mr. Wilson of Louisiana; Committee on Ways and Means, 5383.

H. R. 13502—To provide relief for the producers of wheat in the year 1917, and for other purposes.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Agriculture, 5383.

H. R. 13503—To incorporate the Roosevelt Memorial Association.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on the District of Columbia, 5383.

H. R. 13504—To restore Jedediah C. Paine to his former position as captain and brevet lieutenant colonel, Signal Corps, United States Army.
Mr. Casey; Committee on Military Affairs, 5383.

H. R. 13505—For the relief of George B. Allen.
Mr. Cooper; Committee on Claims, 5383.

H. R. 13506—For the relief of John George Smith.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Military Affairs, 5383.

H. R. 13507—Granting a pension to Charles H. Smith.
Mr. Elliott; Committee on Pensions, 5383.

H. R. 13508—For the relief of Nolan P. Benner.
Mr. Garland; Committee on War Claims, 5383.

H. R. 13509—Granting a pension to Frank B. Stewart.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Pensions, 5383.

H. R. 13510—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander Douglas.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5383.

H. R. 13511—Granting an increase of pension to David Whittington.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5383.

H. R. 13512—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas P. Pope.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Pensions, 5383.

H. R. 13513—Granting an increase of pension to Abbie J. Geuthner.
Mr. Hersey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5383.

H. R. 13514—To confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to try and adjudicate the claims of Joe Ellis and other individual Shawnee and Delaware Indians on account of depredations committed by soldiers and white citizens of the United States.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Indian Affairs, 5383.

H. R. 13515—Granting an increase of pension to Wedding Colegate.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 5383.

H. R. 13516—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Craddock.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5383.

H. R. 13517—For the relief of Philip Sheridan.
Mr. McKiniry; Committee on Claims, 5383.

H. R. 13518—Granting a pension to Arthur Owen.
Mr. McPherson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5383.

H. R. 13519—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Ellen Bealer.
Mr. Mudd; Committee on Pensions, 5383.

H. R. 13520—Granting an increase of pension to Melissa J. Groves.
Mr. Nelson of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5383.

H. R. 13521—For the relief of J. D. Briscoe.
Mr. Nelson of Missouri; Committee on Claims, 5383.

H. R. 13522—Granting a pension to Thomas Thompson.
Mr. Nelson of Missouri; Committee on Pensions, 5383.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5762.

H. R. 13523—Granting a pension to Peter J. Silvey.
Mr. Nelson of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5383.

H. R. 13524—Granting an increase of pension to Rebecca I. Whittelsey.
Mr. Shreve; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5383.

H. R. 13525—Granting a pension to Emma L. Frick.
Mr. Shreve; Committee on Pensions, 5383.

H. R. 13526—To create a national food commission, to define its powers and duties, and to stimulate the production, sale, and distribution of live stock and live-stock products, and for other purposes.
By Mr. Baer; Committee on the Judiciary, 5481.—Reference changed to Committee on Agriculture, 6103.

H. R. 13527—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Cloverport, Ky., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Military Affairs, 5481.

H. R. 13528—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Springfield, Ky., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Military Affairs, 5481.

H. R. 13529—For the relief of I. James Riggin.
Mr. Andrews of Maryland; Committee on Military Affairs, 5482.

H. R. 13530—For the relief of Annie Ellis.
Mr. Andrews of Maryland; Committee on Claims, 5482.

H. R. 13531—To correct the military record of Thomas H. Caldwell.
Mr. Andrews of Maryland; Committee on Military Affairs, 5482.

H. R. 13532—For the relief of William J. Harris.
Mr. Andrews of Maryland; Committee on Military Affairs, 5482.

H. R. 13533—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas C. Staggers.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5482.

H. R. 13534—Granting an increase of pension to George F. Portwick.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5482.

H. R. 13535—Granting an increase of pension to Solomon Stricker.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5482.

H. R. 13536—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Green.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5482.

H. R. 13537—Granting an increase of pension to Sylvester Clennings.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5482.

H. R. 13538—Granting an increase of pension to James F. Denney.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5482.

H. R. 13539—Granting an increase of pension to Charles O. Woesner.
Mr. Cole; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5482.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5683.

H. R. 13540—Granting an increase of pension to Simon E. Foust.
Mr. Cole; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5482.

H. R. 13541—For the relief of Lee M. Allen.
Mr. Crowther; Committee on Military Affairs, 5482.—Reference changed to Committee on Claims, 7126.

H. R. 13542—For the relief of the Liberty loan subscribers of the North Penn Bank, of Philadelphia, Pa.; Santa Rosa National Bank, Santa Rosa, Calif.; and Mineral City Bank, Mineral City, Ohio.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Claims, 5482.—Reported back (H. Rept. 823), 5643.

H. R. 13543—Granting a pension to Arminta Lary.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5482.

H. R. 13544—Granting an increase of pension to Louisa Johnson.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Pensions, 5482.

H. R. 13545—For the relief of Edward C. Jacobs.
Mr. Fuller of Massachusetts; Committee on Military Affairs, 5482.

H. R. 13546—For the relief of George C. Hussey.
Mr. Fuller of Massachusetts; Committee on Military Affairs, 5482.

H. R. 13547—Granting an increase of pension to Dwight D. Johnson.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5482.

H. R. 13548—To correct the military record of A. G. Vincent.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 5482.

H. R. 13549—Granting an increase of pension to William Endicott.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5482.

H. R. 13550—Granting an increase of pension to Georgia A. Godard.
Mr. Lee of Georgia; Committee on Pensions, 5482.

H. R. 13551—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph R. Mumm.
Mr. MacGregor; Committee on Pensions, 5482.

H. R. 13552—Granting a pension to Robert H. Wilson.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Pensions, 5482.

H. R. 13553—For the relief of Elizabeth C. Abbey.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Claims, 5482.

H. R. 13554—For the relief of the Garden City (Kansas) Water Users' Association, and for other purposes.
Mr. Tincher; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 5482.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 967), 6970.

H. R. 13555—Making appropriations for fortifications and other works of defense, for the armament thereof, and for the procurement of heavy ordnance for trial and service, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.
Mr. Slemp, from Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 814), 5481.—Debated, 5504–5527, 5628–5642, 8994.—Amended and passed House, 5642.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 5646.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 562), 6259.—Debated, 6330–6338.—Amended and passed Senate, 6338.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for conference, 6440.—Conferees appointed, 6440, 6443.—Senate insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference, 6443.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 973), 6969, 7114.—Agreed to, 7114.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 6977.—Agreed to, 6978.—Examined and signed, 7165, 7189.—Presented to the President, 7298.—Approved [Public, No. 214], 7540.

H. R. 13556—To create a bureau of aeronautics and a naval flying corps in the Department of the Navy.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5482.

H. R. 13557—To amend the provisions of laws regulating the collection of taxes.
Mr. Pell; Committee on Ways and Means, 5482.

H. R. 13558—For the purpose of improving the facilities and service of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, and of further amending and modifying the war risk insurance act, as amended.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5527.—Reported back (H. Rept. 891), 6199.—Debated, 6955–6969, 7357–7383, 9079.—Amended and passed House, 7383.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 7459.

H. R. 13559—To authorize the Secretary of War to furnish a German cannon, with carriage and cannon balls, to the Colonel Cooper Unit No. 3 of the United Veterans of the Republic, of Mount Vernon, Ohio.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Military Affairs, 5527.

H. R. 13560—To permit distilled spirits to be transferred from the original packages into bottles while in any bonded warehouse.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on the Judiciary, 5527.

H. R. 13561—Granting an increase of pension to Morgan Thomas.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5528.

H. R. 13562—Granting an increase of pension to George F. Bostwick.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5528.

H. R. 13563—Granting an increase of pension to Presley Jackson.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5528.

H. R. 13564—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis Clemens.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5528.

H. R. 13565—Granting a pension to Cynthia Timberlake.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5528.

H. R. 13566—Granting an increase of pension to George P. Vance.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Pensions, 5528.

H. R. 13567—Granting a pension to M. Davis.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Pensions, 5528.

H. R. 13568—Granting an increase of pension to John Hartzell.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5528.

H. R. 13569—Granting a pension to Clara Mahoney.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5528.

H. R. 13570—Granting an increase of pension to David R. Fenton.
Mr. Ogden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5528.

H. R. 13571—Granting a pension to John H. Isiley.
Mr. Venable; Committee on Pensions, 5528.

H. R. 13572—To amend section 301 of the revenue act of Feb. 24, 1919, so as to maintain for the years 1919 and 1920 the 30, 65, and 80 per cent brackets which were in force in 1918, and postpone until 1921 the reduction of tax to the 20 and 40 per cent brackets, and the elimination of the 80 per cent bracket; also to amend section 1000 (a) by including a tax on the issuance of stock dividends.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Ways and Means, 5585.

H. R. 13573—To make a preliminary survey of the Wabash River in Illinois and Indiana with a view to the control of its floods.
Mr. Luhring; Committee on Flood Control, 5585.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1056), 7957.—Debated, 8666.

H. R. 13574—To provide for a modification of the time calendar now in general use in the United States, the modified form to be known as the liberty calendar.
Mr. Schall; Committee on the Judiciary, 5585.

H. R. 13575—To provide for the survey of the Tombigbee River in Alabama and Mississippi, and the survey of a canal connecting the Tennessee and Tombigbee Rivers.
Mr. Candler; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 5585.

H. R. 13576—Authorizing the Secretary of War to turn over to the Postmaster General without charge therefor a certain building, or buildings, now located at Watertown, N. Y.
Mr. Madden; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 5585.—Reported back (H. Rept. 827), 5683.—Debated and passed House, 6464, 6465.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6495.—Reported back, 6794.—Passed Senate, 7161.—Examined and signed, 7384, 7386.—Presented to the President, 7423.—Approved [Public, No. 221], 7812.

H. R. 13577—For granting certain lands to Converse County, Wyo., for a public park.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 5585.

H. R. 13578—To amend the War Finance Corporation act.
Mr. Kincheloe; Committee on Ways and Means, 5585.

H. R. 13579—Granting a pension to John Gonigam.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Pensions, 5585.

H. R. 13580—Granting a pension to Stella M. Williams.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5585.

H. R. 13581—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore Kundinger.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5585.

H. R. 13582—Granting a pension to William H. Ratcliff.
Mr. Ogden; Committee on Pensions, 5585.

H. R. 13583—Granting an increase of pension to Martin V. B. Lindsey.
Mr. Ricketts—Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5585.

H. R. 13584—Granting an increase of pension to Effie M. Stradley.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5585.

H. R. 13585—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel P. Marlette.
Mr. Schall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5585.

H. R. 13586—To carry into effect the findings of the Court of Claims in favor of Dora Alexander Miller and Emma Alexander, in her own right and as administratrix of estates of Jennie Alexander, deceased, and of Charles T. Alexander, deceased.
Mr. Stephens of Mississippi; Committee on War Claims, 5585.

H. R. 13587—Making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kahn, from Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 821), 5615.—Debated, 5661–5682, 5688–5710, 5739–5761, 9053–9059.—Passed House, 5761.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 5823.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 587), 7030.—Debated, 7466–7476, 7483–7488, 7519–7525, 7526–7533, 7557, 7559, 7564–7591.—Amended and passed Senate, 7591.—Senate asks for conference, 7591.—Conferees appointed, 7591, 7739.—House disagrees to all the Senate amendments and agrees to conference, 7739.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 8178.—Agreed to, 8178–8182.—Senate requests House to return conference report to Senate, 8182.—Request agreed to, 8281.—Reconsidered in Senate and rejected, 8316.—Report of committee of conference submitted, 8316.—Agreed to, 8318.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House (H. Rept. 1100), 8418–8424.—Examined and signed, 8453, 8462.—Presented to the President, 8563.

H. R. 13588—Authorizing the Secretary of War to enter into a contract with the borough of Tenafly, county of Bergen, and State of New Jersey, to share with that municipality the cost of grading and paving a portion of Hickory Avenue in said borough.
Mr. Ramsey; Committee on Military Affairs, 5643.

H. R. 13589.—Authorizing and directing investigations and experiments for the improvement of the fisheries of Porto Rico.
Mr. Davila; Committee on Insular Affairs, 5643.

H. R. 13590—Granting the consent of Congress to Sid Smith, of Bonham, Tex., for the construction of a bridge across Red River between the counties of Fannin, Tex., and Bryan, Okla.
Mr. Rayburn; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5643.—Reported back (H. Rept. 896), 6256.—Passed House, 6478, 6479.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 6495.—Reported back (S. Rept. 576), 6618.—Passed Senate, 6618.—Examined and signed, 6739, 6791.—Presented to the President, 6842.—Approved [Public, No. 204], 7121.

H. R. 13591—Authorizing suits against the United States in admiralty for collisions caused by and salvage services rendered to public vessels belonging to the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Husted; Committee on the Judiciary, 5643.

H. R. 13592—To authorize certain homestead settlers or entrymen who entered the military or naval service of the United States during the war with Germany to commute their entries.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on the Public Lands, 5643.—Reported back (H. Rept. 837), 5711.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5867, 5868.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 5882.

H. R. 13593—To change the name of oleomargarine to margarin; to change the rate of tax on margarin; to protect the consumers, dealers, and manufacturers of margarin against fraud; and to afford the Bureau of Internal Revenue more efficient means for the detection of fraud and the collection of the revenue.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Agriculture, 5643.

H. R. 13594—Granting a pension to Thomas J. Meadows.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 5643.

H. R. 13595—Granting war-risk insurance benefits to John C. Kromer.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Claims, 5643.

H. R. 13596.—Granting war-risk insurance benefits to Hetta M. Flood.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Claims, 5643.

H. R. 13597—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Pigg.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5643.

H. R. 13598—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Overstreet.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5643.

H. R. 13599—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Hart.
Mr. Husted; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5643.

H. R. 13600—For the relief of Mrs. William B. Ryan.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Claims, 5643.—Reported back (H. Rept. 958), 6893.

H. R. 13601—For the relief of P. Delany & Co.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Claims, 5643.

H. R. 13602—For the relief of the Consolidated Gas Co., of New York.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Claims, 5643.

H. R. 13603—Granting an increase of pension to Mary McNally.
Mr. Temple; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5643.

H. R. 13604—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Spann.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5643.

H. R. 13605—Granting a pension to Merrill Martin Chenoweth.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 5643.

H. R. 13606—Granting the consent of Congress to the city of St. Paul, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River.
Mr. Keller; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5683.—Reported back (H. Rept. 937), 6737.

H. R. 13607—Amending section 2 of the act of June 14, 1918, providing for a determination of heirship in cases of deceased members of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole Tribes of Indians in Oklahoma, conferring jurisdiction upon district courts to partition lands belonging to full-blood heirs of allottees of the Five Civilized Tribes, and for other purposes.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Indian Affairs, 5683.

H. R. 13608—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Haines.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5683.

H. R. 13609—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Dye.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5683.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 7028.

H. R. 13610—Granting a pension to Cynthia A. Prince.
Mr. Dale; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5684.

H. R. 13611—Granting a pension to Preston Phinney.
Mr. Dale; Committee on Pensions, 5684.

H. R. 13612—For the relief of the heirs of R. M. Bryson.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Claims, 5684.

H. R. 13613—For the relief of Ferman Montreal.
Mr. Evans of Montana; Committee on Military Affairs, 5684.

H. R. 13614—Validating homestead entry of Mike Campbell for certain public land in Alaska.
Mr. Grigsby; Committee on the Public Lands, 5684.

H. R. 13615—Granting an increase of pension to Hannah Barney.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Pensions, 5684.

H. R. 13616—Granting a pension to William M. Miller.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 5684.

H. R. 13617—To extend the provisions of the retirement law for the Lighthouse Service to include Joseph P. Groux, former keeper of Chefuncte River range light station, Louisiana.
Mr. O'Connor; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5684.

H. R. 13618—Granting a pension to Tabitha A. Coole.
Mr. Sanders of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 5684.

H. R. 13619—Granting a pension to Minnie Chapman.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5684.

H. R. 13620—For the relief of G. L. Adams.
Mr. Upshaw; Committee on Claims, 5684.

H. R. 13621—Granting a pension to Hiram L. Middlebrooks.
Mr. Upshaw; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5684.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 6013.

H. R. 13622—For the relief of the widow of John A. Zachary.
Mr. Upshaw; Committee on Claims, 5684.

H. R. 13623—For the relief of Alexander Mattison.
Mr. Upshaw; Committee on Claims, 5684.

H. R. 13624—To amend section 7 of the act of Congress of Apr. 26, 1898, and found in the United States Statutes at Large in volume 30, at page 364.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Military Affairs, 5711.

H. R. 13625—To increase the compensation of pressmen in the Government Printing Office.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Printing, 5711.

H. R. 13626—Amending and modifying the war-risk insurance act, as amended.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5711.

H. R. 13627—To amend paragraph (e) of section 7 of the act approved Mar. 3, 1919, entitled "An act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to provide hospital and sanatorium facilities for discharged sick and disabled soldiers, sailors, and marines."
Mr. Langley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5711.—Reported back (H. Rept. 856), 5925.—Debated, 7434–7447.—Passed House, 7447.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7459.—Reported back, 8161.—Passed Senate, 8528–8531.—Examined and signed, 8620, 8662.—Presented to the President, 8678.

H. R. 13628—To amend sections 1 and 4 of Title II of the national prohibition act.
Mr. Kleczka—Committee on the Judiciary, 5711.

H. R. 13629—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to permit the withdrawal of distilled spirits from bonded warehouses.
Mr. Kleczka; Committee on the Judiciary, 5711.

H. R. 13630—To amend section 11 of the act entitled "An act to provide for the fourteenth and subsequent decennial censuses."
Mr. Ferris; Committee on the Census, 5711.

H. R. 13631—To provide for 1 cent a mile furlough fare for all soldiers, sailors, and marines now being given treatment in hospitals.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Military Affairs, 5711.

H. R. 13632—Granting an increase of pension to Letitia R. Whitehouse.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5711.

H. R. 13633—Granting a pension to William H. Trautman.
Mr. Dewalt; Committee on Pensions, 5711.

H. R. 13634—For the relief of Mrs. Katherine Cronhardt.
Mr. Dooling; Committee on Claims, 5711.

H. R. 13635—To pay John W. Covington for time and expenses in developing and operating sleeping car.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Claims, 5711.

H. R. 13636—Granting an increase of pension to Louis De Witt.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Pensions, 5711.

H. R. 13637—Granting a pension to Jacob Kuhn.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5711.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 6200.

H. R. 13638—Granting a pension to William J. Norton.
Mr. Glynn; Committee on Pensions, 5711.

H. R. 13639—Granting a pension to Cordelia E. Roach.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5711.

H. R. 13640—Granting an increase of pension to Joshua B. Richardson.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5711.

H. R. 13641—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Scott.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 5711.

H. R. 13642—Granting a pension to George G. Denning.
Mr. Knutson; Committee on Pensions, 5711.

H. R. 13643—Granting a pension to Carrie Bouret.
Mr. Knutson; Committee on Pensions, 5711.

H. R. 13644—For the relief of Charles Gittery, jr.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; Committee on Claims, 5711.

H. R. 13645—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to provide medical, surgical, and hospital services and supplies for discharged soldiers, sailors, marines, Army and Navy nurses (male and female), and for other purposes.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5762.

H. R. 13646—To amend the act entitled "An act to establish a Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, and to provide for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States," approved June 29, 1906, as amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 5762.—Reported back (H. Rept. 846), 5814.

H. R. 13647—Granting leave of absence to veterans of any war of the United States to attend State or national conventions of associations or organizations of such veterans.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 5762.

H. R. 13648—To create a bureau of aeronautics and a naval air corps in the Department of the Navy.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5762.

H. R. 13649—To amend the Penal Code of the Canal Zone and the navigation rules of the Panama Canal.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5762.

H. R. 13650—To amend "An act for the establishment of a probation system for the District of Columbia," approved Jan. 25, 1910, as amended.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on the District of Columbia, 5762.—Reported back (H. Rept. 858), 5925.

H. R. 13651—For the relief of Alfred B. Andrews.
Mr. Carss; Committee on Claims, 5762.

H. R. 13652—For the relief of Fred N. Dunham.
Mr. Christopherson; Committee on Claims, 5762.

H. R. 13653—Granting an increase of pension to Edward C. Warner.
Mr. Cole; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5762.

H. R. 13654—Granting an increase of pension to James Griffey.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5762.

H. R. 13655—Granting an increase of pension to Mary McBride.
Mr. Greene of Vermont; Committee on Pensions, 5762.

H. R. 13656—Granting a pension to Adolph Specht.
Mr. Hudspeth; Committee on Pensions, 5762.

H. R. 13657—Granting a pension to Robert H. Wilcox.
Mr. Kennedy of Iowa; Committee on Pensions, 5762.

H. R. 13658—Granting an increase of pension to Disia Stamper.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5763.

H. R. 13659—Granting a pension to Charles Blaker.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5763.

H. R. 13660—Granting an increase of pension to Emory E. Flowers.
Mr. Reed of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5763.

H. R. 13661—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Bird.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 5763.

H. R. 13662—For the relief of Stanley Mitchell.
Mr. Vaile; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5763.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1085), 8157.

H. R. 13663—Granting a pension to Susan L. Shew.
Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5763.

H. R. 13664—Granting a pension to John English, jr.
Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5763.

H. R. 13665—Granting the consent of Congress to Muskogee County, Okla., to construct a bridge across the Arkansas River, between sections 16 and 21, township 15 north, range 19 east, in the State of Oklahoma.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5815.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 873), 6199.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 6668.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 6740.—Reported back (S. Rept. 606), 7270.—Passed Senate, 7270.—Examined and signed, 7447, 7459.—Presented to the President, 7552.—Approved [Public, No. 227], 7812.

H. R. 13666—Granting the consent of Congress to Muskogee County, Okla., to construct a bridge across the Arkansas River, in section 18, township 12 north, range 21 east, in the State of Okla.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5815.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 890), 6199.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 6668.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 6740.—Reported back (S. Rept. 607), 7270.—Passed Senate, 7270.—Examined and signed, 7447, 7459.—Presented to the President, 7552.—Approved [Public, No. 228], 7812.

H. R. 13667—To revise and amend section 853 of the Revised Statutes of the United States of, 1878.
Mr. Monahan of Wisconsin; Committee on the Judiciary, 5815.

H. R. 13668—Providing pensions for needy mothers having the custody of dependent children under the age of 16 years.
Mr. Rhodes; Committee on Labor, 5815.

H. R. 13669—To declare Short Creek, in Marshall County, Ala., a nonnavigable stream.
Mr. Rainey of Alabama; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5815.

H. R. 13670—Granting an increase of pension to Morgan Thomas.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5815.

H. R. 13671—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Bowman.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5815.

H. R. 13672—Granting a pension to John W. Hughes.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Pensions, 5815.

H. R. 13673—Granting an increase of pension to M. A. Anderson.
Mr. Hoey; Committee on Pensions, 5815.

H. R. 13674—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew S. Hicks.
Mr. Hoey; Committee on Pensions, 5815.

H. R. 13675—Granting a pension to Mary Wantz.
Mr. Mann of Illinois; Committee on Pensions, 5815.

H. R. 13676—Granting an increase of pension to David Misenar.
Mr. Mann of Illinois; Committee on Pensions, 5815.

H. R. 13677—Making appropriations to supply a deficiency in the appropriations for the Federal control of transportation systems and to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and for other purposes.
Mr. Good, from the Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 853), 5869.—Debated, 5903–5925.—Amended and passed House, 5925.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 5927.—Reported with amendments, 5967.—Debated, 6147–6151.—Amended and passed Senate, 6151.—House disagrees to all the Senate amendments, and asks for a conference, 6357.—Conferees appointed, 6357, 6330.—Senate insists upon its amendments, and agrees to conference, 6330.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 921), 6467.—Debated and agreed to, 6505, 6506.—Examined and signed, 6552, 6554.—Presented to the President, 6668.—Approved [Public, No. 195], 6836.

H. R. 13678—To amend the War Finance Corporation act.
Mr. Sinclair; Committee on Ways and Means, 5881.

H. R. 13679—Granting a certain right of way with authority to improve the same across the old canal right of way between Lakes Union and Washington, King County, Wash.
Mr. Miller; Committee on Military Affairs, 5881.

H. R. 13680—To amend the Federal reserve act as amended.
Mr. Dickinson of Missouri; Committee on Banking and Currency, 5881.

H. R. 13681—To extend temporarily the time for filing applications for letters patent, for taking actions in the United States Patent Office with respect thereto, for the reviving and reinstatement of applications for letters patent, and for other purposes.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Patents, 5881.

H. R. 13682—To prevent gambling in the necessaries of life and speculation in stocks and bonds.
Mr. Baer; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5881.

H. R. 13683—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. McKinley.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5881.

H. R. 13684—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph W. Anderson.
Mr. Drane; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5881.

H. R. 13685—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin C. Moffett.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5881.

H. R. 13686—Granting a pension to William McCall.
Mr. Good; Committee on Pensions, 5881.

H. R. 13687—Granting a pension to Martin Hunt.
Mr. Husted; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5881.

H. R. 13688—Granting a pension to Samuel C. Shattler.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5881.

H. R. 13689—Granting a pension to Alexander Yagle.
Mr. Kiess; Committee on Pensions, 5881.

H. R. 13690—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Hammelmann.
Mr. MacGregor; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5881.

H. R. 13691—Granting a pension to James Flanagan.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5881.

H. R. 13692—Granting a pension to Samuel L. Hannon.
Mr. Mudd; Committee on Pensions, 5881.

H. R. 13693—Granting an increase of pension to William Gilbert.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5881.

H. R. 13694—Granting a pension to Agnes Crawford.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5881.

H. R. 13695—Granting a pension to Hannah B. Kesler.
Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 5881.

H. R. 13696—To amend subsection 11 of section 231 of the war revenue act of 1918.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Ways and Means, 5925.

H. R. 13697—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide revenue, and for other purposes," approved Feb. 24, 1919.
Mr. Evans of Nebraska; Committee on Ways and Means, 5925.

H. R. 13698—To amend an act to authorize the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to make certain disposition of condemned ordnance, guns, and cannon balls in their respective departments.
Mr. Kiess; Committee on Military Affairs, 5925.

H. R. 13699—To vacate a portion of the naval barracks tract reserve, situated at Sitka, Alaska, and to vest the title thereto in the Territory of Alaska.
Mr. Grigsby; Committee on the Public Lands, 5925.

H. R. 13700—Increasing the pay of bookbinders and bookbinder machine operators employed in the Government Printing Office, and for other purposes.
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on Printing, 5925.

H. R. 13701—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to sell and patent to the Peoples' Investment Co. (Inc.) certain lands in Louisiana.
Mr. Wilson of Louisiana; Committee on the Public Lands, 5925.

H. R. 13702—Amending the Federal farm loan act approved July 17, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Parrish; Committee on Ways and Means, 5925.

H. R. 13703—To authorize association of producers of agricultural products.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on the Judiciary, 5925.

H. R. 13704—To establish in the Treasury Department a bureau of supply, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Appropriations, 5925.

H. R. 13705—Providing equal pay for equal service on street railways within the District of Columbia.
Mr. Upshaw; Committee on the District of Columbia, 5925.

H. R. 13706—For the relief of contractors and subcontractors, including material men, for work under the Navy Department, and for other purposes.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5925.

H. R. 13707—To prevent desecration of the flag and insignia of the United States, and to provide punishment therefor.
Mr. Andrews of Nebraska; Committee on the Judiciary, 5925.

H. R. 13708—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Ingle.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Pensions, 5925.

H. R. 13709—Granting an increase of pension to Marion B. Patterson.
Mr. Fisher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5925.

H. R. 13710—Granting an increase of pension to Catherine F. Edsall.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5926.

H. R. 13711—Granting an increase of pension to John Wood.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5926.

H. R. 13712—Granting a pension to Margaret Williams.
Mr. Lampert; Committee on Pensions, 5926.

H. R. 13713—Granting a pension to Anna Burke.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Pensions, 5926.

H. R. 13714—To refund certain duties paid by the Nash Motors Co.
Mr. Randall of Wisconsin; Committee on Claims, 5926.

H. R. 13715—Granting a pension to John Gust Pearson.
Mr. Randall of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5926.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 6200.

H. R. 13716—Granting an increase of pension to Louisa White Spurgeon.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Pensions, 5926.

H. R. 13717—To reimburse the Midwood Park Property Owners' Association.
Mr. Rowe; Committee on Claims, 5926.

H. R. 13718—Granting a pension to Ubert C. Ricker.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 5926.

H. R. 13719—For the appointment of William Edward Tidwell as first lieutenant in the United States Army.
Mr. Sumners of Texas; Committee on Military Affairs, 5926.

H. R. 13720—Granting a pension to Piere Reidt.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Pensions, 5926.

H. R. 13721—Granting a pension to Edward Ellis.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5926.

H. R. 13722—To further regulate certain public service corporations operating within the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Woods of Virginia; Committee on the District of Columbia, 5925.

H. R. 13723—Providing for the loan of Army equipment to the Boy Scouts of America for their summer encampment at Creston, Iowa.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Military Affairs, 5965.

H. R. 13724—To authorize the construction of a bridge across the Sabine River at or near Orange, Tex.
Mr. Box; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5965.—Reported back (H. Rept. 906), 6386.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 6482, 6483.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 6495.—Reported back (S. Rept. 577), 6617.—Passed Senate, 6618.—Examined and signed, 6739, 6791.—Presented to the President, 6842.—Approved [Public, No. 205], 7121.

H. R. 13725—To provide for the appointment of a Federal Coal Commissioner, to define his powers and duties, and for other purposes.
Mr. Cooper; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5965.

H. R. 13726—To regulate the shipment in interstate commerce of milk and cream, and for other purposes.
Mr. Tilson; Committee on Agriculture, 5965.

H. R. 13727—Granting an increase of pension to P. M. Gaskill.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5965.

H. R. 13728—For the relief of the legal representative of the estate of William H. Roper, deceased.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Claims, 5965.

H. R. 13729—Granting an increase of pension to William Riley.
Mr. Ganly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5965.

H. R. 13730—Granting a pension to Emily W. Johnson.
Mr. Husted; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5965.

H. R. 13731—Granting an increase of pension to John Hartzell.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5965.

H. R. 13732—Granting a pension to Nathaniel Bittner.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5965.

H. R. 13733—Granting a pension to Frederick Dupont.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on Pensions, 5965.

H. R. 13734—Granting a pension to Antonette Dierken.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 5965.

H. R. 13735—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas C. Rodgers.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5965.

H. R. 13736—Granting a pension to Susanna Spencer.
Mr. Rucker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5965.

H. R. 13737—Granting a pension to Taylor Hall.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5965.

H. R. 13738—Granting a pension to Sarah Sipes.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 5965.

H. R. 13739—Granting a pension to George W. Jackson.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5965.

H. R. 13740—Granting an increase of pension to Rebecker G. Foot.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5965.

H. R. 13741—Granting an increase of pension to Warner M. Ellis.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5965.

H. R. 13742—To amend sections 3 and 6 of the act of July 11, 1916, entitled "An act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes," as amended by sections 5 and 6 of the act of Feb. 28, 1919, entitled "An act making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and for other purposes."
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Roads, 6014.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1053), 7767.—Amended and passed House, 8586, 9233.—Referred to Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 8536.

H. R. 13743—To amend the bankruptcy act.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on the Judiciary, 6041.

H. R. 13744—Amending Title II, section 1, of the national prohibition act by permitting the manufacture, production, use, sale, and transportation for beverage and other purposes of beer, ale, and porter up to 4 per cent alcoholic content by volume and wine up to 10 per cent alcoholic content by volume in such States as shall so determine by referendum vote to the people.
Mr. Babka; Committee on the Judiciary, 6014.

H. R. 13745—To amend the revenue act of 1918 in regard to the computation of surtax on the income of individuals and the computation of war profits and the excess-profits tax on the income of corporations.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Ways and Means, 6014.

H. R. 13746—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Hull.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6014.

H. R. 13747—Granting an increase of pension to Dayton P. Harrington.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 6014.

H. R. 13748—Granting an increase of pension to Cyrus B. Evans.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6014.

H. R. 13749—Granting a pension to Marie H. Dietz.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6014.

H. R. 13750—Granting an increase of pension to Julia E. Sherrill.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Pensions, 6014.

H. R. 13751—Granting a pension to Jennie S. Avery.
Mr. Hersey; Committee on Pensions, 6014.

H. R. 13752—For the relief of Genevieve Pfeffer.
Mr. Hersman; Committee on Patents, 6014.

H. R. 13753—For the relief of Lieut. Commander Edward R. Wilson, Pay Corps, United States Navy.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 6014.

H. R. 13754—For the relief of James H. Riley.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 6014.

H. R. 13755—Granting an increase of pension to Phoebe A. Rawles.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Pensions, 6014.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6738.

H. R. 13756—For the relief of William Thomas Matingley.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Military Affairs, 6014.

H. R. 13757—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of David Davis.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Military Affairs, 6014.

H. R. 13758—Granting a pension to Francis M. Watrous.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6014.

H. R. 13759—Granting a pension to Louvisa E. Harrison.
Mr. Purnell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6014.

H. R. 13760—For the relief of Milton M. Fenner.
Mr. Reed of New York; Committee on Naval Affairs, 6014.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1105), 8618.

H. R. 13761—Granting a pension to Leander Thomas.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 6014.

H. R. 13762—For the relief of Robert G. Whitfield.
Mr. Summers of Washington; Committee on Claims, 6014.

H. R. 13763—Granting an increase of pension to Minta Green.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6014.

H. R. 13764—Granting a pension to John W. Linkous.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6014.

H. R. 13765—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel J. Dearmond.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6014.

H. R. 13766—To amend section 6 of the act of Mar. 3, 1919, entitled "An act to amend the Liberty loan acts and the war-finance acts, and for other purposes."
Mr. Harreld; Committee on Ways and Means, 6104.

H. R. 13767—To establish and maintain a fish-hatching and fish-cultural station in the State of Virginia.
Mr. Harrison; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 6104.

H. R. 13768—To authorize the widening of First Street NE., and for other purposes.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on the District of Columbia, 6104.

H. R. 13769—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to sell lands of restricted allottees of the Five Civilized Tribes to actual settlers on terms not to exceed 20 annual payments, and for other purposes.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Indian Affairs, 6104.

H. R. 13770—To amend certain sections of the corporation act of Congress of Mar. 2, 1903 (32 U. S. Stats. L., pp. 947–952), extended over American citizens in countries where the United States exercises extraterritorial jurisdiction by the provisions of section 4086 of the Revised Statutes, as interpreted by the judicial decisions thereunder.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on the Territories, 6104.

H. R. 13771—To amend the revenue act of 1918 in regard to the computation of surtax on the income of individuals and the computation of war profits and the excess-profits tax on the income of corporations.
Mr. Evans of Montana; Committee on Ways and Means, 6104.

H. R. 13772—Granting an increase of pension to Moses Blackburn.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6105.

H. R. 13773—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Hockensmith.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 6105.

H. R. 13774—Granting a pension to Albert E. Aldrich.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Pensions, 6105.

H. R. 13775—Granting an increase of pension to John A. J. Hicks.
Mr. Brooks of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6105.

H. R. 13776—For the relief of Phil Livingston.
Mr. Dickinson of Iowa; Committee on Claims, 6105.

H. R. 13777—For the relief of James R. McGuire.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Military Affairs, 6105.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 875), 6199.

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Mr. Gould; Committee on Pensions, 6105.

H. R. 13779—For the relief of Settimio Scogona.
Mr. Husted; Committee on Claims, 6105.

H. R. 13780—Granting an increase of pension to Annie A. Lewis.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6105.

H. R. 13781—Granting an increase of pension to Marshall E. Crowther.
Mr. Nelson of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6105.

H. R. 13782—Granting a pension to Ellen S. Palmer.
Mr. Purnell; Committee on Pensions, 6105.

H. R. 13783—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Covanovan.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6105.

H. R. 13784—Granting an increase of pension to John Seidel.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6105.

H. R. 13785—To amend sections 3 and 6 of the act of July 11, 1916, entitled "An act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes," as amended by sections 5 and 6 of the act of Feb. 28, 1919, entitled "An act making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and for other purposes."
Mr. Sims; Committee on Roads, 6143.

H. R. 13786—To amend the Revenue act of 1918 in regard to the computation of surtax on the income of individuals and the computation of war profits and the excess-profits tax on the income of corporations.
Mr. Evans of Montana; Committee on Ways and Means, 6143.

H. R. 13787—Providing for the delivery of baggage and personal effects of deceased officers and enlisted men who died in foreign service free of all charges for storage and transportation.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Military Affairs, 6143.

H. R. 13788—Directing the Secretary of War to utilize the personnel of the Army for the purpose of planning, surveying, and laying out a system of national highways; creating a national highway commission; and for other purposes.
Mr. Sanders of Louisiana; Committee on Roads, 6143.

H. R. 13789—To improve the efficiency of the Naval Reserve Force.
Mr. Lufkin; Committee on Naval Affairs, 6143.

H. R. 13790—Relative to the retirement of members of the Naval Reserve Force.
Mr. Lufkin; Committee on Naval Affairs, 6143.

H. R. 13791—Amending section 2 of the act of May 2, 1890 (26th Stat., p. 81), authorizing the town of Ralston, Okla., successor of Riverside, Okla., to sell and convey certain lands set apart for park and school purposes.
Mr. Howard; Committee on the Public Lands, 6143.

H. R. 13792—For the relief of John Healey.
Mr. Burdick; Committee on Military Affairs, 6143.

H. R. 13793—Granting a pension to Hattie Hjelmberg.
Mr. Burdick; Committee on Pensions, 6143.

H. R. 13794—Granting a pension to Lottie Munger.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6143.

H. R. 13795—Granting a pension to Fred E. Dixon.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Pensions, 6143.

H. R. 13796—Granting a pension to Patient Wilder.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6143.

H. R. 13797—Granting an increase of pension to Robert F. Rea.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 6143.

H. R. 13798—To provide revenue for the payment of adjusted compensation to the veterans of the World War.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Ways and Means, 6200.

H. R. 13799—To provide revenue for the payment of adjusted compensation to the veterans of the World War.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on Ways and Means, 6200.

H. R. 13800—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Third Regiment Pennsylvania National Guard one German cannon or fieldpiece No. 6561.
Mr. Casey; Committee on Military Affairs, 6200.

H. R. 13801—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Third Regiment, Pennsylvania National Guard, one German cannon or fieldpiece No. 6541.
Mr. Casey; Committee on Miltiary Affairs, 6200.

H. R. 13802—To restore the homestead right to persons who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the war with Germany.
Mr. Riddick; Committee on Ways and Means, 6200.

H. R. 13803—To make more effectual provision for the aerial defense of the United States and to provide for the concentration of the national air strength.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 6200.

H. R. 13804—To amend section 70 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved Feb. 28, 1913.
Mr. Rainey of Alabama; Committee on the Judiciary, 6200.

H. R. 13805—Authorizing the construction of a post-office building at Goshen, N. Y.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6200.

H. R. 13806—For the relief T. J. Ball.
Mr. Box; Committee on Claims, 6200.

H. R. 13807—For the relief of Charles R. Powell.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on the Public Lands, 6200.

H. R. 13808—Granting a pension to Julia V. Burkhead.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6200.

H. R. 13809—Granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Pollock.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Pensions, 6200.

H. R. 13810—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas H. Crocker.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Pensions, 6200.

H. R. 13811—Granting an increase of pension to Wilson Wightman.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6200.

H. R. 13812—Granting an increase of pension to Walter L. Todd.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6200.

H. R. 13813—For the relief of Nellie Berman.
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H. R. 13814—For the relief of Ike T. Boyles.
Mr. Hudspeth; Committee on Claims, 6200.

H. R. 13815—Granting a pension to Alice Cooke.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 6200.

H. R. 13816—Granting an increase of pension to James E. Utman.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Pensions, 6201.

H. R. 13817—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph E. Hayden.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Pensions, 6201.

H. R. 13818—Granting a pension to Annie S. Miller.
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H. R. 13819—Granting a pension to William H. Knowles.
Mr. McLaughlin of Nebraska; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6201.

H. R. 13820—Granting a pension to Catherine Burke.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Pensions, 6201.

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H. R. 13822—Granting a pension to Susan E. Strevel.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 6201.

H. R. 13823—Granting a pension to Charles V. Everett.
Mr. Webster; Committee on Pensions, 6201.

H. R. 13824—To provide for the storage of certain grain under Federal custody, the issue of receipts therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Tincher; Committee on Agriculture, 6257.

H. R. 13825—To provide for taxing all the beneficiaries of the cost-plus contracts and beneficiaries of contracts made by the Government with members of the Council of National Defense during the war.
Mr. Tincher; Committee on Ways and Means, 6257.

H. R. 13826—Authorizing the Postmaster General to investigate and adjust claims arising out of contracts for star route, screen wagon, and other vehicle service entered into prior to June 30, 1919.
Mr. Flood; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 6257.

H. R. 13827—To repeal certain war-time legislation.
Mr. Evans of Montana; Committee on the Judiciary, 6257.

H. R. 13828—To authorize the Secretary of War to loan Army rifles to posts of the Grand Army of the Republic and Spanish War Veteran camps.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Military Affairs, 6257.

H. R. 13829—Granting an increase of pension to Sue M. Inness.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6257.

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Mr. Begg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6257.

H. R. 13831—For the relief of J. Henry Miller (Inc.).
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H. R. 13834—Granting a pension to Henrietta Fowler.
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H. R. 13835—For the relief of Eva Hugenberg.
Mr. Jefferis; Committee on Claims, 6257.

H. R. 13836—Granting a pension to Caroline L. Putman.
Mr. King; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6257.

H. R. 13837—Granting a pension to Thomas W. Johnson.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Pensions, 6257.

H. R. 13838—For the relief of Pirtle Handley.
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H. R. 13840—For the relief of the legal heirs of Mildred Eberlein, deceased.
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H. R. 13841—Granting a pension to Mary A. Doak.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6257.

H. R. 13842—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Harris.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6257.

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Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6257.

H. R. 13844—Granting a pension to Zanie Trent.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6257.

H. R. 13845—For the relief of Mrs. Joseph Roncoli.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on Claims, 6257.

H. R. 13846—To regulate the practice of undertaking and embalming in the District of Columbia and to safeguard public health.
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Mr. Zihlman; Committee on the District of Columbia, 6327.

H. R. 13848—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the village of Rockville Center, N. Y., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Military Affairs, 6327.

H. R. 13849—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Bob Evans Camp, No. 76, Department of Illinois, United Spanish War Veterans, one captured German machine gun and 12 old models of Springfield rifles.
Mr. Mann of Illinois; Committee on Military Affairs, 6327.

H. R. 13850—To authorize the purchase of Federal farm loan bonds by the Secretary of the Treasury.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Banking and Currency, 6327.

H. R. 13851—To authorize mining for nonmetalliferous minerals on Indian reservations.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Indian Affairs, 6327.

H. R. 13852—Granting an increase of pension to Lilla May Pavy.
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Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Pensions, 6327.

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H. R. 13856—Granting a pension to Harriet M. Powers.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6327.

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Mr. Harreld; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6327.

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H. R. 13859—For the relief of Benito Viscaina and Maria Viscaina.
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Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 6327.

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H. R. 13866—Granting a pension to Annie J. Peters.
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H. R. 13867—Granting a pension to Sarah Athens.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6327.

H. R. 13868—Granting an increase of pension to Mary B. Houk.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6327.

H. R. 13869—To stabilize Liberty bonds by providing for their acceptance at par value in part payment of income and excess-profits taxes.
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H. R. 13870—Making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.
Mr. Good, from the Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 905), 6357.—Debated, 6405–6440, 6506–6519, 6539–6551, 6569–6615, 6641–6668, 6709–6737, 6768–6791, 6817–6842, 6871–6892, 9061, 9116, 9333.—Amended and passed House, 6892.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 6895.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 617), 7396.—Debated, 7592, 7626–7659.—Amended and passed Senate, 7659.—House disagrees to all the Senate amendments and asks for conference, 7747.—Conferees appointed, 7722, 7747.—Senate insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference, 7722.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 8075.—Agreed to, 8171–8178.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 1084), 8731, 8283.—Agreed to, 8283–8290.—Examined and signed, 8334, 8398.—Presented to the President, 8563.—Approved [Public, No. 246], 8062.

H. R. 13871—To amend section 5 of the act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved Feb. 4, 1887, as amended.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6387.

H. R. 13872—To authorize officers of the naval service to accept offices with compensation and emoluments from Governments of the Republics of South America.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 6387.

H. R. 13873—To amend the act entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 3, 1913.
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H. R. 13874—To provide adjusted compensation for veterans of the World War; to provide revenue therefor; and for other purposes.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Ways and Means, 6387.

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Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 6387.

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Mr. Davila; Committee on Claims, 6387.

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Mr. Fordney; Committee on Claims, 6387.

H. R. 13878—For the relief of Charles B. Chrystal.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Claims, 6387.

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H. R. 13880—For the relief of the Acme Die Casting Corporation, of New York City, N. Y.
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Mr. Hicks; Committee on Claims, 6387.

H. R. 13882—For the relief of Fairbanks, Morse & Co., of New York City, N. Y.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Claims, 6387.

H. R. 13883—For the relief of the Thermal Syndicate (Ltd.), of New York City, N. Y.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Claims, 6387.

H. R. 13884—For the relief of the William Wrigley, jr., Co. (Inc.), of New York City, N. Y.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Claims, 6387.

H. R. 13885—For the relief of Palmer & McBryde.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 6387.

H. R. 13886—To give the Court of Claims jurisdiction to hear and adjudge the claims of the estate of John Frazier, deceased, and of the estate of Zephaniah Kingsley, deceased.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Claims, 6387.

H. R. 13887—Granting a pension to Nancy Elizabeth Williams.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6387.

H. R. 13888—Granting a pension to Sarah C. Turner.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6387.

H. R. 13889—To promote marine insurance, and for other purposes.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 6441.

H. R. 13890—To regulate the dealing in, distributing, importing, or manufacturing of sugar.
Mr. Howard; Committee on the Judiciary, 6441.—Debated, 9061.

H. R. 13891—To amend the War Finance Corporation act by authorizing said corporation to purchase newsprint paper and resell the same to publishers of newspapers of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Appropriations, 6441.

H. R. 13892—Granting a pension to Martha A. James.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6441.

H. R. 13893—Granting a pension to Robert H. Burress.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 6441.

H. R. 13894—Granting a pension to Sarah Jackson.
Mr. Browne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6441.

H. R. 13895—Granting a pension to Addie M. Blair.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6441.

H. R. 13896—For the relief of Jeremiah Stover.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Military Affairs, 6441.

H. R. 13897—Granting an increase of pension to James Sullivan.
Mr. Crowther; Committee on Pensions, 6441.

H. R. 13898—Granting a pension to Edmond D. Judkins.
Mr. Davis of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6441.

H. R. 13899—For the relief of Mrs. Harold G. Halstead.
Mr. Hudspeth; Committee on Claims, 6441.

H. R. 13900—For the relief of Zora B. Custer.
Mr. Jones of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 6441.

H. R. 13901—Granting a pension to Martha J. Killam.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6441.

H. R. 13902—Granting a pension to William P. Johnson.
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H. R. 13903—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Pletcher.
Mr. Michener; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6441.

H. R. 13904—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Third Regiment Field Artillery, Pennsylvania National Guard, one German cannon or fieldpiece No. 6561.
Mr. Casey; Committee on Military Affairs, 6483.

H. R. 13905—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Third Regiment Field Artillery, Pennsylvania National Guard, one German cannon or fieldpiece No. 6541.
Mr. Casey; Committee on Military Affairs, 6483.

H. R. 13906—To purchase a site for the erection of a post-office building at the city of Carterville, in the county of Jasper and State of Missouri.
Mr. McPherson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6483.

H. R. 13907—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a new post-office building at Ayer, Mass.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6483.

H. R. 13908—To amend section 16 of the act of Congress approved July 17, 1916, known as the Federal farm loan act.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Banking and Currency, 6483.—Reported back (H. Rept. 941), 6738.—Laid on the table (see S. 3897), 8122.

H. R. 13909—Granting a pension to Alfred H. Ward, alias James Johnson.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6483.

H. R. 13910—Granting a pension to Mary E. Touhy.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6483.

H. R. 13911—For the relief of J. Henry Miller (Inc.).
Mr. Britten; Committee on Naval Affairs, 6483.—Reported back (H. Rept. 931), 6669.

H. R. 13912—For the relief of William H. Paules.
Mr. Brooks of Pennsylvania; Committee on Claims, 6483.

H. R. 13913—Granting a pension to Ira D. Bryant.
Mr. Classon; Committee on Pensions, 6483.

H. R. 13914—Granting a pension to Elizabeth A. Browne.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Pensions, 6483.

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Mr. Davis of Minnesota; Committee on Pensions, 6483.

H. R. 13916—Granting an increase of pension to Alice A. Warner.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Pensions, 6483.

H. R. 13917—Granting an increase of pension to Clarence R. Solomon.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Pensions, 6483.

H. R. 13918—Granting a pension to Inez Mabel Chase.
Mr. Fuller of Massachusetts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6483.

H. R. 13919—Granting a pension to Wealthy J. Larrabee.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6483.

H. R. 13920—Granting a pension to Esther A. Blythman.
Mr. Michener; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6483.

H. R. 13921—Providing for the payment of compensation for damages to H. S. McBride.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Claims, 6483.

H. R. 13922—Granting a pension to Orville George.
Mr. Milligan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6483.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 6616.

H. R. 13923—Granting a pension to Andrew J. Gouge.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6483.

H. R. 13924—To correct the military record of John Eastep.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Military Affairs, 6483.

H. R. 13925—For the relief of Alfred P. Reck.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Military Affairs, 6483.—Reference changed to Committee on Claims, 7028.—Reference changed to Committee on War Claims, 7384.

H. R. 13926—For the relief of Cora T. Dering.
Mr. Ward; Committee on Claims, 6483.

H. R. 13927—Authorizing and declaring Little Black River to be non-navigable from the mouth.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6553.

H. R. 13928—Creating a commission to assist in the purchase, sale, and distribution of newsprint paper in order to insure a supply to newspapers of limited circulation.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6553.

H. R. 13929—To amend the Army appropriation act approved July 11, 1919, so as to release appropriations for the completion of the acquisition of real estate in certain cases and making additional appropriations therefor.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 6553.

H. R. 13930—To authorize the establishment of a Coast Guard station on Lake Pontchartrain at New Orleans.
Mr. O'Connor; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6553.

H. R. 13931—To authorize association of producers of agricultural products.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on the Judiciary, 6553.—Reported back (H. Rept. 939), 6737.—Debated, 7849–7858, 8016–8041, 8024, 8034, 9135, 9144, 9153, 9154, 9162, 9241, 9323.—Amended and passed House, 8041.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 8051.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 655), 8345.

H. R. 13932—Granting an increase of pension to Dayton P. Harrington.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 6553.

H. R. 13933—Granting an increase of pension to Walter B. Kelley.
Mr. Bland of Missouri; Committee on Pensions, 6553.

H. R. 13934—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Neal.
Mr. Candler; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6553.

H. R. 13935—Granting an increase of pension to James E. Losey.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 6553.

H. R. 13936—Granting an increase of pension to Mary C. Parsons.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Pensions, 6553.

H. R. 13937—Granting a pension to Georgianna Curry.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6553.

H. R. 13938—Granting a pension to Charles G. Sontag.
Mr. Mann of South Carolina; Committee on Pensions, 6553.

H. R. 13939—Granting an increase of pension to Martin A. Neff.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Pensions, 6553.

H. R. 13940—Granting an increase of pension to John Ellis.
Mr. Swope; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6553.

H. R. 13941—To amend paragraphs 177 and 178 of an act entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 3, 1913, relating to the duty on sugar, molasses, and other articles.
Mr. Magee; Committee on Ways and Means, 6553.

H. R. 13942—To amend section 1342 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, known as the Articles of War, and for other purposes.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Military Affairs, 6553.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 940), 6738.

H. R. 13943—To regulate the employment of minors and to provide for compulsory school attendance of children within the District of Columbia.
Mr. Gard; Committee on the District of Columbia, 6616.

H. R. 13944—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois, from Committee on Invalid Pensions (H. Rept. 926), 6616.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7072–7077.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 7085.

H. R. 13945—Authorizing the President of the United States to appoint a judge or judges to preside in the Supreme Court of the United States when any member or members thereof are disqualified.
Mr. Brand; Committee on the Judiciary, 6616.

H. R. 13946—For the better protection of aliens and for the enforcement of their treaty rights.
Mr. Temple; Committee on the Judiciary, 6616.

H. R. 13947—To amend the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal Reserve Act.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Banking and Currency, 6616.

H. R. 13948—To complete the military record of Jacob W. Starr.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Military Affairs, 6616.

H. R. 13949—Granting a pension to Sarah Owen.
Mr. Jones of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 6616.

H. R. 13950—Granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Kimbell.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6616.

H. R. 13951—For the relief of Margart A. Twyman.
Mr. Lehlbach; Committee on Claims, 6616.

H. R. 13952—Granting a pension to John Henry Chandler.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6616.

H. R. 13953—Granting a pension to Mary A. Hale.
Mr. Sanders of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6616.

H. R. 13954—Granting an increase of pension to Elias B. Hill.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 6616.

H. R. 13955—Granting an increase of pension to Matthew Paul.
Mr. Vaile; Committee on Pensions, 6616.

H. R. 13956—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Jones.
Mr. Weaver; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6616.

H. R. 13957—Granting an increase of pension to Nannie J. McDowell.
Mr. Weaver; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6616.

H. R. 13958—To increase the revenue by imposing a tax on certain sales of newsprint paper, and for other purposes.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Ways and Means, 6669.

H. R. 13959—To add certain lands to the Santiam National Forest.
Mr. McLaughlin of Michigan; Committee on the Public Lands, 6669.

H. R. 13960—To amend an act approved Feb. 27, 1919, entitled "An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Allegheny, Pa., to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Ohio River at or near McKees Rocks Borough, in the county of Allegheny, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania."
Mr. Morin; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6669.

H. R. 13961—To amend an act approved Feb. 27, 1919, entitled "An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Allegheny, Pa., to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Allegheny River at or near Millvale borough, in the county of Allegheny, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania."
Mr. Morin; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6669.

H. R. 13962—To extend the time for the construction af a bridge across the Monongahela River at or near the borough of Wilson, in the county of Allegheny, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Morin; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6669.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1032), 7556.—Amended and passed House, 8579.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 8510.—Reported back without amendment, 8510.—Passed Senate, 8597.—Examined and signed, 8620, 8662.—Presented to the President, 8678.

H. R. 13963—To amend an act approved Feb. 27, 1919, entitled "An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Allegheny, Pa., to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Allegheny River, at or near Sixteenth Street, in the city of Pittsburgh, county of Allegheny, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania."
Mr. Morin; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6669.

H. R. 13964—To further amend and modify the war-risk insurance act.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6669.

H. R. 13965—Granting an increase of pension to Mattie Hawk.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 6669.

H. R. 13966—Granting a pension to Minnie Baker.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Pensions, 6669.

H. R. 13967—Granting a pension to George W. Richards.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Pensions, 6669.

H. R. 13968—Authorizing the allowance of additional homestead application of Edward E. Voedisch.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on the Public Lands, 6669.

H. R. 13969—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Oehloff.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Pensions, 6669.

H. R. 13970—Granting a pension to Eliza E. Clink.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6669.

H. R. 13971—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to reimburse Edwin Formhals, of Cleveland, Ohio, for the loss of a package in the mail between Cleveland, Ohio, and France.
Mr. Mooney; Committee on Claims, 6669.

H. R. 13972—For the relief of the Gauley Mountain Coal Co.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Claims, 6669.

H. R. 13973—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew C. Shearer.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6669.

H. R. 13974—Granting a pension to Emma Phipps.
Mr. Randall of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6670.

H. R. 13975—For the relief of Lewis W. Flaunlacher.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on Claims, 6670.

H. R. 13976—To extend the time for the construction of a bridge across the Allegheny River, at or near Sixteenth Street, in the city of Pittsburgh, county of Allegheny, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Porter; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6738.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1058), 7957.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 8302.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 8308.—Reported without amendment (S. Rept. 660), 8464.—Passed Senate, 8464.—Examined and signed, 8614, 8619.—Presented to the President, 8678.

H. R. 13977—To extend the time for the construction of a bridge across the Allegheny River at or near Millvale borough, in the county of Allegheny, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Porter; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6738.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1059), 7957.—Amended and passed House, 8302.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 8308.—Reported back (S. Rept. 661), 8464.—Passed Senate, 8464.—Examined and signed, 8614, 8619.—Presented to the President, 8678.

H. R. 13978—To extend the time for the construction of a bridge across the Ohio River at or near McKees Rocks borough, in the county of Allegheny, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Porter; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6738.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1060), 7957.—Passed House, 8453, 8454.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 8462.—Reported back, 8464.—Passed Senate, 8464.—Examined and signed, 8614, 8619.—Presented to the President, 8678.

H. R. 13979—To provide allowances for mothers with children under 16 dependent upon them for support in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on the District of Columbia, 6738.

H. R. 13980—Providing for the deportation of aliens upon a second conviction for illegal traffic in narcotics.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 6738.

H. R. 13981—To authorize the issue of United States bonds to be used in the purchase of farm loan bonds, and for other purposes.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Banking and Currency, 6738.

H. R. 13982—To make a preliminary survey of the Calaveras River in California, with a view to the control of its floods.
Mr. Curry of California; Committee on Flood Control, 6738.

H. R. 13983—Granting a pension to Eliza Oldham.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6738.

H. R. 13984—Granting an increase of pension to Henry P. Niebuhr.
Mr. Ganly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6738.

H. R. 13985—Granting a pension to Joseph A. Branstetter.
Mr. Harreld; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6738.

H. R. 13986—For the relief of Theresa M. Shea.
Mr. Johnston of New York; Committee on Claims, 6738.

H. R. 13987—Granting an increase of pension to James D. Silman.
Mr. King; Committee on Pensions, 6738.

H. R. 13988—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph J. Johnson.
Mr. King; Committee on Pensions, 6738.

H. R. 13989—Granting a pension to Charles I. Winans.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6738.

H. R. 13990—Granting a pension to Christian Hess.
Mr. Newton of Minnesota; Committee on Pensions, 6738.

H. R. 13991—Granting a pension to Hugh E. Murphy.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 6738.

H. R. 13992—Granting a pension to Mary A. Crate.
Mr. Shreve; Committee on Pensions, 6738.

H. R. 13993—Granting a pension to Michael Burns.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6738.

H. R. 13994—To provide for an investigation and report as to the advisability of exchange of lands in national forests, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 6792.

H. R. 13995—To authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to close certain streets, roads, or highways in the District of Columbia rendered useless or unnecessary by reason of the opening, extension, widening, or straightening of other streets, roads, or highways in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on the District of Columbia, 6792.

H. R. 13996—To prohibit the exportation of sugar from the United States and its possessions, and directing the Federal Trade Commission to investigate and report to the Congress certain information regarding sugar.
Mr. Hudspeth; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6792.

H. R. 13997—To further amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved Feb. 4, 1887, as amended.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6792.

H. R. 13998—To fix second-class postage rates.
Mr. Madden; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 6792.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 980), 7081.

H. R. 13999—To validate certain allotments of land made to Indians on the Lac Courte Oreille Indian Reservation in Wisconsin.
Mr. Snyder; Committee on Indian Affairs, 6792.

H. R. 14000—To extend the provisions of the act of Feb. 8, 1887, as amended, to lands purchased for Indians.
Mr. Snyder; Committee on Indian Affairs, 6792.

H. R. 14001—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make donation of condemned German cannons to the city of Saginaw, Mich.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Military Affairs, 6792.

H. R. 14002—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make donation of condemned German cannon or tank to the city of Chesaning, Mich.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Military Affairs, 6792.

H. R. 14003—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make donation of condemned German cannon to the city of Ionia, Mich.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Military Affairs, 6792.

H. R. 14004—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make donation of condemned German or Austrian cannon to city of Greenville, Mich.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Military Affairs, 6792.

H. R. 14005—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make donation of condemned German or Austrian cannon to the city of Owosso, Mich.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Military Affairs, 6792.

H. R. 14006—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make donation of condemned German or Austrian cannon to the city of Carson City, Mich.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Military Affairs, 6792.

H. R. 14007—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make donation of condemned German or Austrian cannon to the city of Ithaca, Mich.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Military Affairs, 6792.

H. R. 14008—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make donation of condemned German or Austrian cannon to the city of St. Johns, Mich.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Military Affairs, 6792.

H. R. 14009—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make donation of condemned German or Austrian cannon to the city of St. Louis, Mich.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Military Affairs, 6792.

H. R. 14010—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Linglestown, Pa., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Military Affairs, 6792.

H. R. 14011—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the borough of Berrysburg, Pa., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Military Affairs, 6793.

H. R. 14012—To provide for the retirement of officers of the Naval Reserve Force.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Naval Affairs, 6793.

H. R. 14013—Granting an increase of pension to Stanley S. Stout.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 6793.

H. R. 14014—Granting an increase of pension to David W. Graves.
Mr. Sims; Committee on Pensions, 6793.

H. R. 14015—For the relief of F. McKenzie Davison.
Mr. Swope; Committee on Military Affairs, 6793.

H. R. 14016—Granting a pension to John S. Dodge.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6793.

H. R. 14017—Granting a pension to Catherine Moody.
Mr. Vestal; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6793.

H. R. 14018—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Kelley.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Pensions, 6793.

H. R. 14019—Granting an increase of pension to Cornelius Linnehan.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 6793.

H. R. 14020—To amend Public, No. 254, Sixty-fifth Congress (H. R. 12863), being an act to provide revenue, and for other purposes, and known as the revenue act of 1919, by increasing the personal exemption of heads of families or married persons with dependent children.
Mr. Campbell of Pennsylvania; Committee on Ways and Means, 6842.

H. R. 14021—To amend the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act.
Mr. Platt; from Committee on Banking and Currency (H. Rept. 953), 6842.

H. R. 14022—To amend chapter 213, Twenty-fourth Statutes at Large.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on the Judiciary, 6842.

H. R. 14023—To amend section 3 of the act of Oct. 6, 1917.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 6842.

H. R. 14024—Granting a pension to Julia A. Twichell.
Mr. Paige; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6842.

H. R. 14025—For the relief of Cataldo Bellanova.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Claims, 6842.

H. R. 14026—Granting a pension to Mary A. Flick.
Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6842.

H. R. 14027—Providing for the reuse of boxes, bags, or other packages by manufacturers of tobacco, snuff, and cigars, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Ways and Means, 6893.

H. R. 14028—To provide for election contests in the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress, 6893.

H. R. 14029—To provide for the erection of an addition to the post-office building at St. Joseph, Mo., and for alterations to the present building.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6893.

H. R. 14030—Granting a pension to Sarah C. Mattox.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6893.

H. R. 14031—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Benge.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6893.

H. R. 14032—To correct the military record of Earnest R. Crouch.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Military Affairs, 6893.

H. R. 14033—Granting a pension to Elizabeth H. Du Hamel.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6893.

H. R. 14034—Granting a pension to Mary F. Stone.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6893.

H. R. 14035—Granting a pension to Hattie Geske.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6893.

H. R. 14036—Granting a pension to Lillie Geske.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6893.

H. R. 14037—For the relief of William H. Estabrook.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Military Affairs, 6893.

H. R. 14038—Granting a pension to Matilda S. Brewer.
Mr. Mudd; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6893.

H. R. 14039—Granting a pension to Emma Brock.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6893.

H. R. 14040—Conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina to hear and determine the claim of the owners of the Danish steamship Flynderborg against the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Whaley; Committee on Claims, 6893.

H. R. 14041—To authorize pay and allowances to officers who exercised higher command during the World War, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 6970.

H. R. 14042—To amend section 6 of the act of Congress approved June 17, 1910, entitled "An act to provide for an enlarged homestead."
Mr. French; Committee on the Public Lands, 6970.

H. R. 14043—Granting a pension to Eliza Oldham.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6971.

H. R. 14044—For the relief of the widow of Edward Kelly.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Military Affairs, 6971.

H. R. 14045—Granting a pension to Alice M. Jones.
Mr. Greene of Vermont; Committee on Pensions, 6971.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7028.

H. R. 14046—Granting an increase of pension to Alwill Hacklander.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Pensions, 6971.

H. R. 14047—Granting a pension to Estella E. Whitmore.
Mr. Hill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6971.

H. R. 14048—Granting a pension to Thomas J. Mullin.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 6971.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7325.

H. R. 14049—To remove the charge of desertion on the first enlistment of Daniel B. Stone, alias Nelson Davis.
Mr. Lehlbach; Committee on Military Affairs, 6971.

H. R. 14050—Granting a pension to Manella A. Eastman.
Mr. Lufkin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6971.

H. R. 14051—Granting a pension to Charles Geiger.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6971.

H. R. 14052—Granting a pension to Joseph R. Reed.
Mr. Randall of California; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6971.

H. R. 14053—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Leher.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6971.

H. R. 14054—Granting a pension to Anna Willower Evans.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6971.

H. R. 14055—Granting a pension to Ida E. Hudson.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6971.

H. R. 14056—Granting a pension to Cassander Twigg.
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6971.

H. R. 14057—Granting a pension to Edgar A. Norris.
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on Pensions, 6971.

H. R. 14058—Providing for the distribution of photographs of cemeteries in which American soldiers, sailors, and marines are buried to the next of kin of such persons.
Mr. Sanders of Louisiana; Committee on Military Affairs, 7028.

H. R. 14059—To promote Americanization by providing for cooperation with the several States in the education of non-English-speaking persons and the assimilation of foreign-born residents, and for other purposes.
Mr. Vestal; Committee on Education, 7028.

H. R. 14060—To provide for the acquisition of a site and the erection of a United States hospital in the State of Colorado.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7028.

H. R. 14061—To regulate air navigation within the United States and its dependencies, and between the United States or any of its dependencies and any foreign country or its dependencies.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7028.

H. R. 14062—To encourage the building of homes by providing for exemption from taxation of the income on mortgages on real estate.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on Ways and Means, 7028.

H. R. 14063—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy, and certain soldiers and sailors of wars other than the Civil War, and to widows of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Sells, from the Committee on Pensions (Rept. 974) as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 7028.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7059–7066.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 7085.

H. R. 14064—To amend section 9 of an act entitled "An act to define, regulate, and punish trading with the enemy, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 6, 1917, as amended.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7028.

H. R. 14065—Providing for the appraisal and sale of the Vashon Island Military Reservation in the State of Washington, and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on the Public Lands, 7028.

H. R. 14066—Authorizing all retired enlisted men who were on active duty status during the period of the war with Germany and who were not commissioned to be returned to the retired list and to receive the full pay and allowances of the grade they held during the war.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Military Affairs, 7028.

H. R. 14067—For the relief of certain employees of the Philadelphia post office.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Claims, 7029.

H. R. 14068—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Bernhart.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Pensions, 7029.

H. R. 14069—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to reimburse Joseph Santucci for the loss of an outfit of watchmaker's tools and clockmaker's tools while in the military service of the United States.
Mr. Hickey; Committee on Claims, 7029.

H. R. 14070—Granting an increase of pension to Levi N. Lunsford.
Mr. Hoey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7029.

H. R. 14071—Granting a pension to George E. Wade.
Mr. Mann of South Carolina; Committee on Pensions, 7029.

H. R. 14072—To provide for the care of certain insane citizens of the Territory of Alaska.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on the Judiciary, 7081.

H. R. 14073—To repeal section 5 of the act entitled "An act to provide relief in cases of contracts connected with the prosecution of the war, and for other purposes," approved Mar. 2, 1919.
Mr. Oldfield; Committee on Military Affairs, 7081.

H. R. 14074—To amend the shipping act, 1916, as amended.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 7081.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1026), 7505.

H. R. 14075—For the relief of George F. Jones.
Mr. Benson; Committee on War Claims, 7081.

H. R. 14076—Granting a pension to Dennis Ryng.
Mr. Burroughs; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7081.

H. R. 14077—Granting an increase of pension to Robert T. Rowland.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 7081.

H. R. 14078—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret E. Murren.
Mr. Goodall; Committee on Pensions, 7081.

H. R. 14079—Granting a pension to Mrs. A. M. Hughes.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7081.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 7267.

H. R. 14080—Granting a pension to Alice M. Knox.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7081.

H. R. 14081—Granting a pension to Mary Irvin.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7081.

H. R. 14082—Authorizing the President of the United States to restore to the active list of the Navy Thomas Smith, formerly chief gunner, United States Navy.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 7081.

H. R. 14083—Granting a pension to Marie Schneider.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7081.

H. R. 14084—To authorize the President of the United States to appoint William E. Shaw a captain of Infantry.
Mr. Strong of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 7081.

H. R. 14085—Granting a pension to James L. Philips.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 7081.

H. R. 14086—Granting a pension to Bessie Wood.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 7081.

H. R. 14087—For the relief of Augusta R. Tuell.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Claims, 7081.

H. R. 14088—Providing for the extension of the United States courthouse, post office, and public building at Peoria, Ill.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7126.

H. R. 14089—To provide adjusted compensation for veterans of the World War; to provide revenue therefor; and for other purposes.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Ways and Means, 7126.

H. R. 14090—Authorizing the War Department to repair or furnish spare parts for property loaned by authority of law to other agencies, the expense thereof to be borne by such agencies.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 7126.

H. R. 14091—To increase the revenue by imposing a tax on certain sales of sugar, to prevent profiteering therein, and for other purposes.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Ways and Means, 7126.

H. R. 14092—To create a Negro Industrial Commission.
Mr. Layton; Committee on Appropriations, 7126.

H. R. 14093—To provide for celebrating the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence by holding an international exhibition of arts, industries, manufactures, and products of the soil, mine, and sea in the city of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Industrial Arts and Expositions, 7126.

H. R. 14094—Granting an increase of pension to Gordon W. Hall.
Mr. Hulings; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7127.

H. R. 14095—Granting a pension to Augie Caldwell.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalide Pensions, 7127.

H. R. 14096—Granting a pension to Mary J. Finney.
Mr. Yates; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7127.

H. R. 14097—To assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws; and to punish the crime of lynching.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on the Judiciary, 7188.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1027), 7505.—Minority report filed (H. Rept. 1027, pt. 2), 7708.

H. R. 14098—For the erection of a Federal building at Fargo, N. Dak.
Mr. Baer; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7188.

H. R. 14099—To provide for the protection of the monetary gold reserve by the maintenance of the normal gold production of the United States, including gold production in foreign countries by American citizens or corporations, to satisfy the requirements of the arts and trades, by imposing an excise upon all gold used for other than monetary purposes, and the payment of a premium to the producers of newly mined gold, and providing penalties for the violation thereof.
Mr. Fairfield; Committee on Ways and Means, 7188.

H. R. 14100—Making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wood, from Committee on Appropriations, (H. Rept. 997), 7176.—Debated and passed House, 7176–7183.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 7190.—Reported back, 7270.—Passed Senate, 7270.—Examined and signed, 7447, 7459.—Presented to the President, 7552.—Approved [Public, No. 231], 7942.

H. R. 14101—Providing for the extension of time for the reclamation of certain lands in the State of Oregon under the Carey Act.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on the Public Lands, 7188.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1040), 7711.—Passed House, 8301, 8302.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 8308.—Reported back, 8324.—Passed Senate, 8324.—Examined and signed, 8453, 8462.—Presented to the President, 8563.—Approved [Public, No. 260]—.

H. R. 14102—Securing rights of way and easements over public land in connection with Federal irrigation projects.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 7188.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1012), 7384.—Amended and passed House, 8658.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 8641.

H. R. 14103—To authorize the Secretary of War to maintain such commissioned personnel in addition to the officers of the permanent establishment and to retain in their temporary grades such officers of the Regular Army as in his judgment may be necessary for the proper performance of the functions of the Military Establishment.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 7188.

H. R. 14104—Granting a pension to Ann A. Hall.
Mr. Ashbrook.; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7188.

H. R. 14105—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Dorsey.
Mr. Davis of Minnesota; Committee on Pensions, 7188.

H. R. 14106—To pay to the Pioneer Steamship Co. the sum of $3,100.50, money paid as duty for repairs in foreign ports.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Claims, 7188.

H. R. 14107.—For the relief of James Gloster.
Mr. Hadley; Committee on Military Affairs, 7188.

H. R. 14108—Granting an increase of pension to William W. Burke.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7188.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 7712.

H. R. 14109—For the relief of Claude C. Brogden.
Mr. Howard; Committee on War Claims, 7188.

H. R. 14110—Granting a pension to S. Eliza Faught.
Mr. Hays; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7188

H. R. 1411—For the relief of Fred R. Nugent.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on Military Affairs, 7188.

H. R. 14112—For the relief of John Burke.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on Military Affairs, 7188.

H. R. 14113—Granting an increase of pension to Christina Stenger.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Pensions, 7188.

H. R. 14114—For the relief of Oscar Arenz.
Mr. Rhodes; Committee on Military Affairs, 7188.

H. R. 14115—Granting a pension to Taylor Hall.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7188.

H. R. 14116—Granting a pension to Kit Smith.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 7188.

H. R. 14117—Granting a pension to John Frund.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Pensions, 7188.

H. R. 14118—Granting an increase of pension to Wilhemina Roehl.
Mr. Webster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7188.

H. R. 14119—Fixing rates of postage on certain kinds of printed matter.
Mr. Summers of Washington; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 7267.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1078), 8157.

H. R. 14120—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Lykens, Pa., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Military Affairs, 7267.

H. R. 14121—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Wiconisco, Pa., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Military Affairs, 7267.

H. R. 14122—To authorize the sale of a portion of the Copper Harbor Range Lighthouse Reservation, Mich., to Houghton and Keweenaw Counties, Mich.
Mr. James; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7267.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1086), 8303.

H. R. 14123—To create a Bureau of Aeronautics in the Department of the Navy.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Naval Affairs, 7267.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1073), 8048.

H. R. 14124—To amend the Judicial Code, being the act approved Mar. 3, 1911, entitled "An act to modify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the Judiciary," by inserting therein a new section to be numbered 24a, in relation to the original jurisdiction of district courts.
Mr. O'Connell; Committee on the Judiciary, 7267.

H. R. 14125—Granting a pension to George Swager.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Pensions, 7268.

H. R. 14126—For the relief of James J. Shea.
Mr. Caldwell; Committee on Claims, 7268.

H. R. 14127—Granting an increase of pension to Emma M. H. Haas.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Pensions, 7268.

H. R. 14128—Granting a pension to Mary Margaret Horton.
Mr. Husted; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7268.

H. R. 14129—For the relief of Bill Vassel.
Mr. Kleczka; Committee on Claims, 7268.

H. R. 14130—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Moorehead.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Pensions, 7268.

H. R. 14131—Granting an increase of pension to Harry L. Wilson.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Pensions, 7268.

H. R. 14132—Granting a pension to Wilburn Doyle.
Mr. Rainey of Alabama; Committee on Pensions, 7268.

H. R. 14133—For the relief of Erasmus J. Booth.
Mr. Romjue; Committee on Military Affairs, 7268.

H. R. 14134—Granting a pension to William H. Waggoner.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 7268.

H. R. 14135—To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate the immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States," passed Feb. 20, 1917.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 7325.

H. R. 14136—To amend an act entitled "An act to parole United States prisoners, and for other purposes," approved June 25, 1910, as amended by an act approved Jan. 23, 1913, and for the establishment of a probation system in the United States courts, except in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Siegal; Committee on the Judiciary, 7325.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1054), 7858.

H. R. 14137—To create a Bureau of Aeronautics in the Department of Commerce, and providing for the organization and administration thereof.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Appropriations, 7325.

H. R. 14138—To amend section 3221 of the Federal Statutes.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on Ways and Means, 7325.

H. R. 14139—To increase the limit of cost of public building at Steubenville, Ohio.
Mr. Murphy; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7325.

H. R. 14140—Granting a pension to Mildred Atchison.
Mr. Cole; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7325.

H. R. 14141—Granting a pension to Guy H. Moore.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Pensions, 7325.

H. R. 14142—Granting a pension to Edward E. Berry.
Mr. Gallivan: Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7325.

H. R. 14143—Granting an increase of pension to William Bieber.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7325.

H. R. 14144—To remove the charge of desertion against John Starkey.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Military Affairs, 7325.

H. R. 14145—For the relief of Peter Bur.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Claims, 7325.

H. R. 14146—Granting a pension to Emma D. Potts.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7325.

H. R. 14147—Granting a pension to Henry Clifton.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7325.

H. R. 14148—To correct the military record of A. J. Henry.
Mr. Young of North Dakota; Committee on Military Affairs, 7325.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1076), 8157.

H. R. 14149—Granting a pension to Nina R. Benjamin.
Mr. Treadway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7325.

H. R. 14150—To authorize the construction of a bridge across the Rock River, in Lee County, State of Illinois, at or near the city of Dixon, in said county.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7384.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1036), 7625.—Laid on the table (see S. 4431), 8016.

H. R. 14151—Fixing the compensation of registers and receivers of local land offices.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on the Public Lands, 7384.

H. R. 14152—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Harvey, N. Dak., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Young of North Dakota; Committee on Military Affairs, 7384.

H. R. 14153—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Kintyre, N. Dak., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Young of North Dakota; Committee on Military Affairs, 7384.

H. R. 14154—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Carrington, N. Dak., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Young of North Dakota; Committee on Military Affairs, 7384.

H. R. 14155—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Fessenden, N. Dak., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Young of North Dakota; Committee on Military Affairs, 7385.

H. R. 14156—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Bismarck, N. Dak., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Young of North Dakota; Committee on Military Affairs, 7385.

H. R. 14157—To provide adjusted compensation for veterans of the World War; to provide revenue therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Ways and Means, 7385.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1020), 7457.—Debated, 7930–7941.—Passed House, 7941.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 7960.

H. R. 14158—Granting the consent of Congress to H. H. Haynes to construct a dike across Mud Slough on Isthmus Inlet in section 23, township 26 south, range 13 west, of Willamette meridian in Oregon.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7385.

H. R. 14159—Granting the consent of Congress to the city of Columbus, in the State of Georgia, to construct a bridge across the Chattahoochee River.
Mr. Wright; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7385.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1061), 7957.—(See S. 4427), 8441.

H. R. 14160—Granting the consent to the county of Troup to construct a bridge across the Chattahoochee River at West Point, Ga.
Mr. Wright; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7385.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1062), 7957.—(See S. 4402), 8441.

H. R. 14161—To establish a common commodities commission.
Mr. Fuller of Massachusetts; Committee on the Judiciary, 7385.

H. R. 14162—To repeal the act entitled "The soldiers' and sailors' civil relief act."
Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Judiciary, 7385.

H. R. 14163—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the village of Tilleda, Wis., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Browne; Committee on Military Affairs, 7385.

H. R. 14164—For the relief of Arthur E. Miskimon.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Claims, 7385.

H. R. 14165—For the relief of Nellie Kildee.
Mr. French; Committee on the Public Lands, 7385.

H. R. 14166—For the relief of the heirs of Henry H. Johnson.
Mr. Good; Committee on War Claims, 7385.

H. R. 14167—For the relief of James M. Winston.
Mr. King; Committee on Military Affairs, 7385.

H. R. 14168—For the relief of George F. de Maranville.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Military Affairs, 7385.

H. R. 14169—Granting a pension to Adella J. Fiske.
Mr. Page; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7385.

H. R. 14170—Conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in the claim of Robert B. Keller for extra pay under amended statute and overtime pay as local inspector of the Steamboat-Inspection Service of the United States.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Claims, 7385.

H. R. 14171—Granting a pension to Arthur E. Goodykoontz.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Pensions, 7385.

H. R. 14172—For the relief of Henry W. Reddick.
Mr. Smithwick; Committee on War Claims, 7385.

H. R. 14173—To reduce the high cost of necessities of life.
Mr. King; Committee on Banking and Currency, 7457.

H. R. 14174—Authorizing a preliminary survey to be made of certain portions of the Illinois River and its tributaries.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 7457.

H. R. 14175—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Shade Post, No. 399, of Gratz, Pa., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Military Affairs, 7457.

H. R. 14176—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make donation of condemned German cannon to the city of Alma, Mich.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Military Affairs, 7457.

H. R. 14177—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the support and maintenance of bastards in the District of Columbia."
Mr. Mapes; Committee on the District of Columbia, 7457.

H. R. 14178—To amend an act entitled "An act making it a misdemeanor in the District of Columbia to abandon or willfully neglect to provide for the support and maintenance by any person of his wife or of his or her minor children in destitute or necessitous circumstances."
Mr. Mapes; Committee on the District of Columbia, 7457.

H. R. 14179—To amend an act entitled "An act to create a juvenile court in and for the District of Columbia."
Mr. Mapes; Committee on the District of Columbia, 7457.

H. R. 14180—Granting an increase of pension to John Condon.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Pensions, 7457.

H. R. 14181—Granting a pension to George F. Phillips.
Mr. Hersey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7457.

H. R. 14182—For the relief of the White Plains Agricultural and Fair Association.
Mr. Husted; Committee on War Claims, 7457.

H. R. 14183—Granting an increase of pension to Matilda E. Ames.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Pensions, 7457.

H. R. 14184—Granting a pension to Rachel Tweedle.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7457.

H. R. 14185—Granting a pension to Samuel H. Neese.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7457.

H. R. 14186—Granting a pension to John Hill.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7457.

H. R. 14187—Granting a pension to William W. Moore.
Mr. Oldfield; Committee on Pensions, 7457.

H. R. 14188—Granting a pension to Viola Lawrence.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7457.

H. R. 14189—Granting a pension to Lucy Esterbrooks.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7457.

H. R. 14190—Granting a pension to Thomas Debuke.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7457.

H. R. 14191—Granting an increase of pension to Emilyn L. Bennett.
Mr. Stiness; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7457.

H. R. 14192—Granting a pension to Cena M. Maples.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7457.

H. R. 14193—Granting a pension to James Cantrell.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 7457.

H. R. 14194—Granting an increase of pension to William Sondergaard.
Mr. Webster; Committee on Pensions, 7457.

H. R. 14195—Granting a pension to Mary E. Wells.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7457.

H. R. 14196—To amend the acts of Feb. 5, 1917; June 29, 1906; Feb. 18, 1875; and May 6, 1882, creating an immigration board, providing for the regulation of immigration, raising the standards of naturalization, extending its privileges to all who qualify, and for other purposes.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 7505.

H. R. 14197—To amend the personal service corporation provisions of the revenue act of 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Ways and Means, 7505.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1034), 7505.—Debated, 7750–7766.—Amended and passed House, 7848.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 7875.

H. R. 14198—To amend and simplify the revenue act of 1918.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Ways and Means, 7505.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1035), 7505.—Debated, 7605–7624, 7740–7747.—Amended and passed House, 7747.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 7769.

H. R. 14199—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Roberts.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7506.

H. R. 14200—Granting a pension to August Koeser.
Mr. Lampert; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7506.

H. R. 14201—Granting an increase of pension to Clara Larish.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7506.

H. R. 14202—Granting a pension to Ellen Jefferson.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7506.

H. R. 14203—Granting a pension to Benjamin E. Mosby.
Mr. Milligan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7506.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 7767.

H. R. 14204—For the relief of the heirs of William August Abrend, deceased.
Mr. Quin; Committee on War Claims, 7506.

H. R. 14205—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Polo.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7506.

H. R. 14206—Granting a pension to Charles Hoffman.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7506.

H. R. 14207—To amend the revenue act of 1918, approved Feb. 24, 1919.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Ways and Means, 7556.

H. R. 14208—To amend section 9 of an act entitled "An act to define, regulate, and punish trading with the enemy, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 6, 1917, as amended.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7556.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1089), 8303.—Debated, 8425–8428, 8429.—Amended and passed House, 8429.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 8462.—Reported back, 8472.—Debated, 8472–8475.—Passed Senate, 8475.—Examined and signed, 8510, 8614.—Presented to the President, 8662.

H. R. 14209—To provide increase in compensation for employees in the Postal Service.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 7556.

H. R. 14210—Granting a pension to Ella K. Johnson.
Mr. Dale; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7556.

H. R. 14211—Granting a pension to Frences Ann Sherlaw.
Mr. Dale; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7556.

H. R. 14212—For the relief of Charles J. Hilliard.
Mr. Dale; Committee on Military Affairs, 7556.

H. R. 14213—Granting a pension to Elsie Gillett.
Mr. Elston; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7556.

H. R. 14214—To pay to Silas McElroy, of Cleveland, Ohio, the sum of $600 for injuries received while in the service of the Treasury Department.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Claims, 7556.

H. R. 14215—Granting an increase of pension to Ada L. Kinsey.
Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7556.

H. R. 14216—Granting a pension to Benjamin J. Close.
Mr. Little; Committee on Pensions, 7556.

H. R. 14217—Granting a pension to Hannah Lovell.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7556.

H. R. 14218—Granting a pension to Peter L. Brown.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7556.

H. R. 14219—Granting an increase of pension to Mary V. Benton.
Mr. Rose; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7556.

H. R. 14220—Granting a pension to Jane Coleman.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7556.

H. R. 14221—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to sell and patent to Frank Russell, of Newton County, Miss., certain lands.
Mr. Venable; Committee on the Public Lands, 7556.

H. R. 14222—To authorize the addition of certain lands to the Cache National Forest.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on the Public Lands, 7625.

H. R. 14223—To revise and amend section 853 of the Revised Statutes of the United States of 1878.
Mr. Monahan of Wisconsin; Committee on the Judiciary, 7625.

H. R. 14224—To add certain lands to the Whitman National Forest, in the State of Oregon.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on the Public Lands, 7625.

H. R. 14225—Granting the consent of Congress to the counties of Pembina, N. Dak., and Kittson, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Red River of the North at or near the city of Pembina, N. Dak.
Mr. Baer; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7625.

H. R. 14226—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Ellis, Kans., one German cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 7625.

H. R. 14227—Granting an increase of pension to David B. Cox.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Pensions, 7625.

H. R. 14228—For the relief of Ada P. Sack.
Mr. Crowther; Committee on Claims, 7625.

H. R. 14229—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred Ashton.
Mr. Crowther; Committee on Pensions, 7625.

H. R. 14230—Granting a pension to Eleanor W. Massey.
Mr. Husted; Committee on Pensions, 7625.

H. R. 14231—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza Hilbpisch.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Pensions, 7625.

H. R. 14232—Granting a pension to Florence J. Atchison.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7625.

H. R. 14233—Granting a pension to Laura E. Gardner.
Mr. McLaughlin of Nebraska; Committee on Pensions, 7625.

H. R. 14234—For the relief of Rudolph W. Archer.
Mr. Murphy; Committee on Claims, 7625.

H. R. 14235—Granting a pension to Helen M. Gross.
Mr. Olney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7625.

H. R. 14236—Granting an increase of pension to Nicholas Brady.
Mr. Olney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7626.

H. R. 14237—Granting a pension to Ella M. Fall.
Mr. Shreve; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7626.

H. R. 14238—For the relief of Alexander J. Mitchell.
Mr. Stephens of Ohio; Committee on Military Affairs, 7626.

H. R. 14239—Fixing the rate of compensation of internal-revenue gaugers, storekeepers, and storekeeper-gaugers, the hours of labor per day, and providing the rate of compensation per hour for extra work, and for other purposes.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury Department, 7712.

H. R. 14240—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Ruddell.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Pensions, 7712.

H. R. 14241—Granting an increase of pension to Sherwood C. Bownes.
Mr. Bland of Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 7712.

H. R. 14242—For the relief of John A. Bingham.
Mr. Brooks of Illinois; Committee on Claims, 7712.

H. R. 14243—Granting a pension to Grace A. Kimmer.
Mr. Glynn; Committee on Pensions, 7712.

H. R. 14244—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Mandelbaum.
Mr. Goldfogle; Committee on Pensions, 7712.

H. R. 14245—For the relief of H. Bernhard Erikson.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Claims, 7712.

H. R. 14246—Granting a pension to Agnes Fowler.
Mr. Jones of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7712.

H. R. 14247—Granting an increase of pension to Malissa M. A. Carlson.
Mr. Lee of Georgia; Committee on Pensions, 7712.

H. R. 14248—Granting a pension to Annie M. Marsh.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7712.

H. R. 14249—Granting a pension to Frank E. Crowley.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Pensions, 7712.

H. R. 14250—Granting a pension to William J. Hines.
Mr. Mead; Committee on Pensions, 7712.

H. R. 14251—Granting a pension to Annie L. Marksbury.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7712.

H. R. 14252—For the relief of Percy de Marets Betts.
Mr. Pell; Committee on Military Affairs, 7712.

H. R. 14253—Granting a pension to Luella E. Foote.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7712.

H. R. 14254—Granting a pension to Robert A. Ayers.
Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7712.

H. R. 14255—To appropriate additional sums for Federal aid in the construction of rural post roads and national forest roads and trails, and to amend section 3 of the act of July 11, 1916, entitled "An act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes," as amended by section 6 of the act of Feb. 28, 1919, entitled "An act making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and for other purposes."
Mr. Aswell; Committee on Roads, 7767.

H. R. 14256—To provide for old-age pensions.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Labor, 7767.

H. R. 14257—Providing for the final disposition of the affairs of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians of North Carolina.
Mr. Weaver; Committee on Indian Affairs, 7767.

H. R. 14258—Amending the act of Feb. 25, 1920, entitled "An act to promote the mining of coal, phosphate, oil, oil shale, gas, and sodium on the public domain, and for other purposes."
Mr. Parrish; Committee on the Public Lands, 7767.

H. R. 14259—For permit to construct a toll bridge across the Tennessee River, Marshall County, Ala., at a point one-half mile north of Guntersville, Ala.
Mr. Rainey of Alabama; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7767.

H. R. 14260—For the relief of F. H. Abbott, late secretary and special disbursing agent of the Board of Indian Commissioners.
Mr. Andrews of Nebraska; Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury Department, 7768.

H. R. 14261—Granting a pension to Charles F. George.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14262—Granting a pension to James S. George.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14263—Granting a pension to Gertrude G. Brown.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14264—For the relief of Martin M. Hicks.
Mr. Brooks of Illinois; Committee on Claims, 7768.

H. R. 14265—Granting an increase of pension to Sallie C. Goodman.
Mr. Dominick; Committee on Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14266—Granting an increase of pension to W. Walter Branyan.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14267—Granting a pension to Harriet Barnes.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14268—Granting a pension to Mary Hist.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14269—Granting a pension to Ellen Smith.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14270—Granting a pension to James N. Parker.
Mr. Hickey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14271—Granting a pension to James F. Parsons.
Mr. Hill; Committee on Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14272—Granting a pension to Martha Short.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14273—Granting a pension to James R. Kelley.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14274—Granting a pension to John T. Mockabee.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14275—Granting a pension to Charles Carpenter.
Mr. Swope; Committee on Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14276—Granting a pension to Eliza Macomber.
Mr. McLaughlin of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14277—For the relief of Ignatius Shoen.
Mr. Mann of Illinois; Committee on Claims, 7768.

H. R. 14278—Granting a pension to Mary V. Barlow.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14279—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza A. Pate.
Mr. Mudd; Committee on Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14280—For the relief of Mrs. Vincenza Dimonico.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Claims, 7768.

H. R. 14281—Granting a pension to Olga Stauter.
Mr. Vaile; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14282—Granting a pension to Mary T. Reeves.
Mr. Wheeler; Committee on Pensions, 7768.

H. R. 14283—To authorize the deportation of aliens convicted of importing narcotics into the United States.
Mr. Miller; Committee on the Judiciary, 7858.

H. R. 14284—To amend section 110 of an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916, and to establish military justice.
Mr. Lea of California; Committee on Military Affairs, 7858.

H. R. 14285—To prohibit the export of coal from the United States or any place subject to its jurisdiction.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7858.

H. R. 14286—To authorize officers of the naval service to accept offices with compensation and emoluments from governments of the Republics of South America.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Naval Affairs, 7858.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1071), 8048.—Laid on the table (see S. 4435), 8588.

H. R. 14287—To provide revenue, encourage domestic industries, and make provision for the national defense by the elimination, through the assessment of special duties, of unfair foreign competition in the sale of aeroplanes imported into the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Tilson; Committee on Ways and Means, 7858.

H. R. 14288—Granting a pension to Lola Beebe.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7858.

H. R. 14289—For the relief of Col. Herbert Deakyne, Corps of Engineers, United States Army.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on Military Affairs, 7858.

H. R. 14290—Granting an increase of pension to George P. Robertson.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Pensions, 7858.

H. R. 14291—Granting a pension to Electa E. Rockwell.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7858.

H. R. 14292—For the relief of Ethel A. Fullwood.
Mr. Godwin of North Carolina; Committee on Claims, 7859.

H. R. 14293—Granting a pension to James McCray.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 7859.

H. R. 14294—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Lynde.
Mr. Mudd; Committee on Pensions, 7859.

H. R. 14295—Granting a pension to Bridget Margaret Geraghty.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7859.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 8679.

H. R. 14296—Granting an increase of pension to Rutherford H. Bowsher.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Pensions, 7859.

H. R. 14297—Granting a pension to Kittie Young.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7859.

H. R. 14298—Granting a pension to Hiram L. Hensley.
Mr. Robsion of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 7859.

H. R. 14299—Granting a pension to Lucy Sanders.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7859.

H. R. 14300—Granting a pension to Margaret Gilbon.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7859.

H. R. 14301—Granting a pension to Polly Marsee.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 7859.

H. R. 14302—Granting a pension to Creed F. Casteel.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7859.

H. R. 14303—Granting a pension to Mary Kirk.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 7859.

H. R. 14304—Granting a pension to Mrs. Albert B. Hoffman.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7859.

H. R. 14305—Granting a pension to Harriet E. Sabin.
Mr. Treadway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7859.

H. R. 14306—For the relief of Walter R. Smith.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Claims, 7859.

H. R. 14307—Granting a pension to Edwin S. Fager.
Mr. Vestal; Committee on Pensions, 7859.

H. R. 14308—For the relief of J. H. B. Wilder.
Mr. Wise; Committee on Claims, 7859.

H. R. 14309—Granting medals of honor for meritorious war service with the American Expeditionary Forces.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Military Affairs, 7957.

H. R. 14310—To repeal the act entitled "The soldiers' and sailors' civil relief act."
Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Judiciary, 7957.

H. R. 14311—To authorize the improvement of Red Lake and Red Lake River, in the State of Minnesota, for navigation, drainage, and flood-control purposes.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Flood Control, 7957.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1070), 8048.

H. R. 14312—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Millersburg Gun Club, Millersburg, Pa., two German cannons or fieldpieces.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Military Affairs, 7958.

H. R. 14313—To authorize the purchase of site, preparation of plans and specifications, and the construction of building for use as a foreign branch station for the post office at New York, N. Y.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7958.

H. R. 14314—To provide for the construction, improvement, and maintenance of public post roads.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Ways and Means, 7958.

H. R. 14315—To authorize an appropriation to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to provide medical, surgical, and hospital services and supplies for patients of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance and of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, Division of Rehabilitation, suffering from neuro-psychiatric and tubercular ailments and diseases, and for other purposes.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7958.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1098), 8459.

H. R. 14316—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Young.
Mr. Burroughs; Committee on Pensions, 7958.

H. R. 14317—Granting a pension to Lourinda McIntosh Ross.
Mr. Carss; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7958.

H. R. 14318—Granting a pension to Daisy M. Tibbott.
Mr. Crisp; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7958.

H. R. 14319—Granting a pension to Mary E. Taylor.
Mr. Hill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7958.

H. R. 14320—Granting a pension to Naoma Dobie.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7958.

H. R. 14321—Granting a pension to Levi C. Posey.
Mr. Luhring; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7958.

H. R. 14322—Granting a pension to Louisa Lacer Wright.
Mr. Luhring; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7958.

H. R. 14323—Granting an increase of pension to Addie Martha Blevans.
Mr. Luhring; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7958.

H. R. 14324—Granting an increase of pension to Miranda Johnston.
Mr. Luhring; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7958.

H. R. 14325—Granting an increase of pension to Elbert M. Deffendall.
Mr. Luhring; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7958.

H. R. 14326—Granting an increase of pension to Mary L. Neville.
Mr. Luhring; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7958.

H .R. 14327—Granting an increase of pension to Catharine Conn.
Mr. Luhring; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7958.

H. R. 14328—Granting an increase of pension to Phoebe E. Davis.
Mr. Luhring; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7958.

H. R. 14329—For the relief of Tony Troncone.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Claims, 7958.

H. R. 14330—Granting a pension to Rebecca Welker.
Mr. Michener; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7958.

H. R. 14331—Granting a pension to Orpha Conroy.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7958.

H. R. 14332—Granting a pension to Clara E. Fritcher.
Mr. Sanders of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7958.

H. R. 14333—Granting a pension to Maryelen Gibson.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7958.

H. R. 14334—Granting a pension to Mary B. Perkins.
Mr. Taylor of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7958.

H. R. 14335—Making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes.
Mr. Good, from Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 1069), 8016.—Debated, 8122–8156, 8232–8280, 8290–8301, 8616.—Amended and passed House, 8301.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 8308.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 654), 8334.—Debated, 8358.—Amended and passed Senate, 8377.—House disagrees to all the Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 8554.—Conferees appointed, 8465, 8554.—Senate insists upon its amendments and agrees to conference, 8465.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 8504, 8531.—Debated, 8504–8510, 8531.—Agreed to, 8531.—Senate insists upon its amendments Nos. 4 and 18, 8532.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 1108), 8615.—House recedes from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate No. 18 and agrees to the same with an amendment, and insists upon its disagreement to Senate amendment No. 4, 8615–8618.—Senate recedes from its amendment No. 4 and agrees to the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate No. 18, 8542, 8543.—Examined and signed, 8620, 8662.—Presented to the President, 8678.

H. R. 14336—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes," as amended.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Roads, 8048.

H. R. 14337—Authorizing the disposition of certain lands, title to which was acquired by the United States for naval purposes during the war, which lands are no longer needed for naval purposes.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Naval Affairs, 8048.

H. R. 14338—To reclassify postmasters and employees of the Postal Service and readjust their salaries and compensation on an equitable basis.
Mr. Moon; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 8048.—(See H. Rept. 1072), 8018.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1081), 8157.—Debated, 8381–8397, 8414, 9145, 9164, 9170, 9171, 9209, 9206, 9221, 9249–9250, 9251, 9252.—Amended and passed House, 8397.—Referred to Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 8355.—Reported back, debated, amended, and passed Senate, 8355–8358.—Senate requests conference, 8358.—Conferees appointed, 8358, 8554.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to conference, 8554.—Conference report submitted in Senate, 8502.—Debated, 8532–8534.—Agreed to, 8534.—Conference report submitted in House (H. Rept. 1106), 8585.—Agreed to, 8586.—Examined and signed, 8620, 8662.—Presented to the President, 8678.

H. R. 14339—Granting an increase of pension to Roxie L. Colbert.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8048.

H. R. 14340—Granting an increase of pension to William Homer Edwards.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 8049.

H. R. 14341—Granting an increase of pension to Mervin A. Coshun.
Mr. Brooks of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8049.

H. R. 14342—For the relief of Mrs. John P. Hopkins.
Mr. Connally; Committee on Claims, 8049.

H. R. 14343—Granting a pension to Indiana Abbott.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Pensions, 8049.

H. R. 14344—Granting a pension to Jacob Sigler.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8049.

H. R. 14345—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Bernhart.
Mr. Dunbar; Committee on Pensions, 8049.

H. R. 14346—Granting a pension to Alice M. Burke.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Pensions, 8049.

H. R. 14347—Granting a pension to William Sally.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 8049.

H. R. 14348—For the relief of H. L. Myers.
Mr. Madden; Committee on Claims, 8049.

H. R. 14349—Granting a pension to Annie Beck.
Mr. Rose; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8049.

H. R. 14350—For the relief of Perley Morse & Co.
Mr. Rowe; Committee on Claims, 8049.

H. R. 14351—For the relief of A. W. Duckett & Co.
Mr. Rowe; Committee on Claims, 8049.

H. R. 14352—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Hurrle.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 8049.

H. R. 14353—Granting a pension to Janie Jackson.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Pensions, 8049.

H. R. 14354—To provide for additional ground and to double the floor space of the post-office building at Champaign, Ill.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 8157.

H. R. 14355—To revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, to certain widows, former widows, dependent parents and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases.
Mr. Layton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8157.

H. R. 14356—Granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge across the Savannah River at or near Sanders Ferry, and between the counties of Anderson, S. C., and Elbert, Ga.
Mr. Dominick; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 8157.

H. R. 14357—Granting an increase of pension to Henry M. Lemons.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 8157.

H. R. 14358—Granting an increase of pension to Lena Derl.
Mr. Chindblom; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8157.

H. R. 14359—Granting an increase of pension to Elvira M. Anderson.
Mr. Chindblom; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8157.

H. R. 14360—Granting a pension to Martha P. Malcomson.
Mr. Kelley of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8157.

H. R. 14361—Granting an increase of pension to J. S. Dickinson.
Mr. King; Committee on Pensions, 8157.

H. R. 14362—To remove the charge of desertion against Lucius F. Norton.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Military Affairs, 8157.

H. R. 14363—For the relief of A. O. White.
Mr. Mead; Committee on Claims, 8157.

H. R. 14364—Granting an increase of pension to Amelia J. Barnard.
Mr. Olney; Committee on Pensions, 8157.

H. R. 14365—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth J. Deakyne.
Mr. Purnell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8157.

H. R. 14366—To reclassify salaries of laborers in class C, Customhouse Division, Treasury Department.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Ways and Means, 8303.

H. R. 14367—To provide short-term credit for the farmers of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Banking and Currency, 8303.

H. R. 14368—To provide revenue, encourage domestic industries, and make provision for the national defense by the elimination, through the assessment of special duties, of unfair foreign competition in the sale of aeroplanes imported into the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Tilson, from Committee on Ways and Means (H. Rept. 1088), 8303.—Debated, 8577.—Passed House, 8579.

H. R. 14369—For the relief of Mary Bogner.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Claims, 8303.

H. R. 14370—Granting a pension to Benjamin F. Burch.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8303.

H. R. 14371—Granting a pension to William Crawford.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8303.

H. R. 14372—Granting an increase of pension to Catharine Pentz.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8303.

H. R. 14373—Granting an increase of pension to John B. Wayman.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Pensions, 8303.

H. R. 14374—Granting a pension to Dustin D. Elsie.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Pensions, 8303.

H. R. 14375—Granting a pension to Sarah A. Mentzer.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8303.

H. R. 14376—Granting a pension to Mae M. Ulrich.
Mr. Cooper; Committee on Pensions, 8303.

H. R. 14377—Granting a pension to Jennie A. Ferguson.
Mr. Crowther; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8303.

H. R. 14378—For the relief of John Dzikowicz.
Mr. Crowther; Committee on Claims, 8303.

H. R. 14379—Granting a pension to Cathern Whitaker.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8303.

H. R. 14380—Granting an increase of pension to May A. Chorpenning.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8303.

H. R. 14381—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Lee.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8304.

H. R. 14382—For the relief of the Delaware River Lighterage Co.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Claims, 8304.

H. R. 14383—Granting a pension to Mary L. Cox.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8304.

H. R. 14384—To amend the penal laws of the United States.
Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, 8280.—Reported back and passed House, 8280.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 8308.—Reported without amendment and passed Senate, 8334.—Examined and signed, 8453, 8462.—Presented to the President, 8563.

H. R. 14385—To prevent the shipment in interstate and foreign commerce of certain articles of food liable to cause botulism, and for other purposes.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 8459.

H. R. 14386—To amend section 10 of the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act.
Mr. Platt, from the Committee on Banking and Currency (H. Rept. 1096), 8459.

H. R. 14387—To promote agriculture by regulating the distribution of live stock, live-stock products, dairy products, poultry, poultry products, and eggs, and for other purposes.
Mr. Anderson; Committee on Agriculture, 8459.

H. R. 14388—Authorizing the United States Court of Claims to hear, adjudicate, and determine any claims of the Eastern and Emigrant and Western Cherokee Indians and Creek and Seminole Indians of Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, for any moneys, lands, and interest found due said Indians.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Indian Affairs, 8459.

H. R. 14389—For the relief of contractors under supervision of the War Department for losses which have arisen under contracts entered into between Apr. 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Greene of Vermont; Committee on Military Affairs, 8460.

H. R. 14390—To amend the interstate commerce act, as amended by the transportation act, 1920, to require carriers to supply necessary warehouse facilities and extend the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission.
Mr. Anderson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 8460.

H. R. 14391—To make Newark, N. J., a port through which merchandise may be imported for transportation without appraisement.
Mr. Lehlbach; Committee on Ways and Means, 8460.

H. R. 14392—Granting a pension to George W. Grey.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8460.

H. R. 14393—Granting a pension to Sarah Elizabeth Cottrell.
Mr. Burdick; Committee on Pensions, 8460.

H. R. 14394—Granting a pension to Josephine Olson.
Mr. Dowell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8460.

H. R. 14395—Granting an increase of pension to Ida M. and Junietta Dawson.
Mr. Dowell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8460.

H. R. 14396—Granting a pension to Eliza J. Elliott.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8460.

H. R. 14397—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Corbly.
Mr. Garland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8460.

H. R. 14398—Granting an increase of pension to Lizzie K. Thorpe.
Mr. Garland; Committee on Pensions, 8460.

H. R. 14399—For the relief of Matthew H. Moore.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Military Affairs, 8460.

H. R. 14400—For the relief of Frank J. De Bolt.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Claims, 8460.

H. R. 14401—Granting a pension to Eugene F. Rose.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 8460.

H. R. 14402—Granting a pension to John D. Gardner.
Mr. Luhring; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8460.

H. R. 14403—For the relief of Anthony Murphy.
Mr. McLane; Committee on Military Affairs, 8460.

H. R. 14404—Granting a pension to Rose Anne Jones.
Mr. Murphy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8460.

H. R. 14405—Granting a pension to Flora McMann.
Mr. McLaughlin of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8460.

H. R. 14406—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Borden.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8460.

H. R. 14407—Granting a pension to Rhoda Meacham.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8460.

H. R. 14408—Granting an increase of pension to Bruce E. Townsend.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 8460.

H. R. 14409—To amend section 11 of chapter 517 of the act entitled "An act to establish circuit courts of appeals and to define and regulate in certain cases the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States, and for other purposes," approved Mar. 3, 1891, and to extend and enlarge the time for taking appeals and suing out writs of error in certain cases.
Mr. Browne; Committee on the Judiciary, 8460.

H. R. 14410—To allow credit for all supplies issued and funds disbursed by officers of the Army, under direction of the President, for relief of sufferers of the flood at Corpus Christi, Tex., in September, 1919.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 8460.

H. R. 14411—Requiring all public-building bills to be submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury for investigation and report as to whether proposed buildings and sites are needed and the expenditure justified, and as to the lowest cost at which buildings found necessary may be erected with economy and efficiency.
Mr. James; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 8618.

H. R. 14412—To provide a 1-cent postage rate on local letters and reduce the rate of postage on first-class mail matter.
Mr. Griest; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 8618.

H. R. 14413—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Carterville, State of Illinois, one German fieldpiece or cannon.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Military Affairs, 8618.

H. R. 14414—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Mounds, State of Illinois, one German fieldpiece or cannon.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Military Affairs, 8618.

H. R. 14415—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of West Frankfort, State of Illinois, one German fieldpiece or cannon.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Military Affairs, 8618.

H. R. 14416—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Christopher, State of Illinois, one German fieldpiece or cannon.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Military Affairs, 8618.

H. R. 14417—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Johnston, State of Illinois, one German fieldpiece or cannon.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Military Affairs, 8618.

H. R. 14418—To provide for the payment of taxes on certain property acquired by the United States during the war with Germany, and for other purposes.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on the Judiciary, 8618.

H. R. 14419—To provide for the payment of taxes to the city of Hoboken, N. J., on certain property acquired by the President, and for other purposes.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on the Judiciary, 8618.

H. R. 14420—To provide for the payment of taxes on certain property acquired by the United States by or under the provisions of war legislation, and for other purposes.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on the Judiciary, 8618.

H. R. 14421—To amend sections 9 and 15 of the act approved July 17, 1916, known as the Federal farm-loan act.
Mr. Strong of Kansas; Committee on Banking and Currency, 8618.

H. R. 14422—To equalize pensions of retired policemen and firemen of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. James; Committee on the District of Columbia, 8618.

H. R. 14423—Authorizing the erection of a Federal building at Colfax, Wash.
Mr. Summers of Washington; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 8618.

H. R. 14424—Providing that no soldier, sailor, or marine who has been dishonorably discharged from the United States Army or Navy shall ever receive a pension from the United States Government, and for other purposes.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 8618.

H. R. 14425—Amending chapter 209, Thirty-seventh Statutes, approved July 6, 1912, being an act entitled "An act for the transfer of the so-called Olmstead lands, in the State of North Carolina, from the Solicitor of the Treasury to the Secretary of Agriculture."
Mr. Weaver; Committee on Agriculture, 8618.

H. R. 14426—To protect the public against false pretenses in merchandizing, under trade-mark or special brand, of articles of standard quality.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 8618.

H. R. 14427—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Malattia.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Pensions, 8619.

H. R. 14428—Granting a pension to Julia McDonald.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Pensions, 8619.

H. R. 14429—For the relief of Mary O'Grady.
Mr. MacCrate; Committee on Claims, 8619.

H. R. 14430—Granting a pension to Ezra M. Sellers.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8629.

H. R. 14431—Granting a pension to Benjamin H. Sellers.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8619.

H. R. 14432—Granting a pension to Solomon Cyr.
Mr. Newton of Minnesota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8619.

H. R. 14433—For the relief of Harry J. Dabel.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Claims, 8619.

H. R. 14434—Granting a pension to Fred Nilan.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8619.

H. R. 14435—Granting a pension to Isaac N. Bayless.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8619.

H. R. 14436—Granting an increase of pension to Lelia Stuart.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 8619.

H. R. 14437—Granting an increase of pension to John Early.
Mr. Weaver; Committee on Pensions, 8619.

H. R. 14438—Granting an increase of pension to Clara Fowler.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8619.

H. R. 14439—Granting a pension to Emma Colt.
Mr. White of Kansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8619.

H. R. 14440—Granting a pension to Jesse B. Featherston.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 8619.

H. R. 14441—To provide a national budget system and an independent audit of Government accounts, and for other purposes.
Mr. Good, from Committee on the Budget, 8647.—Debated, 8647–8652, 8656, 8657, 9351.—Amended and passed House, 8657.—Debated in Senate, 8625–8628.

H. R. 14442—To prohibit interference with commerce.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 8680.

H. R. 14443—To amend section 1180 of the Code of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Layton; Committee on the District of Columbia, 8680.

H. R. 14444—Authorizing the construction of a bridge and approaches thereto across Red River connecting Wilbarger County, Tex., and Tillman County, Okla., beginning at a point in the Mrs. Eliza Litteton Survey, Wilbarger County, Tex., and extending north to a point near the line between range 21 and range 22 west, township 2 south, Jackson County, Okla.
Mr. Parrish; Committee on Commerce, 8680.—Reported back, 8666.—Passed House, 8666.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 8641.

H. R. 14445—For the better protection of the lives, limbs, and property of persons and to reimburse the injured, their heirs, and the United States from the violence of mobs.
Mr. Browne; Committee on the Judiciary, 8680.

H. R. 14446—To amend the District of Columbia Code.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on the District of Columbia, 8680.

H. R. 14447—To amend the revenue act of 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Ways and Means, 8680.

H. R. 14448—Granting a pension to Minnie M. Evans.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8680.

H. R. 14449—Granting an increase of pension to Isabella C. Secrest.
Mr. Box; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8680.

H. R. 14450—For the relief of Morgan Miller.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Claims, 8680.

H. R. 14451—For the relief of contributors of the Ellen M. Stone ransom fund.
Mr. Fuller of Massachusetts; Committee on Claims, 8680.

H. R. 14452—Granting a pension to Anna Neibert.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8680.

H. R. 14453—Granting a pension to Mary E. Finson.
Mr. Hersey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8680.

H. R. 14454—For the relief of Melville Van Auker.
Mr. Michener; Committee on Military Affairs, 8680.

H. R. 14455—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel W. Eveland.
Mr. Moore of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 8680.

H. R. 14456—Granting a pension to Arrabell Beagle.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8680.

H. R. 14457—Granting a pension to Christian Seiler.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 8680.

H. R. 14458—For the relief of Willard F. Delano.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Claims, 8680.

H. R. 14459—Granting a pension to Sadie Judith Tharp.
Mr. Wright; Committee on Pensions, 8680.

H. R. 14460—To confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to ascertain the cost to the Southern Pacific Co., a corporation, and the amounts expended by it from Dec. 1, 1906, to Nov. 30, 1907, in closing and controlling the break in the Colorado River, and to render judgment therefor.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Claims, 8680.

20–262 HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTIONS.

H. J. Res. 20—Giving to discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines a preferred right of homestead entry.
Mr. Ferris; debated, 365–373.—Amended and passed House, 373.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 394.—Reported back (S. Rept. 415), 2486.—Passed Senate, 2487.—Examined and signed, 2674, 2676.—Presented to the President, 2733.—Approved [Public resolution No. 29], 2909.

H. J. Res. 23—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay to each honorably discharged soldier, sailor, and marine the additional sum of $300.
Mr. Emerson; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. J. Res. 80—To correct an error in the wording of the appropriation of $71,000 made in the act approved July 9, 1918, and to authorize the Secretary of War to pay said sum to respective parties entitled thereto.
Mr. Hudspeth; passed House, 935, 936.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 970.—Reported Back (S. Rept. 401), 2137.—Passed Senate, 6448.—Examined and signed, 6615, 6617.—Presentedt o the President, 6737.—Approved [Public resolution No. 41], 6884.

H. J. Res. 187—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay to each honorably discharged soldier, sailor, and marine the additional sum of $500.
Mr. Hudspeth; reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3784.

H. J. Res. 194—Amending joint resolution extending the time for payment of purchase money on homestead entries in the former Colville Indian Reservation, Wash.
Mr. Webster; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 610), 2618.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2968, 2969.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 2990.—Reported back (S. Rept. 462), 3906.—Passed Senate, 4118, 4119.—Examined and signed, 4258, 4261.—Presented to the President, 4433.—Approved [Public resolution No. 33], 4701.

H. J. Res. 213—Continuing temporarily certain allowances to officers of the Navy.
Mr. Butler; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 313), 35.—Debated, 35, 36.—As amended passed Senate, 36.—Debated in House, 702–708.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 708.—Examined and signed, 784, 806.—Presented to the President, 921.—Approved [Public resolution No. 26], 1054.

H. J. Res. 215—Authorizing the legal heirs of certain officers of the United States Coast Guard who lost their lives when the Coast Guard cutter Tampa was destroyed in Bristol Channel Sept. 26, 1918, to receive pay and allowances that would have accrued to said officers.
Mr. Benson; debated, amended, and passed House, 4822, 4823.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 4846.

H. J. Res. 222—Authorizing the Secretary of War to dispose of surplus dental outfits.
Mr. Layton; reported without amendment (S. Rept. 411), 2339.—Passed Senate, 5174.—Examined and signed, 5307, 5316.—Presented to the President, 5527.—Approved [Public resolution No. 38], 6078.

H. J. Res. 238—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Hastings; debated, 6001.

H. J. Res. 250—Declaring November 11 of each year to be a national holiday.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on the Judiciary, 26.

H. J. Res. 251—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. O'Connell; Committee on the Judiciary, 26.

H. J. Res. 252—Requesting the French Republic to repeal, modify, or suspend the laws, ministerial instructions, and regulations of the French Republic preventing the immediate disinterment and return to the United States of American military dead buried in France, and directing the Secretary of War, upon the French Republic consenting, to take appropriate action to effect such disinterment and removal to the United States of such bodies in cases where requests for such removal are made by the nearest of kin.
Mr. Connally; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 174.

H. J. Res. 253—Declaring at an end the war between the United States and Germany.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 174.

H. J. Res. 254—To relieve the present coal shortage and to provide for the uninterrupted production of coal.
Mr. Keller; Committee on Appropriations, 174.

H. J. Res. 255—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to citizenship of children of foreign parentage.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Judiciary, 214.

H. J. Res. 256—To extend and make applicable to those who rendered honorable and faithful service with the American Red Cross, Young Men's Christian Association, Knights of Columbus, Salvation Army, and other like auxiliary organizations during the World War the benefits of certain existing laws.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 214.

H. J. Res. 257—Authorizing the Secretary of War to dispose of surplus Army and medical supplies.
Mr. Layton; Committee on Military Affairs, 312.

H. J. Res. 258—To cede the Point Peter Military Reservation to the State of Georgia.
Mr. Crisp; Committee on Military Affairs, 387.

H. J. Res. 259—Providing for an investigation leading to establishment of industry for manufacture of sugar and kindred products from sweet potatoes.
Mr. Crisp; Committee on Agriculture, 387.

H. J. Res. 260—Authorizing the payment of salaries of officers and employees of Congress for December, 1919.
Mr. Good, from Committee on Appropriations, 409.—Debated and passed House, 409.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 440.—Reported back favorably, 440.—Passed Senate, 440.—Examined and signed, 500, 558.—Presented to the President, 689.—Approved [Public resolution No. 22], 769.

H. J. Res. 261—To make immediately available the appropriation for the expenses of regulating further the entry of aliens into the United States.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Appropriations, 435.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 505), 721.—Laid on the table (see S. J. Res. 131), 839.

H. J. Res. 262—Authorizing the Secretary of War to furnish material, forces, and help for the construction of a pontoon bridge for temporary use across the Chattahoochee River at West Point, Ga.
Mr. Wright; Committee on Military Affairs, 611.

H. J. Res. 263—Extending the time for filing final report of the Joint Commission on Reclassification of Salaries, created by section 9, Public, No. 314, Sixty-fifth Congress, approved Mar. 1, 1919, to a date not later than Mar. 12, 1920.
Mr. Good; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 611.—Reported back (H. Rept. 507), 785.—Debated and passed House, 915, 916.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 970.—Substituted for S. J. Res. 135; passed Senate, 1099.—Examined and signed, 1204, 1206.—Presented to the President, 1278.—Approved [Public resolution No. 28], 1635.

H. J. Res. 264—Declaring November 11 of each year to be a national holiday.
Mr. Kendall; Committee on the Judiciary, 721.

H. J. Res. 265—Thanking the American coal miner for distinguished services rendered the Government in time of war.
Mr. Goodykoontz; Committee on Military Affairs, 860.

H. J. Res. 266—Authorizing the Committee on Revision of the Laws to print additions and amendments to H. R. 9389 and other bills concerning the same subject, if necessary.
Mr. Kiess; passed House, 915.—Referred to Senate Committee on Printing, .—Reported back, 961.—Passed Senate, 961.—Examined and signed, 974, 1010.—Presented to the President, 1054.—Approved [Public resolution No. 24], 1055.

H. J. Res. 267—Authorizing the payment of salaries of officers and employees of Congress for December, 1919.
Mr. Good; agreed to, 925.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appriations, 912.—Reported back favorably, 913.—Passed Senate, 913.—Examined and signed, 959, 1008.—Presented to the President, 1054.—Approved [Public resolution No. 23], 1054.

H. J. Res. 268—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of State to arrange without further delay for the return from France of America's heroic dead.
Mr. Burke; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1012.

H. J. Res. 269—Providing for the disposition of the statue of Abraham Lincoln, removed from its site in front of the courthouse, in the city of Washington, D. C.
Mr. Classon; Committee on the Library, 1078.

H. J. Res. 270—Authorizing the erection of a monument marking the starting point of the motor convoy from Washington to San Francisco.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on the Library, 1078.—Reported back (H. Rept. 599), 2533.—Passed House, 8583, 8584.—Reported to the Senate without amendment and passed, 8536.—Examined and signed, 8620, 8662.—Presented to the President, 8678.

H. J. Res. 271—Suspending the operation of certain provisions of the immigration act relating to alien contract laborers and illiterate ailens.
Mr. Hudspeth; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 1155.

H. J. Res. 272—To provide for the return of the dead bodies of soldiers of the American Expeditionary Forces buried in France.
Mr. Boies; Committee on Military Affairs, 1310.

H. J. Res. 273—Directing the President to require the exhumation and transportation forthwith of the bodies of all persons now buried in foreign countries who gave their lives in the late war in the service of the United States or in the service of the Allies.
Mr. Porter; Committee on Military Affairs, 1518.

H. J. Res. 274—To provide for rewarding soldiers, sailors, marines, and nurses for faithful service.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Military Affairs, 1561.—Reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. J. Res. 275—Directing the President to require the exhumation and transportation forthwith of the bodies of all soldiers, sailors, and marines now buried in foreign countries who gave their lives in the late war in the service of the United States or in the service of the Allies.
Mr. Johnson of Mississippi; Committee on Military Affairs, 1561.

H. J. Res. 276—To amend the section providing for "regular supplies" in the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and for other purposes," approved July 11, 1919.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 1643.

H. J. Res. 277—Authorizing the Secretary of War to supply and furnish to legally constituted posts of the American Legion rifles and bugles for burial services.
Mr. Vestal; Committee on Military Affairs, 1694.

H. J. Res. 278—To provide for rewarding soldiers, sailors, marines, and nurses for faithful service.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Military Affairs, 1760.—Reference changed to Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. J. Res. 279—For the speedy return of the bodies of American military dead buried in France to the United States, and that all proper steps be taken to induce the French Republic to repeal, modify, or suspend all laws that delay or prevent their speedy removal to the United States, and that the Secretary of War be directed to take all necessary steps for removal of such bodies for burial in the United States.
Mr. Dickinson of Missouri; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1861.—Debated, 2132–2134, 8790.

H. J. Res. 280—Providing that special permits and reports relative to the use of whiskies for medicinal purposes be suspended for 90 days.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on the Judiciary, 1925.

H. J. Res. 281—To remove Edward Keating from the Commission for the Reclassification of Salaries, and declaring vacant the position held by him thereon.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 1925.

H. J. Res. 282—To reerect the statute of Abraham Lincoln upon its original site.
Mr. King; Committee on the Library, 2023.

H. J. Res. 283—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Benson; Committee on the Judiciary, 2180.

H. J. Res. 284—To increase the salaries in the Custodian Service.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; Committee on Appropriations, 2229.

H. J. Res. 285—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish the Senate and House of Representatives certain detailed information secured from income and profits tax returns of taxable year 1918.
Mr. MacCrate; Committee on Ways and Means, 2283.

H. J. Res. 286—Providing that Lincoln's birthday shall be a legal holiday.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on the Judiciary, 2384.

H. J. Res. 287—To enable the Public Health Service to cooperate with States in the investigation and control of malaria in the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Overstreet; Committee on Appropriations, 2422.

H. J. Res. 288—Authorizing and directing the Joint Committee on Printing to publish a daily bulletin of public hearings held by committees, subcommittees, and commissions of Congress.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Printing, 2675.

H. J. Res. 289—Notifying Great Britain to cancel and abrogate a certain treaty dated Jan. 11, 1909, relating to the boundary waters and questions arising along the boundary of Canada and the United States.
Mr. Smith of Illinois; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2790.

H. J. Res. 290—Requiring the Attorney General of the United States to appeal the case of the United States against the Southern Pacific Co. and others, decided in the District Court of the United States for the District of California Aug. 28, 1919.
Mr. Browne; Committee on the Judiciary, 2819.

H. J. Res. 291—Authorizing the Secretary of War to bring back on Army transports from Danzig, Poland, persons of Polish origin who were engaged in the war on the side of the allied and associated powers.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 2881.

H. J. Res. 292—Authorizing the Secretary of War to receive for instruction at the United States Military Academy, at West Point, Ramon Ricardo Arias, a citizen of Panama.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 2881.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 690), 3650.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3756, 3757.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3788.

H. J. Res. 293—Directing the Shipping Board not to sell certain ships and authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of Commerce, and the chairman of the Shipping Board to adopt rules and regulations permitting the purchase, carrying, serving, and sale of alcoholic beverages on vessels registered in foreign trade flying the American flag.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2932.

H. J. Res. 294—Authorizing the Secretary of War to bring back on Army transports from Danzig, Poland, residents of the United States of Polish origin who were engaged in the war on the side of the allied and associated powers.
Mr. Kleczka; Committee on Military Affairs, 2932.

H. J. Res. 295—Calling attention to a violation of the Monroe doctrine.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2984.

H. J. Res. 296—Authorizing the appointment of a commission to confer with the Dominion Government or the provincial governments of Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick relative to the claims of the American interests now holding leases of Crown lands acquired prior to the passage of restrictive orders in council of the said Provinces.
Mr. Baer; Committee on Appropriations, 3039.

H. J. Res. 297—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Fess; Committee on the Judiciary, 3106.

H. J. Res. 298—To constitute a select joint committee on the organization, activities, and methods of business of the administrative branch of the Government.
Mr. Moore of Virginia; Committee on Rules, 3106.

H. J. Res. 299—Extending the life of the National Screw Thread Commission for a period of two years from Mar. 21, 1920.
Mr. Tilson; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 3158.—Reported back (H. Rept. 671), 3432; Debated, amended, and passed House, 3709.—Referred to Senate Committee on Standards, Weights, and Measures, 3733.—Reported back, 4375.—Passed Senate, 4435.—Examined and signed, 4560, 4566.—Presented to the President, 4719.—Approved [Public resolution No. 34], 4842.

H. J. Res. 300—Requesting the President to call an international trade-agreement congress.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3217.

H. J. Res. 301—To authorize the Secretary of War to grant revocable licenses for the removal of sand and gravel from the Fort Douglas Military Reservation for industrial purposes.
Mr. Mays; Committee on Military Affairs, 3484.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 809), 5383.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5866, 5867.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 5882.—Reported back, 6146.—Passed Senate, 6146.—Examined and signed, 6328, 6357.—Presented to the President, 6440.—Approved [Public resolution No. 40], 6836.

H. J. Res. 302—Authorizing an appropriation for the participation of the United States in the observance of the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Provincetown and Plymouth, Mass.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on the Library, 3650.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 765), 4843.—Debated, 5865, 6081, 6082, 6083–6094.—Amended and passed House, 6094.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 6107.—Reference changed to Senate Committee on the Library, 6146.—Reported back, 6554.—Passed Senate, 6554.—Examined and signed, 6670, 6706.—Presented to the President, 6842.—Approved [Public resolution No. 42], 7121.—(See appointment of commission), 7510.

H. J. Res. 303—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and for other purposes."
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 3650.

H. J. Res. 304—To authorize and direct the Secretary of the Navy to open certain naval radio stations for the use of the general public.
Mr. Greene of Massachusetts; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 3651.

H. J. Res. 305—To amend a certain paragraph of the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921," approved Feb. 14, 1920.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3729.—Reported back, debated, and passed House, 3907.—Reported back and passed Senate, 3939.—Examined and signed, 4106, 4108.—Presented to the President, 1206.—Approved [Public resolution No. 32], 4466.

H. J. Res. 306—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Johnston of New York; Committee on the Judiciary, 3784.

H. J. Res. 307—Defining what shall constitute a crop failure under the rules and regulations issued by the departments of the Government in making loans of seed wheat to farmers for crop purposes.
Mr. Tincher; Committee on Agriculture, 3784.—Reported back (H. Rept. 972), 6970.

H. J. Res. 308—Authorizing the President of the United States to manage and operate Cape Cod Canal, in the State of Massachusetts.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3784.

H. J. Res. 309—Authorizing the printing of 200,000 copies of the special report on the diseases of the horse.
Mr. Weaver; Committee on Printing, 3837.

H. J. Res. 310—Authorizing the printing of 200,000 copies of the special report on the disease of cattle.
Mr. Weaver; Committee on Printing, 3837.

H. J. Res. 311—Authorizing the President of the United States to manage and operate Cape Cod Canal, in the State of Massachusetts.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3884.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1080), 8157.

H. J. Res. 312—Declaring that a state of peace exists between the United States and Germany.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 4158.

H. J. Res. 313—Authorizing the Secretary of War to expend certain moneys for completion of Liberty Theater at Camp Knox, Ky.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 4372.

H. J. Res. 314—Expressing the views of the Congress of the United States on justice to the Armenian people.
Mr. Little; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 4372.

H. J. Res. 315—Instructing the Attorney General to institute proceedings against certain corporations restraining them from distributing surplus war profits.
Mr. Little; Committee on Rules, 4373.

H. J. Res. 316—Authorizing the Lincoln Memorial Commission to designate Hon. John Temple Graves as resident commissioner to represent the commission in the oversight of the work of construction of the memorial.
Mr. Cannon; agreed to, 4467.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 4567.—Reported back, 4776.—Passed Senate, 4776.—Examined and signed, 4904, 4906.—Presented to the President, 4990.—Approved [Public, No. 35], 5061.

H. J. Res. 317—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay the sum of $50 for each month of service during the War with Germany to all soldiers, sailors, members of the Marine Corps, and women in the military or naval service of the United States.
Mr. Reber; Committee on Ways and Means, 4493.

H. J. Res. 318—Repealing the joint resolution of Apr. 6, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the United States and Germany.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 4670.

H. J. Res. 319—Authorizing use of Army transports by teams, individuals, and their equipment representing the United States in olympic games and international competitions.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Military Affairs, 4670.

H. J. Res. 320—Providing for pay to clerks to Members of Congress and Delegates.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Accounts, 4720.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 866), 6013.

H. J. Res. 321—To appropriate out of the funds of the Flathead Tribe of Indians the sum of $10,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to bring test suits in the United States court, district of Montana, to determine the right of the Government to issue patents in fee to members of the Flathead Tribe, and for other purposes.
Mr. Riddick; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4942.

H. J. Res. 322—To appropriate out of the funds of the Blackfeet Tribe of Indians the sum of $10,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to bring test suits in the United States court, district of Montana, to determine the right of the Government to issue patents in fee to members of the Blackfeet Tribe, and for other purposes.
Mr. Riddick; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4942.

H. J. Res. 323—Authorizing the acquisition of lands and buildings in the District of Columbia for a hospital plant.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5029.

H. J. Res. 324—Authorizing and directing the accounting officers of the Treasury to allow credit to the disbursing clerk of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance in certain cases.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5029.—Reported back (H. Rept. 817), 5527.—Laid on the table (see S. J. Res. 189), 7383.

H. J. Res. 325—Terminating the state of war declared to exist Apr. 6, 1917, between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States; permitting on conditions the resumption of reciprocal trade with Germany, and for other purposes.
Mr. Porter; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 5078.—Debated, 8955.

H. J. Res. 326—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to loan tents to cities during the summer months of 1920 to relieve the housing situation.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Military Affairs, 5129.

H. J. Res. 327—Terminating the state of war declared to exist Apr. 6, 1917, between the Imperial German Government and the United States; permitting on conditions the resumption of reciprocal trade with Germany, and for other purposes.
Mr. Porter; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 5129.—Reported back (H. Rept. 801) (see also H. R. Rept. 801, part 2, 5273.—Debated, 5346–5382, 5408–5481, 7497, 8961, 8966, 8971–8976, 8977–8991, 8995, 8997, 9002, 9003, 9076, 9371, 9318, 9375.—Passed House, 5481.—Referred to Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 5529.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 568), 6329.—Debated, 6556–6566, 6851–6857, 6895–6899, 6903–6914, 6971–6977, 6980–6984, 7029, 7032, 7085–7102, 7547.—Amended and passed Senate, 7102.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 7423–7430.—Examined and signed, 7503, 7507.—Presented to the President, 7549.—Vetoed by the President (H. Doc. 799), 7447.—Failed to pass House over the President's veto, 7805–7809.

H. J. Res. 328—Authorizing use of Army transports by teams, individuals, and their equipment representing the United States in Olympic games and international competitions.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Military Affairs, 5224.

H. J. Res. 329—To correct the records of certain naval and marine officers who joined the Confederate forces.
Mr. Stedman; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5273.

H. J. Res. 330—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to sell a certain parcel of land known as Fort Jackson, at New Deptford, on the Savannah River, Ga.
Mr. Overstreet; Committee on Military Affairs, 5273.

H. J. Res. 331—Providing for the appointment of a commission for the purpose of erecting in Potomac Park in the District of Columbia a memorial to those members of the armed forces of the United States from the District of Columbia who served in the Great War.
Mr. Gould; Committee on the Library, 5383.

H. J. Res. 332—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. MacGregor; Committee on the Judiciary, 5482.

H. J. Res. 333—To loan tents and cots to certain sections along the Mississippi River which are liable to overflow.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Military Affairs, 5528.

H. J. Res. 334—Providing for the repeal of existing war legislation.
Mr. Hutchinson; Committee on the Judiciary, 5528.

H. J. Res. 335—Directing the Attorney General to investigate the manufacture, distribution, and sale of print paper and to institute criminal proceedings against those found to be profiteering.
Mr. Chirstopherson; Committee on the Judiciary, 5711.

H. J. Res. 336—Authorizing the Secretary of War to loan to the Albert Sidney Johnston Camp, United Confederate Veterans, No. 1820, Fort Worth, Tex., 100 cots and blankets for the use of Confederate Veterans at the reunion of said camp, June 24 to 27, inclusive, 1920.
Mr. Lanham; Committee on Military Affairs, 5762.—Reported back (H. Rept. 862), 6013.—Debated and passed House, 6142.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 6147.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 620), 7459.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 7797.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 7956.—Examined and signed, 8084, 8156.—Presented to the President, 8281.—Approved [Public resolution No. 49], 8662.

H. J. Res. 337—To include the names of southern military leaders in the inscriptions on the Amphitheater at Arlington.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on the Library, 5762.

H. J. Res. 338—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to lend tents to cities during the summer months of 1920 to relieve the housing situation.
Mr. Upshaw; Committee on Military Affairs, 5762.

H. J. Res. 339—To create a Joint Committee on the Reorganization of the Administrative Branch of the Government.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on the Judiciary, 5815.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 959), 6893.

H. J. Res. 340—Providing for the recommendation of amnesty and pardon for political prisoners in the United States.
Mr. Voigt; Committee on the Judiciary, 5815.

H. J. Res. 341—Authorizing the Secretary of War to loan to the city of Chillicothe, Ohio, tents and cots for the use of the Boy Scout organization of that city in their annual encampment during the months of July and August, 1920.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Military Affairs, 5925.

H. J. Res. 342—To provide additional compensation for employees of the Postal Service and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Juul; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 5965.

H. J. Res. 343—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Humphreys; Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress, 5965.

H. J. Res. 344—Authorizing the Secretary of War to sell to the city of Pittsburgh, Pa., a certain tract of land within the Allegheny Arsenal Reservation.
Mr. Morin; Committee on Military Affairs, 6104.

H. J. Res. 345—Authorizing the Secretary of War to loan, issue, or use quartermaster's and medical supplies for the relief of destitute persons in the districts overflowed by the Mississippi River and its tributaries.
Mr. Quin; Committee on Military Affairs, 6257.

H. J. Res. 346—Extending the time for payment of purchase money on homestead entries in the former Standing Rock Indian Reservation, in the States of North and South Dakota.
Mr. Sinclair; Committee on Indian Affairs, 6257.—Reported back (H. Rept. 916), 6483.

H. J. Res. 347—Repealing all war-time acts and joint resolutions of Congress.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on the Judiciary, 6257.

H. J. Res. 348—To correct the records of certain naval and marine officers who joined the Confederate forces.
Mr. Stedman; Committee on Naval Affairs, 6327.

H. J. Res. 349—To suspend the requirements of annual assessment work on mining claims during the year 1920.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Mines and Mining, 6389.

H. J. Res. 350—Requesting the amendment of section 6 of the act of Oct. 15, 1914, entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," and requesting the Committee on the Judiciary to report a bill with such amendment at as early a date as possible.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Rules, 6616.

H. J. Res. 351—Extending the provisions of an act amending section 32 of the Federal farm loan act approved July 17, 1916, to June 30, 1921.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Banking and Currency, 6669.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 952), 6842.—Debated, 7237–7259.—Amended and passed House, 7259.—Reported to the Senate without amendment and passed, 7292.—Examined and signed, 7447, 7459.—Presented to the President, 7552.—Approved [Public resolution No. 45], 7812.

H. J. Res. 352—To receive Dr. Patrick McCartan as Ireland's diplomatic representative.
Mr. Hamill; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 6669.

H. J. Res. 353—To create a joint committee on the reorganization of the administrative branch of the Government.
Mr. Madden; Committee on Rules, 6738.

H. J. Res. 354—Authorizing the Secretary of War to loan to Paul E. Slocumb Post, No. 85, Grand Army of the Republic, Bloomington, Ind., necessary tents and cots for use at the State encampment to be held at said city May 25, 26, and 27, 1920.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Military Affairs, 6793.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 976), 7028.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7077.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 7085.—Reported with amendments, 7270.—Amended and passed Senate, 7270.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 7321.—Examined and signed, 7326, 7357.—Presented to the President, 7384.—Approved [Public resolution], 7604.

H. J. Res. 355—Authorizing use of Army transports by teams, individuals, and their equipment, representing the United States in Olympic games and international competitions.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Military Affairs, 6970.

H. J. Res. 356—To suspend the requirements of annual assessment work on mining claims in the Territory of Alaska during the year 1920.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Mines and Mining, 6971.

H. J. Res. 357—Authorizing recognition of the republic of Ireland.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 7325.

H. J. Res. 358—Providing for monthly payment of pensions.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7385.

H. J. Res. 359—Authorizing the Secretary of War to loan to the American Legion Post, No. 73, Vincennes, Ind., necessary cots for use at the State encampment of the American Legion to be held at Vincennes, Ind., on June 28 and 29, 1920.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Military Affairs, 7385.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1046), 7767.—Amended and passed House, 7849.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 7875.—Reported back, 8202.—Passed Senate, 8202.—Examined and signed, 8346, 8398.—Presented to the President, 8563.—Approved [Public resolution No. 50], 8662.

H. J. Res. 360—Authorizing the Postmaster General to allow and pay to the employees of the Postal Service a flat increase of 25 per cent on all basic salaries pending report of Joint Congressional Post Office Salaries Reclassification Commission and legislation carrying same into effect.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 7457.

H. J. Res. 361—Providing for a recommendation of pardon and amnesty for all military offenders whose military offenses do not involve moral turpitude and were committed between Apr. 6, 1917, and Jan. 1, 1920.
Mr. Schall; Committee on the Judiciary, 7505.

H. J. Res. 362—Authorizing the Postmaster General to allow and pay to the employees of the Postal Service a flat increase of 25 per cent on all salaries pending report of Joint Congressional Post Offices Salaries Reclassification Commission and legislation carrying same into effect.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 7625.

H. J. Res. 363—Making an appropriation to discover a suitable substitute for gasoline.
Mr. Knutson; Committee on Agriculture, 7712.

H. J. Res. 364—For the appointment of a joint commission of three Members of the House and two Members of the Senate to investigate contributions to all candidates for Members of the Sixty-seventh Congress.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on Appropriations, 7712.

H. J. Res. 365—Expressing sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their choice.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 7767.

H. J. Res. 366—Repealing certain war legislation and fixing a date for the termination of emergency acts.
Mr. Connally; Committee on the Judiciary, 7858.

H. J. Res. 367—To repeal war-time legislation.
Mr. Ackerman; Committee on the Judiciary, 7858.

H. J. Res. 368—To suspend the requirements of annual assessment work on mining claims during the year 1920.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Mines and Mining, 7958.

H. J. Res. 369—Admitting Emil S. Fischer to the rights and privileges of a citizen of the United States.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 7958.

H. J. Res. 370—Relating to the appropriations for the Department of Agriculture.
Mr. Haugen; passed House, 8089.—Passed Senate, 8075.—Examined and signed, 8084, 8156.—Presented to the President, 8281.—Approved [Public resolution No. 46], 8277.

H. J. Res. 371—Permitting Chinese to register under certain provisions and conditions.
Mr. Bee; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 8157.

H. J. Res. 372—Authorizing the erection on public grounds in the city of Washington, D. C., of a memorial to Jeanne d'Arc.
Mr. Pell; Committee on the Library, 8157.

H. J. Res. 373—Declaring that certain acts of Congress, joint resolutions, and proclamations shall be construed as if the war had ended and the present or existing emergency expired.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on the Judiciary, 8157.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1087), 8303.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 8412–8416.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 8363.—Reported back, 8493.—Amended and passed Senate, 8493.—The Senate amendments were agreed to in House, 8614.—Examined and signed, 8620, 8662.—Presented to the President, 8678.

H. J. Res. 374—Regarding exploration of oil in territory controlled by England.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 8303.

H. J. Res. 375—Restricting the distribution among the several States of Federal appropriations for highways.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Roads, 8460.

H. J. Res. 376—For the appointment of a special committee to investigate conditions in Ukranian East Galicia, to the end that supplies of medicines, food, and clothing may be sent to relieve the intense distress.
Mr. Hamill; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 8460.

H. J. Res. 377—Prohibiting the exportation of coal oil, gasoline, anthracite coal, and sulphur into the Dominion of Canada until such time as amicable trade relations can be arranged with the Dominion Government and the Provinces of Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick relative to the importation of sand, gravel, and pulp wood therefrom into the United States.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 8618.

H. J. Res. 378—Authorizing the Secretary of War to turn over to the Public Health Service tents for use in caring for discharged veterans of the war with Germany.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Military Affairs, 8619.

H. J. Res. 379—To increase the salaries of school-teachers and other employees in the public schools of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Appropriations, 8619.

H. J. Res. 380—Authorizing the payment of the compensation of session employees of the Senate and House of Representatives for the month of June, 1920, on the 5th day of said month.
Mr. Mondell; passed House, 8653.—Passed Senate, ——.—Examined and signed, 8641, 8678.—Presented to the President, 8678.—Approved [Public resolution No. 52], 8620.

H. J. Res. 381—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States in relation to convening Congress in either House thereof in extraordinary sessions on the volition of the Members or Members-elect thereof.
Mr. Browne; Committee on the Judiciary, 8680.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS. 14–41

H. Con. Res. 14—For the appointment of a joint committee to arrange for a proper celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims.
Mr. Walsh; report submitted in Senate (see S. J. Res. 165), 3610.—Report submitted in House (H. Rept. 691), 3629.

H. Con. Res. 39—Protesting against the merciless persecution of the Jewish people of Ukraine and other States in eastern and southeastern Europe.
Mr. Newton of Missouri; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 559.

H. Con. Res. 40—To print final report of Gen. John J. Pershing.
Mr. Kiess, debated and agreed to, 914, 915.—Referred to Senate Committee on Printing, 862.—Reported with amendments, 1647.—As amended agreed to, 1648.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 1783.

H. Con. Res. 41—Authorizing the printing of the report of the fifty-fourth national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic.
Mr. Kiess, and agreed to, 914.—Referred to Senate Committee on Printing, 861.—Reported back and agreed to, 1648.

H. Con. Res. 42—For the discharge and return to America of all American citizens now serving in the military forces of Poland, upon application of such soldiers for discharge.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1205.

H. Con. Res. 43—Requesting the President of the United States to reopen certain cases where men in military service were imprisoned during war.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Military Affairs, 1246.

H. Con. Res. 44—Directing the retention of the pneumatic mail tube equipment in the Philadelphia and other post offices pending legislation affecting same in Congress.
Mr. Vare; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1356.

H. Con. Res. 45—Extending the time for making report by the joint special committee appointed to confer with the officials of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and others, relative to the participation by the United States in the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims.
Mr. Walsh: debated and agreed to, 1355.—Agreed to in the Senate, 1521.

H. Con. Res. 46—Appointing a commission to report on conditions in the Virgin Islands.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas, and agreed to, 1559.—Senate concurs in, 1563.—Committee appointed in House, 1782.—Committee appointed in Senate, 1813.—Report submitted in Senate (H. Doc. 734), 5823.

H. Con. Res. 47—To remove Edward Keating from the Commission on Reclassification of Salaries.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 1811.

H. Con. Res. 48—Authorizing the Clerk of the House to correct certain errors in the enrollment of H. R. 11368, the Indian appropriation bill.
Mr. Snyder, and agreed to, 2459.—Agreed to in the Senate, 2486.

H. Con. Res. 49—Authorizing the Clerk of the House to correct certain errors in the enrollment of H. R. 11368, the Indian appropriation bill.
Mr. Elston, and agreed to, 2598.—Agreed to in the Senate, 2675, 2676.

H. Con. Res. 50—Regarding the appointment of commissions to deal with capital and labor.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on the Judiciary, 2675.

H. Con. Res. 51—Expressing regret at the resignation of Robert Lansing.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2932.

H. Con. Res. 52—Expressing hope for self-determination for India.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3784.

H. Con. Res. 53—To print 10,000 copies of Senate Document No. 219, Fifty-sixth Congress, second session.
Mr. Crisp; Committee on Printing, 3884.

H. Con. Res. 54—Authorizing the clerk to make certain corrections in the enrollment of H. R. 11578.
Mr. Steenerson, and agreed to, 5814.—Senate concurs, 5823.

H. Con. Res. 55—To withdraw our troops from Europe.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 5881.

H. Con. Res. 56—In relation to the republic of Ireland.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 7127.

H. Con. Res. 57—That Ireland have a government of its own choice.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 7712.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1063), 7957.—Debated, 9292, 9349.

H. Con. Res. 58—Declaring that Ireland should have a government of its own choice.
Mr. Begg; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 7712.

H. Con. Res. 59—Declaring the Irish question to be of no concern to the United States.
Mr. Connally; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 7767.

H. Con. Res. 60—Providing for the adjournment of Congress.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Ways and Means, 7958.—Reported back, 8101.—Adopted in House, 8101, 8102.—Adopted in Senate, 8308–8315.

H. Con. Res. 61—In relation to the republic of Ireland.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 8680.

H. Res. 78—For the appointment of a select committee of 15 on expenditures in the War Department.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; reported back (H. Rept. 637), 2984.—Debated, 3959, 3990, 9329.

H. Res. 159—To direct the Secretary of the Interior to report upon the suitability, location, cost, if any, and advisability of securing a national redwood park.
Mr. Lea of California; Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 871), 6143.—Amended and passed House, 6479.

H. Res. 201—Authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to report to the House of Representatives the cost of transportation of coal by canals and other navigable waters within continental United States as compared with railway rates, together with recommendations.
Mr. Thompson of Ohio; reported back (H. Rept. 946), 6792.

H. Res. 277—To pay six months' salary and funeral expenses of Julia Hagberg.
Mr. Chindblom; reported back (H. Rept. 641), 3017.—Debated, amended, and agreed to, 3017.

H. Res. 305—Authorizing a special messenger under the Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Rodenberg; reported back (H. Rept. 639), 3013.—Considered and agreed to, 3013–3017.

H. Res. 323—Providing for the appointment of a select committee to consider all legislation relating to honorably discharged officers, soldiers, sailors, and marines of the present war.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee, and debated, 3522.

H. Res. 324—To provide changes in the Rules of the House in connection with the establishment of a national budget.
Mr. Good; debated, 8108–8121.—Agreed to, 8121.

H. Res. 353—To increase the salary of the superintendent of the Press Gallery $400 per annum.
Mr. Mapes; reported back (H. Rept. 515), 859.

H. Res. 361—For the relief of Angeline Medbury, widow of David W. Medbury, late an employee of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Mason; reported back (H. Rept. 512), 858.—Agreed to, 859.

H. Res. 385—To pay Arthur Lucas for special janitor services.
Mr. Cannon; reported back (H. Rept. 561) and agreed to, 1674.

H. Res. 390—For the relief of Benjamin F. Jones, brother of Henry T. Jones, late an employee of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Curry of California; reported back (H. Rept. 514) and agreed to, 859.

H. Res. 391—For the relief of Miss Mattie Long, daughter of Capt. William Max Long, late an employee of the House of Representatives, being a doorkeeper on the "old soldier's roll."
Mr. Candler; reported back (H. Rept. 513) and agreed to, 859.

H. Res. 394—Requesting the Attorney General to furnish to the House of Representatives certain information regarding the fixing of the price of sugar.
Mr. Tinkham; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 496), 498.—Debated, 830–836.—Agreed to, 836.

H. Res. 398—Requesting the Secretary of State to furnish the House of Representatives certain information concerning the Siberian situation.
Mr. Rhodes; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 26.

H. Res. 399—Fixing the hour of the daily meeting of the House.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas, and agreed to, 6.

H. Res. 400—Instructing the Clerk to notify the Senate that the House is ready to proceed to business.
Mr. Good, and agreed to, 6.

H. Res. 401—For the appointment of a joint committee to notify the President that Congress is organized and ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.
Mr. Mondell, and agreed to, 6.

H. Res. 402—To allow the chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the State Department to appoint a clerk to the said committee.
Mr. Elliott; Committee on Accounts, 57.—Reported with an amendment (H. Rept. 562), 1675.—Debated and agreed to, 1676.

H. Res. 403—Asking for information from the Treasury Department.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Ways and Means, 57.

H. Res. 404—For the relief of Mattie Long, daughter of W. M. Long, late an employee of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Accounts, 100.

H. Res. 405—Authorizing and directing the Speaker of the House to appoint a committee of 18 Members to whom all bills and resolutions of the Sixty-sixth Congress pertaining to veterans of the World War, etc., shall be referred to.
Mr. Bankhead; Committee on Rules, 100.

H. Res. 406—Disposition of House desks used in the Sixty-second Congress.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Accounts, 100.—Debated, 1674.

H. Res. 407—For the appointment of a select committee to investigate the pulp and paper industry of the United States.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Rules, 100.

H. Res. 408—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 9755.
Mr. Vestal; Committee on Rules, 100.—Reported back (H. Rept. 477), 150.—Debated and agreed to, 150, 151.

H. Res. 409—To provide a clerk to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.
Mr. Lehlbach; Committee on Accounts, 174.—Reported back (H. Rept. 560), 1675.

H. Res. 410—Authorizing the Committee on the District of Columbia to investigate the charges against Roscoe C. Bruce.
Mr. Madden; Committee on the District of Columbia, 174.

H. Res. 411—Providing for compensation for a clerk to the Committee on Education.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Accounts, 174.—Reported back (H. Rept. 557), 1672.—Debated, 1672–1674.—Agreed to, 1674.

H. Res. 412—Directing the Secretary of the Interior to send forthwith to the House of Representatives certain information with reference to any fraud in the former Uintah Indian Reservation.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on the Public Lands, 214.

H. Res. 413—To allow the chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce to appoint a clerk to said committee.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Accounts, 312.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 749), 4604.—Debated, 4604–4607.—Amended and passed House, 4607.

H. Res. 414—Authorizing the chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the Post Office Department to appoint a clerk for said committee.
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on Accounts, 353.

H. Res. 415—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 8819.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Rules, 353.—Debated, 409–415.—Agreed to, 429.

H. Res. 416—For the consideration of House Report No. 487.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Rules, 387.—Reported back (H. Rept. 500), 551.—Debated, 551–558, 598–602.—Agreed to, 602.

H. Res. 417—To provide for appointment of clerk to the Committee on Railways and Canals.
Mr. Wheeler; Committee on Accounts, 435.

H. Res. 418—Directing an investigation of the reported hoarding of sugar.
Mr. Babka; Committee on Rules, 435.

H. Res. 419—Instructing the delegates from the United States of America to the peace conference to protest against former prejudices, hatred, and persecution against the Jews in certain portions of Europe forming part of newly created free governments.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 559.

H. Res. 420—Authorizing the chairman of the Committee on Enrolled Bills to appoint an assistant clerk to the Committee on Enrolled Bills.
Mr. Ramsey; Committee on Accounts, 611.—Reported back (H. Rept. 558) and agreed to, 1675.

H. Res. 421—To pay six months' salary of George Killeen, deceased, doorkeeper on messenger roll, and $250 for funeral expenses to his daughter, Miss Ella M. Killeen.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Accounts, 721.—Reported back (H. Rept. 559) and agreed to, 1675.

H. Res. 422—Requesting information of the heads of departments concerning print-paper consumption.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Printing, 860.

H. Res. 423—For the consideration of H. R. 11224.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; Committee on Rules, 860.—Reported back (H. Rept. 527), 978.—Debated, 978–983.—Agreed to, 983.

H. Res. 424—Directing the Postmaster General to furnish certain information with regard to the weight of second-class mail to certain post offices.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 942.

H. Res. 425—Requesting the Secretary of War to furnish to the House of Representatives certain information.
Mr. Kitchin; Committee on Military Affairs, 1012.

H. Res. 426—Providing for an additional clerk to the Committee on Expenditures in the Navy Department.
Mr. Haskell; Committee on Accounts, 1012.

H. Res. 427—Calling on the Secretary of the Navy for certain facts relative to the awarding of medals to certain officers and men of the United States Navy who served in the recent World War.
Mr. Lufkin; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1078.

H. Res. 428—Calling on the Secretary of War for certain facts relative to the awarding of medals to certain officers and men of the United States Army who served in the recent World War.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1078.—Committee discharged from further consideration of, 1497.—Debated, 1497–1508.—Agreed to, 1508.

H. Res. 429—Announcing the death of Hon. Walter Allen Watson, late a Representative from the State of Virginia.
Mr. Flood, and agreed to, 1076.

H. Res. 430—Authorizing the Committee on Rivers and Harbors to sit during the sessions of the House.
Mr. Kennedy of Iowa, and agreed to, 1154.

H. Res. 431—For the election of Hon. Ewin L. Davis as a member of the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.
Mr. Henry T. Rainey, and agreed to, 1154.

H. Res. 432—Authorizing the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture to employ a clerk.
Mr. Baer; Committee on Accounts, 1205.

H. Res. 433—Authorizing the consideration of certain new legislation in H. R. 11578, a bill making appropriations for the support of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year 1921.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Rules, 1246.—Reported back (H. Rept. 535, debated and agreed to, 1304, 1305.

H. Res. 434—Declaring Victor L. Berger not entitled to a seat in the Sixty-sixth Congress as a Representative from the fifth district of Wisconsin.
Mr. Dallinger, and agreed to, 1339–1343.—Debated, 1339–1343, 2174, 8714.

H. Res. 435—For the consideration of H. R. 10074.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on Rules, 1518.—Reported back (H. Rept. 547), and agreed to, 1618.

H. Res. 436—For the consideration of S. 3076.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on Rules, 1518.—Reported back (H. Rept. 563), 1676.—Debated, 1675–1678.—Agreed to, 1678.

H. Res. 437—To pay six months' salary and funeral expenses of William L. Padgett.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Accounts, 1561.—Reported back (H. Rept. No. 638), considered, and agreed to, 3010, 3013.

H. Res. 438—For the immediate consideration of S. 3317.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on Rules, 1561.

H. Res. 439—Requesting the Senate to return to the House S. J. Res. 69.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas, and agreed to, 1559, 1560.—Agreed to in Senate, 1563.

H. Res. 440—That the Secretary of the Interior be requested to direct the Commissioner of Patents to transfer to the House of Representatives certain information regarding patents.
Mr. Tilson; Committee on Patents, 1643.

H. Res. 441—For the consideration of S. 3037.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Rules, 1643.

H. Res. 442—To pay W. L. Bragg, clerk to the late Hon. Walter A. Watson, one month's salary.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Accounts, 1811.—Reported back (H. Rept. 640), 3017.—Agreed to, 3017.

H. Res. 443—Paying to William S. Smith $500 for extra services since December, 1912.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on Accounts, 1811.

H. Res. 444—To remove Edward Keating from the Commission for the Reclassification of Salaries, and to declare vacant the position held by him thereon.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 1925.

H. Res. 445—For the consideration of H. R. 11927.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas, from Committee on Rules (H. Rept. 582), 1952.—Debated and agreed to, 1953.

H. Res. 446—For paying tributes to the memory of Hon. J. Willard Ragsdale, late a Member of the House of Representatives from the State of South Carolina.
Mr. Dominick, and agreed to, 2024–2026, 8876.

H. Res. 447—For paying tributes to the memory of Hon. John L. Burnett, late a Member of the House of Representatives from the State of Alabama.
Mr. Heflin, and agreed to, 2027–2035.

H. Res. 448—Making in order, in the consideration of H. R. 11960, any section of the bill as reported without the intervention of a point of order.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas, from Committee on Rules (H. Rept. 586), 2063.—Debated and agreed to, 2063–2068.

H. Res. 449—Directing the Secretary of War to furnish the House of Representatives certain information regarding the mutiny on board the United States steamship "America."
Mr. Britten; Committee on Military Affairs, 2090.

H. Res. 450—Requesting the Committee on War Expenditures to make full investigation of all purchases of hardware made by the Government.
Mr. Garland; Committee on Rules, 2135.

H. Res. 451—Requesting the Federal Trade Commission to make certain inquiries into the prices of combed cotton yarns.
Mr. Tilson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2229.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 692), 3650.—Debated, 2714–2717, 3757–3759, 5199, 5200.—Amended and passed House, 5200.

H. Res. 452—Directing the Committee on Banking and Currency to investigate certain complaints against Federal reserve banks.
Mr. Andrews of Nebraska; Committee on Rules, 2283.

H. Res. 453—Asking for facts as to the Russian situation.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2384.

H. Res. 454—For the immediate consideration of H. R. 12193.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Rules, 2384.

H. Res. 455—Providing for the creation of the office of assistant stationery clerk.
Mr. Benham; Committee on Accounts, 2594.

H. Res. 456—To designate a week to be known as liberty week.
Mr. Baer; Committee on the Judiciary, 2675.

H. Res. 457—For the consideration of H. R. 11984.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Rules, 2881.—Reported back (H. Rept. 709) and agreed to, 3883.

H. Res. 458—For the consideration of H. R. 12162.
Mr. Greene of Vermont; Committee on Rules, 2881.

H. Res. 459—To investigate the reported sale of the German fleet which is the property of the United States.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Rules, 2881.

H. Res. 460—Authorizing the payment of $1,200 to Norman E. Ives for extra and expert services to the Committee on Invalid Pensions during the first and second sessions of the Sixty-sixth Congress.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Accounts, 2932.—Reported back (H. Rept. 746), 4538.—Debated and agreed to, 4538.

H. Res. 461—Authorizing the payment of $1,200 to H. M. Vandervort for extra and expert services to the Committee on Invalid Pensions during the first and second sessions of the Sixty-sixth Congress.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Accounts, 2932.—Reported back (H. Rept. 747), 4538.—Debated and agreed to, 4538.

H. Res. 462—Authorizing the payment of $1,200 to Wayne W. Cordell for extra and expert services rendered to the Committee on Pensions during the first and second sessions of the Sixty-sixth Congress.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Accounts, 2932.—Reported back (H. Rept. 745), 4538.—Agreed to, 4538.

H. Res. 463—Requesting an investigation.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Rules, 2932.

H. Res. 464—Authorizing an investigation into the price of sugar.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Rules, 2932.

H. Res. 465—Directing the Secretary of the Interior to transmit to the House of Representatives certain information in connection with the proposed leasing of any of the lands of the Gila River Indian Reservation.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3038.

H. Res. 466—Providing that there shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House of Representatives, until otherwise provided by law, compensation at the rate of $2,000 per annum for the services of one clerk for the Committee on Disposition of Useless Executive Papers.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Accounts, 3106.—Reported back with amendment (H. Rept. 670), 3407.—Debated, amended, and agreed to, 3407, 3408.

H. Res. 467—Appointing William E. Kenney a special messenger and assistant pair clerk.
Mr. Humphreys; agreed to, 3185.

H. Res. 468—To increase the pay of the four assistant bill clerks.
Mr. Luhring; Committee on Accounts, 3317.

H. Res. 469—Authorizing the Committee on the Judiciary to make an investigation regarding the price of sugar.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Rules, 3376.—Reported back (H. Rept. 708), 3870.—Debated, 3871, 9392.—Agreed to, 3882.—Report submitted (H. Rept. 1090), 8303.—Minority report submitted (H. Rept. 1090, pt. 2),

H. Res. 470—That all legislation relating to those who served in the World War (other than those of the Regular Establishment) be referred to the Committee on Ways and Means and authorizing the Speaker to rerefer bills heretofore introduced.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Rules, 3376.—Reported back (H. Rept. 679), 3521.—Debated, 3357, 3358, 3521–3527.—Agreed to, 3527.

H. Res. 471—To pay to Fannie L. Washington, widow of Lawrence Washington, late an employee of the House of Representatives, an amount equal to six months' salary and an additional amount to defray the funeral expenses of said Lawrence Washington.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Accounts, 3485.

H. Res. 472—Asking the Committee on Military Affairs to report whether our lack of preparedness in the late war was on account of inefficient soldiers or inefficient citizens.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Rules, 3544.

H. Res. 473—Authorizing the appointment of a clerk to the Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury Department.
Mr. Dale; Committee on Accounts, 3544.

H. Res. 474—Expressing sympathy with the Vice President and Mrs. Marshall on the death of their son.
Mr. Fairfield, and agreed to, 3543.

H. Res. 475—Calling for information from the War Department concerning motor trucks.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Military Affairs, 3651.—Reported back (H. Rept. 700), 3783.

H. Res. 476—To investigate the administration of the Federal reserve act since its passage.
Mr. King; Committee on Rules, 3651.—Debated, 4224, 8915.

H. Res. 477—For paying tributes to the memory of Hon. Albert Estopinal, late a Member of the House of Representatives from the State of Louisiana.
Mr. O'Conner, and agreed to, 3652–3658.

H. Res. 478—Directing the Director of the Federal Board for Vocational Education to transmit certain facts to the House of Representatives.
Mr. Husted; Committee on Education, 3729.

H. Res. 479—Expressing sorrow at the death of Hon. John H. Bankhead, late a Senator from the State of Alabama.
Mr. Heflin, and agreed to, 3729.

H. Res. 480—For the consideration of H. R. 12775.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Rules, 3784.—Reported back (H. Rept. 722), 4022.—Debated and passed House, 4022–4025.

H. Res. 481—For the consideration of S. J. Res. 156.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Rules, 3784.—Reported back (H. Rept. 706), 3822.—Debated and agreed to, 3822.

H. Res. 482—To print in the Congressional Record, in connection with the proceedings of the House, House Report No. 637, from the Select Committee on Expenditures in the War Department, and for the immediate consideration of the same.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Rules, 3784.

H. Res. 483—For the consideration of House Report No. 637.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Rules, 3837.—Reported back (H. Rept. 718), 3931.—Debated and agreed to, 3931–3934.

H. Res. 484—Requesting the Secretary of War to furnish certain information to the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Ways and Means, 3884.

H. Res. 485—Relating to use of T. N. T., a war-salvaged explosive, for peace-time purposes.
Mr. Nelson of Wisconsin; Committee on Printing, 3935.—Reported back, 5493.—Debated and agreed to, 5494.

H. Res. 486—Directing the Committee on Agriculture to inquire into the reported wheat pool and investigate the alleged dealings, operations, speculations, and manipulations of the United States Grain Corporation.
Mr. Hutchinson; Committee on Rules, 3935.

H. Res. 487—Providing for a chief clerk in the office of the Superintendent of the Folding Room in lieu of a messenger.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Accounts, 3935.—Reported back, debated, and agreed to, 4923.

H. Res. 488—Requesting the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to investigate the print-paper industry.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Rules, 3992.

H. Res. 489—Requesting the Secretary of Commerce to furnish the House of Representatives with certain information regarding print paper.
Mr. Harrison; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3992.—Reported back, 4337.—Debated, 4337–4345.—Passed House, 4345.—Report submitted (see H. Doc. 696), 4719.

H. Res. 490—Asking for copies of correspondence from the Interstate Commerce Commission.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4049.

H. Res. 491—Calling for information from the War Department concerning motor trucks or tractors.
Mr. Bland of Indiana; Committee on Military Affairs, 4049.—Reported back (H. Rept. 731), 4107.—Pased House, 4129.

H. Res. 492—Providing for a shipping clerk in the folding room in lieu of a folder.
Mr. Lehlbach; Committee on Accounts, 4107.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1011) and agreed to, 7324.

H. Res. 493—Instructing the Clerk to notify the Senate and the President of the United States of the designation of Hon. Joseph Walsh, of Massachusetts, as Speaker pro tempore of the House.
Mr. Mann of Illinois, and agreed to, 4179.

H. Res. 494—To amend section 2 of Rule XXI of the Rules of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Rules, 4372.

H. Res. 495—Giving the Committee on Education authority to investigate the Federal Board for Vocational Education.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Rules, 4372.—Reported back (H. Rept. 755), 4645.—Debated, 4399, 4645–4649.—And agreed to, 4649.—Report submited (H. Rept. 1104), 8618.

H. Res. 496—Instructing the Attorney General to institute proceedings against certain corporations, restraining them from distributing surplus war profits and instructing the Committee on Ways and Means to draft a bill for taxing the same for the benefit of soldiers.
Mr. Little; Committee on Rules, 4493.

H. Res. 497—Authorizing the Clerk to make a correction in H. Res. 361.
Mr. Ireland, and agreed to, 4538.

H. Res. 498—Directing the Director of the Federal Board for Vocational Education to transmit certain facts to the House of Representatives.
Mr. Husted; Committee on Education, 4564.

H. Res. 499—For the appointment by the Speaker of conferees on H. R. 11927 without intervening motion.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Rules, 4564.—Reported back (H. Rept. 753), 4608.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 4608–4612.

H. Res. 500—Requesting the President of the United States to furnish to the House of Representatives certain information regarding soldiers in Europe.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 4642.—Reported back H. Rept. 760), 4773.—And agreed to, 8414.—(See H. Doc. 709), 5101.

H. Res. 501—Authorizing and directing the Attorney General to investigate the price of oil and report to the House of Representatives.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on the Judiicary, 4773.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 763), 4843.—Debated and agreed to, 5219–5222, 9359.—Report submitted (H. Doc. 801), 8157.

H. Res. 502—Providing funds for the Committee on Education to investigate the Federal Board for Vocational Education.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Acounts, 4773.—Reported back, 4919.—Debated, 4919–4922.—Amended and passed House, 4922.

H. Res. 503—Relative to the death of Hon. William J. Browning, late a Representative from the State of New Jersey.
Mr. Hutchinson, and agreed to, 4799.

H. Res. 504—Authorizing the payment of $1,000 to John C. Pugh for extra and expert services to the Committee on Naval Affairs during the first and second sessions of the Sixty-sixth Congress.
Mr. Butler; Committee on Accounts, 4844.—Reported back (H. Rept. 782), debated, and agreed to, 4969–4972.

H. Res. 505—To pay six months' salary and funeral expenses of James Clark.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Accounts, 4905.—Reported back and agreed to, 4923.

H. Res. 506—Requesting the Federal Trade Commission to make certain inquiries into the prices of loose leaf tobacco.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4942.

H. Res. 507—For the consideration of H. R. 13266.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas, and agreed to, 4931.

H. Res. 508—To provide for the compensation of an assistant in the document room.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Accounts, 4942.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1009) and agreed to, 7324.

H. Res. 509—For the relief of May Carroll.
Mr. Hutchinson; Committee on Accounts, 5129.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1006), 7319.—Agreed to, 7319, 7320.

H. Res. 510—To appoint a select committee to inquire into the cause of the depreciation of the market value of Liberty bonds.
Mr. Magee; Committee on Rules, 5223.

H. Res. 511—Making in order the consideration of H. J. Res. 327.
Mr. Porter; Committee on Rules, 5273.—Reported back (H. Rept. 812), 5336.—Debated, 5336–5345.—Agreed to, 5345.

H. Res. 512—For the immediate consideration of H. R. 12266.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Rules, 5315.—Reported back (H. Rept. 847), 5799.—Debated and agreed to, 5799, 5800.

H. Res. 513—To investigate the situation in the Republic of Santo Domingo and to withdraw American troops, etc.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Rules, 5315.—Debated, 9023.

H. Res. 514—Increasing the pay of John A. McKenzie, janitor and messenger to stenographers to committees.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Accounts, 5383.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1010) and agreed to, 7323, 7324.

H. Res. 515—Referring certain hearings and a report of the Select Committee on Expenditures in the War Department to the Department of Justice.
Mr. Graham of Illinois, from the Select Committee on Expenditures in the War Department (H. Rept. 816), 5527.—Debated, 5568–5584, 5615–5621.—Agreed to, 5621.

H. Res. 516—To print 500 copies of a manuscript entitled "Scots and Scottish Influence in Congress."
Mr. Moon; Committee on Printing, 5527.

H. Res. 517—For the consideration of H. Res. 515.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Rules, 5528.—Reported back (H. Rept. 819), 5563.—Debated and agreed to, 5563–5567.

H. Res. 518—Authorizing the payment of $500 to August Buehne for extra services rendered the Members of the House of Representatives during the year 1920.
Mr. Brooks of Illinois; Committee on Accounts, 5643.

H. Res. 519—Relating to increase of weight and size of parcel-post packages.
Mr. Randall of California; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 5643.

H. Res. 520—Regarding the Irish citizens confined in the prisons in England.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 5683.

H. Res. 521—Requesting the Department of Justice to investigate sugar hoarding in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Knutson; Committee on the Judiciary, 5711.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 861), 6013.

H. Res. 522—For investigation of certain charges against Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor.
Mr. Hoch; Committee on Rules, 5711.

H. Res. 523—Authorizing the restoration of Louis Roos to his former position as a special officer in the Capitol Police.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Accounts, 5711.

H. Res. 524—To amend section 7 of Rule I.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; agreed to, 5760.

H. Res. 525—Providing for tributes to the memory of Hon. Joseph B. Thompson, late a Member of the House of Representatives from the State of Oklahoma.
Mr. McClintic, and agreed to, 5816–5821.

H. Res. 526—Providing for certain employees and the payment of the expenses of the Judiciary Committee or a subcommittee thereof incurred pursuant to the provisions of H. Res. 469, adopted Mar. 4, 1920.
Mr. Husted; Committee on Accounts, 5925.—Reported back (H. Rept. 917), 6458.—Amended, and agreed to, 6458.

H. Res. 527—For the immediate consideration of H. R. 12466.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Rules, 5925.

H. Res. 528—Providing desks for Members of the Sixty-sixth Congress.
Mr. Pou; Committee on Accounts, 5965.

H. Res. 529—Authorizing special committee of the House to make an investigation regarding the distribution of sugar.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Rules, 5965.

H. Res. 530—To investigate certain officers of the Department of Justice.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Rules, 6014.

H. Res. 531—Requesting the United States Government, in association with governments of allied powers, to protect Armenia and to recognize its independence.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 6014.

H. Res. 532—Authorizing and directing the Federal Trade Commission to investigate the distribution and sale of print paper and report to the House of Representatives.
Mr. Christopherson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6104.

H. Res. 533—Requesting the Federal Trade Commission to make certain inquiries into the prices of loose-leaf tobacco.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6104.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1077), 8157.—Debated, 9234.—Adopted, 8440, 8441.

H. Res. 534—To provide for the consideration of S. 1699.
Mr. Lehlbach; Committee on Rules, 6104.

H. Res. 535—Expressing sorrow at the death of Hon. Charles A. Nichols, late a Representative from the State of Michigan.
Mr. Doremus, and agreed to, 6143.

H. Res. 536—For the immediate consideration of H. R. 13627.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Rules, 6200.—Reported back, 7434.—Considered and agreed to, 7434, 7435.

H. Res. 537—Instructing the Attorney General to institute proceedings against certain corporations and others restraining them from distributing surplus war profits and instructing the Committee on Ways and Means to draft a bill for taxing the same for the benefit of soldiers.
Mr. Little; Committee on Rules, 6257.

H. Res. 538—Authorizing and directing the Federal Trade Commission to investigate the price of sugar and report to the House of Representatives.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6327.

H. Res. 539—For the immediate consideration of H. R. 13646.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Rules, 6327.

H. Res. 540—For the immediate consideration of H. R. 13500.
Mr. Dowell; Committee on Rules, 6387.—Reported from Committee on Rules, 7447.—Amended and agreed to, 7448.

H. Res. 541—Asking the Secretary of the Treasury to seek collection of amount due from Great Britain to the United States.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Ways and Means, 6387.

H. Res. 542—To pay Theodore W. Kolbe and May Peacock, clerks to the late Hon. Charles A. Nichols, one month's salary.
Mr. Scott; Committee on Accounts, 6483.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1005) and agreed to, 7320.

H. Res. 543—To ascertain certain facts from the United States Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation regarding the refitting and reconditioning of the U. S. S. Leviathan.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Rules, 6553.

H. Res. 544—To provide for the consideration of S. 3477.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Rules, 6616.

H. Res. 545—To investigate mining conditions in tenth congressional district, Pennsylvania.
Mr. McLane; Committee on Rules, 6616.

H. Res. 546—To pay Jane Nichols, mother of Hon. Charles A. Nichols, late a Representative from the State of Michigan, the sum of $452.05.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Accounts, 6616.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1004) and agreed to, 7320.

H. Res. 547—To provide for the compensation of a substitute telephone operator.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Accounts, 6669.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1008), and agreed to, 7323.

H. Res. 548—To authorize the Committee on Revision of the Laws to employ additional assistants.
Mr. Little; Committee on Accounts, 6669.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1007), 7321.—Amended and agreed to, 7322.

H. Res. 549—Requesting the Attorney General to furnish the House of Representatives with certain information.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on the Judiciary, 6669.

H. Res. 550—Requesting the Department of Justice to investigate sugar hoarding in El Paso, Tex.
Mr. Hudspeth; Committee on the Judiciary, 6793.

H. Res. 551—Requesting the Secretary of War to furnish to the House of Representatives certain information regarding the West Point Military Academy.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Military Affairs, 6842.—See letter from Secretary of War, 7430.

H. Res. 552—For the immediate consideration of H. R. 13931.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on Rules, 6842.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1055), 7849.—Adopted, 7850.

H. Res. 553—For consideration of H. J. Res. 351.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Rules, 7078.—See H. Res. 560, 7078–7080.

H. Res. 554—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 4438.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Rules, 6842.

H. Res. 555—Providing for the printing of a study entitled "Scots and Scottish Influence in Congress" as a House document.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Printing, 6842.

H. Res. 556—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 4438.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Rules, 6971.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1037) and agreed to, 7593.

H. Res. 557—Extending a hearty welcome to the Baptist messengers to the Nation's Capital and extending invitation to visit legislative galleries and elsewhere about the Capitol Building and Grounds.
Mr. Larsen; Committee on Rules, 7028.

H. Res. 558—To appoint a committee to investigate the investigating committees.
Mr. Byrnes of South Carolina; Committee on Rules, 7081.

H. Res. 559—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 12350.
Mr. Vestal; Committee on Rules, 7081.

H. Res. 560—For the consideration of H. J. Res. 351.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas, from Committee on Rules (H. Rept. 986), 7078.—Adopted in lieu of H. Res. 553, 7078–7080.

H. Res. 561—For paying tribute to the memory of Hon. William J. Browning, late a Representative from the State of New Jersey, and to the memory of Hon. Carl C. Van Dyke, late a Representative from the State of Minnesota.
Mr. Bacharach, and agreed to, 7127, 7138, 7143, 7144, 9412.

H. Res. 562—Declaring Hon. Samuel C. Major a duly elected Representative from the seventh district of Missouri.
Mr. Dallinger, and agreed to (see H. Rept. 961), 7231.

H. Res. 563—Providing for the consideration of H. Rept. 998 from the Select Committee on Expenditures in the War Department, and for other purposes.
Mr. Graham of Illinois, from the Select Committee on Expenditures in the War Department, and for other purposes (H. Rept. 1002), 7325.

H. Res. 564—for the immediate consideration of House resolution 503 and House Report 998 on the same subject previously introduced.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Rules, 7325.

H. Res. 565—For the immediate consideration of H. R. 10011.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; Committee on Rules, 7385.

H. Res. 566—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 14157.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Rules, 7457.

H. Res. 567—Authorizing the chairman of the Committee on Enrolled Bills to employ, during the remainder of the session, such additional clerical help as may be necessary.
Mr. Ramsey, and agreed to, 7456.

H. Res. 568—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 13091.
Mr. Garland; Committee on Rules, 7457.

H. Res. 569—For the immediate consideration of H. J. Res. 339.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on Rules, 7712.

H. Res. 570—Asking for information as to mandate for Armenia.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 7712.—Debated, 9094.

H. Res. 571—For information regarding the use of the House Office Building and the Legislative Drafting Committee.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on Rules, 7712.

H. Res. 572—To pay Arthur Lucas for special janitor services.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Accounts, 7712.

H. Res. 573—Requesting the Interstate Commerce Commission to enforce the powers conferred upon it by the act entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to regulate commerce,' as amended, in respect of car service, and for other purposes," approved May 29, 1917, to prohibit the further exportation of anthracite and bituminous coal from the United States until such time as the present emergency shall have passed.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7858.

H. Res. 574—To investigate the escape of Grover Cleveland Bergdoll.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Rules, 7858.—Reported back, 8587.—Debated, 9179.

H. Res. 575—Making in order motions for suspension of the rules.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas, from the Committee on Rules (H. Rept. 1064), 7921.—Debated and agreed to, 7921–7930.

H. Res. 576—Making changes of membership in certain committees.
Mr. Mondell, and agreed to, 7956.

H. Res. 577—For the employment of additional help in the enrolling room.
Mr. Mondell, and agreed to, 8010.

H. Res. 578—Authorizing the installation of an electrical mechanical voting machine in the House of Representatives.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Accounts, 8157.

H. Res. 579—To consider House resolution 324.
Mr. Fess, from Committee on Rules (H. Rept. 1083), 8102–8107.

H. Res. 580—To propose a substitute for the League of Nations covenant.
Mr. MacGregor; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 8303.

H. Res. 581—Calling upon the Interstate Commerce Commission for certain information.
Mr. McCulloch; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 8303.—Debated, 8658.

H. R. 582—To investigate the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Rules, 8303.

H. Res. 583—Amending the rules of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Rules, 8303.

H. Res. 584—Providing for the consideration of H. Con. Res. 57.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Rules, 8303.

H. Res. 585—Asking that the American Government make a friendly request of the British Parliament.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 8460.

H. Res. 586—Urging an early decision by the Railroad Labor Board on the adjustment of wages of railroad employees.
Mr. Mead; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 8460.

H. Res. 587—Urging an early decision by the Railroad Labor Board on the adjustment of wages of railroad employees.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 8460.

H. Res. 588—For the appointment of Alvin W. Weakley as a special messenger of the House.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; agreed to, 8673.

H. Res. 589—Regarding the Republic of Ireland.
Mr. Gallagher; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 8680.

H. Res. 590—For the appointment of a committee to join a similar committee of the Senate to notify the President that the two Houses are ready to adjourn.
Mr. Mondell, and agreed to, 8657.

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